THE
WORKS
OF
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS:

CONTAINING,

The Antiquities of the *Jews* from the Creation of the World, and the Author's Defence of them againſt *Apion*. Poſterity of *Adam* and ten Ages from him to the Flood. The Deluge and Preſervation of *Noah* and his Family. Deſtruction of the Tower of *Babel* and Confuſion of Languages. Diſperſion of *Noah*'s Poſterity, and Hiſtorical Account of the Nations founded by them. Famine in the Land of *Canaan*. Deſtruction of *Sodom*, &c. Lives, &c. of the *Patriarchs*, and their Poſterity. The ten *Plagues* of *Egypt*, and Deliverance of the *Iſraelites* from thence. Their Travels thro' the Wilderneſs, and Conqueſt of the Idolatrous Nations. Reigns of the Kings of the *Hebrews*. Building of *Soloman*'s Temple. Deſcription thereof. Wars of the *Philiſtines*, *Aſſyrians*, *Egyptians*, &c. &c. againſt the *Jews*, to their Captivity and Building of the Second Temple, Birth, Actions, &c. of *Jeſus Chriſt*. Detail of the Origin of High Prieſt of the *Jews*. Life of *Joſephus* by himſelf. Chronicle of the Kings of *Judea*. Revolt of the *Jews* from the *Roman* Government, and Civil Diſſentions. Surrender of *Jeruſalem* to *Pompey*. Of the *Maccabees*. *Philo*'s Embaſſy to the *Jews*. Calamities of the *Jewiſh* Nation. *Veſpaſian*'s Invaſion of *Galilee*, and Progreſs of his Arms. March of *Titus* to *Jeruſalem*. Deſcription of the City and Temple; Portentous Omens of its Fall. Progreſs of its Siege. Exceſſive Famine in the City. Great Slaughter of the Inhabitants. Burning of the Temple, and total Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* by *Titus*.

To which is Added,
CHRISTOPHER NOLDIUS's HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE and ACTIONS of *HEROD* the GREAT.

With Explanatory NOTES, MAPS, and a Large
and Accurate INDEX.

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MDCCLIV.

TO THE

READER.

THE *works of that learned* JEW, Flavius Joſephus, *of which, now extant, we are giving the publick a* New Tranſlation, *have been ſo long, ſo univerſally, and ſo juſtly in the higheſt eſteem, that an* Encomium *on them ſeems to be an uneceſſary labour. Their ſubject, their variety, and the elegance of their Stile, hath as effectually recommended them to the notice of the* Ingenious *in all ages, as their* Author's *great* Abilities *did him to the Emperors* Flavius *and* Titus Veſpaſian.

I am ſenſible how common a thing it is, for Tranſlators *to engage with violence in the cauſe of the author, whom they tranſlate ; and ſo endeavour to raiſe his reputation to a greater height than any of his competitors : But there is no room for me, even if I were infected with this folly, to inſiſt in fuller and more pompous terms, on the excellencies of* Joſephus, *than numberleſs learned men have done before, whoſe praiſes aroſe ſolely from the merit they diſcovered in his writings. In which 'tis hard to ſay whether the* Energy *of the* Sentiments, *or the* Nervous Propriety *of his* Language, *ſtrike us with greater admiration.*

He was, as himſelf tells us, a deſcendant from the line of Aaron. *He had ſtudied with great attention, and that in the ſeveral* Sects *of the* Jewiſh *religion,* viz. *the* Pharaſees, *the* Saducees, *the* Eſſenes. *From hence he grew to be a perſon of great learning, and applying himſelf to the publick affairs he became governor of* Gallilee, *where at the time of the* Roman *invaſion he bravely defended himſelf, till at laſt being made priſoner he grew, from the treatment of* Veſpaſian, *and his ſon* Titus, *a perfect dependant on the Romans.*

Having at firſt the advantage and inſtruction of his own, and the other nations of the Eaſt *in view, he wrote originally in* Hebrew. *Moſt part of which is long ſince loſt, but reſolving afterwards to make the* Hiſtory *of thoſe* Early Times *known alſo to the* Gentiles, *he tranſlated them into* Greek, *which are what we now have. But his inclination to make his ſubject agreeable to the age in which he wrote, occaſioned his falling from that degree of poſitiveneſs, which would have become a Jewiſh writer, to that philoſophical diffidence of his own judgment, which induced him to add,* It is ſo ſaid, This I leave to the conſideration of my Readers, *before or after ſome miraculous inſtances, which occurr'd in his hiſtory, and which without ſuch a caution, might, in the opinion of the Romans, have ſhock'd the credibility of this work, through their ignorance of the true* God, *and want of belief in his power.*

His Antiquities, *is a work of immenſe learning, it contains an hiſtory to the days of* Nero, *deduced from an* Æra, *having for its beginning the beginning of the world itſelf, and containing an elucidation of matters no were elſe to be found, ſave in the* Holy Scriptures ; *the language in which they are related, is perfectly adapted to the ſolemnity of the narration, and is neither clouded with the pomp of* Oriental Rhetorick, *nor the truth varniſhed with that affected eloquence, which is too often the fault of* Greek *writers.*

His Hiſtory *of his own* Life, *placed next in our* Tranſlation, *as it is in Doctor* Hudſon's *admirable* Edition *of the* Oriental, *gives much light into his ſubſequent* Hiſtory *of the* Wars *of the* Jews ; *and by ſhewing the profeſſion, fortunes, and behaviour of the author, adds a ſanction to his performance, ſince it convinces us of his ability of writing well, of the* Antiquities *of his Country, who was himſelf a* Jew, *educated in all the various branches of their* Knowledge ; *of which the* Hiſtory *of their actions always make the chief part, and at the ſame time diſplays the advantages he had in compoſing the relation of that* War, *which ended in the ſack of* Jeruſalem ; *in the beginning of which he himſelf was an eminent commander, and of which he continued a careful ſpectator to its end.*

This relation of the Roman *Invaſion, and the* Wars *between that* Republick *and his own* People, *ſeems to be the moſt laboured part of all* Joſephus's *writings. He had been well received and afterwards taken into high favour, by* Flavius Veſpaſian *and his Son* Titus : *In this account ther fore of their atchievements, no doubt is to be made that our author exerted his utmoſt skil. Th* *is a very apparent elevation of his* Stile, *and a ſpirit diſcoverable throughout the whole thread of the narration, which ſpeaks plainly enough, the* Deſire *of* Joſephus *at once to do honour to the reputation of his* Patrons and Protectors, *and to acquire the character of a great and judicious* Hiſtorian *to himſelf.*

His two books againſt Apion, *in defence of the* Antiquities *of his own nation, and the authority of* Moſes, *are writing with great ſtrength of argument, and with much freedom in* Expreſſion: *Indeed* Joſephus *here, and every where elſe, ſtudies to avoid the imputation of a* Bigot. *He lays down the arguments which convince him; he ſupports thoſe arguments by his reaſoning upon them, and confirms the truth of all that he aſſerts from them, by matters of fact, which is certainly the eaſieſt aud propereſt method enquiring after truth.*

His diſcourſe in two books of the Maccabees, *is penned in a ſtile very different from that of his other writings; he ſeems to have affected here a more flowery aud rhetorical manner of ſpeaking than he makes uſe of elſewhere. And it looks as if he had deſigned this piece, by way of exerciſe in the art of oratory, as well as for conveying ſolid conſolation and inſtruction. However; as it abounds with fine thoughts, and beautiful expreſſions, the utmoſt care ſhall be taken to render it in this tranſlation, nearer and more in the ſpirit of the original, than it is to be found in any hitherto extant.*

But 'tis however fit to mention here, what tranſlations have been already made, of the works of this author, into our language. And the reaſons which induced us to undertake this tranſlation, after ſo many that have gone before us.

The firſt Engliſh *verſion of* Joſephus, *was that done by* Moriſyn: *'Tis of a very old ſtanding, and its phraſe is grown almoſt obſolete, though in the main it comes as near the* Greek, *as any that have ſucceeded it.*

Doctor Lodge's *was the next, and of his, copies are pretty frequent; but beſides that, the language is now old, the expreſſion is in itſelf very dry and bald, and not without great errors as to the ſenſe.*

Another, without any name, was publiſhed from the French Verſion, *and not to cenſure another's work undeſervedly, is a very good piece, except that being thus twice removed from the* original, *it does not always keep up to the ſenſe of* Joſephus, *and hardly ever to his manner of* Expreſſion.

The laſt, is the famous one of Sir Roger L'Eſtrange, *which has been ſo long in poſſeſſion of the publick eſteem, that we are not inclined to venture the reputation of this verſion, by making any attack upon it. But as it is at a very high price, and that* Copiouſneſs *with which Sir* Roger *wrote, now no longer the faſhion; we have preſumed to offer an entire new* Tranſlation *to the* Publick, *from the laſt and beſt edition of the* Original, *publiſhed in two large volumes in folio, by Doctor* Hudſon, Bodleian Library Keeper at Oxford: *and which from its own merit, we hope will meet with a favourable reception.*

As this is the only title, by which we can lay claim to encouragement, our readers may depend on the moſt aſſiduous diligence in the tranſlator, that this verſion may not only be exact in its mat-
t perfect, as ſhall render them eaſier in the peruſal than hitherto they have been.

o Noldius's *hiſtory of* Herod, *what is publiſhed from thence will be entirely new; and will*
o give the publick a true idea of the life and actions of that prince, who makes ſo great
e in the Jewiſh *hiſtory.*

FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

ANTIQUITIES of the JEWS.

BOOK THE FIRST.

Containing the Space of Three Thouſand Eight Hundred and Thirty-Three Years.

THE PREFACE.

OF thoſe who have apply'd themſelves to writing hiſtories, I find not one, nor the ſame cauſes, moved them to their undertakings; but that on the contrary, they were induced to them, from ſeveral, and thoſe very different reaſons. For the hopes of acquiring glory, through a diſplay of eloquence, hath drawn certain perſons to this kind of writing; while again there have been authors, who aimed at nothing more than making their court to thoſe, whoſe actions they have recorded, and to that purpoſe have dedicated all their pains: Some alſo having been themſelves engaged in things of which they wrote, thought they were therefore under a neceſſity of preſerving the memory of them to poſterity, and a noble deſire of retrieving from oblivion, things worthy of knowledge, hath excited in others the ſame inclination of writing, for the publick benefit. Of theſe motives, the two laſt are thoſe which have weigh'd moſt with me. For in the war our nations of the *Jews* had with the *Romans*, being myſelf perfectly acquainted with all the tranſactions, and that event which they produced, I am, as it were, conſtrained to this undertaking, that thereby I may confute thoſe, who have in their writings depraved the truth.

2. In entering on this work, I am confident of gaining the approbation of the *Greeks*, ſince it will comprehend the whole antiquities of our nation, and the conſtitution of the republick, tranſlated from the *Hebrew writings*. I had indeed thoughts heretofore, when I was writing the hiſtory of the war, to have explained the origin of the *Jews*, the courſe of their fortunes, and under what legiſlator they were taught the worſhip of God, and the practice of other virtues, with the wars in which thro' ſo many ages they engaged, unto the laſt, into which, againſt their wills, they were plunged with the *Romans*. But when I found that argument too prolix, I divided it from the other, and in this work properly dedicated to that purpoſe, have proſecuted it from beginning to end. Yet in that ſpace of time in which I compoſed it, as is uſual with thoſe who undertake ſuch difficult pieces of work, I found myſelf tired and inclined to be lazy when I perceived of how great a quantity of matter I ſhould be obliged to treat, and that too in a foreign tongue. But ſome, out of a deſire of ſeeing the work, encouraged me to go on, and above all EPAPHRODITUS, a man greatly addicted to all ſorts of learning, eſpecially to hiſtory, who had himſelf been concerned in many momentous affairs, and gone through ſeveral viciſſitudes of fortune, in which he manifeſted a peculiar elegancy of genius, and an unſhaken ſteadineſs in virtue. Out of regard therefore to him, who is ſo zealous a patron of whatever may be of publick uſe, and out of ſhame at ſeeming to prefer an ignoble ſloth, to ſo promiſing a labour; I ſet about it with new ſpirits, to which nothing gave me greater encouragement, than my reflecting on that complacence, with which our anceſtors communicated ſuch things to ſtrangers, and the warm endeavours of ſome of the *Greeks*, towards the attaining the knowledge of our affairs.

3. When I reflected alſo that King PTOLEMY the ſecond, a prince much given to purchaſing books of uſeful learning, having a fervent deſire to procure our law, and the things therein relating to our government, to be tranſlated into *Greek*; and that *Eleazer*, who yielded in virtue to none of his predeceſſors in the *Prieſthood*, denied not this favour unto that monarch; which he would never have done, if it had not been the cuſtom of our progenitors not to con-

ceal from any, things honeſt and laudable in themſelves. I thought it convenient for me to imitate this magnanimity of our high *Prieſt*, ſince I am ſatisfied that in this age there are a great number, whoſe deſires to the ſame purpoſe are as earneſt as thoſe were of that prince, yet was not the whole of the ſcriptures, but only what related to the law, ſent by thoſe who interpreted it to him at *Alexandria*. For the things deliver'd in the ſacred writings are innumerable, ſince they contain the hiſtory of five thouſand years, abounding with ſurprizing events, the various fortunes of war, the glorious atchievements of many generals, and not a few revolutions in ſtates. Throughout the whole of which Hiſtory, it may more eſpecially appear to its readers, that to thoſe who are obedient to the will of God, and fearful of tranſgreſſing his commandments, all things ſucceed proſperouſly, (even beyond credit) a crown of felicity remaining for them with God; and on the contrary, to thoſe who fail in ſuch an obſervance, all things, however eaſy they ſeem, become impracticable; and their deſigns, how juſt ſoever they appear, determine in irreparable calamities. I exhort therefore thoſe, who ſhall read theſe writings, that they raiſe their minds to the contemplation of the Deity, and examine whether our *Lawgiver* hath not ſpoken of his nature with becoming dignity, repreſenting the proportion of his greatneſs by his works, aud avoiding wholly in his narration, thoſe fables, with which all others on the ſame ſubject abound: Altho' conſidering the vaſt diſtance of times and their obſcurity, he might have invented, and impoſed upon us without danger of detection, for he was born two thouſand years ago, a date to which the *Poets* dare not ſo much as refer the genealogies of their *Gods*, or look for the laws and tranſactions of mankind. In proceeding therefore we ſhall ſet down all things from him accurately, and in order, ſince in the courſe of this work, I have promiſed neither to add, nor leave any thing wanting.

4. But becauſe the remaining part of our labours depends almoſt wholly on the wiſdom of *Moſes*, our *Lawgiver*; it ſeems but requiſite that we ſhould firſt of all ſay ſomething concerning him, to ſatisfy the doubts of thoſe, who ſeeing the conſtitution and hiſtory of our nation promiſed in the title of our work, may be confounded, when they find ſo many things relating to the knowledge of nature inſerted therein. It is fit therefore that they ſhould be informed how that he lays it down as neceſſary before all things, that whoever would either lead his own life well, or preſcribe rules for regulating the lives of others, ſhould in the firſt place, conſider the nature of the *Divinity*, and contemplating his works in his mind, endeavour to imitate, as far as he is able, that *beſt* EXAMPLE in all things; for without ſuch ſpeculation, neither can the *Legiſlator* be rightly qualified in himſelf, nor can his writings conduce much to virtue amongſt thoſe who receive them, unleſs he teach them before all, that God being the common parent, and Lord directing the univerſe, hath given happineſs of life, unto ſuch as obey him, and ſurrounded with afflictions, thoſe who recede from virtue. *Moſes* therefore intending after this ſort to inſtruct his people, did not begin as all other *Lawgivers* uſe to do, with accounting for thoſe contracts and covenants we make with one another. But elevating their minds to the contemplation of God, and his creating the world, he brought them to believe man the moſt noble creature on the earth, and having rendred their minds obedient unto piety, he eaſily perſuaded them of every thing elſe. For as all other *Legiſlators* following *Fables*, aſcribe the moſt ſhameful actions of men unto their Gods, and thereby afford the fulleſt excuſe unto the wicked; our *Lawgiver* on the contrary, having aſcribed unto the *Deity*, the moſt pure and unſpotted virtue, he declares it to be the higheſt duty of men, as far as they are able, to aim at a participation of thoſe excellencies: And againſt ſuch as neither receive nor credit theſe things, he declares the ſevereſt cenſures; by this, therefore, I beſeech my readers to examine theſe my labours, and they will then find nothing therein, which will ſeem either abſurd, unworthy the dignity of God, or of his love towards men; for that all things are diſpoſed in an exact conformity to the univerſal nature. This our *Legiſlator* hath ſometimes obſcurely noted, at others, by becoming *Allegories*, it is expreſſed, and in caſes where it is neceſſary, it is clearly and plainly laid down. The cauſes of which, if any ſhall endeavour to arrive at in his mind, a deep and philoſophical attention will be requiſite; wherefore I leave it at the preſent, purpoſing if God ſhall give me life, to enter on thoſe diſquiſitions as ſoon as I ſhall have finiſhed the work I am upon. But now I will turn myſelf to the relation of things, delivering firſt what is ſaid of the creation of the world, in the words of MOSES, which as I have found them in the ſacred ſcriptures, runs thus,

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

Of the Creation of the World, and the Diſpoſition of the Elements.

IN the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. But the earth not being cogniſeable by ſight, becauſe of its being inveloped in thick darkneſs, the *Spirit* moving on it from above, God commanded that there ſhould be light, which when it ſhined forth diſcovered the whole maſs: He ſevered then the light from the darkneſs, and the darkneſs he called night, but the light he called day. The breaking forth of light, and the time of repoſe, he named alſo the morning and evening: and thus was the firſt day; which *Moſes* called *One* only; for which I could here aſſign a reaſon, but that, as I have promis'd an intire book on theſe curious ſubjects, I refer myſelf thereto, at the time, when publiſh'd, for an explanation. After, on the *Second Day*, he placed the *Heaven* above all things, and having ſeparated it, he encompaſſed with a chriſtialine medium, making it humid and rainy, for the ſake of the earth, that it might be rendred fruitful by ſhowers. On the *Third Day* he eſtabliſhed the earth, ſurrounding it every where with ſea, and the ſame day plants; and their ſeeds were brought forth by the earth. On the *Fourth Day* he enlightened the heaven with the ſun, moon, and other ſtars, appointing unto all their ſeveral courſes, that the viciſſitudes of times and ſeaſons might from thence be known. On the *Fifth Day* he made the fiſh that ſwim in the deep, and the birds that fly through the air, diſmiſſing them into their reſpective elements, that by commixtures amongſt themſelves they might propagate their kind, and thereby encreaſe and multiply. On the *Sixth Day* he created all four-footed beaſts, making them male and female; and on the ſame day he formed *Man*. And thus, as *Moſes* ſaith, in theſe ſix days the world and all things therein were made. On the *Seventh Day* alſo, God is ſaid to have reſted, and to have ceaſed from his works. Aud on that day therefore we abſtain from labour, calling it *Sabbath*, which in the Hebrew language ſignifies *Reſt*.

But after this ſeventh day *Moſes* applies himſelf to interpreting nature, and begins with deſcribing thus the formation of *Man*. God made *Man* out of the ſlime of the earth, and put into him *Spirit* and *Life*; and this man was called *Adam*, which ſignifies in the Hebrew tongue, *RED*, becauſe he was made out of a red maſs; true and virgin earth being of that colour. God alſo brought one of every kind of animals, male and female, unto *Adam*, ſhewing him them; and unto theſe he gave thoſe names, by which they are ſtill called. Seeing alſo that *Adam* wanted the ſociety and company of a female, for there was no other animal that was without; but he being ſtricken with a deep ſleep, God taking out one of his ribs, made thereof a woman, who being brought unto *Adam*, he acknowledged her as part of himſelf. The Hebrew, in their dialect, call a woman *ISSA*, but the name of this woman was *EVEA*, which ſignifies the mother of all living.

He beſides informs us, that God had planted a garden eaſtward, in which flouriſhed every kind of plant; and amongſt theſe there was the *Tree* of *Life*, and another alſo *Knowledge*; by the means of which might be diſcover'd what was *Good* and what was *Evil*. Into this garden God having brought *Adam* and his wife, he commanded them to take care of the fruits thereof. Now this garden was water'd by one river, which ſurrounding its whole circumference, divided itſelf into four parts. *Phiſon*, which in its name ſignifies a *Multitude*, paſſing thro' *India* falls into the ſea, and by the *Greeks* is called *Ganges*. But *Euphrates* and *Tigris* run into the *Red Sea*. Now *Euphrates* was called *Phora*, which meaneth *Diſperſion*, or a *Flower*; and *Tigris*, *Diglath*, which is expounded *Narrow*, *Rapid*. *Geon*, laſtly, which runneth through *Ægypt*, in our language ſignifies, *riſing from the Eaſt*, and is called *Nilus*, of the *Greeks*.

God likewiſe commanded *Adam*, and the woman, to eat of all the other plants, but from the *Tree* of *Knowledge* to abſtain; forewarning them alſo, that whenſoever they touch'd thereof, *Death* ſhould come therefrom. Hitherto all creatures converſed together in the ſame tongue. The *Serpent* living with *Adam* and his wife familiarly, envy'd the felicity which they were to enjoy, while in obedience to God. Believing therefore that they would fall into ſome very great evil, if they ſwerved from that obedience, he maliciouſly perſuaded the woman to taſte of the *Tree* of *Knowledge*, telling her, in that lay the faculty of diſcerning between good and evil; of which, if they were once poſſeſſed, they ſhould lead lives not only in an happy, but even in a divine ſtate. By this pretence he ſeduced the woman, inſomuch that ſhe neglected the precept of God; and having taſted of the *Tree*, and being delighted with the fruit, ſhe perſuaded *Adam* alſo that he ſhould make uſe thereof. Now when they underſtood that hitherto they had been naked, and were confounded with their new-found ſenſe of ſhame, they began to look about for cloathing. The *Tree* being the cauſe of this their inſight and underſtanding. They covered themſelves therefore with fig-leaves, putting them before their nakedneſs, and fancied themſelves already the happier, ſince they had diſcovered ſomething of which they had a want. But when God came into the garden, *Adam*, who before was ready to diſcourſe with him, now out of conſciouſneſs hid himſelf. God thereupon examined into the cauſe of this change, and asked him, why he, who heretofore had been ſo well pleaſed with his preſence, now fled from and hid himſelf, through fear? But he, now ſenſible of his offence, anſwered not a word. Then ſaid God, "My deſign towards ye was, that ſhe ſhould live happily and " be free in all things from evil, that without " ſuffering care, or ſolicitude in your own " mind, all things requiſite, either for uſe or for " delight, ſhould have been provided for ye " by my providence, without labour or " miſery, by which old age cometh on, and " life ſhall not continue for a long ſpace, ſince " by the contempt of my commands ye have " loſt all title to thoſe bounties: neither " from virtue, but an evil conſcience, is it " that ye now hold your peace." Then *Adam* excuſed himſelf, and beſeeched God not to be offended with him, at the ſame time accuſing the woman, and ſaying, that again deceived by her, he had ſinn'd. The woman accuſed the *Serpent*. Then God thus puniſhed *Adam* for having yeilded to the counſels of the woman, ſaying the earth ſhall no more ſpontaneouſly bring forth fruit, but from much *Labour* and trouble ſhall it bear, and not that always neither, which thou expecteſt. He puniſhed *Eve* alſo, with the pains of *child-bearing*, for yeilding firſt to the temptations of the *Serpent*, and afterwards ſeducing *Adam*, which had involved them in all theſe calamities. From the *Serpent* likewiſe, he took away his uſe of *Speech*, ſince ſo maliciouſly and wickedly imployed againſt *Adam*, and put venom in his tongue, declaring enmity between him and human race, admoniſhing them to ſtrike his head, both becauſe therein lieth his power againſt man, and becauſe blows thereon are ſooneſt mortal. Depriving him alſo of his feet, he cauſed him to ſlide on the earth, and trail his body upon the ground. Having thus inflicted theſe puniſhments, he turned *Adam* and *Eve* thence into another place.

CHAP. II.

Of the Poſterity of Adam, *and the Ten Ages from him to the Flood.*

THERE were born unto *Adam* and *Eve* two ſons, the elder of which was called *Cain*; which word, if interpreted, ſignifies *Poſſeſſion*. But the name of the ſecond was *Abel*, that is, *Grief*. There were born to them alſo daughters. The brothers applied themſelves to different methods of living: the younger *Abel*, honour'd juſtice, and believing God beheld all he did, fix'd himſelf in a ſteady purſuit of virtue, and choſe to lead a ſolitary life in keeping ſheep.

But the other, *Cain*, was a moſt wicked flagitious perſon, and addicted himſelf wholly to acquiring gain. He firſt invented the art of tilling land, and ſlew his brother on this occaſion. Having agreed to offer ſacrifice to God, *Cain* offered of the produce of the ground and the fruits of the earth; but *Abel* immolated milk and the firſtlings of his flock. God was better pleaſed with the latter, as being ſpontaneous and according to nature, and therefore more properly ſacrificed to his honour than the former, which look'd like the produce of avarice, forc'd and extorted by the power of *Man*.

Hereupon *Cain* being enraged at the preference which God had given to his brother, ſlew him, and hid the body privately, in hopes it might be concealed. But this wicked act being known unto God, he enquired of *Cain* where his brother was, for that of ſeveral days he had not been ſeen, whereas formerly they uſed always to be together. *Cain* confounded in his mind, and not having wherewith to anſwer God, driven to a ſtrait; ſaid at firſt, that he himſelf had not ſeen him. But God queſtioning him yet more narrowly, he anſwered fiercely, that he was neither his brother's tutor or keeper, nor bound to take care of his affairs. Then God thought fit to charge him directly with the murder, "It is a wonder (*ſaid he to* " Cain) that thou can'ſt not tell what is become " of thy brother, when thou thy ſelf haſt ſlain " him." Thereupon *Cain* offering ſacrifice and beſeeching God to mitigate his puniſhment, he did not put him to death, but accurſing him and his poſterity unto the ſeventh generation, after he had pronounced this ſentence upon him, he drove him and his wife out of that region. But he, terrified with this judgment and fear, that while he thus wandered over the earth the wild beaſts ſhould fall upon him, and ſo he ſhould be ſlain: But God commanded him to lay aſide his ſorrow on that account, for the beaſts ſhould do him no hurt, in his travelling over the earth, which therefore he might do without fear; and having ſo ſaid, he commanded to be gone.

Cain and his wife having traverſed an immenſe ſpace of land, he at laſt built *Naid*, ſo is that city call'd; where having fix'd his habitation he begat children.

But far from being reformed by this chaſtiſement he grew ſtill worſe and more incorrigible, indulging himſelf in all luxurious delights and enjoyments, and injuring continually thoſe who held correſpondence with him on any occaſion, augmenting however his own private fortune exceſſively, by the ſpoils which he thus, by force and violence acquir'd, inviting alſo to him certain depraved and debauched perſons, he became, as it were, their chief, and ſo inſtituted this baſe ſort of life.

He alſo changed that ſimplicity, with which men lived in thoſe ancient times, by the invention of weights and meaſures; turning that innocency and greatneſs of mind, which during the ignorance of thoſe things, animated the breaſts of mankind, into fraud and craft.

He firſt incloſed lands, and built a city, which having ſurrounded with walls, he obliged all his family to live within its bounds.

This city he call'd *Anoch* (or *Enoch*) from his eldeſt ſon of that name. *Jared* was the ſon of *Anoch*, from whom deſcended *Maruel* (o *Mahalaleel*) whoſe ſon was *Methuſala*. *Methuſala* begot *Lamech*, who had ſeventy-ſeven ſons by two wives, *Sella* and *Ada*. Of theſe *Jobel*

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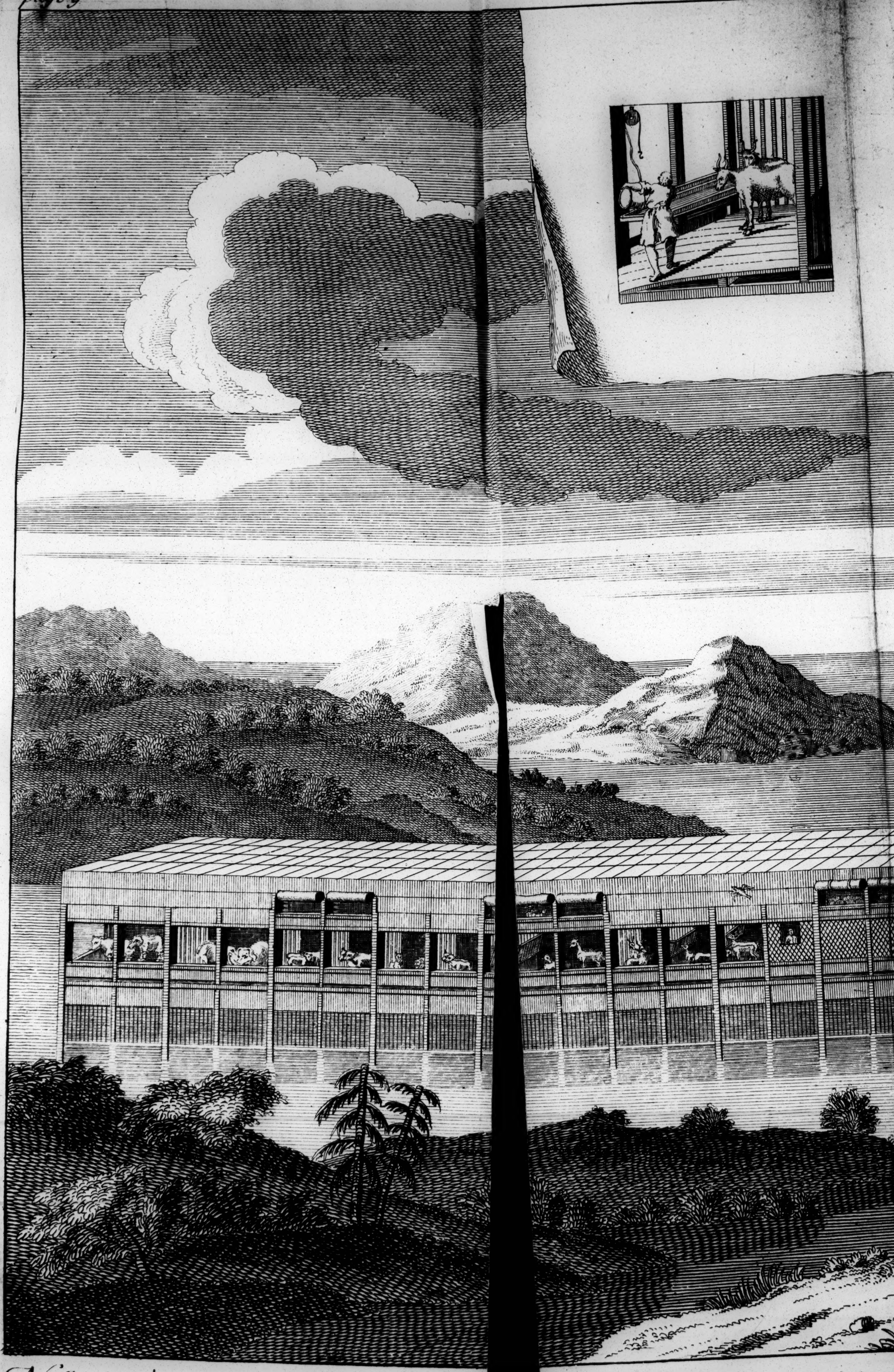
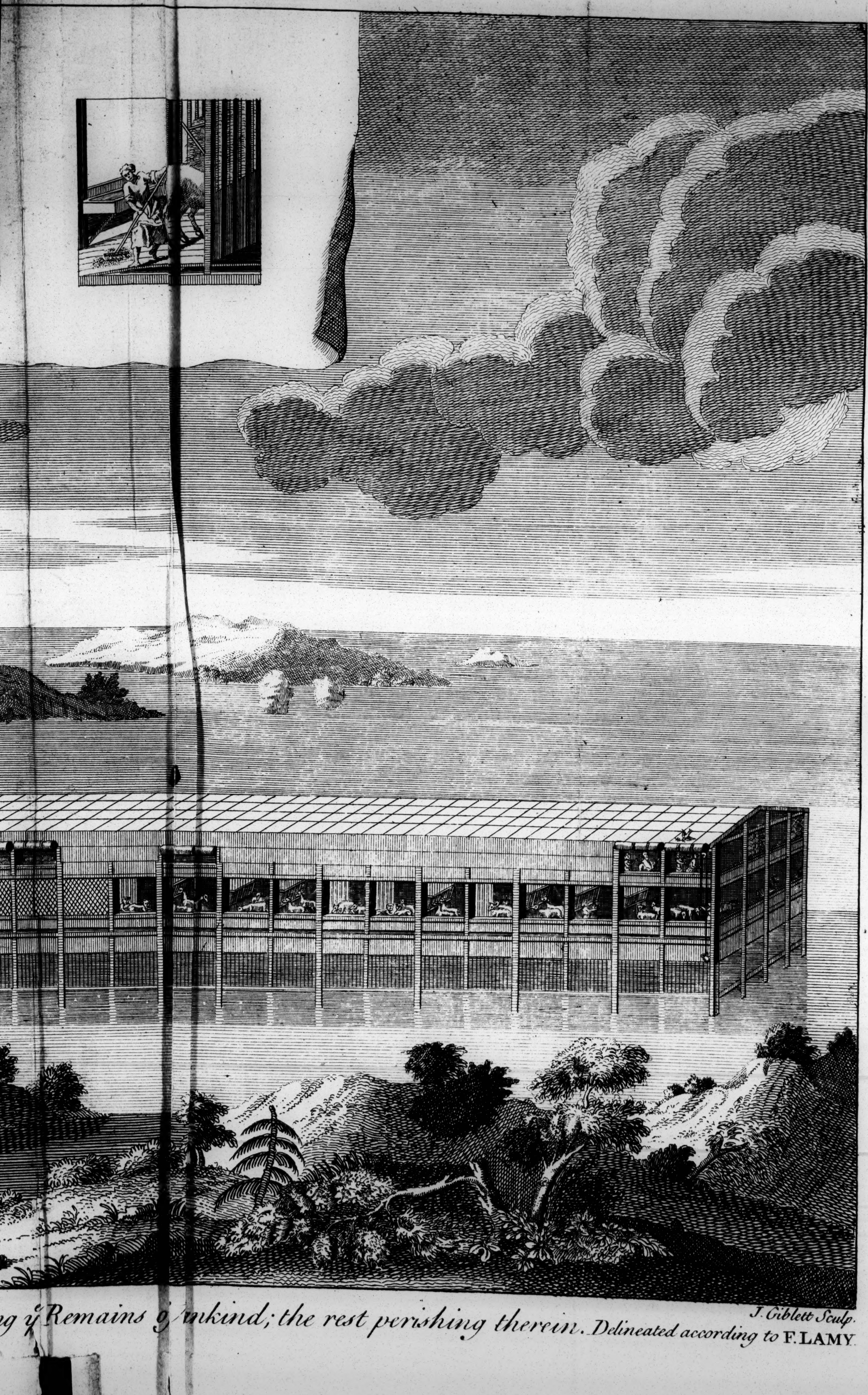


NOAH'S . ARK floating upon ye [illegible] Waters of ye Deluge, containing



J. Giblett Sculp.

g yᵉ Remains of mankind; the rest perishing therein. Delineated according to F. LAMY.

whom he had by *Ada*, was the firſt who made tents, and addicted himſelf ſolely to feeding of cattle. *Jubal* his brother applied himſelf to muſick, and was the inventor of the pſaltry and harp. *Thobel* (*Tubal*) the ſon of *Lamech* by his other wife, being very ſtrong in his perſon, became eminent from his skill in war, from whence he acquired riches, and was alſo the firſt who wrought in metals. *Lamech* was alſo father of a daughter, named *Naamus*. He being well verſed in divine knowledge, perceived that himſelf, as a deſcendant of *Cain*, was involved in the judgmens paſſed on him for the murder of his brother; and of this he apprized his two wives. Even in the life of *Adam*, the poſterity of *Cain* grew wicked and flagitious, and imitating one another, ſwell'd their crimes ſtill to a greater bulk, being naturally addicted to war and rapine. And in a word, if any came behind the reſt in cruelty and ſhedding blood, they were given however to ſpoiling their neighbours, and with a ſort of profligate madneſs, were continually offering injuries and outrages to all near them.

But *Adam*, who was firſt made out of the earth, (for our hiſtory requires that we ſpeak again of him) after *Abel* was ſlain, and *Cain*, for that murder, driven away, began to think of peopling the world. He grew thereupon vehemently deſirous of children, and being now two hundred and thirty years old, to which having added ſeven hundred years more, at length he died. He had, however, a numerous offspring, and amongſt theſe was *Seth*.

As it would carry my hiſtory into a great, and unneceſſary length, if I ſhould ſpeak of all theſe, ſo I ſhall confine myſelf only unto thoſe, who are deſcended from this *Seth*; who being educated carefully by his father, when he came to an age, in which he was able to diſtinguiſh good from evil, was a ſteady follower of virtue, and as he grew up a man, took the ſame care in the education of his deſcendants, who all kept unto the character of ſo excellent a father. For being perſons of fine parts, and great abilities, they not not only lived in the world happily, and quietly, none of them ever moleſting others, but alſo by their wiſdom, made great progreſs in the ſcience of aſtronomy, or knowledge of the heavenly bodies. They alſo, leſt men ſhould loſe the benefit of their inventions, having been foretold by *Adam*, that the world ſhould be twice deſtroyed, by water, and by fire, erected two pillars, one of brick, and another of ſtone, and engraved them upon each, with intent that if that of brick were carried away by the violence of the waters, the other of ſtone might yet preſerve the inſcription. This happened, as they had foreſeen, but the ſtone pillar remains in the land of *Syriad* to this day.

CHAP. III.

Of the Deluge; *of* Noah, *how he and his Family were preſerved in the* Ark, *and how he afterwards inhabited the Plain of* Sennaar.

IN this manner mankind lived for the ſpace of ſeven generations; acknowledging God to be the ſupream ruler of all things; and having a perfect regard to virtue in all their actions. But in proceſs of time they degenerated from the pious examples of their fathers, neglecting both the religious worſhip and honour they ought to have paid unto the Deity, and all the moral duties they owed to one another. And as they had before ſtudiouſly followed an honeſt and laudable courſe of life, they now, with double Induſtry, addicted themſelves to every ſort of wickedneſs, by which they juſtly drew the wrath of the Almighty. For the *Angels* of God having converſation with women, begat on them ſons, who truſting to the ſuperiority of their own ſtrength, over the reſt of mankind, injured and ſpoiled all who were near them; and in their outragious acts very much reſembled the *Giants*, mention'd by the *Greeks*. Now *Noah*, who was exceedingly troubled at the ſight of theſe things, reproved them for their offences, and earneſtly perſuaded them to a new and better courſe of life. But perceiving they gave no heed to his diſcourſes, and on the contrary were buried in their luſts, fearing they might kill him, he, with his wife, children, and thoſe who had married into his family, withdrew out of that land.

God therefore loved him for his juſtice, but became ſo incenſed againſt the whole race of mankind for their wickedneſs and total depravity, that he reſolved utterly to deſtroy them, and create a new people, of pure and undefiled minds: He ſhortned then the period of humane life, and confined it to the ſpace of one hundred and twenty years, afterwards turning the whole face of the earth into ſea, he thereby cut them univerſally off. *Noah* was alone preſerved, God inſtructing him in the contrivance of a veſſel for that purpoſe. He built an *Ark* of four ſtories, in length three hundred cubits, in breadth fifty, and in height thirty: Into which he, with his mother, his children, and thoſe whom they had married, went up, carrying alſo with him all things neceſſary and of every kind of animals, two and two, male and female, for preſerving their ſpecies; and of ſome kinds he carried ſeven. The ſides alſo of the *Ark* were made very ſtrong, and its roof carefully made tight, ſo that it might be in no danger of leaking, from the violence of the waters. And after this manner it was that *Noah* and his family were preſerved. *With reſpect to the generations between* Adam *and the* flood, *it ſtood thus: Noah* was the ſon of *Lamech*, who was begotten of *Methuſalah*, as he was of *Anoch*, the ſon of *Jared*, who with many other children deſcended from *Cain*, the ſon of *Enos*, which *Enos* was the ſon of *Seth*, the ſon of *Adam*.

Now this calamity fell out in the ſix hundredth year of *Noah*, in the ſecond month, which by the *Macedonians* is called *Dius*, by the *Hebrews*, *Maruſane*, according to the *Egyptian* method of dividing the years.

But *Moſes* calls it *Nyſan*, that is *Xanthius*, which he commanded ſhould in all eccleſiaſtick affairs, be accounted the firſt month, becauſe in that, he brought the children of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*; but with reſpect to buying and ſelling, and other civil affairs, he left the year to be reckoned after the ordinary courſe. For he reckons the vehemence of the waters to have begun pouring the twenty firſt of the aforeſaid month; and in the year two thouſand ſix hundred and fifty ſix, from the creation of *Adam*, the firſt man; as it is recorded in the ſacred books, wherein the ages of famous men are with great diligence preſerved, the date of their births, and of their deaths being exactly ſet down.

When *Adam* was two hundred thirty years old, his ſon *Seth* was born, and *Adam* lived until he was nine hundred thirty years of age. *Seth*, at two hundred five, begat *Enos*, and lived 'till he was nine hundred twelve years old. He left all to his ſon *Cainan*, whom he begat at a hundred ninety, who lived to nine hundred five. But *Cainan* lived to nine hundred ten, leaving a ſon *Malael*, whom he begat at a hundred ſeventy. This *Malael* when he had lived eight hundred ninety five years died, and left his ſon *Jared*, whom he begat at a hundred ſixty five years of age. Who after he had lived to nine hundred ſixty two years, was ſucceeded by his ſon *Anoch*, (or *Enoch*) who was born to him when he was a hundred ſixty two years old. Who when he had lived three hundred ſixty five years was taken of God, which is the reaſon his death is not any where ſet down. But *Anoch* (or *Enoch*) left a ſon *Methuſala*, whom he begat at one hundred ſixty five; and this *Methuſala* at the age of one hundred eighty ſeven, had a ſon *Lamech*, to whom he left that authority which he had held nine hundred ſixty nine years. Now this *Lamech* governed ſeven hundred ſeventy ſeven years, and left all to his ſon *Noah*, whom he had at the age of one hundred eighty two years, who held the power nine hundred and fifty years. All thoſe years collected into one ſum make up that exactly, which is before mentioned. Nor is there occaſion, in order to computation, to obſerve the time of each of their death, (ſince ſome of them lived very long with their deſcendants) but we need for that purpoſe, to regard the times of their births only.

Now when God had given the ſign, the rain began, and it continued for forty days, pouring down from heaven, until the earth was fifteen cubits under water, which was the cauſe of taking away all hope, ſince there was no place of ſafety left upon the earth. The rain ceaſing, the water in one hundred and fifty days decreaſed, until the ſeventh day of the ſeventh month. The *Ark* being then run aground, on a high hill in *Armenia*, *Noah* open'd a window, and perceiving certain pieces of dry land appear, he comforted himſelf therewith. A few days after, perceiving the water ſtill ſinking, he ſent out a *Crow*, in order to diſcover how far the flood had left the earth, and whether it was as yet ſafe for him to deſcend. But the *Crow* finding all places ſtill wet, returned again.

After ſeven days *Noah* let go a *Pidgeon*, in order to diſcover the ſtate of the earth, and ſhe returned unto him again, with her feet muddy, and an olive branch in her mouth, by which he knew that the earth was now freed from the *Deluge*.

Yet remaining ſeven days longer, he then diſmiſſed the animals out of the *Ark*; at laſt himſelf and his family alſo deſcended: And having firſt ſacrificed to God, afterwards eat and drunk themſelves. The *Armenians* call this place APOBATERION, *i. e.* the place of *coming out*, and the inhabitants thereabouts ſhew certain remains of the *Ark*, which have been preſerved there unto this day.

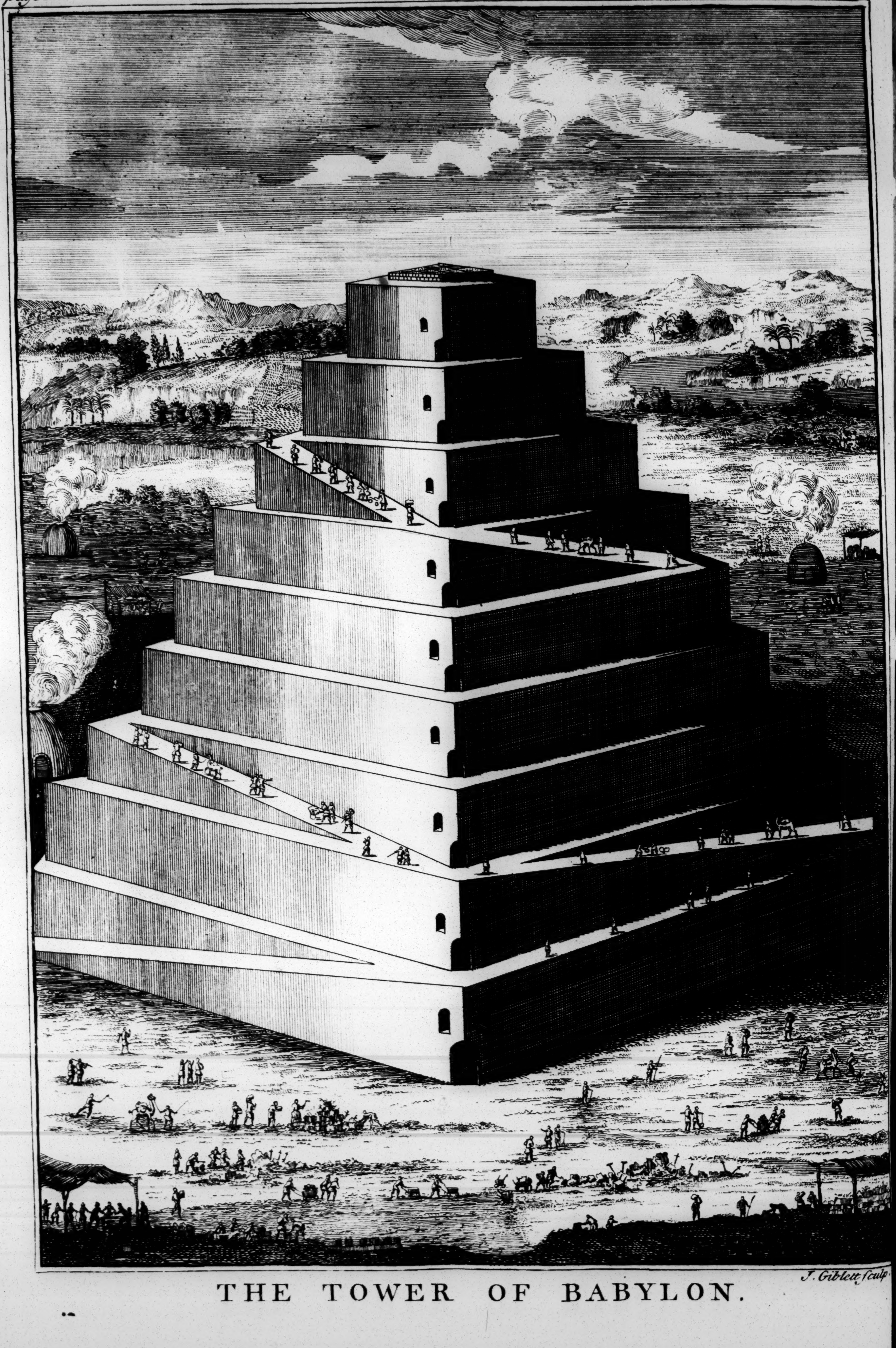
Now of this *Deluge*, and of the *Ark*, even the *Barbarians*, who have written hiſtory, make mention. Amongſt whom *Beroſus*, the *Chaldean*, ſpeaking of the flood, expreſſes himſelf thus: “It is ſaid, that part of this veſſel (the *Ark*) is ſtill to be ſeen in a mountain of the *Cordyæans* in *Armenia*; and of the *Bitumen*, with which it was caulked, they break pieces, accounting them *Amulets*; and carrying them about with them, hope they may avert evils.

Hieronymus, the *Egyptian*, alſo, who wrote of the antiquities of the *Phœnicians*, mentions theſe things; as doth *Manaſcas*, and many others.

But *Nicolas Damaſcene*, in his 96th book, ſpeaks of this event thus: “There is above *Minyas*, in *Armenia*, a certain very great mountain, call'd *Baris*, to which, in the time of the *Deluge*, many flying were there ſaved; and it is alſo ſaid, that a certain man was born thither in a veſſel, which ſtuck on the very top of the mountain; ſome pieces of the wood of which are remaining there to this day: And this is perhaps, he of whom *Moſes*, the *Legiſlator* of the *Jews*, wrote.

But *Noah*, grievouſly afraid that God had decreed the utter extirpation of mankind, and that for that purpoſe, he would bring on a yearly Flood, after offering ſacrifice to him, put up alſo his petitions, that the Almighty would, by his providence, preſerve things in their former order, never again afflicting men with the ſame puniſhment, or by a common calamity expoſe all things living to deſtruction: But having inflicted a due reward of their crimes, on the guilty, he would protect thoſe always whom for their piety, he had hitherto preſerved: And who would otherwiſe be in a worſe ſtate, than if they had periſhed with the reſt, ſince after being terrified with the ſight of one *Deluge*, they ſhould be reſerved only to be buried in another.

He alſo moſt humbly intreated the Deity, that accepting the ſacrifice he had offered to appeaſe him, he would turn away his wrath from the earth, that he and his poſterity applying themſelves to cultivate it, and build them cities, might happily enjoy the fruits of their labours; and that wanting none of thoſe good things, which men poſſeſſed before the



J. Giblett sculp.

THE TOWER OF BABYLON.

Deluge, they might live as long as formerly they did, and having reached the extremity of old age, they might die in the ſame manner as their fathers.

After *Noah* therefore had poured out his prayers before God, the Deity being pleaſed with the juſt heart of the man, granted all he had deſired, ſaying alſo, that thoſe who periſhed, died for their own wickedneſs, and not through his will. For that he did not grant them life on ſuch terms, ſince then it would have been better never to have been given, than to be thus taken away. “But by the multitude of their offences, they ſo ſinned (*ſaid the Almighty*) againſt the purity of my nature, that they compelled me thus to puniſh them. But for the time to come, I will never again ſo ſeverely puniſh, if thou intercededſt for them. For whatever tempeſts I may hereafter excite, they ſhall not again bring another flood upon the earth. But I command you alſo that you abſtain from killing one another, and keep yourſelves unſtained from blood, puniſhing thoſe who offend. All creatures alſo I give to your uſe, according to your wills, making you Lords over them, whether of the land or in the water, or which fly through the air, enjoyning ye only, that ye eat not their blood, for in that is their *Soul*. And as a pledge for my abating the edge of my vengeance, behold my *Bow* in the heaven, ſhall be a ſign unto ye,” (now with them the *Iris*, or *Rainbow*, is called *God's Bow*). And having thus ſpoken and promiſed, the *Almighty* went up again from *Noah*.

Noah lived three hundred and fifty years after the *Deluge*, and paſſed all that ſpace of time happily, and then died, at nine hundred and fifty years old. Whoever compares the length of theſe *Patriarchs* days, with the ſhort ſpace that now confines humane life, let him not therefore doubt of the truth thereof; for becauſe life is ſhort now, it does not follow that it could not be then long. For God was then a lover and friend to mankind: they were but lately formed by his hand; and their food and manner of living were better adapted to the preſerving ſtrength, and conſequently to longevity. Beſides, not only in regard to the ſtudy of piety, but alſo for bringing to perfection the ſciences of *Geometry* and *Aſtronomy*, which require a long ſpace of life to arrive at, we may ſuppoſe the Deity prolonged it unto thoſe. The *great Year*, with reſpect to the cæleſtial bodies, being accounted no leſs than ſix hundred years.

In this alſo, I am ſupported by the concurring teſtimonies of all the antient hiſtorians, whether *Greeks*, or even of the *barbarous Nations*. For both *Manetho*, who wrote the *Ægyptian* hiſtory; and *Beroſus*, who compoſed that of the *Chaldeans*; and *Mochus* and *Heſtiæus*, and beſide them *Hieronymus* the *Ægyptian*, who wrote of the affairs of *Phænicia*, all agree in aſſerting this point. *Heſiod* alſo, and *Hecatæus*, *Hellanicus*, *Acuſilaus*, *Ephorus*, and *Nicolaus*, aver the antients lived to the age of one thouſand years. Yet, after all, my readers are at liberty *to judge* in this, as they ſee beſt cauſe.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Tower of Babylon, *and Confuſion of Tongues.*

NOAH had three ſons *Sem*, *Japhet*, and *Cham*, who were born an hundred Years before the flood; they were the firſt who deſcending from the hills to the plains, there ſettled their habitation; upon which others, who before dwelt in the *Hills*, out of fear of the *Deluge*, and were remiſs in leaving the ſanctuary, whether they had had recouſe for ſhelter; at laſt, encourag'd by their example, came down alſo, and joyned them: and the plain in which they firſt dwelt, was called *Sennaar*.

God now commanding them, from the vaſt increaſe of mankind, to ſpread themſelves abroad, and plant colonies, as well to prevent quarrels, as that a larger part of the earth might be cultivated, and men reap the greater profit from its *Fruit*. But they, a ſet of rude and ignorant people, refuſed to yield obedience to his mandate, by which they drew upon themſelves great calamities, ſuffering thereby, what they juſtly merited from their daring offence. Flouriſhing ſtill, and the multitude of their youth continually increaſing, God again councelled them that they ſhould draw out *Colonies*; but they fooliſhly believing, that they owed whatever they poſſeſs'd, to their ſtrength, and ſtrict union amongſt themſelves, and in no ſort to the good-will or benefice of their Creator, peremptorily denied to go. And becauſe this command was ſo much contrary to their inclination, they conceited that God intended by this compelling them to go forth in colonies, to deſtroy them all, when they were ſeparated, and far from one another.

Nimrod (or as the *Greek* hath it *Nebrod*) the ſon of *Cham*, the ſon of *Noah*, perſuaded them to thus contumeliouſly treating the divine Majeſty; he was a perſon celebrated for his valour; bold and enterprizing in his behaviour, and who poſſeſs'd the people with an opinion, that they were to rely on themſelves, their own power and wiſdom, for their felicity, and not at all on the divine Providence.

By this method he firſt ſet up a tyranny, for conſidering, there was no way to induce men to turn their backs on heaven, but by gaining them to a firm hope and entire confidence in him as a *Protector*, he inſtill'd it into their minds, that God yet determining to cut them off, had reſolved to bring over the earth a new *Deluge*, but from this he undertook to defend them by erecting a tower of too great a height to be overflowed by the water, wherein they might brave the fury of the flood, and perhaps revenge the death of their anceſtors.

The ill-judging multitude, eaſily liſtned to the propoſitions of *Nimrod*, and began to think it a mean and deſpicable thing, to reverence and obey God; and thereupon applying themſelves aſſiduouſly, and without ceaſing, to this their new concerted project of building a tower.

The vaſt numbers of hands employ'd in this work, made it go on quicker than even themſelves had hoped, and it now roſe higher and higher daily: But at the ſame time they, in order to make it ſtrong, built it ſo immenſely thick that to the eye of the ſpectators, much of its height was taken off. In its building alſo great care was taken, to cauſe its ſides of burnt brick to be made ſtrong and tight with bitumen, that the water, if it ſhould ſurround it, might find no place whereat to enter. God ſaw and was diſpleaſed with their madneſs, yet would he not cut them totally off, though they had improved ſo little from the dreadful judgment which fell upon the former place; but by changing their language brought diſcord amongſt them, one not being able to underſtand what the other ſaid.

Now the place where this tower was built, from the confuſion of tongues, which firſt happened there, is called *Babylon*, for the *Hebrews*, in their language, call *Confuſion Babel*. But as to this tower, and this confuſion of languages, the *Sibyl* ſpeaks thus:

“ At the time when all men ſpake the ſame language, they began to build an high tower, which they erected, as if from thence they had intended to ſcale heaven. But the gods letting looſe the winds upon them, overturned their ſtructure, and giving thereupon to each their particular tongue, by that totally ruined their deſign, from whence the name of the place was called *Babylon*.

And as to this plain of *Sennaur*, that it lies within the juriſdiction of *Babylon* is proved by this paſſage, in the hiſtorian *Hiſtræus*, viz. “ The prieſts who eſcaped from the general calamity, taking the ſacred things belonging to *Jupiter (Enyallius)* or *Victor* came unto *Sennaur* in *Babylon*.

CHAP. V.

How the Poſterity of Noah *diſperſed themſelves over the Earth.*

HEnceforward therefore, they diſperſed themſelves, and went forth in colonies, by reaſon of their different languages, going into every part of the earth, as they were directed by the providence of God, ſo that not only the ſhores, but the inland parts alſo of the land were fully peopled. Some alſo tranſporting themſelves in veſſels, inhabited the iſlands; and there are even yet remaining nations, which bear the name of their founders, others indeed have left them; and ſome again for the ſake of being eaſier underſtood, have altered them a little. Theſe latter owe their denomination to the *Greeks*, who having of late grown to great power, affected to make ſuch alterations, mightily out of hopes that the derivation of thoſe names being evident, they might be taken for their deſcendants.

CHAP. VI.

Of thoſe Nations bearing the Names of their Founders.

NOW the ſons of *Noah*, had children born unto them, in whoſe honour, the nations each planted, bore his name. Thus *Japhet* the ſon of *Noah*, had ſeven ſons. Theſe poſſeſſed all the country, beginning from the mountains *Taurus* and *Amanus*, and extending in *Aſia*, unto the river *Tanais*, in *Europe*, even to *Gades*, cultivating and improving all the territory, in that ſpace, which was uninhabited, and conferring their names on ſuch places as they planted.

For thoſe whom the *Greeks* at this day call *Galatians*, were of old called *Gormorites*, and were the deſcendants of *Gomar*; *Magog* alſo conducted that colony, anciently from his name, called *Magogæ*, and by the *Greeks Scythians*, from the two ſons of *Japhet Jovan*, and *Madus*, viz. from *Madus* the *Mudæans*, whom the *Greeks* call *Medes*, were derived; and from *Jovan* the *Ionians*, and all the other *Greeks* in general are deſcended. *Thobelus* beſtowed a name on the people he planted, who in our age are called the *Iberi (Spaniards)*. The *Moſchenians* too, took their name from *Moſoch*, and are the ſame we now call the *Capadocians*, who retain however ſome footſteps of their ancient name, in that of one of their Cities *Mazaca*, whence in old times it is probable all the country had the ſame name. *Thiras* again gave name to the *Thirians*, whom the *Greeks*, by a ſmall alteration, call *Thracians*; and theſe are the ſeveral nations planted by the ſons of *Japhet*.

Now *Gomar* had three ſons, *Aſchanaxus*, from whom came the *Aſchanaxians*, now called *Rheginians*, by the *Greeks*, *Rhiphathes*, founded the *Rhiphatheans*: whoſe modern appellation is *Paphlagonians* and *Thygrammes*, planted the *Thygrammæans*, now by the *Greeks* ſtiled *Phrygians*.

From *Javan*, the ſon of *Japhet*, ſprung three ſons, *Elyſus*, who conferr'd his name on the *Elyſæans*, of whom he was prince, and who are now called *Æolians*. *Tharſus* alſo founded the *Tharſians*, ſince called *Cilicians*, the chief city of which called *Tarſus*, by an eaſy mutation of *Theta* into *Tau*, plainly points out its ancient name. *Chethimus* alſo gave denomination

tion to the iſland *Chethyma*, which is now called *Cyprus*, and from which the *Hebrews* call not only all iſlands, but all ſea-coaſts alſo *Chethim*. What I ſay is verified from the name of one of the cities in that iſland, which remains yet the ſame; thoſe who pronounce after the *Greek* method call it *Citium*, which yet doth not differ much therefrom. Theſe leſſer nations were founded by the deſcendants of *Japhet*. But I will here note one thing, which perhaps may be new even to the *Greeks* themſelves, and then proceed in my narration. The *Greeks*, for the ſake of gracefulneſs in the words, change the termination of their proper names, whereas we keep them always exactly alike, and as they make uſe of *Nous*, ſo we conſtantly retain *Noe*, without alteration.

The ſons of *Cham* ſettled themſelves in *Syria*, from mount *Amanus* and *Lybanus*, even unto the ſea-coaſts, beſtowing upon all places within the limit of their dominions, names as they themſelves thought proper, but which have been ſince ſo changed and altered, that they are now ſcarce to be found in thoſe which have ſince then prevailed. However ſome of the old ones yet remain in uſe, but not many. Of the four ſons of *Cham*, the eldeſt *Chus* founded the *Ethiopian* nation, who, notwithſtanding all the alterations which have ſince happen'd, are by themſelves, and the other *Aſiaticks*, ſtill called *Chuſites*, or *Chuſæans*, to this day. The *Maſtræans*, alſo retain their ancient denomination, *Ægypt* being even 'till now called *Meſtren*, and all who inhabited it *Meſtræans*. So in the ſame manner *Phutus*, who conducted firſt a colony into *Lybia*, acquired the name and honour of a founder, by leaving the appellation of *Phuti*, or *Phutians*, with the nation he ſettled there. There remains in the country of the *Moors* to this time, a river ſtill retaining this name; and we meet with many of the *Greek* hiſtorians who mention this river, and alſo the country round it by the name of *Phute*; but as to its modern one, it derives it from *Libys*, the ſon of *Meſtraim*. We ſhall ſhew hereafter how it came by the name of *Africa*. The country of *Canaan* derived its name from *Chanaan*, the fourth ſon of *Cham* and is the ſame which we now call *Judæa*.

All the ſons of *Cham* had alſo iſſue, *Chus* for inſtance had ſix Sons, *Sabas* the father of the *Sabæans*; *Evilas*, from whom deſcended the *Evilæans*, now called the *Galatians*; *Sabathes*, from whom ſprung the *Sabatheans*, by the *Greeks* call the *Aſtrabarians*; *Sabactus* who founded the *Sabactenians*; *Ramus*, who founded the *Ramæans*, and had two Sons, *Judadas* and *Sabas*, the firſt of which gave his name to the *Judadæans* in the weſtern part of *Ethiopia*, and the former conferring his on the *Sabæans*. But *Nimrod*, the ſon of *Chus*, ſtill remained in the country of *Babylon*, where he ſet up a tyranny over the people, as I have before related.

Meſtraim however had eight ſons, who ſeized and poſſeſſed themſelves of all the country between *Caza* and *Ægypt*, of whom the *Philiſtines* only retain the antient denomination left by their anceſtors, which by the *Greeks* is called *Palaſtine*. For the reſt, *viz. Ludiemus*, *Enenimus*, *Nethidemus*, *Phethroſim*, *Cheſlem*, *Chephthorim*, and *Lubim* (who lead the colony of the *Lydians*) we know very little. None of the names remaining to thoſe cities they founded, which were overthrown, as I ſhall afterwards relate, in the *Æthiopian* war.

Chanaan again was the father of eleven ſons, of which *Sidonius* left his name to the city he founded, and which is even by the *Greeks* called *Sidon* to this day. *Amathius* did the ſame to the city *Amathine*, which he built, and which (by its inhabitants) is called *Amathe* ſtill. Altho' the *Macedonians*, in honour of one of the ſucceſſors of *Alexander*, called it *Epiphania*. *Arudæus* planted the Iſland *Aradaw*; and *Arucæus* built the town *Arce*, ſituated on *Libanus*. As for the other ſeven, *Euæus*, *Chetæus*, *Jebuſæus*, *Ammoræus*, *Gergæſæus*, *Eudæus*, *Sinæus*, and *Samaræus*, of them nothing more than their names remains in the ſacred Hiſtory, the *Hebrews* having razed all their cities for the reaſons following.

Noah after the flood, upon his ſettling in the country, addicted himſelf to planting and cultivating whatſoever was neceſſary for uſe, having dreſſed and attended the vines, which he reared until ſuch Time as the fruit of them was ripe, he preſſed it, and prepared the juice for wine, of which having ſacrificed the firſt fruits, he then drank thereof himſelf. By which being inebriated, he fell into a deep ſleep, and lay therein with his Nakedneſs bare, in a manner very ſhameful and unſeemly.

His youngeſt Son ſeeing him in this condition, called out to his brothers to come and make ſport with him; but they, touched with filial reverence, covered their naked parent. When *Noah* therefore came to himſelf, and to the knowledge of theſe things, he bleſſed thoſe dutiful ſons, and tho' he did not curſe *Cham* in his perſon, yet he imprecated the moſt dreadful miſeries upon his offspring. This happened accordingly, the divine vengeance following the poſterity of *Cham*. As ſhall be ſhewn hereafter.

Sem, the third ſon of *Noah*, had five ſons, who from *Euphrates* to the *Indian* ocean, inhabited all *Aſia*. From *Elamus* came the *Elamæans*, from whom the *Perſians* are deſcended. *Aſturos* built the city of *Niniveh*, and left his name to the *Aſſyrians*, his people, who roſe afterwards to a moſt potent empire. *Arphaxad* beſtowed his name on thoſe whom we call the *Chaldeans*, over whom he was prince. From *Arum* came the *Aramæans*, whom the *Greeks* call now *Syrians*. As thoſe were of old called *Ludians*, we now ſtile *Lydians*, from *Ludas* their firſt captain.

Aram had four ſons, one of thoſe *Uz*, founded *Trachonitis* and *Damaſcus*, which lies between *Palaſtine* and *Colo-Syria*. *Armenia* was poſſeſſed by *Ul*. *Gather* had *Bactria*, and *Meſas*, who gave name to the *Maſenœans*, called now, as of *Spuſinus*, *Churax* by *Fyus*.

From *Arphaxad* deſcended *Salas*, and from him *Heber*, from whom the *Jews* were originally called *Hebrews*. *Heber* had two ſons *Joctan* and *Phalec*. The latter was *Phalec*, from the diviſion of the lands, for *Phalec* in the *Hebrew* Tongue ſignifies Partition. Now the ſons of *Joctan*, the ſon of *Heber*, were theſe, *Elmodadus*, *Salephus*, *Azermothes*, Ezaes, *Edoramus*, *Ezelus*, *Declas*, *Ebal*, *Abimael*, *Sabeus*, *Ophieres*, *Evilates*, *Jobab*. Theſe poſſeſs all the Territory from *Cophone* a river in *India*, unto the region *Aria*; and theſe are the Generations of *Sem*.

Let us now then carry on our diſcourſe to the *Hebrews*; from *Phalec* the ſon of *Heber* deſcended *Ragaus*, from whom came *Serug*, whoſe Son was *Nachor*, who begat *Tharres*, who was the father of *Abram* the tenth in deſcent from *Noah*, and this *Cram* was born in the two hundred and ninety ſecond year from the deluge.

Now *Tharres* was ſeventy years old when he had *Abram*; *Nachor* a hundred and twenty when he begat *Tharres*, and *Serug* about the hundred thirty ſecond year when he begat *Nachor*; *Ragaus* one hundred and thirty when he had *Serug*, and *Phalec* about the ſame age when he had *Ragaus*. *Heber* was one hundred thiry and four when he begat *Phalec*; *Salas* one hundred thirty when he had *Heber*; *Salas* was born in the hundred thirty fifth year of his Father *Arphaxad*, who was begotten about twelve years after the deluge by *Sem*.

Abram had two brothers, *Nachor* and *Aran*, of whom *Aran* leaving behind him *Lot* and two daughters, *Sarah* and *Melcha* died in *Chaldea*, in a City called *Ur*, of the *Chaldees*, where his ſepulchre is yet ſhewn. His kinſmen married his two daughters, *Nachor* taking *Melcha*, and *Abram Sarah*.

Tharres took ſo deep an averſion to the whole country of *Chaldæa*, from the grief he ſuffered there for the death of *Aran*, that no longer able to abide in it, he tranſported himſelf and all his family unto *Charran* in *Meſopotamia*, where he died, and was buried in his hundred and fifth year: For now the age of man began to be ſhortened, unto the days of *Moſes*, who liv'd unto one hundred and twenty, and from thence it was ſuppoſed that became the ſtandard of life.

Nachor by his Wife *Melcha* had eight ſons, *Uz*, *Paux*, *Camuel*, *Chazad*, *Azaus*, *Phildas*, *Sadelphas*, *Bethuel*. Theſe were the legitimate ſons of *Nachor*, for *Tabaus* and *Gaamus*, and *Tavaus*, and *Machas*, were thoſe he had by his concubine *Rama*. *Bethuel* the legitimate ſon of *Nachor*, had a daughter, *Rebecca*, and a ſon, *Laban*.

CHAP. VII.

How Abram, *the Founder of our Nation, quitted the Land of* Chaldæa, *and went and inhabited in the Land of* Chanaan, *which we now call* Judæa.

ABRAM adopted *Lot*, his brothers ſon, and who was himſelf alſo brother to his wife *Sarah*, having little hope of lawful iſſue ſpringing from his own loins. He was now ſeventy-five, when, at the command of the Almighty, he went forth into *Chanaan* from *Chaldæa*, in the former of which countries he not only lived happily, but left it to his poſterity. He was hmſelf a man of deep underſtanding, had a wonderful perſuaſive force in his oratory, and ſo piercing a judgment that hardly ever miſſed in any of his conjectures.

Having by his knowledge and extraordinary virtue raiſed himſelf to a ſuperiority in the eyes of all men, he made uſe of it to overturn the unworthy notions in thoſe days eagerly received of the Deity, and to reſtore mankind to a better way of thinking. He was the firſt who taught openly that there was one God, the Creator of all things; to whoſe Providence alone is owing whatever good thing we enjoy, and not in any degree to a power or capacity in ourſelves. And he defended and enforced this opinion upon others, by arguing from the things which are found in the earth, and in the ſea, the influences of the ſun and moon, and all the courſes of the heavenly bodies.

" For (ſaid he) if theſe things had any power or knowledge in themſelves, they would ſerve themſelves; the contrary of which is evident. Since then in their own Nature, they were inapt and incapable to do us good, certainly they do it as they are guided by a ſuperior power, to whom only therefore we are bound in gratitude and duty to aſcribe glory, and to return thanks.'

Now becauſe the inhabitants of *Chaldæa* and *Meſopotamia* roſe ſeditiouſly againſt him for propagating theſe doctrines, he thought it convenient, God alſo adviſing and aſſiſting him, to remove from thence into the Country of *Chanaan*, where, when he had once ſettled himſelf, he built an alter, and offered ſacrifice thereon to God.

Beroſus mentions this our anceſtor in his hiſtory, though not expreſly by name, in theſe words; ' In the tenth age after the flood, there lived amongſt the *Chaldæans*, a man of extraordinary worth and juſtice, and who was exceedingly well verſed in *Cœleſtial Knowledge*.' *Hecatæus* does not only mention him in his works, but has alſo left an expreſs Treatiſe concerning his Actions: And *Nicolas* of *Damaſcus*, in his fourth book of his hiſtory, mentions him in theſe words: ' *Abram* reigned in *Damaſcus* whither with his forces he came from the country of the *Chaldæans*, which lies above *Babylon*; but the people in a ſhort time riſing againſt him, he left *Damaſcus*, and retired with his own people into the land of *Chanaan*, now called *Judæa*, where he ſettled, and left a numerous Poſterity, whoſe hiſtory I ſhall proſecute in another book.' The name alſo of *Abram* is ſtill famous at *Damaſcus*, near which they yet ſhew a village which bears the name of *Abram*'s habitation.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

On a Famine oppreſſing the Land of Chanaan, Abram *undertakes a Journey into* Ægypt, *where, after a long ſtay, he at laſt returns.*

AFTER theſe things, it happened that a famine ſorely oppreſſing *Canaan*; *Abram* hearing of the happineſs in which they lived in *Ægypt*, reſolved in his mind to go thither, as well in order to ſharing the plenty with which they abounded, as to converſe with their prieſts on the opinions they had of God; reſolving, if he found them more reaſonable than his own, to follow them, and if they did not, to labour the bringing them over to his.

Leading his wife *Sarah* with him into *Ægypt*, fearing the natural incontinency of that people, and that their king, for the ſake of his wife's beauty, might kill him, he bethought himſelf of this device for his ſecurity; he pretended that he was only her brother, and charged her to anſwer accordingly if ſhe ſhould be asked. Now, they no ſooner entred *Ægypt*, but all that *Abram* had ſuſpected came to paſs; for the noiſe of his wife's beauty flying throughout all the country, it came at laſt to the Ears of *Pharaoh* their king, who was not only eager to ſee, but upon ſeeing, became as vehemently deſirous of poſſeſſing her. But God hindered that prince from perpetrating his intended crime, both by afflicting him with a plague, and ſuffering a ſeditious humour to ſpread among his ſubjects; whereupon conſulting his prieſts what crime it was for which he was then puniſhed, and how he might appeaſe the anger of the Deity, they returned him anſwer, that he was puniſhed for intending to violate the wife of a ſtranger. Terrified therewith, he immediately examined *Sarah* both who ſhe was, and who the man was that came with her. She told him thereupon the whole truth, and he excuſed himſelf upon it to *Abram*, telling him, that as he took her only for his ſiſter, he intended an honourable alliance with him, and by no means thought of violating the laws of hoſpitality by his luſt. Beſides which, he made him large Preſents, and introducing him to the acquaintance of the moſt learned in the kingdom, this, and the deſerved luſtre of his virtue, raiſed his reputation very high.

Now the *Ægyptians* delighting in variety of opinions, and differing from one another in rites and ceremonies, and yet hating and bearing enmity towards others from theſe differences, he, upon converſing with them, and examining the grounds of their ſentiments, demonſtrated all they received to be idle, vain, and without the leaſt foundation in truth. Theſe diſcourſes procured him the higheſt veneration, as a man of a prodigious erudition, who had not only a perfect faculty at diſcerning himſelf, but alſo a moſt perſuaſive method of inſtructing others. *Abram* alſo firſt taught the *Ægyptians* arithmetick, and the knowledge of the ſtars, ſciences in which they had no skill, until thus brought them from *Chaldæa*, and were from *Ægypt* carried into *Greece*.

Now after his return into *Canaan*, he divided the land with *Lot*, their ſhepherds having differed about paſture, allowing unto *Lot* the firſt choice, and contenting himſelf with what the other left. Then *Abram* ſettled himſelf amongſt the neighbouring mountains, near *Chabron* (or *Hebron*) a Town of about ſeven years older date than that of *Tanis* in *Ægypt*. But *Lot* planted himſelf in the plain, on the ſide of the river *Jordan*, not far from the city of the *Sodomites*, which then enjoyed whatever was deſirable, tho' now, by incurring the wrath of God, totally deſtroyed. The cauſes of which ſhall be hereafter related.

CHAP. IX.

The Defeat and Slaughter of the Sodomites *by the* Aſſyrians.

AT that time the *Aſſyrians* held the empire of *Aſia*, and the *Sodomites* were ſo flouriſhing and populous a nation, that they had no leſs than five kings who governed them, *viz.* *Ballas*, *Barſas*, *Senabares*, *Symoberus*, and the king of the *Ballenians*, each of which had his diſtinct territory to himſelf.

But the *Aſſyrians* making war upon them, entred their country with four ſtrong bodies, each commanded by an able Captain. Things quickly drawing to a deciſion by a battle, the *Aſſyrians* totally vanquiſhed the *Sodomites*, and their five kings became tributaries from thence. Having for twelve years well and faithfully paid the aſſeſſed fine, in the thirteenth they rebelled, and refuſed it; upon which the *Aſſyrians* raiſing a great army againſt them, under *Amraphel*, *Ariuch*, *Chodollamor* and *Thadat*, with theſe they ravaged all *Syria*, and overcame the ſons of the giants.

Coming at length into the land of *Sodom*, they encamped in a valley which received its denomination from the *Bitumen* pits, with which all that country abounded, untill the deſtruction of *Sodom*, when the plain was turned into a great lake, called the lake *Alphaltitis*; of which we ſhall ſpeak more preſently. The battle between the *Sodomites* and the *Aſſyrians* was long and ſharply fought; but at laſt great numbers of the *Sodomites* being already ſlain, the reſt were taken priſoners, and amongſt them *Lot*, who came to fight on their ſide.

CHAP. X.

How Abram *engaged the* Aſſyrians, *and having defeated them recovered the Captives taken of the* Sodomites, *and the reſt of the Prey.*

ABRAM on the hearing this news, was very much moved both with tenderneſs for the miſfortune of his kinſman *Lot*, and concern for that calamity which had fallen upon his neighbours the *Sodomites*. Weighing it therefore for a ſhort ſpace in his mind, he then determined to aſſiſt them, preparing his ſervants and dependants immediately, he purſued the *Aſſyrians*, and overtaking them the fifth night at *Dan*, one of the ſpring heads of *Jordan*, fell upon them ſuddenly; in the condition they were in half unarm'd, oppreſſed with ſleep, and little thinking of a battle, thoſe who were awake ſo aſtoniſh'd, as being unable to fight, they betook themſelves immediately to running away.

Abram proſecuted his advantage effectually, and having ſlain a great number, he purſued them the next day into *Heba* of *Damaſcus*; which plainly demonſtrates, that victory does not ariſe from the multitude, but from the courage and alacrity of thoſe who engage; as in this caſe, where with three hundred and twenty of his own family, and the aid of three auxiliary friends, he defeated ſo great an army, and that ſo totally, that thoſe few who eſcaped, retired into their own country, cover'd with ſhame and diſgrace.

Abram having recovered all the *Sodomites*, who were taken by the *Aſſyrians*, and retaken his kinſman *Lot*, returned in peace. But the king of *Sodom* coming forth to meet him at the *Valley Royal*, *Melchiſedech* alſo, king of *Solyma*, ſince called *Jeruſalem*, met him there likewiſe. His name ſignifies a juſt king, and ſo ſurely he was, ſince by univerſal conſent he was appointed to the ſacred character of a prieſt unto God. This *Melchiſedech* entertained the ſoldiers of *Abram* with great hoſpitality, and courteouſly furniſh'd them with every thing neceſſary unto human life, extolling at his feaſt the bravery of *Abram*, and giving glory unto the moſt high God, who had put his enemies into his hand. On the other hand, *Abram* preſented unto him the tenth of all the ſpoils which he had taken from the *Aſſyrians*, which he receiv'd at his hands. As for the king of *Sodom* he entreated *Abram* to retain the booty he had taken, wholly to his own uſe, deſiring only to have his ſubjects again, whom he had delivered from their captivity. *Abram* abſolutely refuſed thoſe conditions, declaring he would make no advantage to himſelf of what he had gained, but only retain ſo much as might ſubſiſt his ſervants, and reward his friends who had engaged in the battle, whoſe names were *Eſcholes*, *Ennerus*, and *Mabres*.

God regarding the virtue and magnanimity of *Abram*, ſaid unto him, *Thou ſhalt not want the reward of thy deſerts which are ſo great*, To whom *Adam* anſwered, *What reward canſt thou give hereafter to him who hath no poſterity?* (for *Abram*, was as yet without iſſue.) But God not only promiſed him a ſon, but added alſo, that his offspring ſhould be numerous as the ſtars of heaven. And he, after he had received this promiſe, offered ſacrifice unto Almighty God, taking for that purpoſe an *Heifer* of three years old, a *Goat* of three years old, and a *Ram* likewiſe of the ſame age, together with a *Turtle* and a *Pidgeon*, according as he had been commanded by God, cutting them aſunder in the middle, only the birds he did not cut aſunder. Afterwards, when he had erected an altar, and the birds came about, led by the ſtream of the blood, a voice from above was heard, which prophecy'd that the poſterity of *Abram* ſhould ſuffer for forty years bondage in *Egypt*; after which time of ſore oppreſſion, they ſhould go forth from amongſt their enemies, and ſhould drive out the *Chananites* from the lands which they now held, and poſſeſs their cities.

Now *Abram* reſided near the *Oak*, called *Ogyges*, (which is a place in the land of *Chanaan*, not far from the city of *Hebron*) and lived very uneaſily at the conſideration of his wife's barrenneſs, tho' he was continually begging the Almighty for male iſſue. God, however, encouraged him, and exhorted him to hope, with aſſurance for all thoſe good things which he had promiſed him, at his going out of *Meſopotamia*, and that children ſhould not be wanting.

Sarah alſo, by the command of God, took *Agar* an *Ægyptian* by birth, to be her hand-maiden, who was taken by him to his bed, that he might have children. But when this handmaid thought herſelf better than her miſtreſs, on her being pregnant, and ſuppoſing her child would ſucceed to the poſſeſſion of all. *Abram* therefore deliver'd her unto *Sarah* to be puniſhed, who compelling her to flie, ſhe beſought the Lord to have pity upon her. As ſhe travelled in the wilderneſs, the angel of the Lord became viſible unto her, who exhorted her to return back again, and aſſured her that if ſhe behaved herſelf modeſtly, and with humility, ſhe would be well received, all her miſeries having fallen juſtly upon her for her inſolent arrogance to her miſtreſs: Telling her alſo that if ſhe obey'd not now the command of God, ſhe ſhould periſh; but if ſhe returned, ſhe ſhould bring forth a ſon who ſhould be lord of that Country where ſhe then dwelt. She yielded obedience to the commands of God, and returning, all things followed as had been promiſed her; for not long after ſhe brought forth *Iſhmael*, which is as much as to ſay *Heard of the Lord*; becauſe God had hearkened to her Prayers.

Now *Abram* was eighty and ſix years old when this ſon was born unto him; but in the 99th year, the Lord promiſed him that he ſhould have a ſon by *Sarah*; charging him alſo that he ſhould call his name *Iſaac*, pronouncing alſo, that from him ſhould deſcend a race of mighty kings, who ſhould conquer the whole country of *Chanaan*, from *Sidon* unto *Ægypt*. Commanding him alſo to circumciſe every male of his family on the eighth day, that they might not mingle with other nations. But of our circumciſion I ſhall declare another cauſe. *Abram* alſo conſulted God concerning *Iſmael*, whether he ſhould live? and God anſwered he ſhould; and that from him alſo ſhould ſpring many great and powerful nations. *Abram* having returned thanks, withdrew from the preſence of the Lord, and immediately circumciſed himſelf and all his family, and the boy *Iſmael* likewiſe. Now at this time *Iſmael* was thirteen years old, and *Abram* about his ninety and ninth year.

CHAP. XI.

How God deſtroyed the Sodomites, *and their Cities, being offended with their horrid Impieties.*

NOW it happened in thoſe times, that they of *Sodom* being grown very opulent, rich, and flouriſhing, they began to be puffed up with pride, inſulting men, and deſpiſing God, inſomuch as they ſeem'd totally to have forgot all his benefits, and hating ſtrangers, gave themſelves entirely up to the moſt abominable vices, converſing in unnatural lewdneſs one with another. With which atrocious wickedneſs they ſo offended the Divine Majeſty, that he determined to puniſh them, not only by overturning totally their city, but alſo by making the whole plain round them waſte, and incapable of bearing either grain or fruit.

When God had decreed this judgment againſt *Sodom*, *Abram* ſaw three angels as he was ſitting under the oak at *Mambre*, and at the door of his tent, whom taking for travellers, he courteouſly invited to him, and intreated that they would accept of his offer to entertain them as his gueſts: When therefore he had brought them to him, he commanded his ſervants to bake bread of the fineſt flower, and dreſſing alſo a calf, he ſet meat before them, as they had placed themſelves under the oak.

Before *Abram* therefore they ſeemed as if they eat, and then inquired of him the welfare of his wife *Sarah*, and where ſhe was? *Abram* anſwer'd, within, in the tent; to which they replied, that before they returned again, ſhe would be a mother. *Sarah* ſmiled thereat, as a thing impoſſible, ſhe being now in his ninetieth year, and her huſband in his hundreth: whereupon no longer concealing themſelves, they acknowledged that they were Angels of God, and that they were ſent, the one to aſſure him of a ſon, and the other two to deſtroy *Sodom*.

When *Abram* heard this, he was grieved for thoſe of *Sodom*, and riſing up humbly beſought the Lord that he would not deſtroy all together, and without diſtinction, the juſt and good with thoſe who were impious ſinners. But God anſwering him that there was none good in *Sodom*, and that if there had been ten righteous perſons therein he would for their ſakes have remitted the puniſhment of the reſt; *Abram* thereupon held his peace.

The angels going on unto *Sodom*, *Lot* entreated them to enter into his habitation, and receive whatever was neceſſary for them in a journey; for *Lot* with a kind of emulation, practiſed that hoſpitality which he had ſeen uſed by *Abram*. Now the men of *Sodom* admiring the beauty of the youths, reſolved with themſelves to offer force and violence, in order to get them into their hands. *Lot* entreated with great earneſtneſs that they would not offer any abuſe unto the ſtrangers, and violate thereby the laws of hoſpitality in his houſe, offering them, if they would no otherwiſe be ſatisfied, the bodies of his *two* daughters, to be uſed at their pleaſure; yet could he not prevail on them to be quiet.

The Almighty then provoked at the audacious wickedneſs of the men, ſtruck them with blindneſs, ſo that they could not find the entrance into *Lot*'s houſe, tho' they endeavour'd it all they could; at the ſame time reſolving to deſtroy univerſally all the inhabitants of that place. But *Lot* was forewarned of the coming deſtruction of *Sodom*, and he, his wife, and daughters, (for as yet two were bethrothed only, and not married) and their promiſed huſbands were warned to depart, but the latter ſcoffed at *Lot*, and look'd on all as idle tales and fictions.

When therefore *Lot*, his wife, and daughters were gone forth, God ſent his darts upon the city, and burnt both it and its inhabitants, deſtroying alſo utterly all the neighbouring country with fire, as I have before related in the hiſtory I wrote *of the Wars with the Jews*. But *Lot*'s Wife, curious to ſee the fate of the city, turned and looked back, contrary to the expreſs command of God, whereupon ſhe became immediately a *Pillar*, *(Statue)* of Salt, which I have ſeen, for the ſame remaineth even unto this day.

But *Lot* and his daughters fled unto a little place which was ſecured from the flames, and the place is called *Zohor*, (or *Zoar*) for in the *Hebrew* that name ſignifies ſmall ſpace. Here ſhut as it were from all human converſation, and labouring hard for their food, they led for a while a miſerable courſe of life.

The Virgins believing the whole generation of men were deſtroyed, found means to lie with their father privately, deſigning thereby to have iſſue, and to preſerve the race of mankind upon the earth.

By this contrivance each of them brought forth a ſon; the eldeſt bare *Moab*, which ſignifies *of my Father*; and *Ammon* was the ſon of the younger, whoſe name ſignifies *the Son of my Kin*. From the former of theſe deſcended the *Moabites*, who are to this day a powerful nation; and from the latter, the *Ammonites*, both of which inhabit *Celo-Syria*; and in this manner was it that *Lot* eſcaped from the deſtruction of *Sodom*.

CHAP. XII.

Of Abimelech; *of* Iſmael, Abram's *Son, and his Poſterity the* Arabians.

NOW *Abram* removed, and went to live at *Gerar*, a city of *Palæſtine*, carrying *Sarah* with him as his ſiſter, from the ſame apprehenſions he had when he went into *Ægypt*, for he feared the attempts of *Abimelech* the king of that country, who being alſo deeply ſmitten with the great beauty of *Sarah*, would have compelled her unto his will, but that he was ſmitten of God with a ſore diſeaſe, of which, when he could not be cured by the ſkill of his phyſicians, he by a viſion was admoniſhed that he ſhould not injure the wife of his gueſt. As he grew better in his health, he told his friends that this ſickneſs was ſent to prevent his breaking the laws of hoſpitality, for that the woman the ſtranger brought with him, was not his ſiſter, but his lawful wife. Whereupon alſo he promiſed *Abram* that he would for the future treat him with great kindneſs, and that his wife's honour ſhould be ſafe from any inſult.

Moreover, at the requeſt of his friends, he queſtioned *Abram*, and communed with him, bidding him not to ſuſpect the chaſtity of his wife, for that nothing amiſs had happened to her, God having care of her, and during her ſtay with him not permitting any evil to be offer'd; to the truth of which, he called God and the woman's conſcience to witneſs, averring alſo, that had he known ſhe was his wife, he would not have ſpoken to her; and that altho' he had taken her for his ſiſter, nothing baſe had been offered to her. He requeſted *Abram* alſo that he would bear good will towards him, and pray for him unto God that he might bleſs him; offering him alſo, if he would ſtay with him, all things he would deſire; or, if inclined to depart, he would have him ſafely conveyed out of his country, together with all ſuch things the want of which had brought him hither.

To which *Abram* returned anſwer, that in ſaying the woman was of his kindred he had not lied unto him, for that ſhe was the daughter of his brother, and that without making uſe of that ſubtilty, he had not thought himſelf ſafe in his travels. That with reſpect to the diſeaſe he had been afflicted with, he was ſorry for it; and as to his remaining in his country with him, he accepted the offer with content.

Then *Abimilech* gave unto *Abram* money, and alſo aſſigned unto him land, making with him likewiſe a mutual covenant that they ſhould henceforth live together amicably, and without fraud; and unto this covenant they ſwore at a pit called *Berſuba* from thence, that is to ſay, the *Pit of Covenant*; which name alſo it bears in the language of the inhabitants thereabouts, even to this day.

Not long after this, it came to paſs that *Abram* had a ſon born unto him by *Sarah*, according as God had promiſed unto him, and he called his name *Iſaac*, which in the *Hebrew* tongue ſignifies *Laughter*; from *Sarah* (as before is ſaid) laughing, when the promiſe of God was made of her having a ſon, the thing being very unlikely, by reaſon of her age, ſhe herſelf being at that time ninety, and *Abram* one hundred years old.

On the eighth day after his birth the child was circumciſed, and the *Jews* after the ſame manner circumciſe their children on the eighth day.

But the *Arabians* perform not that rite until their thirteenth year, becauſe *Iſmael* the prince, and founder of that people, and ſon of *Abram* by his concubine, was not circumciſed until that age; of whom therefore I ſhall ſpeak as accurately as I can.

Sarah loved *Iſmael*, the ſon of *Agar*, her handmaid, from the firſt, with the ſame tenderneſs as if he had been her own child, and he was accordingly educated and brought up as if he were to have been the heir of *Abram*. But after her bringing forth *Iſaac*, ſhe thought it not convenient that they ſhould grow up together, leaſt *Iſmael* being the elder, he ſhould after his father's death evil intreat his brother; ſhe perſuaded *Abram* therefore that he ſhould ſend him away together with his mother. Tho' her firſt attempts to that purpoſe were vain, *Abram* eſteeming it a moſt cruel and inhuman action to turn out a young child and its mother deſtitute of all things, yet *Sarah* continued her importunities to the ſame purpoſe.

At laſt, when the Almighty alſo approved the inſtigations of *Sarah*, he was prevailed on, and giving *Agar* a flaggon of water and bread, he cauſed her and her young ſon to be put forth, bidding them go where their neceſſities ſhould lead them; but being unuſed and unfit for travel, ſhe grew weary, being alſo grieved and diſpirited with her ſorrows. When therefore there ſcarce remained any thing of her bread and of her water, and that the child had ſcarce life left in him, ſhe laid him down under a fir-tree, and went herſelf a little further, that ſhe might not ſtand by and ſee him expire. An Angel of the Lord then appeared unto her, ſhewing her a fountain, and commanding her carefully to attend her ſon *Iſmael*, for upon his ſafety depended her great happineſs. She putting faith in this declaration, and taking courage therefore, came unto certain ſhepherds, and from their care and kindneſs, felt no longer her misfortunes.

When the boy grew up unto man's eſtate, he joined in marriage with an *Ægyptian* woman (his mother alſo being of that nation) by whom he had twelve ſons, *Nabajoth*, *Cedarus*, *Abdelus*, *Mabſamas*, *Idumas*, *Maſmaus*, *Maſſaus*, *Chodadus*, *Themanus*, *Itturus*, *Naphæſus*, *Cadmas*. Theſe inhabit all the country from *Euphrates* unto the red ſea, which region is called *Nabetana*, and from theſe are deſcended the *Arabians*, and their ſeveral tribes, ſo famous both from their own valour, and from the memory of *Abram*, who was their anceſtor.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Of Iſaac, *the legitimate Son of* Abram.

AS for *Iſaac*, *Abram* loved him with the moſt tender affection as his only ſon, begotten in the days of his old age, and the peculiar gift of God. But this paternal care and indulgence the boy more and more increaſed, by the excellence of his carriage, addicting himſelf to the ſtudy of all virtues, behaving with the utmoſt duty towards thoſe from whom he deſcended, and giving daily proofs of a ſincere and fervent piety towards the Almighty; inſomuch that *Abram* deſired only the felicity and ſafety of his ſon, to whom in ſuch a ſtate he wiſhed to leave all he had, and to ſubmit unto death; which by the favour of the good God, he in proceſs of time effected according to his wiſhes.

God therefore, that he might make a trial of *Abram*'s ſteady obedience, appear'd unto him, and having reminded him of the ſeveral benefits he had conferr'd upon him, particularly the victory, which through his providence he had obtained over his enemies, and that happineſs which he now enjoy'd in *Iſaac*, whom, according to his promiſe, he had given unto him. Then propounded unto *Abram*, the offering, as a *Victim*, his only ſon in ſacrifice to him, commanding him that he ſhould carry the youth unto mount *(Moria) Morion*, and there make of him a *Burnt Offering*, on an altar, which he was to erect for that purpoſe. By which the ſincerity of his piety would be ſhewn, if, to the ſafety of his only ſon, he preferred the being dutiful to Almighty God.

Abram believing it highly ſinful to diſobey the commandment of God, or even to delay it, ſeeing that 'tis to his providence we owe all things, determined within himſelf to conceal this command of the Almighty, and the reſolution he had taken, of complying therewith, from his wife *Sarah*, and hiding it alſo from his family, leſt they ſhould hinder his intent. He took his ſon *Iſaac*, and two ſervants; and laying the neceſſaries for the ſacrifice on an aſs, he ſet out for the mountain: for two days he ſuffered himſelf to be accompanied by his ſervants, but on the third, when he was in ſight of the mountain, he left them in the field. Taking with him his ſon only, he began to aſcend the mount, whereon afterwards *David* erected the *Temple*.

They carried thither with them whatever was neceſſary for the ſacrifice, excepting only the *Victim* that was to be offer'd. Now *Iſaac* was at that time *five and twenty years old*, and built up himſelf the altar, enquiring when he had ſo done, Where was the offering they were to make? *Abram* anſwer'd, that God who gave all things unto men which were needful for them; and, if they wanted *Faith* would alſo take them away, if he was pleaſed with their intent of ſacrificing, would provide them a *Victim*.

At length, when every thing was finiſhed, the altar raiſed, and the wood prepared thereon, he addreſſed himſelf thus to his ſon:
“ I intreated thee with a thouſand prayers,
“ O my ſon, from the hands of God, and from
“ the time in which thou was given me,
“ have with the utmoſt care and tenderneſs
“ watch'd over thy education, in nothing taking
“ ſo much pleaſure, as in the hopes of
“ leaving thee grown up to man's eſtate, to
“ be my ſucceſſor, and lord over all that I
“ poſſeſs, at the time of my departure. Becauſe
“ therefore that I am thy father, and
“ that God commands me to cut thee off, take
“ courage to thyſelf, and ſuffer patiently to
“ be thus conſecrated, ſince I yield thee unto
“ God, who requires this honour from us.
“ He who hath been ſo gracious unto me, my
“ helper! and my defender! Seeing as thou
“ art born, thou art alſo to die, yet art thou
“ not to go out of this life after the manner of
“ others, by an ordinary fate, but to be offer'd
“ up by the hand of thy parent, a ſacrifice
“ unto God for all that he hath done for
“ him. It is fit you be ſatisfied, and ſubmit,
“ that not by ſickneſs, by war, or by any
“ other calamity which befalleth all men, thou
“ art taken hence, but in a way more noble.
“ In the midſt of theſe ſolemnities of the ſacrifice,
“ with prayers thou ſhalt reſign thy
“ ſoul, and be received unto him, where thou
“ ſhalt become the protector, and the ſupport
“ of my old age, for which I educated thee,
“ and ſhall procure from God, all I expected
“ in thee *my Son*.

Iſaac, whoſe ſoul flam'd with thoughts as elevated as thoſe of his father, heard him with ſatisfaction, and when he had ſpoken, anſwer'd thus: “ That he was unworthy of
“ his birth, if he ſhould refuſe to ſubmit to
“ the ordinance of God, and of his father, to
“ which he would not only readily yield, but
“ willingly alſo would he have done ſo, if
“ his father, of himſelf, had requir'd it;”
thereupon with the utmoſt chearfulneſs he approached the altar to be ſacrificed, which had happen'd accordingly, if God himſelf by his interpoſition had not hindred it.

For calling out aloud unto *Abram* by his name, he forbid him to kill his ſon, telling him that neither out of deſire of humane blood had he commanded him to do this, nor that he might take from him the ſon he had given him in ſo injurious a manner, but only that hereby he might make a trial of his obedience, in the readineſs he ſhould expreſs. But having ſeen this ready and extraordinary proof of his piety, it ſufficiently demonſtrated that the benefits conferr'd upon him were not unworthily beſtow'd: That he, and his family, ſhould on all occaſions ſhare the extraordinary protection of Providence, while they continued worthy of it: and that his ſon in a good old age ſhould leave his dominion unto his poſterity, which ſhould grow to great ſtrength, and their poſſeſſions to a vaſt extent.

He foretold him alſo, that his offſpring ſhould grow up, and increaſe into divers nations, which flouriſhing in continual proſperity, ſhould preſerve their memorial for ever, and that his deſcendants driving out the inhabitants by force of arms, ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of the Land of *Chanaan*, and become ſo powerful, as to excite the envy of all their neighbours; moreover when God had thus ſpoken, he cauſed a ram on a ſudden to appear near them, in order that they might have wherewith to ſacrifice.

But they deliver'd from ſuch preſſing circumſtances, and having received aſſurances of ſo many bleſſings, mutually embraced each other; and having offered up the *Victim*, returned unto *Sarah*, living perfectly happy afterwards; God giving his bleſſing to whatſoever they undertook.

CHAP. XIV.

Of Sarah, *the Wife of* Abram, *and of her Death:*

NOW it came to paſs not long after this that *Sarah* died, having attained to one hundred and twenty-ſeven years. They buried her in *Hebron*, (gr. *Chebron*) the *Chananites* offering a *Sepulchre* for her, *Gratis*; but *Abram* purchaſed a ſpace of ground for forty *Scicles*, of one *Ephraim*, a *Hebronite*, and therein remains the monuments of *Abram* and his Family.

CHAP. XV.

How from Abram'*s ſecond Marriage with* Chatura, *the Nation of the* Troglodites *is Deſcended.*

AFTER this, *Abram* took *Chatura* to wife, by whom he had ſix ſons, all equally capable of whatever required force of body, or ingenuity of mind; their names were theſe, *Zambranes*, *Jazar*, *Madanes*, *Maduin*, *Joſubac*, and *Suus*. And theſe again had Sons born unto them; *Suus* had two, *Sabathones* and *Dadan*, to whom were born, *Latuſim*, *Aſſur*, and *Suomes*; thoſe of *Madian*, were *Ephas*, *Ophres*, *Anoch*, *Ebidas*, *Eldas*; all which children and grand-children of *Abram*, according to his advice, went forth and planted *Colonies* through the country of the *Troglodites* and the region of *Arabia* the happy, even unto the coaſts of the *Red-Sea*.

It is reported alſo of *Ophres*, that he led a *Colony* into *Lybia*, and planting his deſcendants there, the country, in proceſs of time, took the name of *Africa* from thence; and of this we have the teſtimony of *Alexander Polyhiſtor*, ſtill remaining in theſe forms. '*Cleodemus* the '*Prophet*, called alſo *Malchus*, who wrote 'the *Jewiſh Hiſtory* after *Moſes*, the *Jewiſh* '*Lawgiver*, relates that *Abram* had ſeveral 'children by *Chatura*, of whom he names 'three, *Apher*, *Surim* and *Japhra*.' From *Surim* are the *Syrians* ſo called; and from the other two, *Aphra* and *Japhra*, are the city of *Aphra* and the country of *Africa* named. Theſe are ſaid to have aided *Hercules* warring there, againſt *Lybias* and *Antæus*. *Hercules* alſo taking the daughter of *Apher* to wife, he begat of her *Diadorus* or (*Dabor*), from whom came *Sophon*, from whom the *Barbarians*, called *Sophaces*, have their Names.

CHAP. XVI.

Of Iſaac's *taking* Rebecca *to Wife.*

NOW *Abram* intending to ſee his ſon *Iſaac* married, who had now reached almoſt his fortieth year, pitch'd in his mind on *Rebecca*, the daughter of the ſon of *Nachor* his brother: he ſent therefore the eldeſt ſervant of his family to regulate the terms of the contract, and for that purpoſe, bound him unto him in the ſtraiteſt terms; which method of binding by promiſe performed, by putting the ſervant's hand under his thighs, and then adjuring God to be witneſs between them. *Abram* ſent alſo by him unto his relations preſents of ſuch things as were moſt rare and coſtly in that country: the ſervant proceeded but ſlowly in his journey, the way through *Meſopotamia* in the winter being very mirery, by reaſon of its marſhes, and troubleſome through the ſcarcity of water in the ſummer, being alſo much infeſted with robbers, from whom, unleſs by the greateſt caution, travellers hardly ever eſcape. At laſt he arrived at the city of *Charras* (or *Carras*); and as he was entring the ſuburbs thereof, he met certain young maidens coming forth to draw water.

He thereupon pray'd unto God, that *Rebecca*, whom he was ſent by his maſter *Abram* to eſpouſe for his ſon, might (if the marriage were pleaſing unto him) come forth amongſt the reſt, and that he might know her by this ſign, aſking the reſt to give him to drink they ſhould refuſe, and only ſhe ſhould grant his requeſt.

His mind taken up with theſe thoughts, he approached the well, and requeſted the maidens to give him to drink; they all denied him, ſaying, they drew it to carry home, and not to give away, ſince they drew not without much trouble; one of them thereupon reproved the reſt for the incivility and moroſeneſs of their behaviour, ſaying, it look'd as if they had not converſed with men, to deny a ſtranger drink, which therefore ſhe gave him with great humanity.

On this he began to entertain good hopes of the buſineſs; but willing however to know the truth of the event, he firſt commending her kindneſs and generoſity, who to ſuccour the neceſſitous was not ſparing, even of her own labour, enquired next of her Parents, wiſhing them always good hap, for the ſake of ſo deſerving a daughter, praying alſo that ſhe might marry ſome worthy perſon, and bring him many virtuous and happy children.

Being no way inclined to hide from him her family, ſhe anſwered readily, my name is, '*Rebecca*; my father's name was *Bethuel*, who has been long deceaſed; but *Laban*, who is my brother, doth with my mother manage the affairs of our family, and is my guardian in my virginity.' He was at this overjoy'd at what he had ſeen and heard, perceiving now plainly that God had favoured him in his undertaking. Wherefore pulling out a bracelet, and other things proper for a young woman to wear, he offer'd them unto her as a preſent, adding that it was but juſt he ſhould give her thoſe, ſince ſhe had afforded him drink when he ſtood in need thereof, and that ſhe ſhould be deck'd in jewels who ſo well deſerved them, by excelling in her behaviour the maidens round her; entreating alſo that he might ſtay at her mother's houſe that night, in regard he had about him ſeveral ornaments of a great price, which could not be more ſafe than amongſt thoſe whoſe kindneſs and civility he already had experienced, the ſplendour of her virtue, leaving him no room to doubt of the humanity of her brother and mother; aſſuring her he would not put them to any expence in his entertainment, for that he was willing to pay for whatſoever he had, and they ſhould alſo receive from him an acknowledgment for their kindneſs.

Rebecca returned him anſwer, that as to her parents humanity he had gueſſed right, but that he did them great wrong to ſuſpect their liberality, for that, far from receiving any thing, they would entertain him *gratis*; yet firſt ſaid ſhe, I will go and acquaint my brother *Laban*, and then bring you to him into his tent.

Accordingly when ſhe had ſo done, commanding her brother's ſervants to take care of his *Camels*, ſhe introduced him into *Laban*'s apartment, and to his table; ſupper being over, he ſpoke after this manner, both unto him, and unto the mother of the virgin.

'*Abram*, as he is the ſon of *Tharres*, is your couſin; for *Nachor*, O! worthy *Matron*, who was grandfather to your children, was brother unto *Abram*, both by father and mother. He it is who now ſends me unto you, requeſting this your daughter for a wife unto his only ſon and heir of all his ſubſtance; who altho' he might have matched him with the richeſt woman of that country, wherein he lives, yet having a regard for his family, he ſeeketh theſe nuptials with earneſtneſs as the greateſt honour; do not then eſteem lightly of his purpoſe, for I have in this journey experienced much of the favour of God, and by a particular direction of his providence, have found both the young woman and your houſe; for as I came near unto the city, I perceived many virgins coming out unto the well: I beſought God that I might find this damſel, and I did ſo. Ratifie then by your authority this marriage which God hath ſo evidently ſhewn his care of, and afford unto *Abram*, by me, whom with ſo much difficulty he hath ſent hither, the honour of an alliance by your daughter.

They perceiving the deſign ſo honeſt and advantageous, underſtanding alſo the will of God in relation thereto, ſent the young woman with him, on theſe conditions, by whom ſhe was conducted unto *Iſaac*; now become Lord of all, the ſons of *Chatura* being departed to ſettle their *Colonies*.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Death of Abram.

A VERY ſhort time after this died *Abram*, a man of the moſt exalted virtue, and who for his excellent piety was dear in the ſight of the Almighty. He lived in all, one hundred and ſeventy-five years, and was buried near his wife *Sarah* in *Hebron*, by his ſons *Iſaac* and *Iſmael*.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Sons of Iſaac, Eſau, *and* Jacob, *of their Nativity and Education.*

SOON after the deceaſe of *Abram*, it came to paſs that *Rebecca* being pregnant by her huſband *Iſaac*, ſhe appeared bigger than women uſually are in that condition; at which *Iſaac* being exceedingly troubled, ſought councel of God. He revealed unto him, that *Rebecca* his wife went with twins, both of which ſhould leave their names unto ſeveral nations; and he, who ſhould ſeem the leaſt of the two, ſhould yet become the greateſt. Not long after (according as God foretold) ſhe brought forth twins, the elder of which, was all over hairy on his body; and the younger as he came into the world held him by the heel. Now the father loved *Eſau* the elder, ſo called from the hairineſs of his body; the *Hebrews* call hair in their tongue, *Seiron (Seir)*. But the mother lov'd *Jacob* the younger.

But a famine oppreſſing the land, *Iſaac* determined to go into *Ægypt*; yet by the command of God, turned aſide unto *Gerar*. *Abimelech* the king thereof, treated him with great kindneſs, out of reſpect to, and friendſhip for *Abram*; thus he received him at firſt, with great ſigns of benevolence, but envy ſoon grew up in its ſtead, perceiving that God had an eſpecial care over *Iſaac*, and all his concerns; at laſt his proſperity grieved him ſo much, that he drove him out of his country. At length therefore, perceiving the malice of *Abimelech* ſo great, *Iſaac* withdrew, (but not far from *Gerar*) into a place called the *Vally*; but while his *Shepherds* were there, endeavouring to ſink a well, thoſe of *Abimilech* came upon them and made a quarrel, in order to hinder the work; he reſolving not to contend with them, they thought they had gained a conqueſt over him. *Iſaac* however, went to another place, and there again went about making another; whereupon certain others of *Abimelech*'s Shepherds ſet upon them, there too; but his prudence engaged him to avoid extremities here alſo, and to procure ſafety thereby.

Whereupon the king himſelf granted a piece of ground wherein to dig with freedom, and without danger of any moleſtation; where, when he had dug a well, he called it *Rooboth*, which ſignifies *a large Space*; and as to the two former places, he called the firſt of them *Eſcon*, which is as much as to ſay, *the Well of Battle*; but the other he named *Sitenna*, that is to ſay, *Enmity*.

Now it came to paſs, that *Iſaac* daily encreaſed in power and riches. *Abimelech* therefore weighing the ſtrength he acquired, and of what conſequence it might be to his affairs, grew uneaſy thereat, fearing leſt he ſhould reſent what had paſſed, and that the ſmart of late injuries might prevent his remembring antient friendſhip, ſo that in time he might turn his thoughts unto taking revenge. He went therefore unto him, and taking with him *Pitcol*, one of his friends and captains, made a new league of amity with him. *Iſaac* complying in all matters, he deſired, out of the native goodneſs of his own temper, and in reſpect to his father's alliance; under both of which he buried whatever animoſity the injuries he had done him had wrought. *Abimelech* having concluded all he aimed at, returned home.

Eſau, one of the ſons of *Iſaac*, and his beſt beloved, being arrived at forty years of age, married two wives, *Ada* the daughter of *Elon*, and *Alibama* the daughter of *Eſebeon*, two of the moſt powerful perſons of the *Chanaanites*: but in contracting theſe marriages, he had regard only to his own will, and took not at all the advice of his father. For *Iſaac* would by no means have permitted it, had he known his ſon's intentions; he never deſiring that he ſhould match at all with any of the Inhabitants of the land; yet not willing to make his ſon uneaſy, by commanding him to put away his wives, he enjoined him only to conceal it.

But when *Iſaac* grew old, and his ſight was gone, he called *Eſau* unto him; and after he had lamented the evils he ſuſtained in old age, and that the loſs of his eyes hindered him from ſerving God with the aſſiduity he was wont, he commanded his ſon to go forth a hunting, and to prepare of whatſoever he caught, for him to eat; that when he had finiſhed his ſupper, he might entreat God to aid and aſſiſt him through the courſe of his life; adding alſo, that as he knew not how long it would be before he died, he was deſirous, while yet he had life, to recommend himſelf by his Prayers, unto the favour of the Almighty.

Hereupon *Eſau* went forth to hunt; but *Rebecca* being deſirous that the bleſſing of God ſhould light upon her ſon *Jacob*, tho' *Iſaac* had otherwiſe deſigned, commanded him to go forth and kill one of the kids, and immediately to dreſs it for ſupper. *Jacob*, obedient in all things unto his mother, went forth, took, killed, and dreſſed accordingly; as ſoon as it was ready, he put the ſkin of the kid upon his neck, and upon his hands, that his father, by feeling him hairy, might take him for *Eſau*; ſince, as is uſual in twins, he reſembled him exactly in all things but this; fearing therefore that he ſhould be diſcover'd before his father *Iſaac* had finiſhed his prayers, and ſo inſtead of bleſſing he ſhould reap curſes, he made uſe of this diſguiſe, in which he came and ſtood before him.

But *Iſaac* perceiving ſomething in the tone like that of *Jacob*'s voice, called his ſon to come nearer unto him. *Jacob* therefore put forth to his father his arms, cover'd as they were with the kid's ſkin, which *Iſaac* feeling, ſaid, tho' thy voice be like that of *Jacob*, yet by the hairineſs of thy arms thou ſeemeſt unto me to be *Eſau*; wherefore ſuſpecting no deceit, as ſoon as he had ſupped, he addreſſed himſelf unto God in this manner, ſaying,

> 'O GOD of all ages, the Creator of all things in the univerſe, who didſt promiſe thy favour unto my father, and haſt beſtowed on me great and abundant bleſſings, promiſing alſo to beſtow them in yet greater meaſure upon my poſterity, let, I pray thee, thy benefits be ſtill continued unto me, nor let thy mercy depart from me, becauſe of my preſent weak condition, in which I have the more need of thy help. Preſerve thou this my ſon, be propitious unto him and protect him from all evil; render the whole courſe of his life happy, and give unto him bleſſings according to the fullneſs of thy power; make him great and formidable towards all who ſhall be his enemies, and let him receive grace and honour in the preſence of his friends.'

Thus did *Iſaac* pour forth his prayers, ſuppoſing it had been his ſon *Eſau*, and ſcarce had he finiſhed his bleſſing, before *Eſau* returned from hunting; but *Iſaac*, knowing he was fruſtrated, held his peace. *Eſau* however earneſtly requeſted that he might receive as much as his brother had done, but his father denied him, ſaying, he had already given all his bleſſing unto *Jacob*; whereupon *Eſau* lamented grievouſly. *Iſaac*, exceedingly moved with his ſon's tears, told him, that in ſtrength of body, and martial exploits, he and his poſterity ſhould excel, and reap from thence immortal glory, but that they ſhould however be ſubject to his brother.

Now *Jacob* was afraid that his brother *Eſau* would revenge himſelf on him for the loſs of his father's bleſſing, but the care of his mother *Rebecca* deliver'd him from this fear; ſhe perſuading *Iſaac* to ſend him into *Meſopotamia*, that he might take unto him a wife of his kindred: *Eſau* about the ſame time marrying *Beſſimath*, the daughter of *Iſmael*, becauſe his father liked not the *Chaanites*, and afterwards loved her beſt of all his wives.

CHAP. XIX.

The Flight of Jacob *into* Meſopotamia, *through fear of his Brother.*

JACOB being now ſent into *Meſopotamia*, that he might receive in marriage the daughter of his uncle *Laban*, his father *Iſaac*, thro' his wife's perſuaſion, having conſented to the journey, paſſed through the land of *Chanaan*, but for the averſion he had unto the inhabitants of that country, he would not lodge amongſt them, but choſe rather to ſleep abroad in the fields under the open air.

Where, whilſt he ſlept, having placed a ſtone under his head for a pillow, he ſaw in his reſt a viſion. There ſeemed unto him a ladder, which reached up unto Heaven, perſons deſcending thereon of far greater beauty than any of the race of men; and on the top thereof the Moſt High God Himſelf appeared, and having called him by his name, ſpoke unto him in theſe words:

Jacob, inaſmuch as thou art deſcended from a righteous father, and from a grand-father famous for his virtue, be not diſmayed with thy preſent hardſhips and travels, but hope for better days, ſince great and manifold bleſſings ſhall hereafter be given unto thee under my protection and care: For lo! I am He, who brought *Abram* hither out of *Meſopotamia*, when driven thence by his kindred. I alſo am He who have bleſſed thy father *Iſaac* with plenty, nor ſhall thy lot be worſe than his; be of good courage then, go on thy way, and be aſſured that I conduct thee. As to the marriage of which thou thinkeſt in thy mind, behold it ſhall come to paſs, and thou ſhall be happy in good children, which ſhall ſpring therefrom. The multitude alſo of their offspring ſhall be innumerable, and they ſhall increaſe in their deſcendants, to whom I will give the dominion of this land, and their poſterity will I place throughout ſea and land wherever the ſun ſhineth. Let not then any fear diſmay thee, nor be thou troubled and afflicted at thy labours, ſeeing I am always near thee, to protect thee, and ready to aſſiſt thee in whatſoever thou undertakeſt, and will be alſo more and more favourable unto thee in future times.

Theſe things God predicted unto *Jacob*; he riſing up, rejoyced with great gladneſs for thoſe things which he had ſeen, and the promiſes that had been made unto him, and pouring oil over the ſtones whereon he ſlept, while he received theſe tidings, he made a ſolemn vow unto God, that he would there ſacrifice unto him if he came back with ſafety into his country; and he accordingly offered up the tenths of all which he had acquired in his return, eſteeming the place alſo worthy of honour and remembrance; he called it *Bethel*, which when rendred into *Greek* ſignifies the *Houſe of God*.

Going therefore on in his journey, he came at laſt unto *Charran*, and finding ſome ſhepherds in the ſuburbs of the city, and alſo ſeveral young men and women ſitting by the ſide of a fountain, he mingled himſelf with them, and deſir'd them to give him to drink; while therefore they were diſcourſing, he took occaſion to aſk if they knew one *Laban* their countryman, and if he were yet alive? They anſwer'd him that they knew *Laban* well, for he was too conſiderable a perſon to be unknown; that his daughter uſually fed her flock with them, and they were ſurprized ſhe was not already come, for from her he might doubtleſs learn all he deſir'd to know. Now while they were thus ſpeaking, the maiden came, attended by her ſhepherds, and one preſently told her, ſhewing *Jacob* alſo unto her, that this ſtranger enquir'd for her father; ſhe, as is common with young women, rejoyced mightily thereat, inquiring who he was, and whence he came, and by what neceſſity driven thither, wiſhing that it was in her power to relieve all his wants.

But *Jacob* conceived a tenderneſs for the maid from that inſtant, not out of reſpect ſo much either to her kindneſs, or the nearneſs of their relation, as from the love which poſſeſſed him from the exquiſiteneſs of her beauty; for ſhe was of all women thereabouts the moſt lovely. He ſaid then unto her, if thou art the daughter of *Laban*, there hath been a relation and nearneſs between our families long before our times. *Abram*, *Arran*, and *Nachor*, were all ſons unto *Tharres*; now thy grandfather *Bethuel* was ſon unto *Nachor*, but *Abram*, and *Sarah* the daughter of *Arran*, were the parents of *Iſaac* my father. But there is yet a nearer and ſtraiter tye of conſanguinity between us, for *Rebecca*, who is my mother, is ſiſter unto thy father *Laban*, both by father-ſide and mother's, and of conſequence you and I are couſins. I came therefore to ſalute you, and to renew the ancient kindneſs and affection there hath always been between our families.

Whereupon recalling to her memory what ſhe had heretofore, while a girl, heard her father ſpeak, concerning *Rebecca*; and knowing how welcome any tidings of her would be unto her parent's ears, ſhe could not help weeping, with joy, while ſhe embraced young *Jacob*; and having ſaluted him, thou haſt, ſaid ſhe, brought pleaſant and acceptable news unto my father, and all our family, who never forgot your mother, but ſpeak of her continually, and would rejoyce greatly to hear of her welfare. She then entreated him to follow her unto her father's, leaſt the good old man ſhould be any longer deny'd the pleaſure of ſeeing him.

Having ſo ſaid, ſhe brought him unto *Laban*, where he acknowledged himſelf to be the young man's uncle, whereby *Jacob* lived in great peace and ſafety amongſt his friends, and brought them alſo much ſatisfaction. After a few days were paſſed over, *Laban* ſaid unto *Jacob*, thy preſence gives me more pleaſure than words can expreſs, wherefore I beſeech thee to tell me what it is that occaſions your leaving your parents in their old age, where, by reaſon of thoſe weakneſſes that attend it, they the more need your help and aſſiſtance, and be aſſured that whatever it be in which thou wanteſt help, I will be ready to ſupply thee.

Whereupon *Jacob* open'd unto him the whole matter, how that *Iſaac* had two twin ſons, himſelf and *Eſau*, and that he, by his mother's aſſiſtance, having defrauded his brother of their father's bleſſing, *Eſau* therefore ſought to kill him, as he who had raviſh'd from him the principality to which he was by the Laws of God to have ſucceeded, and alſo all the kind intentions of his father in his prayers. *Jacob*, confeſſed that this, with his mother's command, was the cauſe of his coming unto him; for you, added *Jacob*, are my neareſt relation by my mother's ſide. From you therefore, next under the Almighty, do I expect aſſiſtance, nor by your help do I at all diſtruſt the ſituation I am in.

Laban thereupon told him, that in reſpect to the near alliance of their anceſtors, he ſhould receive all the humanity poſſible at his hands, and that for his mother's ſake alſo, whom he ſtill loved with a tender affection, he would ſhew the ſame kindneſs to him preſent, as he bore unto her abſent; for that he would put the whole charge of his flock into his hands, to be entirely under his guidance and direction, until he ſhould be deſirous of returning unto his own home; and that then he would diſmiſs him with ſuch gifts, and ſuch reſpect as their ſo near Relation required.

Jacob therefore rejoyced at ſo great a good luck which had happen'd unto him, adding, that he ſhould willingly do whatever might conduce unto *Laban*'s ſervice, and ſhould account it rather as a delight than a labour. But inſtead of any reward which he would give him, he deſir'd that he would beſtow on him his daughter *Rachael* for a Wife, which he ſhould receive as the greateſt honour that could be done him, the kindneſs of the young woman in bringing him unto him having won his affection, and that the love he bore her, had endeared him to ſpeak in ſuch terms.

Laban was exceedingly pleaſed with what *Jacob* had ſaid, giving readily his conſent unto the marriage, aſſuring him he would not have wiſhed a better ſon-in-law; but that he muſt alſo requeſt of him to tarry with him a while in that country, becauſe he was unwilling to let his daughter go among the *Chanaanites*, and that the marriage of his ſiſter had reſpited him becauſe of her going thither.

Jacob willingly accepted of the condition, and covenanted to live with him ſeven years, being deſirous that by his care and fidelity in that ſpace, he might ſee he was not unworthy of his alliance.

Laban, perfectly ſatisfied, ratifies theſe conditions, and when the time was expir'd, made great preparations for the wedding; but at night, without *Jacob*'s ſuſpecting the matter, he cauſed his other daughter to be laid in the place of *Rachel*, who was neither ſo young, nor ſo handſome. He being deceived by the darkneſs of the night, and alſo diſorder'd with wine, went in unto her, but when the morning diſcover'd the deceit, he inveigh'd bitterly againſt the treachery of *Laban*. But he excuſed it as an act of neceſſity, for he did not do it with an evil intention, but that cuſtom requir'd it from him; yet however that ſhould be no impediment, for ſince he was ſo deſirous of poſſeſſing his daughter *Rachel*, he ſhould likewiſe marry her, if he would ſerve him another ſeven years. *Jacob* agreed to the propoſal, and love making the task eaſy, after another ſeven years ſervice he received *Rachel* in marriage.

Their father beſtowed on them two handmaids, to *Leah* he gave *Zilpha*, and unto *Rachel*, *Bella*; theſe were not however his ſlaves, but his ſubjects. But *Leah* was grievouſly troubled when ſhe found her huſband's affections turned towards her ſiſter *Rachel*; ſhe hoped however if ſhe had children, that her huſband would love her, and therefore put up her prayers unto God inceſſantly for iſſue.

When therefore ſhe had brought forth a ſon, and her huſband began to turn his love unto her, ſhe called his name *Ruben*, (*Gr. Rubel*,) becauſe *God had had pity upon her*, for ſo the Name ſignifies. Afterwards ſhe brought him three other ſons, *Simeon*, whoſe name is as much as to ſay, *God hath heard me*. Then *Levi*, which ſignifies the *Band of Society*; and after him *Judai*, which means *returning thanks*. *Rachel*, that ſhe might not loſe the love of her huſband, by her ſiſter's fruitfulneſs, caus'd her handmaid *Balla* to go in unto *Jacob*, by whom ſhe conceiv'd a ſon called *Dan*, which interpreted, is *vindicated by God*; and next him *Nephthalim*, which mean *gained by fraud*, for that ſhe had procur'd him by artful contrivance, to ballance her ſiſter's fruitfulneſs. *Leah* made uſe of the ſame contrivance againſt *Rachel*, and gave her maid unto the bed of her huſband. *Zilpha* bore unto him a ſon named *Gad*, that is, a *Son of Fortune*. After him, ſhe brought forth *Aſer*, which is as much as to ſay *Bleſſed*, becauſe *Leah* was loved for her great fruitfulneſs.

Ruben, who was the firſt born ſon of *Leah*, brought home to his mother, the fruit of the mandrake: which *Rachel* perceiving, deſir'd her to give her part thereof, becauſe ſhe was deſirous to taſte them; but *Leah* would not, anſwering ſhe ought to be ſatisfied with having the advantage of her, in her huſband's affection. *Rachel*, that ſhe might ſoften the heart of her ſiſter, and gain ſome of the mandrakes, conſented that *Jacob* ſhould that Night go in unto her, which accordingly he did; and *Leah* again had children, *viz. Iſachar*, that is, *gained by hire*, and *Zabulon*, which ſignifies a *Token of good will*; and alſo a daughter, whoſe name was *Dinah*.

Not long after *Rachel* alſo conceived a ſon, which ſhe called *Joſeph*, that is, *an addition*: during all which ſpace of almoſt twenty years, *Jacob* kept his father's flocks; but at the end of that time he judg'd it proper to return with his wives unto his own heritage; which intention when his father-in-law knew, he would by no means conſent thereunto. For which reaſon *Jacob* reſolv'd ſecretly to depart from him; and to this effect he made trial of his wives, to ſee how they were inclin'd as to his flight, who encouraged him thereto by their conſent, ſo far, that *Rachel* having ſtolen the images of the Deities worſhip'd in that country, they fled away with their ſiſter, their handmaidens, and all their children, with what elſe belong'd unto them. *Jacob* took away one half alſo of the cattle privately, and unknown to *Laban*; *Rachel* alſo carried away the images, altho' her huſband *Jacob* had taughr her to deſpiſe them, and give them no honour. But ſhe reckon'd in herſelf that if *Laban* purſued, ſhe might be able to appeaſe him, in caſe he overtook them.

Laban, afrer a day's ſpace, became acquainted with their flight, and being enraged at the news, both with *Jacob* and his daughters, he immediately purſued after them with all his force. At the end of ſeven days journey he overtook them, on a hill where they had ſeated themſelves, evening growing on; for which reaſon, *Laban* alſo abſtained from any violence. In the night God ſtood before him in a dream, and admoniſh'd him that he ſhould no longer entertain any thoughts of attacking *Jacob*, or uſing any evil treatment againſt his daughters, but, on the contrary, that he ſhould be reconciled unto them, and make a new league with his ſon-in-law; threatning alſo to protect and aſſiſt *Jacob*, if, contemning his commands, he ſhould venture to aſſault him, becauſe of the ſmall number and weakneſs of his people.

Then *Laban*, when God had deliver'd unto him this admonition, roſe the next day, and calling unto *Jacob* to ſpeak with him, related unto him his dream: *Jacob*, giving credit unto his words, came unto him; whereupon *Laban* began to expoſtulate with him, that coming unto him poor, and in want of all things, he had relieved and ſupported him, and ſupplied him with plenty out of his own goods.

'Moreover, (ſaid *Laban* unto him) I have given my daughters unto thee for wives, hoping that ſo near a conjunction would for ever have bound thee to my friendſhip; but you, on the contrary, without regard to your mother, without remembring the relation there is between us, forgetting alſo the wives whom you have married, and loſing all reſpect for him who is the grandfather of your children, have treated me as an enemy; taking away my goods, perſuading my daughters to abandon him who begat them, carrying away alſo the ſacred *Protectors* of my houſe, whom I, and likewiſe my fathers, religiouſly worſhipp'd. Thus, what ſcarce one enemy would have offer'd to another, thou, who art my couſin, my nephew, the ſon of my ſiſter, the huſband of my daughters, my gueſt, and my domeſtick ſervant, haſt done unto me.'

When *Laban* had done ſpeaking, *Jacob* in anſwer thereto ſaid, 'That not only on his mind, but alſo on all men's, God impreſſed the love of their native country; and that having remain'd ſo many years in a ſtrange land, it need not be wonder'd that he felt a deſire of returning back thither.

'But with reſpect to the prey (*added* Jacob) which thou ſay'ſt I have taken, before any other judge but thyſelf, thou would'ſt be found in the wrong; for as thou ſhould'ſt have beſtow'd on me a gratuity for having preſerv'd and increas'd the goods which thou committed'ſt to my care, is it not therefore unjuſt in thee to grudge, becauſe I have taken a ſmall part of them unto myſelf? As to your daughters, ſay not that by craft they have been engag'd to accompany me, but reflect with yourſelf, that with a duty becoming wives, they went with their huſband; nor properly ſpeaking, do they follow me, but their children.'

Jacob ſaid theſe things that he might juſtify himſelf. He farther went on, and complain'd of *Laban*, That he, who was the brother of his mother, and who had given him his daughters to wife, had nevertheleſs, for the ſpace of twenty years, by the ſeverity of his commands, grievouſly diſtreſſed him: That the toils he went through under pretence of meriting his daughters, had been very great; yet great as they were, they had been ſtill much increaſed ſince the time of his marriage, from which, had he been his enemy, he would long before have fled.

For the truth really was, that *Laban* had dealt very unjuſtly by *Jacob*; for he perceiving that God protected, and increaſed whatſoever was under *Jacob*'s care, promiſed him firſt, that he would give him thoſe which were yeaned white; then, that he would beſtow on him the black.

But when he ſaw the cattle which he had deſtin'd for *Jacob* increaſed, he kept not his promiſe with him, but put it off until the coming year; for he coveting the largeſt ſhare, aſſign'd unto him that which he thought would be the leaſt; but when it proved otherwiſe, then he broke his word.

But as to the ſacred things, which *Laban* ſaid *Jacob* had taken from him, thoſe *Jacob* anſwer'd he might ſearch for if he pleaſed. *Laban* accepted the propoſal, which *Rachel* hearing, ſhe put the images into the furniture of the camel upon which ſhe ſate, pretending ſhe had on her the indiſpoſition peculiar to her ſex. *Laban* deſiſted thereupon from his ſearch, believing that *Rachel* in ſuch a condition would not ſit near the images. Then *Laban* made an accord with *Jacob*, which they bound with an oath, that neither ſhould remember the injuries done him by the other, but that he would love conſtantly his daughters. This agreement they made on a certain mountain, where, in memory thereof, they erected a pillar, in the form of an altar, from whence the hill is named *Galade*, and the Country round it by us even now called *Galade*; and having feaſted together after the treaty, *Laban* returned back again unto his home.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Meeting between Jacob *and* Eſau.

NOW *Jacob*, as he travelled unto the land of *Chanaan*, had many viſions, which encouraged him to hope for great things hereafter, wherefore he called the place where it happen'd, the *Camp of God*. But *Jacob* deſirous of knowing before-hand how he ſtood, in reſpect of his brother, ſent meſſengers before him to enquire, giving commands unto thoſe he ſent, that they ſhould ſpeak after this manner to his brother *Eſau*.

‘ That *Jacob*, out of fear of diſobliging his brother, and not caring to live in enmity with him, voluntarily left his native country, whither now, in hopes length of time might, by blotting out old differences, have reſtor'd him to his favour, he was returning with his wives, his children, and the goods, which by his induſtry he had acquir'd, ſome of the moſt valuable of which he ſent as a token of his ſubmiſſion, and that he would eſteem it his greateſt happineſs to ſhare the goods God had beſtow'd with his brother.’

When theſe things were deliver'd unto *Eſau*, by the meſſengers of *Jacob*, *Eſau* was exceeding glad. Whereupon alſo he immediately ſet out to meet him with four hundred men in arms. *Jacob*, when he heard of his coming with ſuch a force, was very much afraid, yet put his whole truſt and all hope of ſafety in the mercy of God, providing however according as the exigency of the caſe requir'd, dividing thoſe who were with him, and putting one body in front, cauſed the other to march ſlowly behind, in order to ſuſtain them, in caſe *Eſau* ſhould attack them, and they be driven back.

Things being put thus into order, he ſent again certain perſons before him with preſents unto his brother. Theſe preſents conſiſted not only in beaſts of carriage, but alſo of various others, which for rarity and price might ſeem precious in the eyes of his brother. He directed a ſpace alſo to be left between each, that in paſſing they might appear the more numerous, and by their value aſſwage any ill-will that might yet remain in his brother towards him. To thoſe alſo who accompany'd them, *Jacob* gave directions to addreſs *Eſau* in the moſt courteous and ſubmiſſive terms.

Theſe preparations having taken up the day, he cauſed his troops to march in the night; who when they had paſſed a brook, called *Jaboch*, *Jacob*, who was hindmoſt, had a viſion, in which he ſeem'd to contend, and wreſtle with a *Phantom*, which at length *Jacob* having overcome, it ſpoke unto him, and encouraged him, telling him he had (which was not eaſy) vanquiſh'd an *Angel* of the *Lord*, which was a preſage of future ſucceſs, in which he ought to rejoice, being aſſur'd alſo that God would protect his poſterity, and that none ſhould be able to vanquiſh or diſtreſs them. He moreover commanded him to take upon him for the future, the name of *Iſrael*, which in the *Hebrew* tongue ſignifies *a Reſiſter of an Angel*.

Theſe things were foretold *Jacob*, at his requeſt; for when he perceiv'd that it was an Angel of the Lord, he enquir'd diligently of what ſhould befal him; which when the viſion had told, it vaniſh'd from his ſight. Wherefore *Jacob*, being very joyful at this event, called the name of the place *Phanuë*, which is as much as to ſay, *the Face of God*. But *Jacob* feeling a pain in his thigh, occaſion'd by his ſtriving, he ever after abſtain'd from eating that part, which is the reaſon our nation refrain alſo therefrom.

When *Jacob* was inform'd that his brother and his people drew nigh, he commanded his wives to go forward ſeverally, attended by their ſervants, that they might at a diſtance, and in ſafety, behold the battle, in caſe his brother *Eſau* ſhould conſtrain him to fight. But on his brother's coming up to him, ſeeing he intended him no evil, *Jacob* threw himſelf at his feet, and *Eſau* on the other hand ſaluting him, enquir'd concerning his wives and children; and having learnt of their welfare, he offer'd to conduct them to his father. *Jacob* excuſed himſelf from accepting the offer, by pretending his cattle were very weary, and much fatigued with their journey; ſo *Eſau* retir'd to the town of *Sair*, (*Seïr*) the place of his habitation, which he ſo called from the *Thickneſs of his Hair*.

CHAP. XXI.

The Rape of Dinah, *the Daughter of* Jacob.

JACOB retir'd himſelf alſo to a place we now call the *Tents*, (alſo *Succoth*) and from thence went to *Sichem*, a city of the *Chanaanites*. It happen'd there, that on a ſolemn feaſt day, *Dinah*, the daughter of *Jacob*, went forth to ſee the finery of the women in that country; where being ſeen by *Sichem*, the ſon of king *Emmor*, he firſt by force deflowered her; after which, through the violence of his love for her, he entreated his father that he might have her in marriage. The king yielded to the propoſal, and went himſelf unto *Jacob*, to requeſt that his ſon might receive *Dinah* for his lawful wife.

Now, when out of regard to the dignity of the perſon who aſked it, he knew not how to refuſe; and at the ſame time conceiving it unfit to match his daughter with ſtrangers of another ſtock, *Jacob* was very much perplex'd in his mind, and deſir'd time to conſider thereof. The king thereupon retir'd, hoping that *Jacob* would conſent to the marriage. *Jacob* immediately call'd his ſons together, and acquainting them both with the rape of their ſiſter, and the requeſt of *Emmor*, bid them conſider what meaſures were in this caſe to be taken. The reſt doubting were ſilent; but *Simeon* and *Levi*, who were both from the ſame womb with *Dinah*, concerted between them a deſign of revenge.

For on a feaſt day of the *Sichemites*, when they had given themſelves entirely up to merriment and pleaſure, the brothers took their opportunity, and in the dead of the night, having ſlain the guards, who were intoxicated and half aſleep, they entered the town, putting all the males therein to the ſword; amongſt whom were the king and his ſon, doing however no harm to the women. Having perform'd this without the knowledge of their father, and bringing back their ſiſter with them, they returned.

Jacob was exceedingly diſmay'd at this action of his ſons, and was wroth with them for it; but God in the night comforted him, commanding him to be of good chear, and to purify himſelf, his family, and habitations, offering up alſo the ſacrifices he had vowed, when in his journey to *Meſopotamia* he had ſeen the viſion. *Jacob*, while he was making this luſtration, found the Gods of *Laban*, which, till then, he knew not were taken away by *Rachel*, and had by her been hidden under an oak. Afterwards he went and ſacrificed at *Bethel*, where he had ſeen the viſion in his dream, when he went formerly into *Meſopotamia*.

Going from thence, in the land of *Ephratha*, *Rachel* died in child-bed, and was there buried, being the only one of her family who had not place in the ſepulchre at *Hebron*; over whom *Jacob* having bitterly lamented, he named her ſon *Benjamin*, whom ſhe had called *Ben-oni*, (the ſon of ſorrow), from thoſe mortal pains his birth had given to her. Now the children of *Jacob* were twelve ſons and one daughter; of which eight were legitimate, ſix by *Leah*, and two by *Rachel*; but four were by their hand-maids, by each of them two. All whoſe names I have mention'd before.

CHAP. XXII.

The Death of Iſrael, *and Interment at* Hebron.

THENCE *Jacob* went unto the city of *Hebron*, where *Iſaac* his father dwelt; but in a very ſhort ſpace he loſt him; nor did he find his mother *Rebecca* living. In a ſmall time, as I have ſaid, after his arrival, his father dying he was bury'd in *Hebron*, near his progenitors, by his ſons. *Iſaac* was a perſon, for his eminent goodneſs, well pleaſing unto God; and after the deceaſe of *Abraham* his father, received into the higheſt favour. He attain'd alſo unto a good old age, having lived to one hundred eighty-five, and left behind him the memorial of the moſt exalted virtue.

The *END* of the Firſt Book of the Antiquities.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE ANTIQUITIES of the *JEWS*.

BOOK THE SECOND.

Containing the Space of Two Hundred and Twenty Years.

CHAP. I.

How Eſau *and* Jacob, *the Sons of* Iſaac, *divided the Inheritance from their Father*; Idumæa *falling to the Lot of* Eſau, *and* Chanaan *unto that of* Jacob.

AFTER the deceaſe of *Iſaac*, his ſons divided his inheritance between them, each retiring to the place of his habitation; but *Eſau* leaving the city of *Hebron* to his brother, ſettled himſelf at *Saïr* (*Seïr*) becoming prince of *Idumæa*, ſo called from his own name, himſelf being call'd *Edom* from this occaſion.

One day while he was yet very young, returning much harraſs'd and fatigu'd from hnnting, he found his brother *Jacob* dreſſing lentil porridge for his dinner, which looking red, more and more excited the deſire of *Eſau*, hungry with the chaſe, to eat thereof; wherefore he intreated *Jacob* to give him part: but his brother taking advantage of his ſharp ſtomach, refuſed him the porridge, unleſs he would reſign to him his birthright; which *Eſau* at laſt did, and confirm'd his reſignation, by a ſolemn oath. His companions of a like age, called him from hence *Edom* in ſport, from the redneſs of his victuals, for in *Hebrew*, *Edom* ſignifies *Red*. Hence therefore came the denomination of this country, which the *Greeks*, according to their wonted cuſtom of ſoftning all proper names to an agreeable ſound, call *Idumæa*.

Eſau begat five ſons: *Jaus*, *Jolam* and *Core*, he had by his wife *Alibama*; *Aliphazes*, (*Aliphates*) by *Ada*, and *Raguel* by *Baſematha*, (or *Moſematha*). *Aliphazes* had five children, *Theman*, *Omer*, *Saphus*, (or *Opheus*, or *Opher*,) *Jotham* and *Canaz*. *Amelech* was his illegitimate ſon by his concubine *Thamha*, (or *Theſma*). Theſe inhabited that tract of *Idumæa* call'd *Gobolitis*, and from *Amelech*, *Amelechitis*: for *Idumæa* being a country of wide extent, retain'd its name in general; but the ſeveral provinces receiv'd their particular demoninations from their firſt inhabitants.

CHAP. II.

How Joſeph, *one of the younger Children of* Jacob, *becauſe of a Dream which promiſed him great future Succeſs, became envied by his Brethren.*

NOW *Jacob* attained to a degree of happineſs greater than that of any other perſon of his age; his riches excelled thoſe of any of the inhabitants of that country, and the number and merits of his children made him at once conſpicuous and envied. For indeed the young men were wanting in no accompliſhment, ſtrong in body, and of ingenious diſpoſitions; they were equally adapted to whatever requir'd labour and force, or to thoſe things which are not to be perform'd but by the virtues of the mind.

Indeed the affairs of *Jacob* were ſo much under the care of the Almighty, and His favour ſo conſtantly ſhone on all he did, that even the moſt adverſe and contrary events, as they appear'd unto humane wiſdom, were by the directions of His over-ruling councils render'd the means of conferring wealth and good things upon him and his poſterity; as is manifeſted by our anceſtors coming out of *Ægypt*, which happen'd through this occaſion.

Joſeph, the ſon of *Rachel*, both from the extraordinary beauty of his perſon, and the excellency of his genius, which in ſolidity of judgment ſurpaſſed thoſe of his brethren, became in a particular manner the favourite of his father *Jacob*. This peculiar affection of his father towards him, with the dreams he had related, which portended his great ſucceſs in future times, filled all his brethren with a malicious ſpleen againſt *Joſeph*; for it ſeems a natural infirmity in mankind to envy the proſperity of thoſe who are their equals. Now the viſions which *Joſeph* had ſeen, and which had raiſed this ill-will againſt him, were theſe:

Being ſent by his father with his brethren to reap his corn, he ſaw in his ſleep a viſion very different in its nature, from what is uſually repreſented unto mankind in their dreams: from its ſtrangeneſs therefore he was induced to conſult his brothers; then told he is viſion thus: 'Behold I ſaw laſt night in my ſleep the ſheaf which I had bound ſtanding firm, and all of yours running towards it bowed, and did reverence thereunto.' His brothers underſtanding clearly from hence, that mighty ſucceſs ſhould come unto him, and that he ſhould acquire power and authority over them, altho' they ſaid nothing unto *Joſeph*, yet ceaſed they not amongſt themſelves to wiſh that the omen might be averted, and to increaſe their malice againſt their brother yet more and more.

But God, to confound their envy, ſent yet a more extraordinary viſion to *Joſeph*: He beheld in his dream the ſun, the moon, and *the reſt of the ſtars*, (others have it *eleven Stars*) come down upon the earth, and do reverence unto him. *Joſeph*, little ſuſpecting any miſchief from his brothers, told this alſo before them unto his father, intreating him, if he thought it worthy, to explain the meaning thereof to him. *Jacob* was exceedingly pleaſed with that dream, collecting the circumſtances, weighing and comparing them in his own mind, he perceived plainly that ſome great thing was portended, and promiſed unto his ſon thereby; for he gathered from thence, that *Joſeph* being raiſed unto ſome high place, ſhould receive reſpect and honour from his father, mother and brothers. The ſun and moon ſeemed to repreſent the father and the mother, becauſe the latter nouriſhes and increaſes all things, and from the former all things derive their form and force: The ſtars to *Jacob*, ſeemed alſo to refer to his brethren, who were *Eleven*, and like the ſtars drew their vigour from their parents.

Nor was this a looſe, or inconſiderate interpretation given by *Jacob* of his ſon's dream; but its agreement with reaſon, made it pierce yet the more deeply into the heart of his brothers: for they conceived a deep envy againſt the predicted good fortune unto *Joſeph*, as if he had been a ſtranger and not their brother, in whoſe ſucceſs they needed not to have doubted their having an equal ſhare; and from this malicious ſpirit it entered into their minds to put the young man to death.

When therefore they had formed this deſign amongſt themſelves, the harveſt being wholly gathered in, they went into *Sichem*, a country perfectly adapted unto grazing, with their herds, without giving any notice unto their father of their going thither. *Jacob* hearing nothing from the flocks, nor knowing what was become of his ſons, became very uneaſy and troubled in his mind; at length he ſent *Joſeph* forth unto the herds, that he might learn news of his brethren, and bring him an account.

CHAP. III.

How Joſeph, *through the Malice of his Brethren, was ſold into* Ægypt; *and becoming there a great and illuſtrious Perſon, had his Brethren afterwards in his Power.*

WHEN therefore the ſons of *Jacob* perceived *Joſeph* coming towards them, they were filled with the greateſt joy; not as at the ſight of a brother, or one who came as a meſſenger from their father, but as if an enemy by the permiſſion of God had fallen into their hands; wherefore they immediately agreed amongſt themſelves, leſt the opportunity ſhould be ſnatched out of their hands, to kill him on the ſpot. But *Ruben* the eldeſt of them, when he ſaw their deſign, diſſuading them from it, ſet before their eyes the atrocious wickedneſs of the fact. He remonſtrated unto them how odious it were in the ſight of God, and how deteſtable in the eyes of the world, for them in cool blood to murder even a ſtranger, much more than to embrue their hands in the ſlaughter of their brother, whoſe death they knew would be a moſt cruel injury to their father, and would wound him with the deepeſt affliction for ſuch a loſs of his ſon. He conjured them therefore to give over this wicked intention, and not ſlay a young, deſerving, and beautiful perſon, who was alſo their brother, eſpecially ſeeing God would be a witneſs of, and preſent at the deed; who would delight in them, and bleſs them, if quitting, the barbarity of the deſign, they repented that it even had entered into their thoughts: But whoſe juſtice would ſurely purſue and puniſh them for ſhedding his blood; ſince his Providence diſcerns alike things practiſed in the ſecrets of the deſarts, and which are done openly in cities and towns; for whereſoever man is, there is alſo God's Providence beholding all that he does.

He remonſtrated farther to them, that if they went on to commit this fact, the terrors of conſcience would purſue them, which as it affords continual comforts if good, ſo, if evil, it never can be avoided. He ſaid, That if their brother had injured them, it were unjuſt to kill him; for that it is better to pardon and forgive the offences of our friends, than implacably to puniſh them: That *Joſeph* had never done them any wrong, and the tender innocence of his youth rather excited tenderneſs, and claim'd their care and their protection. The cauſe alſo, *Ruben* remarked to them, for which they were about to ſlay him, ſtill added more to the atrocity of the fact: for they were for putting him to death, becauſe of future proſperity that had been promiſed him; and wherein, from their nearneſs in blood, they might reaſonably hope to be ſharers; and that they ſhould in one circumſtance above all, tempt the Juſtice of God, and render themſelves objects of his vengeance, by killing him whom the Almighty had by ſignal declarations deemed worthy of proſperity and honour.

On theſe and many other topicks *Ruben* inſiſted, in hopes of altering the intentions of his brethren: but finding that impracticable, and that the more he ſpoke againſt it, the more ready and violent they were to go about it, he changed his diſcourſe, ſaying, that ſince he could not prevail on them to ſpare him, but that his death was poſitively determined, he would yet adviſe them to mitigate his death by the manner of it, and ſo render the offence ſomewhat the leſs odious; for that polluting their hands immediately with the blood of their brother, was a very barbarous fact: he counſelled them therefore that they ſhould let him down into the next pit to which they came, and there leave him to die. Unto this they all aſſented; whereupon *Ruben* took the young man, and putting a cord about him, let him gently down into a pit, and then went to look for better paſturage for his cattle.

But *Judah*, who was alſo one of the ſons of *Jacob*, perceiving certain *Arabian* merchants, who carry ſpices and other *Syrian* merchandizes from *Galaad* into *Ægypt*, coming towards them after the departure of *Ruben*, counſelled them to ſell *Joſeph* unto them, by which they would be certain of his dying far enough out of their way, and they at the ſame time ſhould avoid being the immediate inſtruments of his death. To this when they had all agreed, they drew *Joſeph* out of the pit, and ſold him unto theſe merchants for twenty pieces of ſilver, when he was now ſeventeen years of age. *Ruben* had reſolved with himſelf to ſave *Joſeph* his brother, wherefore coming in the night ſecretly to the pit he called to him, but finding he was not there, he ſuſpected they had murdered him after his departure; of which accuſing his brethren, when they told him the truth, he ceaſed lamenting any longer.

Theſe things thus done, the brothers next conſulted amongſt themſelves what they ſhould ſay when they returned, to avoid the ſuſpicions of their father. They bethought themſelves then of *Joſeph*'s coat which he uſed to wear, and which they had ſtript off when they put him into the pit; this they tore, and ſtaining it with goat's blood, reſolved, by ſhewing it to his father, to make him believe his ſon had been torn by wild beaſts. Having adjuſted this point, they returned to the old man, who by that time had heard ſomewhat of his ſon's being loſt; they declared they had neither ſeen, nor knew any thing of *Joſeph*, but that they had found this coat torn, and ſtain'd with gore, by which they conjectured the beaſts had killed him, if that was the coat he had on when he went forth.

Jacob hitherto had expected leſs doleful tidings, ſuppoſing he might have only been taken captive; but this coat took away all hopes. He told them that was the coat in which his ſon went out, and being now ſure he was killed, he mourned for him accordingly. So heavy was his affliction at this loſs, that the ſtory they told him, gained an abſolute belief; and *Jacob* covered with ſackcloth, abandoned himſelf ſo to grief and lamentation, as to remain inconſolable from the advices of his ſons, or from the dictates of his own reaſon.

CHAP. IV.

Joſeph's *wonderful Continence, when tempted by his Lord's Wife.*

THE merchants ſold *Joſeph* to *Potiphar* (*Greek* is *Petiphres*), an *Ægyptian*, and great officer in *Pharaoh*'s houſhold, who treated him with great eſteem. For cauſing him to be educated with the utmoſt care, and treated in all other reſpects very much above his condition, he at length promoted him unto the poſt of ſteward and maſter of his houſhold. In which proſperous ſtate he forgot not his piety and virtue, but by the exactneſs of his conduct gave a full demonſtration that his prudence being real, and his religious diſpoſition genuine and unaffected, were able to triumph over evil accidents, and not accommodated only to happy times. When the wife of *Potiphar*, and miſtreſs of *Joſeph*, obſerved the beauty of his perſon and the elegance of his genius, which appeared in whatever he did, ſhe became violently enamoured of him, ſuppoſing that he would readily yield to her deſires, and account it his greateſt felicity to ſhare in her favours. But in ſuch thoughts ſhe regarded only the ſtate of life he was in, and reflected not on that exemplary virtue which appeared in all his actions.

The vehemence of her paſſion engaged her to confeſs it freely to *Joſeph*, and even to intreat a reciprocal affection; but he rejected all her amorous propoſals, ſaying, that having receiv'd ſuch, and ſo great benefits from his lord, it would be a baſe and infamous return, if he ſhould commit ſuch an injury againſt him. Moreover he adviſ'd her to reſtrain the exorbitance of her deſires, and moderate the heat of her inclinations, by aſſuring her all hopes were vain, which is commonly the beſt remedy againſt ſuch impure cogitations; adding, that as to himſelf, he would rather ſuffer any thing, than by yielding to her ſollicitations, become equally culpable in the commiſſion of ſuch a wickedneſs. 'Tis true indeed, ſaid he, that 'in moſt caſes, it is blameable for a ſervant 'to diſpute the commands of his miſtreſs; 'but here the foulneſs of the requeſt leaves 'me no occaſion for excuſe.' This refuſal, ſo contrary to all her hopes, inflamed her but the more. She therefore turned all her thoughts on ſome new contrivance, by which intrapping him ſhe might accompliſh her deſign.

When therefore a ſolemn feaſt day required her preſence, according to the *Ægyptian* cuſtom, which is to deck their women out with the greateſt ſplendor, ſhe excuſed herſelf on the pretence of ſickneſs, hoping by this ſhe ſhould gain an opportunity of ſeeing *Joſeph* alone with greater eaſe. Her deſign ſo far ſucceeding ſhe began to addreſs herſelf in yet more endearing terms to *Joſeph* than ſhe had done before; telling him, that he would have acted wiſely if he had complied with her firſt ſolliciations, and ſaved her the ſhame of a ſecond application, in regard to her great quality; but that now he ſhould attone for all errors, by an immediate compliance with her will. That expecting a ſecond amorous invitation, he now received it with this peculiar mark of her affection, that ſhe neglected all the pleaſure of a public ſolemnity, purely that ſhe might enjoy him; by which alſo he might be fully ſatisfied that no fraud lurked under her former careſſes, ſince ſhe ſtill perſiſted in her love. 'Come then, 'ſaid ſhe and let us gratify ourſelves; for if 'to my favours you prefer your own empty 'opinion of chaſtity, my hate and ſpleen ſhall 'purſue you to the utmoſt. Nor ſhall your 'continence avail you, even upon this occa'ſion; for if I accuſe thee unto my huſband 'of an attempt upon my virtue, my accuſation 'will prevail, and the lies I ſhall invent, will 'gain the belief of *Potiphar*, altho' the truth 'remain on thy ſide.'

But the entreaties of the woman, tho' accompanied with tears, could not excite his pity, ſo as to offend againſt chaſtity; but unmoved with fear, unprevailed on by prayers, and unterrified by threats, he reſolved never to yield unto ſuch an action, however dear it might coſt him, at the inſtigation of a woman, as afterwards might wound and torment his conſcience. Nor was he wanting in monitions that ſhe ſhould regard that fidelity, which law, right and cuſtom, exacted to the marriage-bed, rather than a momentary pleaſure imbittered with continual fears of diſcovery; whereas conjugal enjoyments hinder not having a good conſcience before God and man; that it was undoubtedly more honourable and more worthy of her, to command him as her ſervant, than to debaſe herſelf ſo far as to partake with the filthineſs of ſuch a ſin. The ſatiſfaction of a good life being a greater and more pleaſing than the fleeting pleaſures which are ſecretly ſought in vice.

By theſe, and abundance of ſuch like arguments, *Joſeph* endeavoured to abate the vehemence of her deſires, and to bring her again within the dominion of her reaſon. But ſhe, grown furious at his refuſal, finding blandiſhments ineffectual, laid hold on him by force. *Joſeph*, greatly moved at this ſhocking impudence of the woman, fled from her bedſide, leaving his coat, on which ſhe ſeized, in her hands. She terrified leſt her huſband ſhould hear it, and ſtung with rage at his neglect, determined within herſelf to accuſe him unto *Potiphar*; and to cover, with the pretence of rage at the violence offered to her honour, that viſible confuſion into which, by *Joſeph*'s diſappointing her wiſhes, ſhe had been caſt. Having thus ſettled, within herſelf, this *Female Policy*, ſhe addreſſed herſelf to put on a proper appearance to receive her huſband. *Potiphar* returning home, and perceiving her troubled countenance, tenderly enquired the reaſon of her ſorrows. She began immediately her accuſation of *Joſeph*, ſpeaking thereof to her huſband, in the following terms:

'Either thou deſerveſt death, though my 'huſband, or thou wilt puniſh, as it deſerves, 'the audacious impudence of thy ſlave, who 'has endeavoured to violate the honour of thy 'bed. Who, unmindful of the ſtate, in 'which he came into your family, and ungrate'ful for all the benefits which thy kindneſs 'hath heaped upon him, unſatisfied unleſs he 'could poſſeſs all that thou haſt, he has en'deavoured to injure the chaſtity of me, your 'wife, and that too on a holy-day, becauſe 'thou wert abſent. From whence it is ma'nifeſt, that all the humble modeſty which he 'hath hitherto worn, ſprung from a ſlaviſh 'fear, and not from his native virtue. What 'hath given him the boldneſs to attempt this, 'is that extraordinary favour which thou 'haſt ſhewn him, in putting all thou haſt into 'his power, and preferring him unto all the 'reſt of thy ſervants, for which he thought (it 'ſeems) to poſſeſs alſo me, who am thy wife.'

That ſhe might gain yet the more credit unto all ſhe had ſaid, ſhe produced to him his garment, which, as ſhe ſaid, he left, when he came in and ſtruggled to violate her. *Potiphar*, moved with the tears and ſpeeches of his wife, and diſtruſting nothing of what he had heard and ſaw, doubly enamoured of her thro' this, he threw *Joſeph*, without enquiry, into the priſon with other malefactors, commending and admiring the excellent chaſtity of his wife; of which, in his own opinion, he had ſo clear and ample teſtimony.

CHAP. V.

How Joſeph *being thus accuſed, and in Priſon, interpreted there certain Dreams.*

JOSEPH bore all with great ſerenity of mind, referring himſelf and his affairs totally to the mercy of God; and in this ſpirit of reſignation he ſubmitted to his bonds, without offering to excuſe himſelf, or to ſet the matter in a true light; truſting that the Divine Being, who knew his innocence, would ſuccour and relieve him. The Divine Providence on which he relied, ſoon ſhone forth in his aſſiſtance; for the keeper of the priſon pleaſed with his tractable temper, and exceedingly taken with the comelineſs of his perſon, treated him with great gentleneſs; and finding him faithful in thoſe little things in which he employed him, encreaſed his allowance of victuals, and by other means alleviated his miſery very much. It happened there, that the priſoners, when they had any time vacant from their labours, conferred together, as is uſual for perſons in ſuch diſtreſs to do, and to relate one to the other the ſeveral cauſes of their confinement. Amongſt thoſe who were there, one was the king's butler, once high in his favour, but on a ſudden diſpleaſure caſt into bonds: he, by degrees, entred into intimacy with *Joſeph*, and perceiving him to be a man of knowledge, and deep underſtanding, he communicated unto him his dreams, intreating him if there were any thing in them which preſaged his future fortune, he would interpret unto him; lamenting alſo, while he made this requeſt, that the anger of the king ſhould cauſe his bonds, and wrath of heaven trouble thus his repoſe.

He ſaid, that in his ſleep he beheld three vine branches, from each of which hung a large cluſter of grapes, ripe, and fit for uſe; that he thought he ſqueezed them into a cup, which the King held in his hand, and that having ſtrained off the *muſt*, he preſented it unto his majeſty, who kindly received and accepted the ſame. Now when he had related his viſion in theſe terms, he earneſtly beſought *Joſeph* that if it were in his power, and the dream portended any thing, that he would explain it unto him.

Joſeph bad him take heart, for within three days ſpace he ſhould be releaſed from priſon, and reſtored unto his office; ſhewing him thus the grounds of this interpretation. The fruit of the vine is a Bleſſing given by God unto man for his uſe; that when its juice is drunk, it betokeneth and even createth friendſhips amongſt thoſe who drink it; aſſuaging jars and enmity, quarrels and heart-burning, inclining folks to pleaſure and to peace. Inaſmuch as thou ſay'ſt that the king received kindly from thee the wine preſſed out of three cluſters, a good dream is offered unto thee; the preſſing thoſe bunches, ſhews thy deliverance from trouble, and the number of the cluſters points out the time; that it ſhall be in three days. But when my prediction ſhall be verified, remember, I pray thee, when thou art at liberty, us who remain in bondage, nor let thy felicity blot from thy remembrance thoſe who have been the companions of thy ſorrows. For not through guilt am I fallen thus into bonds, but for having through modeſty and virtue avoided a crime, I ſuffer this puniſhment, having preferr'd the honour of my maſter to my own pleaſures. The Butler was mightily pleaſed with this interpretation, and waited its accompliſhment with very great hopes.

Now there was in the priſon another ſervant of the king, who had been his chief baker, until he, like the butler, was put into hold. This man, hearing *Joſeph*'s interpretation, was mightily lifted up with hope, for he alſo had ſeen a viſion: He therefore beſought him to render the ſignification of the dream unto him, and inform him what was predicted, or prefigured thereby. Now it happened, *ſaid he*, The laſt night, I beheld in my ſleep, as if three baskets had been upon my head, two full of bread, and the third of fine and choice victuals, fit for the repaſt of kings; now the birds of the air hovered round me; and notwithſtanding all I could do, eat up what I had therein: And from this he, who related it, promiſed himſelf as much ſucceſs as was preſaged to the butler by his dream.

Joſeph, when within himſelf he had attentively conſidered the dream, told the baker that he would moſt willingly have been the meſſenger of much happier news, than the interpretation of the dream would bear: For it ſignifies, that thou haſt only two days to live, and on the third, being affixed to a croſs, thou ſhalt die, and be food for thoſe birds thou could'ſt not keep off. The Predictions of *Joſeph* were fully verified, for on the day he had ſet, the king keeping the feaſt of his birth, ordered the baker to be crucified, and the butler to be reſtored to his office.

Joſeph had now lain almoſt two years in priſon, unaſſiſted in any degree by the butler, when the Providence of God delivered him, and that after this manner: King *Pharaoh* having one night two viſions, which he conceived imported him evil, and tho' he knew not the interpretation of them, yet ſome apprehenſions from them hung very heavy on his mind. This made him appear uneaſy unto thoſe about him, and as ſoon as day appeared, he called together the wiſe men of *Ægypt*, deſiring them to interpret to him his dream; they heſitating, and being in doubt, the king's mind grew yet more diſordered. the Butler obſerved this; which bringing *Joſeph* and his ſkill in interpreting dreams into his mind, he immediately went to the king, and told him how *Joſeph* had informed him of the meaning of his viſion when in priſon, which was verified; and alſo his prediction, in reſpect of the baker, who was nailed to the croſs: That this *Joſeph* had been ſervant unto *Potiphar*, one of his majeſty's houſhold, and is, as himſelf ſays, an *Hebrew*, and well deſcended: Him, therefore, *ſaid the* butler, if you command to be brought before you, and regard him not the leſs for the evils he is now preſſed with, he will ſurely inform thee of thy dreams. The king thereupon commanded *Joſeph* ſhould be brought unto him, which was accordingly done by thoſe who had receiv'd ſuch orders.

When *Joſeph* came into the royal preſence, the king taking him by the hand, ſpake thus: 'Young man, my ſervant hath told me thou haſt an excellent talent at interpreting dreams; of this faculty thou haſt given him an inſtance, do ſo now to me, and tell me what is preſaged by thoſe things I have ſeen in my ſleep: But beware of concealing any thing out of fear, or ſaying what may flatter me, but ſpeak the truth plainly, and without partiality. As I ſeem'd in my ſleep to be walking by the river-ſide, I ſaw ſeven large and fat kine, which went from the river towards the paſtures; and lo! the ſame number of kine, lean, and uncouth in their appearance, ſeem'd to come from the paſtures towards the river, which meeting the fat cattle in the way, methought they devour'd them, and yet, when they had ſo done, ſeem'd not themſelves more fleſhy. Upon this I awaked, and as I was turning my thoughts to examine the nature and the ſignification of my dream, oppreſſed with ſleep, I ſaw alſo a ſecond viſion ſtranger, and which more affrighted me than the former: For I beheld as it were ſeven ears of corn growing out of one root, which were ſo heavy with grain, ripe, and ready for the hook, that their heads bent towards the ground: I ſaw alſo ſeven other ears, poor, dry and wither'd, which ſuddenly appear'd to me to eat up and conſume the ſeven goodly ears of corn; which aſtoniſh'd me very much.'

Then anſwer'd *Joſeph*, and ſaid, 'This dream, O king, tho' it ſeem double, yet hath it reference but to one future event; the ſeven fat oxen, and ſeven full ears, denote ſeven years of plenty; and the ſeven lean oxen, and wither'd ears, ſeven years of famine: and inaſmuch as thou ſaw'ſt thoſe ſeven fat oxen were devour'd by the lean ones, and the full ears of corn eaten up by the wither'd; this betokeneth ſeven years of famine and barrenneſs throughout *Ægypt*, which ſhall conſume and deſtroy all that the fruitfulneſs of former years of plenty had left. During which ſpace, the pinch of hunger ſhall be ſo great, that it ſhall be no eaſy matter to ſatisfy it, which is prefigur'd by this, that when the lean oxen had devoured the fat, and the wither'd ears of corn the full, neither of them appear'd the fuller for it. Now God ſends not theſe warnings to terrify and affright men, but that they, having thus notice of coming evils, may by their prudence contrive ſuch methods as may leſſen, at leaſt, what otherwiſe they would ſuffer therefrom. If therefore thou ſhalt lay up and preſerve what *Ægypt* in its years of abundance will produce, much of that penury, with which the land is threatned, ſhall be avoided.'

The king was hereupon much pleaſed and ſatisfied with the ſkill and excellent wiſdom of *Joſeph*; he therefore demanded his advice how that reſerve of corn ſhould be made out of the plentiful years, which, as he rightly ſaid, might make thoſe of famine tolerable. *Joſeph* anſwer'd, 'That the *Ægyptians* ſhould be permitted only to uſe what would ſuffice for neceſſary proviſion, and no more; that which uſually they applied to luxury, being, on this emergency, to be laid up as a publick ſtore, to ſupply the neceſſities of times to come.' He moreover exhorted him, 'That the corn, as it was brought in by the huſbandmen, ſhould be laid up in barns, and ſo much diſtributed to the people as might ſuffice for their eating.' The king, ſtruck with admiration at the wiſe counſel and interpretation of his dreams, made *Joſeph* immediately ſuperintendant of the ſtores, that he might do whatſoever he thought fit for the profit of the king, or the advantage of his people; 'Since thou, *ſaid the king*, art the fitteſt to make ſuch preparations, who by thy wiſdom haſt foreſeen their uſe.'

Being thus cloth'd with authority, and veſted in purple, allow'd by the king to make uſe of his ſignet, and to drive throughout *Ægypt* in a chariot, *Joſeph* began to addreſs himſelf to his employment, and receiving in all the grain, he diſtributed but ſo much thereof as might ſerve for bread and ſeed, laying up the reſidue in publick granaries, aſſigning no reaſon to any man for what he did.

CHAP. VI.

How Joſeph *thus flouriſhing in* Ægypt, *his Brethren fall there into his Power.*

J*OSEPH* was now in his thirtieth year, the king heaping on him favours continually, and for his extraordinary wiſdom ſirnaming him *Pſothomphanah*, (or *Pſonthomphanech*) which in their tongue ſignifies *A Diſcoverer of hidden Things*. He made alſo an honourable and advantageous marriage, *viz.* with the daughter of *Potiphar*, the *Heliopolitan* prieſt, whoſe name was *Aſenetha*, a virgin, whom, by the favour of the king, he thus took to wife. By her he had children before the dearth began, *viz. Manaſſes*, whoſe name ſignifies *Oblivion*, for that in his preſent proſperity he ſuffer'd not the remembrance of former ſorrows to afflict him. *Ephraim* was the younger of them, whoſe denomination was, as much as to ſay, *Reſtored*; becauſe *Joſeph*, at the time of his birth, was reſtor'd unto all the liberty enjoyed by his anceſtors.

Now when, according to the prophecy of *Joſeph*, *Ægypt*, for the ſpace of ſeven years ſucceſſively, enjoy'd great plenty, behold, in the beginning of the eighth, the famine drew on, which ſorely oppreſſing the common people, they, in crouds, ran to the ſtores and granaries of the king. *Joſeph* therefore being called unto them, he aſſign'd unto each the meaſure of corn needful for them, and was on this account juſtly ſtiled the *Saviour* of the *People*. Nor was it the people of *Ægypt* only whom he thus reliev'd, but ſtrangers alſo: for, in the opinion of *Joſeph*, ſo near a relation was between the whole race of mankind, that it became not any nation in plenty to ſuffer their neighbours to be unrelieved in the pangs of famine and want.

Now the ſcarcity deeply affecting *Chanaan*, and indeed almoſt all the continent, and *Jacob* hearing that even ſtrangers were permitted to buy grain in *Ægypt*, ſent thither all his ſons, reſerving *Benjamin* only at home, who was brother on both ſides unto *Joſeph*, commanding them to purchaſe corn for his family. As ſoon then as they were come down into *Ægypt*, they ſent unto *Joſeph*, deſiring that they might have leave given them to trade. This they expreſſed alſo in the moſt humble terms, nothing being now done in that kingdom but according to his direction, and the only method of doing pleaſure to the king, being to honour *Joſeph*.

He knew all his brethren at firſt ſight, although they had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of him, the years he had been from them having very much alter'd his countenance, and they never dreaming of his riſing to ſo vaſt an eminence. *Joſeph* perceiving their ignorance, reſolv'd to try them, and find the bottom of their intentions; Wherefore he not only refuſed them licenſe to buy corn, but cauſed them alſo to be apprehended, in order to their being examin'd as ſpies on the ſtate of the kingdom. ‘Ye, *ſaid Joſeph*, appear unto me to be of ſeveral Nations, altho' ye aver your ſelves to be brethren; and it is a thing highly improbable, that one private man ſhould have ſo many worthy and comely ſons, whereas few princes enjoy ſuch a bleſſing.’ This *Joſeph* did, that thereby he might learn ſomewhat concerning his father, and what had befallen his family in his abſence; but more particularly in relation to his brother *Benjamin*, concerning whom he was in great fear, leaſt they had treated him as he himſelf had been uſed.

They were exceedingly terrified at this manner of proceeding, and perceiving in how dangerous a ſituation they were, *Ruben*, (*Greek*, *Rubel*,) after having a while conſulted amongſt themſelves, ſpoke for them all in the following terms, little thinking that he, to whom he ſpoke, was his brother.

‘We come not hither, dread Sir, (*ſaid he*,) to ſpy out the country, or to do any evil unto the territories of his majeſty, but are conſtrain'd to this journey through hopes of finding relief by your humanity, a remedy for the greateſt of all calamities, the famine and dearth which prevaileth through our land; and which we the rather hoped, becauſe of the report of your goodneſs, in admitting ſtrangers, as well as your own people, to purchaſe corn for their relief. That we are really brothers, as we ſaid unto you, appears from the ſimilitude of our countenances, which differ little from one another. Our father's name is *Jacob*, by nation a *Hebrew*, and we were in all twelve ſons, born unto him by four women. While we were all living, things went well and proſperouſly with our family; but ſince the loſs of our brother *Joſeph*, they have been upon the decline; our father continually lamenting his fate with the moſt bitter ſigns of grief, and we no leſs affected with ſorrow at the ſight of the old man's tears, than at firſt we ourſelves were with the miſchance which happen'd to our deareſt brother. We are now come hither with intent only to buy corn, and have left our youngeſt brother *Benjamin* with our father, diligently to attend him, and to take care of his affairs; and of this, whether we ſpeak truth or not, thou may'ſt ſend unto our father's houſe, and eaſily enquire.’

Thus ſpake *Ruben*, in hopes of perſuading him to a better opinion of himſelf and his brethren. But *Joſeph* having learnt that *Jacob*, his father, was ſtill living, and his brother *Benjamin* in ſafety, he commanded that they ſhould be ſhut in cloſe cuſtody, until he was at leiſure to examine them. Three days afterwards, he having order'd them to be brought before him, ſpoke unto them in theſe words:

‘Since ye affirm ſo conſtantly that ye come not to do hurt unto the kingdom, and that ye are all brethren, the ſons of one man; if ye would perſuade me of the truth of this, leave one of your number here as a pledge, who ſhall be kindly entertain'd till your return. Let the reſt of you carry back corn unto your father, and bring with you, when you come back hither, your youngeſt brother, by which you will prove all that ye have ſaid to be true.’

Much amaz'd at this propoſition they melted into tears, conſidering the dangerous ſtate they were in, reflecting in the midſt of their afflictions on the cruelty they had uſed towards their brother *Joſeph*, ſuppoſing this alſo to be a judgement from God thereupon. *Ruben* told them their repentance for that crime came much too late, and that now it became them only to have patience, and to ſubmit to the puniſhment God would inflict upon them for the barbarous treatment of their brother. Theſe words of *Ruben* wounded them to the quick, as apprehending the Divine Vengeance was about to fall upon them for that crime; and this occaſion'd their lamenting and complaining unto one another in the *Hebrew* tongue, ſuppoſing none preſent underſtood it. But this ſcene grew ſoon ſo moving unto *Joſeph*, that the tears ſtarting into his eyes he left them, to conceal his concern. Coming again however quickly amongſt them, he took *Simeon* as a pledge; and having given them leave to buy up what corn they wanted, he privately order'd his ſervants that the money they paid for it ſhould be put up again in their ſacks. All which his ſervants perform'd, and the brethren, with whatever they had, departed.

The ſons of *Jacob* returning into *Chanaan*, told their father all that had happen'd unto them in the land of *Ægypt*; how that they were taken for ſpies, and men who came to look on the weakneſs of the country; and while they averr'd on the contrary, that they were all brethren, and that they had left their eleventh brother at home with their father, they were not believ'd, but that *Simeon* was ſtill retain'd by the governor of *Ægypt*, as an hoſtage for the return of them with their brother *Benjamin*, whoſe preſence ſhould confirm the truth of what they had ſaid; wherefore they entreated their father, that without fear or diſtruſt, he ſhould ſend with them their younger brother. *Jacob* was exceedingly diſpleaſed with the management of his ſons; he took heavily the loſs of *Simeon*, but he conſider'd the parting with *Benjamin*, as the parting with life; neither could *Ruben*, his eldeſt ſon, with all his perſuaſions, move him, though he offer'd his own children as pledges, whom their grandfather might require, if any evil chance happen'd unto *Benjamin* on the road. In the midſt of that confuſion, which their preſent ſtate of affairs occaſion'd, all their doubts were doubl'd, by finding the money they had paid in the top of their ſacks.

But now, when the famine again began to preſs, *Jacob* began to think of ſending *Benjamin*, his youngeſt ſon, along with his brethren, ſince they durſt not return unto *Ægypt* without him; neceſſity growing ſtill greater, and his ſons daily preſſing him thereto, yet *Jacob* heſitated at parting with him.

Judas, a man of a bolder and more vehement ſpirit than the reſt, took upon him at laſt to ſpeak unto him about it, in theſe words: 'Methinks you are too careful of the ſafety of your ſon *Benjamin*: Do you not conſider that nothing can befal him, either abroad or at home, but as the Providence of God ſhall direct? By this ſuperſtitious tenderneſs of your ſon, Do you not imminently hazard all our ſafeties, who depend only on what we can bring from *Pharaoh*'s country, where alſo our brother *Simeon* is, and may periſh if we go not again to releaſe him? Truſt then your ſon to the mercy of God, and to my ſafe keeping, and depend on this, that either I will bring him again in ſafety to you, or will die with him myſelf.'

Jacob at length yielding to their requeſt deliver'd *Benjamin* unto them, giving them alſo double money for their corn; and as preſents for the governour, of the fruits of the land of *Chanaan*, balm, myrrh, turpentine and honey. Thus with tears, and the moſt tender lamentations, they parted, *Jacob* being exceedingly anxious for the ſafety of his ſons; and they likewiſe, fearful leſt death ſhould put an end to their father. In this melancholy condition the day paſſed on with both; the father returning home, weary and afflicted; but they encouraged themſelves as they went on their journey with the hopes of better days.

Now they no ſooner came to *Ægypt* but they went unto *Joſeph*, and fearing leaſt they ſhould be accuſed of ſome fraud, as to the money which they had taken back with them, they excuſed it thus unto the ſteward of *Joſeph*, anſwering him that without their privity it was in their ſacks The ſteward anſwering them directly, that he had not loſt the money they paid him, the brethren now began to have better hearts, *Simeon* alſo was now releaſed from his confinement, and ſaw and converſed with his brothers.

As ſoon as *Joſeph* return'd home from attending on the king, they immediately went to him and preſented him the gifts they had brought. He enquir'd of their father, and whether they found him well, and ſeeing *Benjamin* yet alive and amongſt them, he ſaid unto them, Is this your youngeſt brother? They anſwer'd that he was. *Joſeph* thereupon ſaid, *The providence of God directeth all things.* Which when he pronounced, his agitation of ſoul being ſo great, that tears began to fall, he withdrew, leaſt his brethren ſhould perceive his confuſion. Immediately after they were led unto a feaſt which had been prepar'd for them, where they ſat down in the ſame order that they did at their father's table, *Joſeph* treating them all with great kindneſs and reſpect, but giving *Benjamin* a double portion of all things.

After the entertainment was over, and they were laid down to reſt, *Joſeph* commanded his ſteward to put up the corn they came to buy in their ſacks, and their money alſo with it, and into *Benjamin*'s ſack, he commanded they ſhould drop the ſilver goblet out of which *Joſeph* uſually drank himſelf. This he did, intending to try the minds of his brethren, whether they would ſtand by *Benjamin* when charged with ſtealing it, or leave him to be puniſh'd as a malefactor, being very little mov'd therewith. Things thus done according to *Joſeph*'s orders, in the morning early *Jacob*'s ſons aroſe and prepared all things for their return, and taking *Simeon* their brother with them, departed to go into the land of *Chanaan*, equally rejoycing at their brother's releaſe, and that according to their ſolemn engagements they ſhould be able to reſtore *Benjamin* to their father. But their joy laſted not long, for on a ſudden being ſurrounded by a troop of horſe, amongſt whom was the ſervant who had put up the cup in *Benjamin*'s ſack; the *Ægyptians* began to inſult them. The ſons of *Jacob* at this incurſion called out unto the ſoldiers, and ſaid, Why ſhould you uſe us in this manner, whom ſo lately ye have ſo feaſted and honour'd. The armed men anſwer'd with bitter taunts and reflections, that they had very ill requited the kind entertainment they had receiv'd, who forgetting all the courteſies done them, and even the common laws of hoſpitality, perpetrated ſuch a fact againſt a man of ſo gentle a diſpoſition as *Joſeph* was, adding alſo, if they had ſo cunningly deceiv'd the butler, yet could they not hide their iniquity from the ſight of God; aſking them alſo whether they had their ſenſes well when they did ſo baſe an act, and how they could ſo much as hope to eſcape unpuniſh'd? With language of this ſort did the *Ægyptians* treat them. But they on the other hand ignorant and innocent anſwer'd, that they were exceedingly ſurpriz'd to find themſelves accuſed of theſt, who, in bringing back the money which had been hid in their ſacks, and was known unto none but themſelves, had given ſo ſignal a Proof of their honeſty. Yet, believing that the *Ægyptians* would be the better ſatisfied if they permited them to ſearch their ſacks, they made an offer thereof, propoſing alſo, that if any one ſhould be found guilty, they would all be content to ſuffer. This the *Ægyptians* accepted, but ſaid, that he only ſhould be puniſhed on whom the theſt was found. Beginning then their ſearch they looked into all the other ſacks, coming laſt unto *Benjamin*'s; not but that they were acquainted well enough where the Cup was, but they did it that the ſcrutiny might ſeem to be made the more exactly. All the reſt being as to themſelves ſafe, and never dreaming that *Benjamin* would commit ſuch an action, they began to taunt their purſuers in their turn, and to upbraid them for ſtopping them ſo long on their journey. But the cup in the mean time being found in *Benjamin*'s ſack, threw the brethren into the deepeſt affliction, both from the conſideration of their brother's being to ſuffer immediate death, and that they ſhould not be able to produce him at their return to their father. Their grief was the more encreaſed, as it fell upon them, not only without warning, but alſo when they believed themſelves moſt ſecure from calamity, wherefore, lamenting their condition, they confeſſed themſelves the authors of this evil, in as much as they forced *Benjamin* from their father againſt his will.

Now the horſemen having ſeized on *Benjamin*, his Brethren ſorrowfully accompanied him back. No ſooner then were they come into the preſence of *Joſeph* but he ſpake unto them thus: ‘ What, O ye (of all men!) moſt ‘ wicked; What could ye think, or believe of ‘ the providence of God; or what reckoning ‘ could ye make of the kindneſs I had ſhewn ‘ ye, when ye committed ſuch an act of injuſtice againſt your patron and benefactor?’ They anſwered mournfully, ‘ That they were ‘ all ready to ſuffer in the place of *Benjamin*, ‘ calling alſo their brother *Joſeph* into their ‘ minds; happy is he (*ſaid they*) in death, (if ‘ he indeed be dead) that ſo he is placed beyond the accidents which attend on human ‘ life; or if he yet live, God thus revenges all ‘ his ſorrows upon us.’ The grief they ſhould give their father alſo recurr'd to their remembrance, and how, by adding this new misfortune, they ſhould afreſh awaken the trouble he felt for *Joſeph*'s loſs. *Ruben* in the mean time grievouſly inveighing againſt the cruelty which they had formerly committed againſt their brother.

But *Joſeph* ſpeaking again unto them ſaid, ‘ That ſince no guilt appeared in any of them, ‘ he would content himſelf in puniſhing the ‘ guilty youth; for, ſaid he, I neither think ‘ it reaſonable to uſe ill the innocent in the ‘ room of the offender, nor to ſpare, even on ‘ the ſollicitations of good men, one who has ‘ done ſo vile an act. But go ye in peace, ‘ and I will take care of your ſafe paſſage ‘ out of *Egypt*.’

All of them were exceedingly caſt down at this expreſſion, inſomuch that they ſtood mute, and could neither ſpeak for him nor for themſelves; until *Judas*, who had wrought on *Jacob* his father to part with the young man, and who was himſelf a man of greater ſpirit than the reſt, reſolv'd to addreſs himſelf unto the governour, and to make a laſt effort by his ſpeech, to deliver the youth from his bonds. Whereupon he ſpake thus:

‘ We confeſs ourſelves, O my Lord, to be ‘ juſtly worthy of the heavieſt puniſhment, ‘ although not we, but this our unhappy ‘ youngeſt brother, committed this ungrateful ‘ crime againſt thee. We do indeed almoſt ‘ deſpair of his ſafety, and we ſhould do ſo ‘ totally, were it not for that experience we ‘ have had of thy goodneſs. Suffer yourſelf then to be directed in this affair, not ‘ according to the precepts of ſtrict juſtice, but ‘ by the natural ſweetneſs and compaſſion which ‘ is inherent in your temper, by which you ‘ triumph over anger, that reigns only in ‘ weak and puſillanimous minds. Permit ‘ not then, my Lord, ſo great a blemiſh to ‘ your glory, as to let them die who place ‘ their hopes of life in your mercy; and ‘ whom, if you now ſave, you but continue to them the former act of your clemency; ſince in ſo generouſly beſtowing corn ‘ on us for our families, you freed us from ‘ the fear of the worſt of all deaths, famine. Let us not then whom you delivered from one evil fall by another in your ‘ preſence; you gave us corn to preſerve our ‘ lives, give us now, from the ſame tenderneſs of heart, life, that the corn may preſerve it, and ſo your benefit not be thrown ‘ away. Conſider that in ſo merciful an act you ‘ but compleat your former intention, and by ‘ a double bounty beſtow on us, not only the ‘ neceſſaries of life, but alſo life itſelf. It ‘ ſeems indeed to me as if God himſelf had ‘ given you this ſingular opportunity of diſplaying your virtue, and ſhewing how much ‘ more you regard doing good, than returning ‘ injuries even by juſt chaſtiſement; and that ‘ you are not only tender and compaſſionate ‘ to thoſe who are in want, but merciful and ‘ diſpoſed to pity even heinous offenders: ‘ For though it is an act worthy of great honour to relieve the indigent and the unhappy, yet a prince acquireth ſtill greater glory, by affording clemency to thoſe who ‘ have committed evil, eſpecially if that ‘ evil be particularly againſt himſelf. And if ‘ they, who forgive even the ſlighteſt injuries, are praiſed for their greatneſs of ſoul, ‘ how much more then he who pardons a ‘ crime worthy of being puniſhed by death: ‘ Doth not this approach even the divine ‘ mercy? Did I not, by the ſad experience ‘ of *Joſeph*'s fate, know how dear the death ‘ of his children coſt our father, I would ‘ not with ſo much importunity ſollicit even ‘ for my brother; or if I did, part of my ‘ earneſtneſs would ariſe from the deſire I ‘ have of encreaſing thy glory. For even ‘ we ourſelves would willingly ſubmit to ‘ death, were it not for that anxiety it would ſurely give our Father. Nor for our own ſakes, therefore, though young, and who have yet much in the World to ſee, do we entreat your favour; but for the ſake of him our father, who, bending now under a weight of grief as well as age, deſerves your pity ſhould be extended towards us, who are otherwiſe, we readily confeſs, by reaſon of this baſe act, juſtly worthy of thy moſt extreme diſpleaſure. He, for whoſe ſake we entreat you to ſpare us, is a man full of piety and goodneſs, who doth not deſerve the puniſhments and afflictions he feels; eſpecially thoſe torments with which we are but too ſenſible our abſence muſt afflict him, whom with ſo much care and tenderneſs he had brought up in a virtuous education, more eſpecially improved by ſo excellent an example. Should he then ſo much as receive the news of our death, and the ſhameful cauſe thereof, his grief would not ſuffer him to outlive it; nay, better his ſenſes were taken away e're the tidings reach his ears; whereby he ſhall not only die, but die alſo unhappily oppreſſed with the heavy weight of his ſorrows. Giving therefore ſome allowance for the affliction of a parent, let thy pity extend to us, though our crime be great: and conſider more our antient father's piteous condition than the iniquity we have committed againſt thee. Grant then this tender compaſſion to his grey hairs, which muſt fall with ſorrow if we never return, ſince in ſuch caſe he neither could nor would deſire to extend his life unto a fatrher ſpace. Let piety move you to grant our requeſt, out of regard to the very name of a father, with which even you yourſelf are honoured; ſo may Almighty God, the common father of all men, bleſs and proſper your deſcendants, as you, for the ſake only of the paternal affection, free our ancient father from thoſe woes which being deprived of his children would bring unto him. You have it now before you, and in your power to give us that which you have a right to take away; ſuch a pardon will be an imitating the divine clemency, and approaching even to the perfections of the Lord. In thee my Lord it lieth, to do unto us as thou wilt, and either in thy bounty to ſave, or according to thy jnſtice to deſtroy; conſider then my Lord I beſeech thee, whether it be not better for thee to do good to us than evil. Satisfy thy ſelf in that thou haſt power, and let not thy vengeance fall upon us, but exert thy authority to preſerve; becauſe in ſo doing you heap up glory to yourſelf, and encreaſe it by every life you ſave. By forgiving the fault our brother has done, you forgive us, in as much as all our ſafety depends wholly upon him; and that we cannot return unto our father, unleſs *Benjamin* return with us; but muſt ſtay here and be puniſhed as he is puniſhed. If thou wilt not grant pardon unto him, we do not aſk it for ourſelves; for we deſire each to be uſed in the ſame manner as he is, and as if we had all alike been guilty of the crime; for better were it we all die by the hand of juſtice than that, our brother dying, we lay hands upon our ſelves. I go not about to urge his tender age, and his underſtanding not yet ripe, tho' they are natural alleviations of what the young man has done: But I will finiſh here all that I have to ſay, ſo that whether we be condemned through the weakneſs of my harangue, or whether thy goodneſs ſhall be moved to ſave us, it ſhall flow ſpontaneouſly from thy clemency; while in doing ſo generous an act, as giving us pardon when we have deſerved death, you will manifeſt a greater care over us than we have of ourſelves. But if, after all I have ſaid, you are determined to adjudge him to death, ſuffer me, O my Lord, to die for him; or, if thou art inclined to make him thy ſlave, behold am not I ſtronger, and more fit for thy ſervice, in either caſe I am ready; I am deſirous to take on my ſelf what ſhould fall on him.’

When *Judah* had thus delivered his harangue, he threw himſelf at the feet of *Joſeph*, and ſought every way to ſoften and to appeaſe his anger. All the brethern alſo caſt themſelves on the ground before him in hopes that it would mollify him. All offering to die for *Benjamin* if he might be ſafe.

But *Joſeph* moved ſtrongly with compaſſion, and no longer able to keep up the appearance of anger, having commanded all there preſent to withdraw, and then diſcloſing himſelf to his brethren, he ſpoke to them in theſe terms:

I cannot but applaud that tenderneſs which I have ſeen you diſplay towords this your unhappy brother, becauſe it is much more than I expected, from what of old Time hath happened to myſelf.

For to this purpoſe it was, that I have done all theſe Things; deſigning by them to experiment your fraternal affection, of which having given me ſo manifeſt a proof, I will no more impute unto you the evil, which, through your means, happened formerly unto me, but adore the providence of God, which hath thereby conferr'd the greateſt bleſſings on you for the preſent, in providing that of which ſo much ye ſtood in need, and will, I truſt, in time to come beſtow on you ſtill much more proſperity. Since then I have been informed by you of my father's welfare, which though it poſſeſt the utmoſt extent of my wiſhes, held yet but a ſmall ſhare of my hope; and as I have alſo ſeen the exceeding tenderneſs you have all for my youngeſt brother, I will henceforth blot from my remembrance that ill uſuage I formerly received, rather returning you thanks for having been the inſtruments of providence, in raiſing me to what I now enjoy, than incurring any enmity for the ill which went before. Let it ſink alſo into oblivion on your ſide; and be rather joyful for the happy event, which ye ſee it has now produced, than ſorry for the ſad purpoſe for which when done it was intended. Laying then aſide all care, which reflections on former things may bring upon you, rejoice at the providence of God this day; go ye back and carry tydings of all unto my father, leaſt he conſume himſelf with grief at your ſtay, and ſo I be robbed of the utmoſt felicity I propoſe, that of ſeeing my father, and ſharing with him the good things God has given me. Depart then, and bringing with you my father, your own wives and children, and all belonging unto your family, return again quickly unto me; for it ſeems not good that ye ſhould be ſo far from me while I am in poſſeſſion of ſuch felicity; and this grievous famine being to continue yet five years. And *Joſeph*, when he had thus ſpoken, embraced his brethren tenderly.

But they wept, and were ſpeechleſs, when they conſidered how cruelly they had treated a brother, who now in his turn, having them in his power, uſed them ſo kindly. A magnificent entertainment being next prepared, they partook thereof, and the king learning the arrival of *Joſeph*'s brethren, as if it had been a public benefit, he rejoiced and kindly careſſed them, giving them alſo chariots, filled with corn, and even with gold and ſilver alſo, with many other valuable things both for themſelves and their father. Receiving alſo rich preſents from their brother *Joſeph* for their father, and each of themſelves, more eſpecially *Benjamin*, they departed.

CHAP. VII.

How Jacob *went with his whole Family down into* Ægypt.

WHEN therefore *Jacob* heard, on the return of his ſons, that *Joſeph*, whom he had ſo long lamented, was not only alive, but alſo next unto the king himſelf in the dominion of *Ægypt*, were all things were directed in conformity to his counſels: He readily gave credit unto all which they related, and gladly praiſed Almighty God, whoſe goodneſs ſo carefully waited over him, tho' for a ſmall ſpace he ſeem'd to be neglected; and preparing all things, he made ready to go and viſit his ſon.

Now *Jacob* coming in his way to the *well of the covenant*, he there offered ſacrifice, and fearing that the fertility of *Ægypt* might invite his ſons to remain there, and ſo planting there alſo their families, they ſhould loſe the inheritance which had been promiſed them of the land of *Chaanan*; doubting alſo whether this journey were undertaken according to the will of God, and dreading that he ſhould die on the way before he ſo much as ſaw his ſon *Joſeph*; his mind being at laſt wearied with ſo heavy a weight of troubleſome reflections, he ſunk at laſt into a deep ſleep.

While he ſlept, behold God call'd him twice by his name, on which *Jacob* aſking who it was that call'd him, God ſaid unto him. 'Knoweſt thou not, O *Jacob*, that I am the God who hath protected thy anceſtors, and who alſo hath aſſiſted thee, and been unto thee a particular friend and defender, whenever thou haſt had need, who, when thy father intended to have deprived thee of the principality, preſerved it unto thee; and when thou departedſt alone into *Meſopotamia*, brought thee up from thence ſafe, and happily married, thy ſubſtance being greatly increaſed, and thy family ever ſince protected and preſerved *Joſeph* alſo, whom alone, of all thy children thou couldſt doubt of, have I raiſed in *Ægypt* to the higheſt felicity, and given him power little inferior to that of the king himſelf. Now behold I am come unto thee with intent to direct thee in thy journey which thou art now taking, and to inform thee of what ſhall befall thee in thy future ſtate of life. Behold thou ſhalt finiſh thy days in the arms of thy ſon *Joſeph*; and for thy deſcendants they ſhall become a mighty and a numerous nation, and ſhall certainly poſſeſs the land which I have promiſed unto them.' His ſpirits being raiſed by this dream, he ſet out with much greater alacrity in his journey into *Ægypt*, having with him his ſons and their families, in all threeſcore and ten perſons. The names of even the chief of which I ſhould have omited, by reaſon of their harſhneſs, had it not been that the enemies of the *Jewiſh* nation, by giving out that we are not *Meſopotamians*, but *Ægyptians*, rendered ſuch a citation of proper names neceſſary.

Now the ſons of *Jacob* were twelve, of whom *Joſeph* was gone long before the reſt into *Ægypt*. But of thoſe who followed thither, and their progeny, what we think neceſſary to record, follows; *Ruben* [greek *Rubel*] had four ſons, *Enoch*, *Phales (Phalleu) Eſſalon (Eſſaron)* and *Charmis*. *Simeon* had ſix ſons, *Jamuel* (others call him *Jamilas*) *Jamais*, *Ohad*, *Jacin*, *Zoar*, and *Saul*. *Levi* had three ſons, *Gerſhon*, *Chuath*, and *Merari*. *Judas* had alſo three ſons, *Salah*, *Phares*, and *Zarah*: *Phares* again had two ſons, *Eſron*, and *Amyr*. *Iſachar* had four ſons, *Thulas*, *Phuas*, *Jacob*, and *Samaron*. *Zebulon* had three ſons, *Sarad*, *Elon*, and *Jalel*. *Jacob* had all theſe children by *Leah*, who carried with her alſo her daughter *Dinah*, making in all *thirty-three perſons*. *Jacob* had beſides theſe by *Rachael* two ſons, *Joſeph* and *Benjamin*. *Joſeph* had two ſons, *Manaſſeth* and *Ephraim*. *Benjamin* had ten ſons, *Bolau*, *Baccharis*, *Aſabel*, *Gerah*, *Naman*, *Jes*, *Ros*, *Momphis*, *Opphis*, and *Arad*, which fourteen perſons added to the other thirty-three, make in all forty-ſeven. Theſe were the legitimated children of *Jacob*, beſides *Dan* and *Nephthali*, which were born unto him by *Bilhah*. The ſons of *Naphthali* were four, *Joſel*, *Guni*, *Iſſares*, and *Sellim*. *Dan* had only one ſon, *Uſis*; and theſe added to the number before-mentioned, make up fifty-four. *Jacob* had alſo by *Zilpha*, *Gad* and *Aſſer*. *Gad* had ſeven ſons, *Saphonias*, *Auſis*, *Sunis*, *Aſabon*, *Aerin*, *Eroëd*, and *Ariel*. *Aſſer* had one daughter *Sarah*, and ſix ſons, *Jomnis*, *Iſus*, *Iſouis*, *Baris*, *Abar* and *Melchiel*; theſe ſixteen added unto the former forty-four, make exactly the number of ſeventy perſons, without reckoning *Jacob*.

Joſeph having received notice of his father's approach, for *Judas* travelled before the reſt for that purpoſe, he came forth to meet him unto a little town called *Heros*. *Jacob* was ſo tranſported with the pleaſure he felt at the ſight of his ſon *Joſeph*, that he had almoſt died at this interview, nor did the joy of *Joſeph* fall far ſhort of that of his father. *Joſeph* however intreated him to make but ſlow and eaſy journeys forwards, while himſelf, taking five of his brethren, haſtened to the king, to acquaint him of the coming of *Joſeph*'s father and family into his dominions. The king was very joyful thereat, enquiring of *Joſeph* what courſe of life they followed, that he might aſſign them a place proper for their purpoſe. *He anſwered his majeſty*, That the life they moſt affected, was that of ſhepherds; which *Joſeph* did for theſe reaſons, *firſt*, that they, by reaſon of their employment living together, might take care of their father, and next, to avoid ſtirring up envy in the people of the country, by interfering with their poſſeſſions; for the *Ægyptians* in general, are by their laws prohibited dealing in cattle.

When *Jacob* had entered the king's preſence, done him reverence, and pray'd that God would bleſs both him and his realm, the king enquired him of his age. *Jacob anſwered*, one hundred and thirty; at which *Pharaoh* expreſſing aſtoniſhment, *Jocob added*, that he had not yet reached unto the age of his anceſtors. Then the king gave leave to him, and to his children, to go and dwell at *Heliopolis*, the place where the royal ſhepherds were.

Now the famine increaſed ſorely in *Egypt*, and the calamity grew every day more and more heavy; for neither by the uſual inundations of the river *Nile*, nor by rain from Heaven, was the country at all moiſtned. To the common people it was worſt of all; for the ſcarceneſs happening unforeſeen by them, it ſurprized them with but a very ſcanty proviſion, and *Joſeph* would not at any time ſupply them but for ready money; which, when it failed, they were forced to make up by the exchange of their cattle, and their ſlaves for corn; and of thoſe who had lands, they ſold a part of them unto the king for proviſion. When by theſe means all their poſſeſſions fell at laſt into the hands of the king, they were commanded to depart hither and thither from off them, that *Pharaoh* might the more ſecurely take them into his hand. So much alſo did this famine not only bow the bodies, but the minds alſo of the people, that they were reduced into the moſt abject ſtate of ſlavery, eſteeming no way either mean or diſhoneſt, by which they could get bread. But this ſcarcity at length ceaſing, the river again overflowing the earth as uſual, and conferring thereby its former fertility, *Joſeph* went forth unto every city throughout the kingdom, and calling together the people, in each of them he reſtored unto them all the lands which they had ſold, and of which the king was in ſole poſſeſſion, exhorting them only, that tilling them with the utmoſt pains, they ſhould bring one fifth part unto the king of the produce, as his proper right. Now when the people perceiving themſelves to have recovered all their old poſſeſſions, they were highly delighted, and ſet about performing what *Joſeph* had commanded with great alacrity. By which act of policy, *Joſeph* did not only eſtabliſh his own authority in *Egypt*, and at the ſame time gain unto his maſter the hearts of his ſubjects, but he added alſo this fifth part of the produce of the land, as a ſtanding revenue unto all the ſucceſſors in the throne of that kingdom.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Death of Jacob, *and afterwards of* Joſeph.

BUT when *Jacob* had lived with his Family ſeventeen years in *Egypt*, he was ſeized with a diſeaſe, of which, in the preſence of his ſons, he expired; having firſt prayed unto God to bleſs and proſper them, and with a prophetick ſpirit telling them, that the poſterity of each of them ſhould hereafter poſſeſs part of the land of *Chanaan*. Which, though a long time afterwards, came exactly to paſs. Beſtowing alſo the higheſt eulogies on *Joſeph*, who had not only generouſly forgiven ſo great an injury as had been done by his brethern, but alſo rewarded them as if they had been his benefactors. Wherefore he enjoyned his ſons to receive *Ephraim* and *Manaſſes* into their number, when they ſhould come to divide the land of *Chanaan* among them. (*Concerning which, we ſhall again make mention, in the courſe of our work*) *Jacob* entreated them alſo, that he might be interred in *Hebron*.

Jacob died when he wanted but three years of one hundred and fifty. He fell ſhort of none of his predeceſſors in piety; and as he equalled them in virtues, ſo he came not any way ſhort of them in thoſe bleſſings which God beſtows as the reward of virtue. *Joſeph* having procured the king's permiſſion for that purpoſe, carried his father's body to *Hebron*, and there magnificently interred it. His brothers, when the ceremony was over, refuſed to return back with him into *Egypt*, fearing leaſt he ſhould now be revenged on them for all they had done unto him, now they had none who could protect them. But *Joſeph* perſuading them to lay aſide ſuch apprehenſions they at length went back with him, and he gave them large poſſeſſions; nor did he in any thing diminiſh his brotherly affection towards them.

Joſeph alſo died when he had reached the age of one hundred and ten years; a man excelling in all virtue, who lived in all things agreeable to the rules of reaſon, and who behaved, in matters of ſtate, with the greateſt wiſdom and goodneſs. And notwithſtanding his being a foreigner, and the calamity which fell upon him at his firſt coming, yet did he arrive at this vaſt grandour, and managed it ſo well, that it created no envy, nor occaſioned any murmuring in *Egypt*. He and his brethren, having lived happily, died all in that country, whoſe remains their poſterity carried and depoſited in *Hebron*. But *Joſeph*'s were not carried until ſuch time as the *Hebrews* went out of *Egypt*, who then laid them alſo in *Hebron*, unto which *Joſeph* had bound them by an oath. But of theſe, and all their other acts, until they attained to the poſſeſſion of *Chanaan*, I ſhall ſpeak in their order. But firſt I will deliver the reaſons why they went out of *Egypt*.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Affliction the Hebrews *ſuffered in* Ægypt *for four hundred Years.*

THE diſpoſition of the *Egyptians* tends generally to delicacy and pleaſure, being loth to work, and totally given up to ſenſuality, bearing very ill-will unto the *Hebrews* becauſe of their proſperity.

The increaſe of the race of *Iſrael*, now grown a very numerous people, and by their great induſtry rich and flouriſhing, did alſo give them much pain, and occaſioned great jealouſy, leaſt they ſhould in a ſhort time become formidable to the *Egyptians*. The Benefits which *Joſeph* had done their nation being now utterly forgotten, the crown being alſo transfer'd unto another family, nothing now hindred the malice of the people from conſulting how to oppreſs the *Iſraelites*, or from putting the reſult of ſuch conſultations in practice. They employed our nation therefore in cutting trenches for carrying off the river in ſmall ſtreams; they put them alſo on building walls about their cities, and raiſing banks and other fortifications, for preventing any damage by the inundation of the river. The *Iſraelites* alſo raiſed thoſe vaſt and vain mountains called the *Pyramids*, remaining with us to this day. The *Egyptians* obliged them to make themſelves maſters in all the arts of building, and ſtudied only how to find out new labours for them; while our nation, on the other hand, endeavoured only, by aſſiduous application, to get over theſe difficulties.

But while things were thus ſituated, another accident happened, which encreaſed the ill-humour of the *Egyptians*, and made them the more ardently deſired the utter deſtruction of the race of *Iſrael*. For one of the ſacred *Scribes* (who were men ſhrewd in their conjectures of future events) went and told the king, 'That about that time an *Hebrew* male 'child would be born, who would greatly 'humble the power of *Egypt*, and exalt that 'of the *Iſraelitiſh* nation, and gain thereby 'ſo great glory to himſelf, as ſhould for ever 'endure.' The king, terrified at this relation, iſſued immediately a royal edict, commanding all the males of the children of *Iſrael*, as ſoon as they were born, to be thrown into the river, ordering the *Egyptian* midwives carefully to inſpect the *Hebrew* women, when they were in travail; becauſe the king could not truſt to the midwives of their own race; altho', the better to inforce it, he declared, that the whole family ſhould be deſtroyed where they committed any thing contrary to the intent of the edict. This calamity then appeared the moſt grievous to the *Iſraelites*; not only becauſe their children would be deſtroyed, and even their parents made their murtherers; but becauſe they forſaw hereby the utter extinguiſhing of their nation; for their children being killed, their parents by the courſe of nature could not long ſurvive: and theſe conſiderations filled them with the greateſt terrour and apprehenſions, and rendered them inconſolable under their misfortunes. But when the decrees of the Almighty go forth, vain are all the artifices of man to oppoſe them. This *Hebrew* child, of whom the *ſcribe* ſpoke, was born and privately brought up, notwithſtanding the king's inhuman edict, and lived unto an age in which he accompliſhed all that had been predicted, verifying from thence the certainty of that prophecy: which event came to paſs in this manner:

Amram, a noble perſon amongſt the *Hebrews*, (whoſe concern for his nation's deſtruction was heightned by the immediate proſpect of what muſt happen in his own family, his wife being big with child,) in ſuch a ſtrait put up his prayers in the moſt humble manner unto the Almighty Being, whoſe providence directeth all, beſeeching Him that at length he would have mercy upon his people, who worſhip'd Him, and ſaved them from that total ruin which the *Egyptians*, by their craft, ſought to bring upon them.

God pitying his diſtreſs, and moved by the prayers of ſo good a man, ſtood by him in his ſleep, and bidding him not deſpair as to what ſhould happen in future times, aſſured him, That the piety of the *Hebrew* nation was ever before him; and that he would, in due time free them, as he had protected and increaſed their anceſtors. *Adding*, That he had brought up *Abraham* alone from *Meſopotamia* into *Chanaan*, making him there live happily; and after his wife's being long barren, gave him a ſon by her, and rendering all his children rich and potent, beſtowing *Arabia* on *Iſmael*; the land of the *Troglodites* on the ſons of *Chetura*, and leaving unto *Iſaac*, *Chanaan*. The name of *Jacob* alſo being famous in other nations for his great felicity, and that alſo in which his poſterity had lived; ſince from ſcarce ſeventy perſons, when they came down into *Egypt*, they were now increaſed to upwards of ſix hundred thouſand perſons. And now alſo (*ſaid the Lord*) will I have regard not only to the ſafety in general of thy nation, but alſo as to thy glory in particular: For of thy wife ſhall that boy be born for whoſe ſake the *Ægyptians* have made this ſlaughter, and having in a wonderful manner eſcaped the knowledge of thoſe who ſeek his life, he ſhall lead forth the *Hebrew* nation from their bondage in *Ægypt*, and by his glorious acts gain an immortal reputation, not amongſt his own people only, but in other foreign nations. His brother ſhall become high prieſt of his people, and ſhall be a perſon ſo deſerving, that the prieſthood ſhall remain in his family for ever.

After theſe notices had been revealed to *Amram* in a viſion, he awak'd, and related the whole affair to *Jochabel*, for ſhe was his wife. And yet ſo ſtrong was their prepoſſeſſion through fear, that the predictions of the dream but ſtaggered the more their reſolution; for now their concern was not confin'd to the circumſtance of a ſon in infancy, but had him in view likewiſe when he ſhould arrive at the heighth of ſo much felicity. However, the manner of her delivery ſoon confirm'd the truth of the Divine Oracle; a mild and eaſy labour, unattended with any racking pains, gave ſecrecy and opportunity to deceive and prevent the watch; and indeed for three months they concealed and cheriſhed the child at home; but then *Amram* being apprehenſive that one time or other the device would be detected, and dreading too that if he provoked the king, both himſelf and the child might be deſtroy'd, choſe rather to commit the direction and care of the infant to the providence of God, than truſt to the hiding him any longer; for this method being at beſt precarious, not only the child, how privately ſoever nouriſhed, but his own life, would be liable to continual danger: But God, he believed, to add a ſanction to his own words, would by all means provide for his ſecurity. This being agreed on, they work'd up, and with ruſhes finiſh'd a ſort of basket, that in its ſtructure reſembled a cradle, and for ſize, was ſufficient to contain an infant eaſily; which having dawbed and tempered it with pitch, (for pitch is proper to reſiſt and keep out water,) they fixed the child in it, and putting it off into the river, devoted him to Omnipotent Protection. And indeed the babe floated upon a favourable current; nevertheleſs *Mariamne*, the child's ſiſter, by the command of the mother, walk'd along the bank on the oppoſite ſide of the river, diligently ſurveying to what place the ſtream would convey the basket. And then God evidently ſhew'd, that human wiſdom avails nothing, but whatever his will and pleaſure is, infinite Majeſty can bring to paſs: and that thoſe never accompliſh their ends, let them uſe what craft and aſſiduity they will, who, for their own advantage, project and meditate deſtruction to others; but that they, who, by an unfathomable counſel of God, ſeem thrown into danger, are yet beyond expectation preſerved, and from loweſt diſtreſs rais'd to an happy fortune. For an event of this nature, and ſuch was that, which happen'd to this child, clearly demonſtrates the power of God.

In the mean time, *Thermuthis*, the king's daughter, amidſt other innocent amuſements by the water-ſide, having caſt her eye upon a basket ſweetly moving with the courſe of the river, gave orders to ſome of her attendants that could ſwim, to bring inſtantly the little couch to her. This command was no ſooner iſſued, than executed; but when the little vehicle came to hand, and the child appear'd, double joy broke in upon her, both ariſing from the grandour and ſweetneſs of his looks. For with ſuch favour did God regard *Moyſes*, that even thoſe perſons, who upon account of his nativity had decreed the worſt of miſchiefs, and threatened alſo an utter extinction of the *Hebrew* race, he diſpoſed to ſupport and educate him. Hence it was, that *Thermuthis* order'd immediately a woman to be fetched to give ſuck to the child; but he refuſed her breaſt, nor would afterwards admit any ſtranger to ſuckle him: whereupon *Mariamne*, who from the firſt had mix'd with her retinue, in appearance more out of curioſity than deſign, ‘ It is to no purpoſe, O princeſs, *ſaid ſhe*, to ‘ call nurſes to this infant, between whom and ‘ him there is no relation: may it pleaſe you ‘ let an *Hebrew* nurſe be ſent for, and in all ‘ probability he will forthwith receive the ‘ nipple.’ This advice happening to come ſeaſonably, the princeſs truſted her with the management, and ſaid ſhe would acquieſce in the choice. She therefore, by virtue of that authority granted to her, ſoon return'd, bringing along with her the child's mother, whom none of the company knew. Then the infant willingly took to the breaſt, and ſeem'd pleaſed; and at the requeſt of the princeſs, the woman is allow'd both to ſuckle and educate him.

Conſidering moreover that he had been thrown into the flood, and to preſerve the memory of this accident, ſhe gave him a name; for water the *Ægyptians* expreſs by *Mo*, and *Yſes* is the term applicable to thoſe who have been reſcued from periſhing in the water; out of both therefore compoſing an appellation, with it they diſtinguiſh'd him; and there is no doubt, but according to the Divine Prediction, as well in reſpect of greatneſs of ſoul, as contempt of difficulties, he was ſuperior to all the reſt of the *Hebrews*. He ſtood in the ſeventh degree from *Abraham*, the Prince of the *Hebrew* nation, and was begot by *Amram*, who ſprung from *Cathis*, whoſe father was *Levi*, the ſon of *Jacob*, who was born unto *Iſaac*, who was the ſon of *Abraham*. While a child, reaſon and underſtanding kept no proportion with his years, but vaſtly exceeding all ordinary bounds, even during the time of his youthful ſtudies, he gave many proofs of conſummate wiſdom, and certain hope likewiſe of thoſe greater things, which ſhould be transacted by him, when become of age. And indeed, when as yet he was but three years old, God beſtow'd upon him an aſtoniſhing heighth of ſtature; and he grew ſo ſurprizingly handſome, that no one could be found of a taſte ſo vitiated and inſenſible of every thing that was elegant, as not to be tranſported at the ſight of *Moyſes*, with the excellence of his aſpect: And it frequently happen'd, that many, who met him as he was carried along the ſtreets, not only turn'd about to have a look at the child, but bidding adieu to ſerious buſineſs, ſuſpended all other purſuits through an ambition and curioſity to behold him: For even boyiſh good-will and acknowledgement, ſhone out in him with ſo diffuſive and beautiful a ſimplicity, as endear'd his preſence to the ſpectators, in a way that made them unwilling to part with him.

For theſe reaſons, *Thermuthis*, who had no iſſue of her own, adopted him for her ſon; and having one day carried *Moyſes* along with her, preſented him to her father, as a fit ſucceſſor, in caſe it pleaſed God he ſhould have no ſon of his own to ſucceed him, and addreſſed him in theſe words: 'I have nouriſhed a boy as eminent for wit, as divine in beauty; but ſince the moment that by a wonder I received him from the courteſy of the river, I have firmly reſolved, that he ſhall be my ſon, and thy heir in the empire.' Having thus ſpoken, ſhe conveyed the infant into her father's arms; and he, after having embraced and fondled the child, in complaiſance to his daughter, kindly put the crown upon his head; but *Moyſes* flung it upon the ground, and childiſhly whirling it about, trampled it under his feet; which act of his was conſtrued to portend ſome miſchief to the kingdom of *Ægypt*. Upon ſight of this accident, the interpreter of the ſacred myſteries, who from his nativity had predicted the decay of *Ægypt*'s empire, ran up to the child with an intent to murder him, and making a hideous noiſe, 'This is, *ſaid he*, O king, that child whoſe death God hath ſignified would give us ſecurity; and the ſacred oracle needs no other teſtimony, than his inſulting thy kingdom, and treading upon thy crown: By his death therefore deliver *Ægypt* from its fears, and cut off from the *Hebrews* that hope and confidence they have placed in him.' But *Thermuthis*, by taking away the child, prevented him; nor was the king forward to ſeize him, becauſe God, with whom the life of *Moyſes* was precious, had for that purpoſe bent and diſpoſed his heart. He was therefore educated very carefully; and thence the *Hebrews* entertain'd great hopes of him. But his education ſtruck a ſuſpicion into the *Egyptians*; however, when they reflected that as far as they could dive into futurity, they could find none with whom they might more ſafely lodge the intereſt of the nation than the king, (by whoſe permiſſion he had been allow'd to live, and was educated,) they laid aſide the thought of compaſſing his death.

CHAP. X.

How Moyſes *managed the War againſt the* Æthiopians.

HAVING already recited the manner of *Moyſes*'s birth and education; when he came of age, how much he excell'd in magnanimity and virtue, and made *Ægypt* ſenſible that the ſcope of his life was to ſink them, and aggrandize the *Hebrews*, the following occaſion will evidently ſhew. The *Ethiopians* that inhabit the lands which lie contiguous to *Ægypt*, having made an irruption into the country, pillaged and carried off the goods of the *Ægyptians*: Theſe, fired with rage, led an army againſt them, promiſing themſelves ample revenge and ſatisfaction for what injuries and affronts they had before received: but having loſt the battle, ſome of them were ſlain in the field, and the reſt, by an ignominious flight, returned into their own country. The *Æthiopians*, encourag'd with this ſmile of fortune, eagerly purſued them, and now fancying that it would look like cowardice, if in a triumphant manner they did not range all over *Egypt*, far and near they laid it waſte: and having once taſted the ſweetneſs of the prey, they could not afterwards refrain from making daily new inroads and efforts. When in their march through the confines, they found no oppoſition was made, they held on their progreſs towards *Memphis* and the ſea, animated ſtill by the puſillanimity of their enemies, who, though they could, yet would not in the leaſt attempt to repreſs their force. Under the preſſure of this calamity, the *Ægyptians* have recourſe to oracles and divinations: but when God had given them this counſel, that they ſhould call an *Hebrew* to their aſſiſtance, the king ſent his command to his daughter, that ſhe would grant him *Moyſes* to be general of his forces. She deliver'd him into the king's hands, upon the ſecurity of an oath, to preſerve him free from all harm and violence: being of opinion, that the merit of a great obligation was certainly due to her for this aſſiſtance; and on the other hand, upbraiding the prieſts, becauſe they were not aſhamed to require the help of one, whoſe blood they had before indefatigably coveted, as their common enemy.

Moyſes, being entreated both by *Thermuthis* and the king, willingly undertook this expedition, which gave great ſatisfaction to the prieſts of both nations: To the *Ægyptians*, becauſe their enemies being once vanquiſh'd by his valour, it would be an eaſy mattet to diſpatch him by guile: but to the *Hebrews*, becauſe under *Moyſes* their leader and commander, they might have an opportunity to ſhake off the ſervitude of *Ægypt*. But he, to the end he might ſuddenly invade his enemies, before they were apprized of his coming, forthwith led on his troops, not along the banks of the river, but through the main land; wherein he ſhew'd a wonderful inſtance of his force of judgment. Foreſeeing that this road would be extremely dangerous, from the multitude of ſerpents which infeſted it, he deviſed, in order to render the journey ſecure and ſafe for his army, a ſtratagem truly wonderful. For this tract produces numbers, ſome alſo it breeds, that are no where elſe to be found, and yet differ among themſelves as to their noxious qualities, and uncommon colour; and among theſe too ſome that have wings, which not only ſcatter miſchief upon the ground, but raiſing themſelves on high, dart down and unexpectedly poiſon. Wherefore having order'd ſome baskets to be got ready in the ſhape of coffers, he filled them with ſtorks, and carried them along with him. The *Ibis*, or *Stork*, is an irreconcileable enemy to ſerpents, and a bird from which with all their cunning and ſpeed they flee, though ſometimes in the flight, they are drawn back and ſwallowed by them. In all things elſe, theſe birds are manageable, and may be tamed, venting their rage and fury only on the ſerpents: but of theſe birds I ſhall ſay no more at preſent, being convinced that the *Greeks* are not ignorant what the *Ibis* is.

When therefore he had arrived in that country, which abounds with ſerpents, he let fly his birds at them, and with the help of theſe defenders only, over-matched the ſerpents. By this contrivance, having finiſh'd his journey, he ſurprized the *Æthiopians* before they had any notice of him, and giving them battle, obtain'd a ſignal victory, which one blow for ever ruin'd their proſpect of ſubduing *Ægypt*; and falling upon their towns too, he levelled them to the ground, and every where made a great ſlaughter of the *Æthiopians*. By this time the *Ægyptian* army being well ſeaſoned under the ſucceſsful conduct of *Moyſes*, began to reliſh labour and fatigue; while the *Æthiopians* had nothing remaining to expect, but captivity and deſtruction.

At laſt the *Æthiopians* being reduced to that extremity, which oblig'd them to take ſhelter in *Saba*, the royal city of *Æthiopia*, (which afterwards *Cambyſes*, in honour to his ſiſter's name, called *Meroe*,) there they were cloſely beſieged. But this place was very near impregnable, being every where ſurrounded and encompaſſed with the *Nile*, and other rivers, *Aſtapus* and *Aſtabora*, by the fury of their current almoſt ſtopping up the paſſage; for the city being ſituated within theſe Intrenchments, is inhabited like an iſland; a ſtout wall environ'd it, mighty rivers ſeem'd a protection againſt enemies; and great ramparts erected, between the rivers and the wall, to repreſs the inundation of waters, even allowing that an enemy had paſſed the rivers, made it a difficult matter to take the city by force.

Now at a time that *Moyſes* was regretting to himſelf how little his army ſignified towards the reduction of the city, (for the enemy durſt not riſque an engagement,) this uncommon chance happen'd: *Tharbis*, the daughter of the king of *Æthiopia*, having obſerv'd *Moyſes* as he march'd up his army to the walls, and as he gallantly fought, and upon the ſcore of his many noble exertions of mind, and hardy attempts, admiring him, ſhe began to regard him as one who had exalted *Ægypt* from the moſt abject diſtreſs, to a ſtate of grandour and liberty; and one, who in the midſt of *Æthiopia*'s greateſt glory, had brought her upon her knees to taſte miſery and extreme contempt; and therefore ſhe fell violently in love with him. And finding that delays added but the more ſtrength to her paſſion for him, ſhe ſent to him ſome of her moſt faithful domeſticks, with the tender of her love.

Moyſes aſſented to the favour, upon theſe terms, that the city ſhould be delivered up to him, withal promiſing, and ratifying the promiſe with an oath, that he would take her to wife, and immediately upon the ſurrender of the city, keep his word. This important point being ſoon agreed to, the effect follow'd quickly after. Having thus ſubdued, and ſufficiently puniſh'd the *Æthiopians*, and returned thanks to God for the mercies he had received from him, *Moyſes* celebrated his nuptials, and gave the victorious *Ægyptians* leave to go back to their own country.

CHAP. XI.

How Moyſes *made his Eſcape out of* Ægypt, *into* Madian.

BUT they, for no other reaſon, but that they ow'd their ſafety and victories to *Moyſes*, began to repay him with great hatred, and by all poſſible means contrive his ruin: ſuſpecting indeed, that being puffed up with a courſe of proſperous actions, he would attempt ſome innovation to the prejudice of the *Ægyptians*, and in the mean time admoniſhing the king to put him to death. They accuſed him therefore of *murder* to the king, whoſe head was already full of ſuſpicions, ariſing partly from envy at his late ſucceſsful expedition, and partly out of fear; inflamed therefore by the prieſts, he violently ſought to deſtroy *Moyſes*. But as ſoon as *Moyſes* got an intimation of their practices, he ſecretly withdrew himſelf; and underſtanding that ſoldiers were every where poſted upon the roads to intercept him, he directed his flight through the deſart, and after a manner that his enemies would leaſt ſuſpect; and though in his journey he labour'd under the alternate hardſhips of hunger and thirſt, yet his patience and magnanimity were ſuperior to his wants. When he had reach'd a city of the *Madians*, that ſtands upon the ſhore of the *Red Sea*, and deriv'd its name from one of *Abraham* and *Chetura*'s ſons, he ſeated himſelf near a well, to refreſh himſelf a little, after the laſſitude and miſeries of his journey; for now it was noon, and the city not far off: and here an incident aroſe from the cuſtom and manner of the people that lived there, which at once illuſtrated his virtue, and open'd a way for better times.

There being in theſe regions generally a great ſcarcity of water, a contention oftentimes happens amongſt the ſhepherds, ſtriving which of them ſhould firſt have poſſeſſion of the wells; in order that they may be ſure of a ſufficient quantity for their own cattle. To this fountain therefore came ſeven virgins, all ſiſters, the daughters of *Raguel* the prieſt, a man who was had in great honour by his countrymen. Theſe daughters, according to the native cuſtom of the *Troglodites*, who commit the management of their cattle to women, having the charge of their father's flocks, made what haſte they could to quench the thirſt of the cattle before others came: but the ſhepherds preventing them, and rudely driving them away, that they might engroſs the water to themſelves, *Moyſes* judged it a piece of cowardice unworthy of a man, not to vindicate virgins that had receiv'd an affront, and to ſuffer the ſtrength of men to prevail over the juſt rights of women; thoſe therefore he hinder'd from committing injuſtice, and aſſiſted theſe, as became a man of conſummate worth and virtue. The virgins, out of gratitude for the kindneſs receiv'd, inſtantly go to their father, and telling him of the outrage they had met with from the ſhepherds, and how they had been relieved by the ſtranger, begg'd that the favour might never be forgot, nor a reward wanting to ſo human a merit. The father, after he had commended that noble ſpirit of gratitude, which appear'd in his daughters towards their benefactor, order'd *Moyſes* to be ſent for, that he might reward him for his benevolence. *Moyſes* was no ſooner come, but *Raguel* inform'd him of the grateful ſenſe his daughters preſerved of the aſſiſtance he had given them; then having admir'd his virtue, told him, 'His good offices had not been thrown away, for ingratitude was a ſtranger to his family, and he ſhould ſoon perceive that the obligation received, ſhould not only be return'd in an equal manner, but with advantage.' In a ſhort time after, he adopted *Moyſes* for his ſon, and beſtow'd upon him in marriage one of his daughters, and conſtituted him ſuperintendant, and chief ruler of his flocks; which was *An Honour*, in thoſe days, the wealth and riches of moſt nations ariſing from their product.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Burning Buſh, and the Rod of Moyſes.

MOYSES being thus ſingularly favour'd by *Jethro*, (for that was *Raguel*'s ſirname) reſided there with him to take charge of the flocks. One day afterwards as he was tending the cattle, he happen'd to lead them to a mountain that was called *Sinai*, which mountain is the higheſt of all in that country, and moſt commodious for paſturage, becauſe it affords variety of excellent herbs, and had not hitherto been grazed upon, in regard it was generally believ'd that the Deity inhabited there; a religious awe therefore kept the ſhepherds from aſcending it. Here an aſtoniſhing prodigy appear'd to him; an exceeding great fire, while it ſeem'd to ſeize the whole ſubſtance of a buſh, and blaze out with extraordinary flames, yet did no manner of hurt either to the verdure of the plant, the beauty of the flowers, or the fruit that hung upon the branches. Such an uncommon and miraculous accident, gave him inexpreſſible ſurprize; but his amazement grew upon him, on hearing a voice iſſuing from the fire, that call'd him diſtinctly by his name, reprehending him at the ſame time for his raſhneſs, in daring to tread upon ſacred ground, which 'till now had remained inviolate, and withal admoniſhing him to get away ſpeedily from the flames, and reſt ſatisfied with the viſion; for though upon account of his own virtue, and that of his anceſtors, he had not been thought unworthy of it, yet he muſt not indulge his curioſity any farther. The voice likewiſe aſſured him, that by the propitious aid of God, he ſhould attain to the higheſt honour and dignity among men; commanding him to go boldly into *Egypt*, where he ſhould become the captain and conductor of the *Hebrew* nation, and deliver them from the ſervitude and uſurpation of the *AEgyptians*: For, *continued the voice*, they ſhall poſſeſs that fertile country, which *Abraham* the founder of your people once inhabited, and be conducted to an abundance of all manner of bleſſings by thy wiſdom and direction; and when you have reſcued the *Hebrews* out of *Egypt*, at this very place offer up a ſacrifice of thankſgiving. Theſe were the words utter'd out of the flame.

Moyſes, ſtruck with admiration at what he had heard and ſeen, expreſſed himſelf thus: 'O Lord, to entertain the leaſt diffidence of thy might, which from my heart I reverence, and am ſenſible has been ever preſent and propitious to my fore-fathers, would, in my opinion, be a greater act of madneſs than I can be guilty of; yet I am at a loſs to know, how I, who am a man of no eloquence, and deſtitute of all force, ſhall be able either to prevail with my countrymen to leave the land they now inhabit, and follow me whither I am to conduct them; or, in the caſe I ſhould perſuade them, how I ſhall influence *Pharaoh* to diſmiſs the *Hebrews*, whoſe labour and induſtry gives a weight to the felicity of *Egypt*.'

The Deity bid him be of good hope in all things, promiſing him his preſence: where words were neceſſary, he would endow him with the force of perſuaſion, and where action was wanted, an ability to perform great things. To confirm theſe promiſes, he order'd him to throw his ſtaff upon the ground; which done, a dragon inſtantly crept upon the place, and winding itſelf into a circular figure, rais'd its head on high, as if it threatened vengeance againſt any who ſhould attack it, and in a moment or two after turn'd into a ſtaff again. After this, he bid him put his right hand into his boſom; having obey'd, he brought it out all white, and of a colour much like chalk, and preſently after it reſum'd its native colour. Likewiſe he commanded him to fetch ſome water from an adjoining fountain, and pour it on the ground, and it immediately appear'd of the colour of blood. While he was wrapt up in aſtoniſhment at theſe incidents, God exhorted him to aſſume magnanimity, and he ſhould certainly meet with invincible aſſiſtance; enjoining him to work theſe wonders before all men; to eſtabliſh in them a belief, ‘ That being authorized (*ſaid God,*) by me, thou only executeſt my commands. Do what I have order'd thee; let nothing whatever divert thee from going into *Egypt*; and haſten thy journey both by day and night, that thy inexcuſable delays may not lengthen and protract the heavy ſervitude of *Iſrael*.’

Moyſes having now no farther ſcruples remaining, and being aſcertained of the truth of the Divine Promiſes by what he had both heard and ſeen, he begg'd of God, ‘ That the ſame power, if there was a neceſſity. might be viſible in *Egypt* :’ *praying likewiſe*, ‘ That ſince he had done him the honour of his Voice and Preſence, he would not let him be a ſtranger to his Name; but communicate his appellation to him, that when he came to offer up ſacrifice, he might by name invoke his preſence.’ Then God favour'd him with His Holy Name, not reveal'd before to men; which, but to mention in me, would be daring wickedneſs. *Moyſes* not only then, but at all times after, had the gift of working miracles; from which ſigns, and particularly the *Burning Buſh*, being confirm'd in the truth of the promiſes, he believ'd that God would be his auſpicious protector, and now no longer doubted, but he ſhould deliver his countrymen, and bring great calamities upon *Egypt*.

CHAP. XIII.

Moyſes *and* Aaron, *upon their Arrival in* Egypt, *wait upon the King.*

HAVING had certain information that *Pharaoh*, king of *Egypt*, (from whoſe tyranny he had fled,) was dead, he made his requeſt to *Raguel*, that he would permit him to ſet out for *Egypt*, for the ſake of his countrymen: and his deſire being granted, he carried with him *Sapphora*, the daughter of *Raguel*, whom he had married, and *Gerſon* and *Eleazar*, the two children which ſhe had brought him, and made all poſſible haſte into *Egypt*. *Gerſon*, in the *Hebrew* language, imports, *that which has been thrown into a ſtrange land*; and *Eleazar*, that *by the help of the God of his fathers, he had made an eſcape from* Egypt. Being but a little way from the borders, by the ſpecial appointment of God, *Aaron* his brother met him, to whom he recounted what had occurr'd to him in the mountain, and the orders he had receiv'd from God. And as they travell'd along, the principal men among the *Hebrews*, who had previous notice of his coming, came out to meet him: theſe he could not gain over by words, till he had convinced them by miracles. Then of a ſudden being loſt in admiration of what they had ſeen him ſo unexpectedly do, their courage began to awaken, and their hopes graſped at every thing; for now they plainly perceiv'd that God had viſited them in mercy.

The ſpirit of liberty beginning to revive among the *Hebrews*, they made him the complement of their implicit obedience, throwing themſelves entirely into his power and direction: Wherefore *Moyſes* having waited upon the king, (whoſe elevation to that dignity had but lately been celebrated) repreſented to him the many ſervices he had done the *Egyptians*, in the day of their great diſtreſs, when their country was a by-word, the nation contemptible, and nothing to be ſeen but *Ethiopian* ſpoil and ravage; and reminding him of the many military labours and fatigues which he had ſuſtain'd with as much patience and fortitude, as if he had acted for his own people, told him, what vaſt dangers he had ſuffer'd for their ſake, and had not met with gratitude, far leſs a reward ſuitable to his merit. He recited likewiſe the ſeveral occurrences of mount *Sinai*, as well the words pronounced by God, as the miracles he had ſeen, which were wrought in atteſtation of the Divine Commands; and laſtly, earneſtly intreated the king, that his incredulity might not withſtand the Will of God.

The king having turn'd the whole detail into raillery, *Moyſes* exhibited to him a real ſpecimen of the prodigies, which he had been an eye-witneſs of upon mount *Sinai*. But the king, inſtead of being convinced, fell into a paſſion, and treated him with opprobrious language, loading him as one, that had but lately eſcaped from the ſervitude of *Egypt*, and was return'd through fraud and malice, with an intention, by the help of magic and inchantments, to deceive the people into an opinion of him. Then, to make it evident, that the *Egyptians* were not unacquainted with thoſe ſciences, he commanded his own prieſts to be call'd in, giving them orders inſtantly before him, to perform the ſame miracles; hence, (*ſaid he,*) it will appear, that thou haſt not the monopoly of this wonderful virtue, and only dealeſt in affectation, as thinking it a ſufficient paſſport among the rude and illiterate, for thy deceit. The prieſts, at the command of the king, threw down their rods, and they were chang'd into ſerpents. *Moyſes* being not in the leaſt ſurpriz'd at this accident, thus addreſſed the king: ‘ The wiſdom of the *Egyptians* I am not one who contemn; yet I may aver that the ſigns I have ſhewn, in excellence and worth, as far exceed their

‘ magic and art, as every thing Divine tranſcends the humane. I will therefore inſtantly demonſtrate to you, that what I do, is not an incantation, or falſification of the truth, but the genuine effect of the Providence and Power of God.’ And having ſaid this, he let fall his ſtaff upon the ground, bidding it be transform'd into a ſerpent. The rod obey'd; and one by one aſſailing the rods of the *Egyptians*, which appear'd to the ſpectators in the form of ſerpents, ſcraunched them down, 'till it had devour'd them all; then *Moyſes* took it up in his hand, and it became a rod again.

The king being harden'd beyond conviction, was but the more enrag'd; and therefore ſaid, ‘this cunning and ſubtilty of *Moyſes* to diſgrace my people, ſhall return upon his own head.’ Wherefore immediate orders were iſſued to the maſter of the works, who had the charge of the *Hebrews*, to grant them no intermiſſion from labour, and to impoſe upon them more oppreſſive burthens than they had felt before. In conſequence of which mandate, whereas formerly he had furniſh'd them with ſtraw to make bricks, no longer would he indulge them that favour; but in the day-time grieved and afflicted them with their uſual labour, and of a night compelled them to provide ſtraw. The *Hebrews* finding that the remonſtrances of *Moyſes* had doubled, inſtead of alleviating their diſtreſſes, began to be violently offended at him, bitterly exclaiming againſt him, as the cauſe of the increaſe of their preſent ſervitude and miſery. Theſe difficulties notwithſtanding, neither the menaces of the king, nor the rude importunities of his countrymen, could ſhake the reſolution of *Moyſes*; but with a recollected and ſteady mind, in oppoſition to both, and in the face of danger itſelf, bravely ſtruggled for the liberty of his country. *Moyſes* therefore going to the king, endeavour'd to perſuade him to let the *Hebrews* depart for mount *Sinai*, that there they might do ſacrifice to God. ‘For this (*added he*,) he hath expreſsly commanded; nor can any one reſiſt and defeat his will:’ wherefore deſiring him to reflect, that the favour of God was preferable to all things, he urg'd him again to diſmiſs the people; for fear that his obſtinacy and refuſal might one day bring upon him an heavy ſelf-accuſation, if he ſhould happen to feel ſuch a correction, as in all likelihood that man muſt ſuffer, who oppoſes himſelf to the commands of God; for thoſe who have brought down the vengeance of heaven upon them, calamities will on all hands overtake: being befriended neither by the earth, air, or offſpring, the common bleſſings of others, but finding univerſal nature bandied againſt them, in a ſharp execution of the divine wrath. Theſe puniſhments he foretold the *Egyptians* ſhould ſuffer, an that, notwithſtanding all oppoſition, *Iſrael* ſhould march triumphantly out of their country.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Ten Plagues, *with which* Egypt *was afflicted.*

THESE inſtances and admonitions of *Moyſes*, meeting with nothing but diſregard and contempt from the king, in a ſhort time after moſt ſevere calamities thickned upon the land of *Egypt*; all which I ſhall ſeverally rehearſe, *firſt*, becauſe they were ſuch trials as had never before happen'd to any other nation; *next*, becauſe thereby God intended to make it evident, that *Moyſes* had not in the leaſt fail'd in his predictions: and, *laſtly*, becauſe it is the real intereſt of men to learn to obſerve and practiſe thoſe things, which may not offend the Deity, or draw down his wrath to puniſh their iniquities. To begin then; The water of the river *Nile* was by the command of God chang'd into blood, inſomuch that the *Ægyptians* (though they had no other fountain to ſupply their neceſſities) could make no manner of uſe of it. The water not only reſembled blood in colour, but thoſe who drank of it, were immediately ſeized with horrible pains and twitches. Such was the quality of it to the *Egyptians*, but to the *Hebrews* it taſted ſweet, potable, and no ways alter'd from its original nature. By this miracle, the king being reduced to an extremity and terrified, for the ſake of his people gave leave that the *Hebrews* ſhould depart: but upon the ceſſation of the diſtreſs, he preſently revok'd his orders, and would not let them go.

The king, when deliver'd from this miſery, mended not by the admonition, nor had he the leaſt ſenſe of gratitude for the favour receiv'd; wherefore God ſent another calamity upon the *Egyptians*: An immenſe quantity of frogs overſpread the whole country; the river likewiſe abounded with them to ſuch a degree, that no water could be had, that was not polluted and defiled with the cadaverous recrements of them, multitudes being dead and putrefied. Beſides, the whole land of *Egypt* was infected with a corrupt mud, which produced numbers of frogs, that inſtantly died in it. They diſturbed likewiſe all the enjoyments of domeſtick life, being found not only in their meat and drink, but even crawling every where upon their couches and their beds: And to add to their wretchedneſs, the ſmell ariſing from the dead carcaſſes, that lay in heaps over all the country, was grievous and intolerable. During theſe preſſures that galled the *Egyptians*, the king gave conſent that *Moyſes* ſhould begin his journey with the *Hebrews*; which leave was no ſooner granted, than the multitude of frogs diſappear'd, and the land as well as water, recover'd their former nature. *Pharaoh*, upon the removal of this affliction, quickly forgot the cauſe, and would not permit the *Hebrews* to quit the country; and as if he had a mind to try the ſhock of more calamities, he reſumed the conceſſion he had before (through the force of fear, rather than any motive of prudence) made to *Moyſes* and the people.

God therefore inflicted upon him another plague: innumerable ſwarms of lice bred in the bodies of all the *Ægyptians:* Which irreſiſtibly preyed upon and deſtroyed them, inſomuch that neither bathings nor ointments were of any efficacy againſt the malignity of the vermin. The king aſtoniſhed at this diſaſter, and dreading too the utter extinction of his ſubjects, as alſo revolving with himſelf the ſtrange infamy that muſt attend ſuch an exit, began to think ſomething more ſedately, and to return into a ſounder ſtate of mind. In this interval of prudence, he gave an aſſurance of egreſs to the *Hebrews*; but ſoon as a reſpite came, peremptorily demanded, that their wives and children might be left behind as hoſtages for their return: Whence it happened, that he gave a freſt provocation to God, in fancying to over-reach his providence, as if it had been *Moyſes*, and not the divinity, that had taken vengeance of *Ægypt* for the ſake of the *Hebrews*. Wherefore the land was immediately covered with a vaſt variety of inſects, ſuch as never had been ſeen before, which not only were fatal to many perſons, but an occaſion that the country lay neglected and uncultivated: And thoſe animals that had eſcaped being killed by them, were yet tainted with the poiſonous vapours that exhaled from the dead and infected bodies.

Notwithſtanding all theſe diſtreſſes, *Pharaoh* could not be brought to ſubmit to the will of God: Making an offer only upon condition that the children ſtayed behind, to let the men and women go: For which cauſe, God, to puniſh and chaſtiſe his contumacy, inflicted greater and more heavy judgments than any they had felt before: For their bodies broke all over out in filthy ulcers, which waſted and conſumed them inwardly; and of this diſtemper periſhed a great number of the *Ægyptians*. But the king remaining ſtill impenitent, an extraordinary kind of hail (ſuch as had never been obſerved before to fall upon *Ægypt*, nor at all reſembling that which deſcends in winter, and much greater too than is uſually ſeen upon the advance of the ſpring, even by thoſe who inhabit to the northward) being poured down from above, broke to pieces and deſtroyed all their fruit. Afterwards followed an inexpreſſible number of locuſts that eat up and conſumed all the ſhoots and the remainder that the hail had not deſtroyed, ſo that the *Ægyptians* had not proſpect that year of gathering in an harveſt.

Theſe judgments (one would think) might have had weight enough to determine any man who was not both a profligate and a mad-man, as well to a compoſed way of thinking, as to a compliance with thoſe meaſures which only could promote his intereſt. But *Pharaoh* inſtigated by malice rather than imprudence, (for he could not be unacquainted with the ſource of theſe calamities) impiouſly defied the great God, obſtinately rejecting even the wiſer counſels of his own heart. Whence proceeded this injunction to *Moyſes*, that he ſhould carry away the *Hebrews* and their wives, but leave their goods and effects behind them, as an equivalent for the general Ruin *Egypt* had ſuffered upon their account. *Moyſes* made anſwer, ‘that his demand was ‘moſt unjuſt, in regard if it was obeyed, ‘there would not be a ſufficiency left them ‘to make an oblation to God.’ In the midſt of this conference which *Pharaoh* idly protracted, a thick and heavy darkneſs, without the leaſt interſperſion or glimmering of light, gave a ſudden and univerſal ſhock to the *Egyptians*, and immediately their ſight failed them, and through the foulneſs of air reſpiration was ſtopped; ſome miſerably periſhed, and others half dead with fear, could think of nothing but being utterly deſtroyed by the darkneſs. In about three days and nights from the firſt invaſion of the darkneſs, *Moyſes* perceiving that *Pharaoh* grew but ſtill the more hardened, and continued reſolutely bent to detain the *Egyptians*, he waited upon him and ſpoke to this purpoſe; ‘How long haſt ‘thou decreed to reſiſt the will of God? For ‘his pleaſure and command it is, that the ‘*Hebrews* ſhould depart: Nor is there any ‘other way to be delivered from theſe miſeries, but by an obedience to this command.’ The king being incenſed at his freedom of ſpeech, roundly threatened to cauſe his head to be cut off, if ever he ventured into his preſence again, or in the leaſt renewed his importunities upon the matter. *Moyſes* replied, ‘I ‘ſhall not henceforth trouble thee on this ſcore, ‘for thou thyſelf, and the chief men too of ‘*Egypt*, will of your own accord implore ‘the *Hebrews* with all ſpeed poſſible to leave ‘the country;’ and having ſo ſaid, he left him.

But God, once more to curſe the *Egyptians*, and compel them to releaſe the *Hebrews*, ordered *Moſes* to deſire the people to make ready and prepare their ſacrifice, by the tenth day of the month *Xanthicus*, to the end it might be celebrated on the fourteenth of the ſaid month, (which month by the *Egyptians* is called *Pharmuth*, by the *Hebrews* *Niſan*, and by the *Macedonians* *Xanthicus*) and that then he ſhould conduct the *Hebrews* away with all their goods. *Moyſes* having previouſly admoniſhed them to have all things ready, and diſtributed them into tribes, bid them aſſemble and keep together in one place. When the fourteenth day began to dawn, the whole people (drawn up in an order ready to march) offered ſacrifice, and with ſmall bundles of hyſop purified their houſes, ſprinkling them with blood. And having ſupt, they burnt the reſidue of the meat, as being upon the beginning of a journey. Whence it became a cuſtom, that even to this day we ſacrifice after the ſame manner, calling the feſtival *Paſcha*, which ſignifies a paſſage; becauſe on that night, God having graciouſly ſpared and paſſed the *Hebrews*, ſent a great plague upon the *Egyptians*. For in the night-time periſhed all the firſt-born of the *Egyptians*; ſo that very many who inhabited near the palace, ran in all haſte from the ſeveral houſes to *Pharaoh*, begging him to diſmiſs the *Hebrews*. Wherefore

fore *Pharaoh* ſending for *Moyſes*, gave immediate orders for their journey; believing that if the country was but once rid of them, *Egypt* would inſtantly have a deliverance from its plagues. The *Egyptians* likewiſe made them valuable preſents, either in order to haſten their departure, or with regard to that familiarity and intimacy they had contracted with them, by living in a neighbourhood.

CHAP. XV.

How the Hebrews, *under the Conduct of* Moyſes, *left* Egypt.

THE *Hebrews* had no ſooner ſet out upon their journey, than the *Egyptians* with tears and penitence, bewailed the barbarous treatment they had given them; and having taken the road that leads to *Letopolis*, then a deſart, though afterwards the place where *Babylon* was built about the time that *Cambyſes* depopulated *Egypt*, by ſwift travelling, and chooſing the ſhorteſt ways, on the third day reached *Belſephon*, which lies contiguous to the *Red Sea:* And becauſe thoſe deſart places afforded not a ſufficiency of fruit, they lived upon cakes, which were made of meal lightly kneaded, and prepared with ſmall heat. Such was their ſuſtenance to the thirtieth day; and longer the proviſions they had brought out of *Egypt* did not laſt; (however ſparingly they fed, with a ſtrict regard rather to what was juſt neceſſary, than what would ſatiate,) wherefore, in commemoration of that ſcarcity, we ſtill retain a feaſt called *Azymus*, which we celebrate for eight days. The multitude of thoſe who came out of *Egypt*, including women and children, was ſo very great, that we cannot eaſily give an exact account of it: however, of able-bodied men fit to bear the fatigues of war, there were ſix hundred thouſand.

They began their Journey out of *Egypt*, on the fifteenth day of the month *Xanthicus*, the four hundred and thirtieth year from *Abraham* our father's ſettlement in *Chanaan*, and the two hundred and fifteenth year from *Jacob*'s arrival in *Egypt*. *Moyſes* was then eighty years of age, and three years younger than his brother *Aaron*. They took with them likewiſe the bones of *Joſeph*, to gratify the command he had lain upon his ſons.

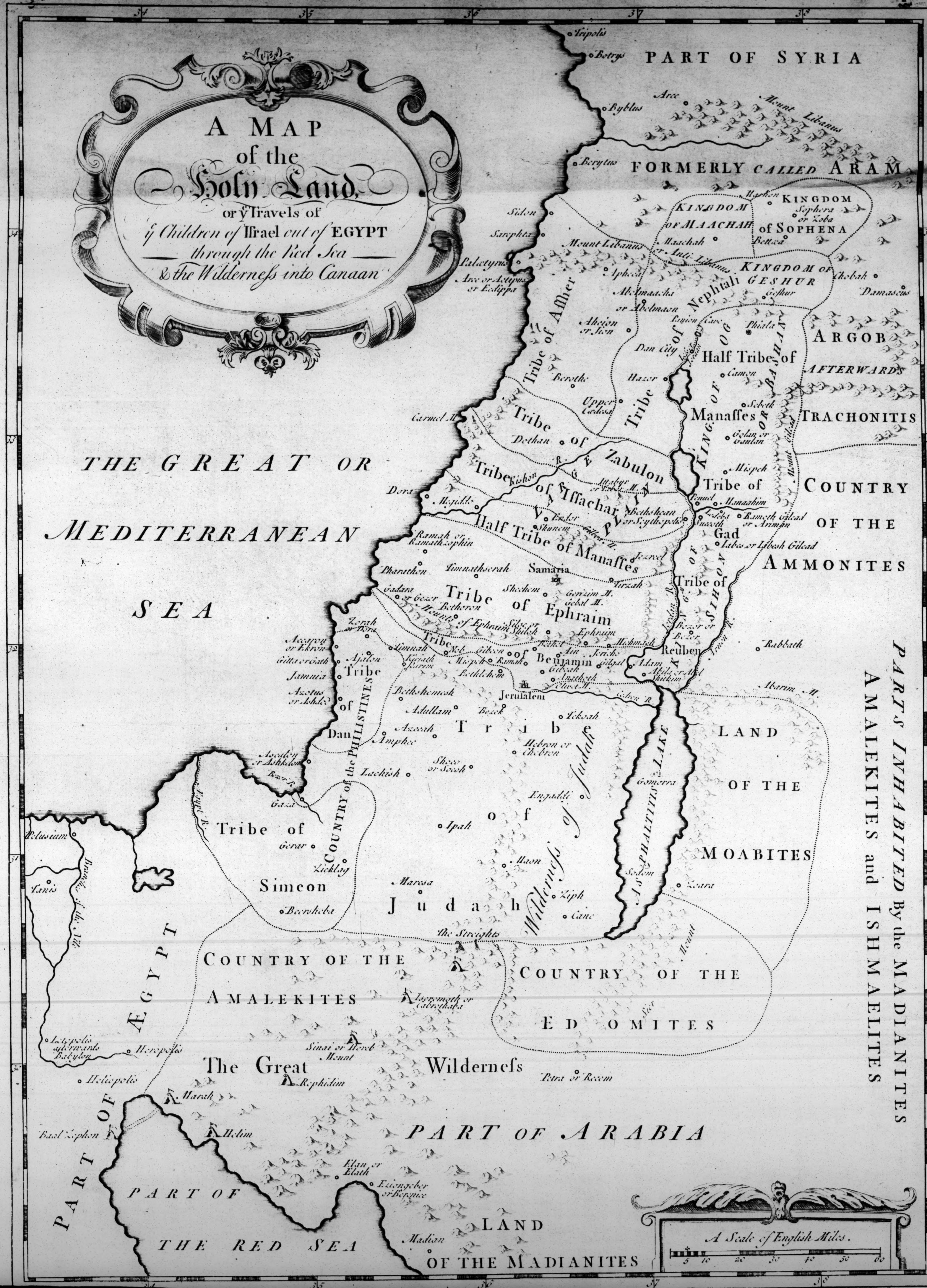
Now the *Egyptians* repented, that they had let *Iſrael* go; and the king was vexed to the heart, interpreting all the miſeries they had ſuffered, as effects of *Moyſes*'s inchantments: therefore it was agreed to purſue them. Wherefore arming themſelves in haſte, and taking with them their other implements of war, forthwith they proceeded to follow them, in hopes that if they could but come up with them, they ſhould eaſily retract them into ſervitude; pleaſed too in a confidence, that *Iſrael* would make no more ſupplications to God, becauſe they had already acquired their deſire. They concluded alſo, the victory over them would be ſoon obtained, becauſe unarmed and harraſſed with the journey; ſo inquiring at every one they met, which way the *Hebrews* took, they furiouſly marched on after them, notwithſtanding that the badneſs of the way was ſuch as might give uneaſineſs not only to armies, but to ſingle paſſengers.

Now this way *Moyſes* led them, to the intent, that ſhould the *Egyptians* out of ſpiteful remorſe purſue with their hoſtile troops, they might reap the wages of malice and violated faith; willing likewiſe in the courſe of his travels, by no means to be diſcovered by the *Paleſtines*, who from an old rancour were enemies to the *Hebrews*, for their country borders upon *Egypt*. In his march therefore he did not touch at *Paleſtine*, but travelling through the deſart, where he foreſaw he muſt meet with many fatigues and ſufferings, reſolved to enter into *Canaan*. He remember'd too, that he muſt conduct them to mount *Sinaï*, where they might offer ſacrifice in obedience to the will of God.

The *Egyptians* having by this time reached the camp of the *Hebrews*, drew up immediately in order of battle, and with their multitudes ſurrounding them, reduced them to great ſtraits; for ſix hundred chariots followed them with fifty thouſand horſe, and two hundred thouſand foot; and they had blocked up all the paſſages through which there was any probability that the *Hebrews* might make an eſcape, being ſhut in on one hand with inacceſſible precipices, and on the other with the ſea: For over it hangs a mountain, craggy and unpaſſable, that would ſtop their flight; between this mountain therefore and the ſea, they hemmed in the *Hebrews*, and artfully pitching their tents at the mouth of the aperture, cut off from them all poſſibility of gaining the champion-ground.

Finding therefore that for want of proviſions they neither could ſtand a ſiege, nor ſaw any hope of ſaving themſelves by flight, nor had arms, were they ever ſo willing to fight; no other proſpect occurred to them, but that of miſerably periſhing, unleſs they ſurrendered at mercy to the *Egyptians*. Wherefore they inveighed bitterly againſt *Moyſes*; unmindful of thoſe miracles, which God through his miniſtry had performed, to deliver them from ſervitude; nay, their deſpair proceeded ſo far, that, though the prophet exhorted them to be of good hope, and promiſed them certain ſafety, they had a violent inclination to ſtone him, and then make a ſubmiſſion to the *Egyptians*. Add to this, the noiſy ſorrow of the women and children pierced their very hearts; for they, ſeeing themſelves environed on all ſides with mountains, ſea, and enemies, and no probability of an eſcape, could think of nothing but ſudden death.

Moyſes, however licentiouſly the multitude acted againſt him, continued yet his tender care of them; nor was heard to let fall any expreſſion that ſhewed a diffidence in God; who,


A MAP
of the
Holy Land,
or y Travels of
y Children of Israel out of EGYPT
through the Red Sea
& the Wilderness into Canaan
PART OF SYRIA
FORMERLY CALLED ARAM
Tripolis
Botrys
Byblus
Berytus
Arce
Mount Libanus
KINGDOM OF MAACHAH
KINGDOM of SOPHENA
KINGDOM OF GESHUR
Sidon
Sarephta
Palætyrus
Damascus
ARGOB AFTERWARDS TRACHONITIS
Tribe of Asher
Tribe of Nephtali
Half Tribe of Manasses
KINGDOM OF OG OR BASHAN
Tribe of Zabulon
Tribe of Issachar
Half Tribe of Manasses
Tribe of Gad
Tribe of Ephraim
Tribe of Benjamin
Tribe of Reuben
KINGDOM OF SIHON
COUNTRY OF THE AMMONITES
THE GREAT OR MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Carmel M.
Dora
Samaria
Jerusalem
Jericho
Rabbath
Tribe of Dan
COUNTRY of the PHILISTINES
Gaza
Tribe of Judah
Wilderness of Judah
ASPHALTITIS LAKE
Sodom
Gomorra
Zoara
LAND OF THE MOABITES
PARTS INHABITED By the MADIANITES AMALEKITES and ISHMAELITES
Tribe of Simeon
Beersheba
The Streights
COUNTRY OF THE AMALEKITES
COUNTRY OF THE EDOMITES
Petra or Recem
Sinai or Horeb Mount
Rephidim
The Great Wilderness
Pelusium
Tanis
EGYPT
PART OF ÆGYPT
Heliopolis
Heroopolis
Marah
Elim
Baal Zephon
Elan or Elath
Eziongeber or Berenice
PART OF ARABIA
PART OF THE RED SEA
Madian
LAND OF THE MADIANITES
A Scale of English Miles
5 10 20 30 40 50 60
34
35
36
37
38
33
32
31
30

who, in procuring of their liberty, had executed all that he had promiſed, and would not then permit their enemies either to reduce them into ſervitude, or adjudge them to death. Then *Moyſes* preſenting himſelf before the multitude, ſpoke as follows:

“ If your intereſts hitherto had faithfully been tranſacted, even only by men, there would be no reaſonable ground for ſuſpicion, that they ſhould be the leſs fit to manage your affairs in time to come, much more would it be the heighth of madneſs to deſpair of the Providence of God, who hitherto has bountifully bleſſed you with an accompliſhment of all things, which, for your ſafety and vindication from ſervitude, he had before, through me, promiſed you, even at a time when you expected nothing. Wherefore it is your unqueſtionable duty, now that you are ſore preſſed with calamities, to fix your hope in God for help, who has been pleaſed to have you thus ſhut up, that, when neither yourſelves, nor your enemies can have any thought of ſeeing theſe difficulties ſurmounted, by delivering you out of them, he may, in your behalf, give at once a ſingular inſtance of his Power and Providence. For God, to thoſe whom he loves, in occurrences of ſmall moment, does not communicate his aſſiſtance; but then only, when he ſees them paſt all hope, and proſpect of *Better*. Wherefore, truſting in the Omnipotent Aid of Him, who, at a thought can elevate the loweſt into grandeur, and waſte and debilitate the ſtrength of moſt mighty forces; fear not theſe armaments of the *Ægyptians*: Nor, is there any cauſe to deſpair, becauſe an eſcape is impracticable, as well in regard of the ſea, as of the mountains; for theſe, at the breath of God, may be levelled into a *Plain*, and that turn’d into dry *Land*.

C H A P. XVI.

How the Sea, by Almighty Power, divided, and open'd a Paſſage for the Hebrews *to ſecure their Retreat from the* Ægyptians.

HAVING ended his Speech, he led them down to the ſea, full in the view of the *Egyptians*; who though they were within ſight, being fatigued with hard marches, judged it neceſſary to decline battle ’till next day. *Moyſes*, the moment he had gained the ſhore, taking a Rod in his hand, invoked the help and aſſiſtance of God in theſe words:

THOU well knoweſt, O Lord, that it is in vain for us to rely upon human ſtrength and foreſight, to ſhun and avert impending calamities: But now, thine it is, miraculouſly to ſave this multitude, who, in obedience to thy will, have deſerted Egypt: *For we, deprived of all other hope, and deſtitute of counſel, to thee ſolely fly, begging thy protection, and at this inſtant, ſuſpended in thought, we humbly wait the determination of thy Providence, to deliver us from the rage and fury of the* Egyptians; *and let thy glory be publiſhed and manifeſted in ſhewing preſent relief to this thy people: Reſtore and confirm their minds, already through deſpair broken and enervated, and raiſe and exalt them into a ſteady hope and affiance of their ſafety. No other Extremities preſs us, than what are infinitely ſubjected to thy power; for, thine, of a truth, is the ſea, and thine alſo this mountain which encompaſſes us; ſo that this, at thy word muſt open, and the ſea change into firm land. We might likewiſe by a flight into the air, ſecure an eſcape, was Omnipotence to command that manner for our deliverance.*

Having finiſhed this prayer, and ſtruck the ſea with his Rod, it inſtantly divided, and retiring within itſelf, left a dry paſſage, through which the *Hebrews* might purſue their journey. *Moyſes* perceiving this extraordinary mercy of God, and the channel forſaken by the ſea, was the firſt who entered it; then bid the *Hebrews* follow, marching couragiouſly through the way that God had open’d for them, at once congratulating themſelves upon the danger that threatened the *Ægyptians*, and returning thanks to God, who had ſo miraculouſly preſerv’d them.

But when the *Hebrews*, that no time might be loſt, with alacrity (in full aſſurance now that the Divine Preſence watch’d over them,) follow’d their leader; an attempt of this nature (ſaid the *Æyyptians* at firſt,) which inevitably muſt end in their deſtruction, cannot otherwiſe be than an effect of madneſs. But after they had ſeen them ſafely proceed a conſiderable way, no difficulty occurring, or impediment to retard their paſſage, with eager haſte they ſet out to purſue, imagining, that to them alſo the ocean would afford ſafety; and giving orders that the cavalry ſhould keep in the front, march’d with their whole army into the ſea. However, the *Hebrews*, during the time that the *Ægyptians* were buſied in putting on their arms, had without the leaſt inconvenience made the other ſhore; which gave the *Ægyptians* freſh hopes, and greater courage to follow, as thinking that in like manner no adverſity would befal them: For the *Ægyptians* were inſenſible that they had ventur’d upon a path appointed only for the *Hebrews*, not to be trod by others; and prepar’d for the deliverance of thoſe who were in extremity, not for them, who with greedy ſpeedy, wanted to make uſe of it to deſtroy others.

When therefore the whole army of *Ægypt* was marching upon the channel, the ſea again diffuſed itſelf, and with a force reverberated by the driving winds overturned and buried them in the waves. Impetuous ſhowers likewiſe were pour’d down from Heaven, while terrible thunders, accompanied with ſharp thunder-bolts, and amazing flaſhes of fire, multiplied from the clouds. In fine, there was a concourſe of all inſtruments, that are the uſual executioners of Divine Vengeance: For even a dark and gloomy night added to their conſternation; and ſo general was their overthrow, that not one man of them eſcaped to carry back an account of the cataſtrophe.

This unlooked for deliverance and ſlaughter of the *Egyptians*, filled the *Hebrews* with a joy ſo tranſporting as was not eaſy for them to bear; their liberty was now eſtabliſhed upon a firm and laſting bottom; no one alive having either power or inclination to enſlave them, and God himſelf being their protector, who had ſo marvellouſly appeared in their defence. In teſtimony therefore of their gratitude for ſo ſingular a puniſhment inflicted upon their enemies, and in acknowledgement too of their own eſcape, with hymns and cheerful thankſgivings they paſſed the night: And *Moyſes*, upon this remarkable occaſion, compoſed a ſong in verſes of ſix feet, wherein he celebrates the praiſes of God, and gratefully commemorates this mercy.

For my part, as I have been inſtructed from Holy Writ, I have recited exactly theſe occurrences: Let no man however hold this narration incredible, that theſe ancients) who were men void of all art and fraud) ſhould thus, thorough the ſea, have found a door of ſafety; whether it was the particular exertion of Providence, or a ſpontaneous effect of nature; ſince not very long ago, the ſea of *Pamphylia*, at a time that *Alexander*, the king of *Macedon*'s forces, knew not whither to turn themſelves, divided and gave them paſſage, when God had decreed by his ſervice to ſubvert the *Perſian* empire: Which fact is atteſted by all who have written the memorable deeds of *Alexander*.

When, by the day following, the heavings of the ſea, abetted by the violence of the winds, had drove aſhore all the arms and baggage of the *Egyptians*, at the very place where the camp of *Iſrael* lay; *Moyſes* conſtruing this accident into a ſpecial mark of the Divine favour, that they might not for the future want arms, had them carefully taken up and diſtributed among the *Hebrews*; and then conducted them to mount *Sinai*, to the end they might offer ſacrifice, and with religious duty remember their deliverance, in ſubmiſſion to the command of God.

The END *of the* Second BOOK.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
OF THE
ANTIQUITIES of the JEWS.
BOOK THE THIRD.
Containing the Space of Two Years.

CHAP. I.

How Moyſes, *having delivered the People out of* Egypt, *led them to Mount* Sinai, *grievouſly harraſſed and afflicted with their Journey.*

THE *Hebrews* having in this manner met with a proſperous fortune, that exceeded their expectation, were again in their progreſs to mount *Sinai*, greatly diſtreſſed by travelling in a moſt deſert country, as well deſtitute of neceſſaries for food, as ſuffering under an extreme ſcarcity of water; inſomuch that it yielded nothing either for the uſe of man or ſuſtenance of cattle; for it is all over one tract of deformity, not having the leaſt moiſture wherewith to cheriſh or ripen fruit: However, of neceſſity they were to march over this country, becauſe there was no other way to take. Water, by the command of their leader, they carried with them out of the places they had lately paſſed; but that being gone, to get more, they were obliged to ſink wells with great labour, becauſe the ground was hard: And when they had found water, it was of a bitter reliſh, and by no means potable, nor in quantity ſufficient. After this rate journeying, they came about the duſk of the evening to *Marah*, a place they ſo named from the corruption of its waters, for bitterneſs in the *Hebrew* tongue is expreſſed by *Mar:* And, between continual travelling and want of victuals, (for then all their proviſions were exhauſted) being miſerably perplexed, there they reſided for ſome time. For there they choſe the rather to ſtay, becauſe of a well, which, though inſufficient to ſupply the exigencies of ſo great an army, gave them great comfort, in that they had found it in ſuch barren regions. They were likewiſe informed by their ſcouts, that they ſhould light upon none in their progreſs; for in theſe parts the water was bitter, and unfit to be drunk by any body; not only to men inſupportable, but to beaſts.

When *Moyſes* reflected upon the general deſpair that had ſeized the people, and nothing remained for him to ſay upon the occaſion, (for it was not ſimply and without mixture an army of men, who with fortitude might bear the violence of the diſtreſs, but there was a multitude alſo of women and children, too weak to liſten to the voice of reaſon, that had blunted the generous impulſe of their mind) he ſeemed to himſelf in the greateſt extremity, being affected with this univerſal affliction in the ſame degree as if it had centered wholly in his own perſon; for to him only, and no other, they made their application; the women praying and obteſting him for the ſake of their children, and the men in behalf of their wives, that he would not renounce his tender care of them, but think of ſome method that might bring them relief. *Moyſes* therefore turned himſelf, and made his ſupplication to God, that he would graciouſly vouchſafe to heal the malignant diſpoſition of the water, and render it fit for uſe. And God having granted his requeſt, he laid hold upon the end of a ſtick, which by chance lay under his feet, and divided it down the middle, then throwing it into the well, aſſured the *Hebrews* that God had anſwered his petition, and promiſed to furniſh them with ſuch water as they wanted; upon condition they would not negligently, but cheerfully execute, his commands. And when they had aſked him what muſt be done in order to remove the vicious quality of the water, he bid the ſtouteſt and ſtrongeſt men of thoſe that ſtood round him, draw out the water; aſſuring them at the ſame time, that when the greateſt part of it was exhauſted, the reſidue would be potable: Wherefore they undertook the taſk; and the water, upon being agitated and purged with a conſtant courſe of motion, was anon altered ſo as to be fit to drink.

Thence they removed to *Elim*, a region that at a diſtance looked beautifully, (for it was adorned with palm-trees) but on nearer ſurvey was good for little. For theſe palm-trees were but ſeventy in number, and by reaſon of a penury of water, ſlender and low in growth; all the ground too was dry and gravelly, nor had they any proſpect, out of twelve fountains which they found there, to meet with water enough for their neceſſities: For there was no perpetual riſing up of the water, the liquid aſcending but ſeldom, and little at a time; and tho' they dug up the ſand, nothing of any moment occurred to them; for when a ſmall quantity happened into their hands, it was ſo thick and muddy that it could not be drunk. Likewiſe the trees, in regard there was not water enough to refreſh and nouriſh them, were too feeble to bear fruit. *Moyſes* therefore they blamed, and furiouſly exclaimed againſt, charging him as the author of all their miſeries and afflictions: For that being the thirtieth day from the time they ſet out, what proviſions they brought along with them had been exhauſted; and finding nothing to alleviate their wants, they were almoſt reduced to an univerſal deſpair. Wherefore intent only upon the contemplation of the preſent ill, and not recollecting what glorious things God had done for them, through the virtue and wiſdom of *Moyſes*, they fell into a vehement rage againſt their leader, inſomuch that they had a ſtrong inclination to ſtone him, as the cauſe of all the ſorrow that oppreſſed them.

Moyſes upon ſeeing the multitude violently irritated and incenſed againſt him, leaning upon the help of God, and conſcious to himſelf that with the utmoſt fidelity he had always regarded the real intereſt of the confederate tribes, boldly ſtept in amongſt them in the thickeſt hurry of their clamour and preparation to throw ſtones at him. And being a man of a moſt acceptable aſpect, and excellently well inſtructed in the paſſions of mankind, he began to moderate and appeaſe their wrath, requeſting them not to let preſent diſadvantages obliterate the remembrance of former benefits: And becauſe they now wanted food, not to forget the mercies and benignity of God, with which they had been abundantly, and beyond expectation favoured; but rather firmly to hope that they ſhould be delivered from the preſent anxiety by the Providence of God, who, probably (for a trial of their virtue and patience, and now that they laboured under difficulties, to rivet in their hearts, and make them recollect former miracles) ſuffered this adverſity to fall upon them: *Telling them,* they were inexcuſable for not bearing calamities with reſolution, and preſerving a ſenſe of gratitude for paſt obligations; becauſe ſuch a behaviour ſhewed a contempt of God and his will, in obedience to which they forſook *Egypt: Likewiſe,* that they were culpable in purſuing, with an unmerited hatred, him who was God's miniſter, and had in all things, that ever he told them, or performed by the command of God, acted candidly and without deceit.

Then *Moyſes* enumerated the particulars: That the *Egyptians* had been waſted and conſumed by a train of vengeance for ſtruggling to detain them contrary to the decree of God: And that the ſame river, which reſembled blood, and was unfit for the uſe of thoſe, afforded yet water to themſelves that was ſweet and reliſhing: That, travelling in a new tract thorough the ſea, which far off retired from them, they had by this means at once received deliverance, and ſeen their enemies periſh to a man: That alſo, when they had no arms, the deficiency was amply ſupplied by God; and that often at different occaſions, when they ſeemed involved in the greateſt danger, of a ſudden the Almighty ſaved them: And ſince his power was infinite, they ought not to deſpair of his Providence, but patiently wait the event, revolving with themſelves that aid does not come late, though it ſhould not arrive till they had experienced ſome hardſhips: And they ought to reflect that heaven delayed not from a contempt of their Intereſt, but to put their fortitude and love of liberty to the teſt; that thence it might appear, whether upon ſo glorious an account they would not rather chooſe to bear intrepidly the united wants of hunger and thirſt, than tamely, after the manner of brutes, with ſervile compliance, ſneak to tyrants, who would but feed them up for their own ends and miniſtry; concluding that he was leſs ſollicitous about his own life, (ſince death to him, ſhould he fall by the hand of injuſtice, could do no hurt,) than for their ſafety, leſt their inſurrection againſt him ſhould be reckoned an impeachment of the power of God.

Thus he calmed and repreſſed their fury from throwing ſtones at him, and brought them to a ſenſe of penitence for their devices. But when he conſidered their preſent neceſſities, the commotion ſeemed to have ariſen not without ſome colour of an excuſe: It became him therefore (he thought) to make his prayers and entreaties to God, and aſcending an eminence, he humbly begged mercy for the people, and a relief for their extraordinary want, (for upon him, and no other, reſted all their welfare;) and that he would pardon thoſe offences which thorough the keen edge of miſery had been committed by the people, who, according to the perverſe bent of human nature, are generally in misfortunes clamorous and implacable. Upon this God having promiſed, that he would both protect them, and quickly ſend the deſired aid, *Moyſes,* immediately relying upon this favour of God, returned to the multitude; who, ſeeing him tranſported with joy at the Divine Promiſes, from that moment loſt their grief in a flow of cheerfulneſs: And he ſtanding up, *ſaid,* 'He came to bring 'them a remedy for their preſent inconveniencies.' In a very ſhort ſpace after, a vaſt number of quails, (which kind of birds the *Arabick* gulph produces in great plenty,) with a rapid haſte croſſing the ſea, and being fatigued with a long flight, and approaching nearer the land than is uſual for other birds, came full into the camp of the *Hebrews*; who taking them with their hands, as an entertainment prepared by Providence, fell on to ſuccour and recruit their wants. Then *Moyſes* turning himſelf about made his hearty acknowledgments to God, in that he had granted them help ſo ſpeedily, according to his promiſe.

Soon after their firſt repaſt, God ſent them a ſecond relief: For while *Moyſes* lifted up his hands in prayer, a dew fell; which adhering to his hands, he taking it for food ſent from Heaven, taſted it with his mouth; and being ſenſible that the multitude knew not what it was, but apprehended it to be ſnow, as having happen'd in that ſeaſon when it uſually deſcends, he inform'd them that it was not dew, but ſuſtenance dropt from Heaven for their health and nouriſhment. Then taſting it, to convince them, preſented it to them, who, in imitation of their leader, were delighted with the food; for in ſweetneſs and pleaſurable reliſh it reſembled honey, but in aſpect looked like *Bdellium* among the fragrant balſams, and in bulk was equal to coriander-ſeed; for which reaſon they gather'd it with great care. But being told that an *Aſſaron*, (a ſort of meaſure, and the tenth part of an *Epha*,) would ſuffice any one's appetite for a day, by the above ſtandard they were order'd to regulate their proviſion: Which precaution *Moyſes* took, that thoſe who were ſtrong, might not, by gathering too much, run the weaker into difficulties how to find bread. Yet, ſuch as provided beyond the limited meaſure, reaped no profit by their labour: For they could find no more than an *Aſſaron*, and what portion ſoever had been reſerv'd for next day, was of no uſe to any one, being bitter, and over-run with worms. And ſo celeſtial and marvellous was this ſort of food, that thoſe who eat of it, wanted no other ſuſtenance: Nay, to this day, thorough all that country, a *Flower* is to be ſeen, bearing ſomething of the ſimilitude of that grain with which *Moyſes* was ſo particularly favoured. This food the *Hebrews* call *Mana*: For man, in our forms of ſpeech, is a particle of interrogation, when we aſk what ſuch a thing is. Thus, what deſcended to them from Heaven, gave a continual pleaſure; and this nouriſhment they lived upon forty years, that is, all the time that they ſtayed in the wilderneſs.

When marching thence they had arriv'd at *Raphidim*, being extremely afflicted with thirſt, in regard for ſome days they had met with very few fountains, and the ground they were now upon was altogether dry, and without water, they began to be in great diſtreſs; and again turn'd their anger againſt *Moyſes*. But he, having avoided the firſt onſet of the multitude, addreſſed himſelf to God in prayer, fervently requeſting, that he, who had beſtow'd meat upon them in the day of their greateſt need, would now likewiſe be graciouſly pleaſed to give them drink, ſince food otherwiſe could not ſave them from inevitable death. God inſtantly manifeſting his grace, aſſur'd *Moyſes* a fountain ſhould ariſe to them, and abundance of waters, when he leaſt expected it: Then bid him, before their eyes, with his rod ſtrike the rock, and they might ſatisfy themſelves with what they wanted, and that too without any exerciſe or labour. *Moyſes*, thus comforted by God, makes what haſte he could back to the people, who were at this time ſuſpended in hope, and only intent upon him, whom they now ſaw returning from the rock. Having reach'd the camp, he told them, that God would alſo ſave them from this great calamity, and diſplay his benignity even beyond their hope; for a guſh of waters ſhould burſt out of a rock. At firſt hearing they were aſtoniſh'd, as if, though half dead with thirſt, and miſerably fatigued with travelling, they were to be put to the neceſſity of cutting the rock: But after *Moyſes* had ſtruck, and at one blow cleft the rock, from whence iſſued out a moſt copious and limpid ſtream, their fear was loſt in an extraordinary ſurprize; and after regarding it for ſome time, they perceived it was given them to quench their thirſt; that its water was ſweet, and grateful to the taſte, and ſuch as appear'd to be the real Gift of God. *Moyſes* therefore was had in admiration, as a man highly dignified of God; and they, to ſhew their gratitude for ſo remarkable a Providence, offer'd ſacrifices to God. The *Sacred Books* (which are depoſited in the temple of *Jeruſalem*,) declare, that God gave command to *Moyſes*, that in this manner he ſhould fetch waters out of the rock.

CHAP. II.

How the Amalekites, *and other bordering Nations, making War againſt the* Hebrews, *were vanquiſhed, and loſt a great Part of their Army.*

THE power and might of the *Hebrews* being publiſh'd over all theſe countries, and frequent accounts of them handed about every where, it prevail'd to throw the natives into a general terror: Having therefore ſent embaſſies through all theſe regions, they exhorted one another to a conjunction of forces, in order to deſtroy and extinguiſh the *Hebrew* name. And to this enterprize they were animated, and incited by the inhabitants of *Gobol*, and the city *Petra*, who go by the name of *Amalekites*, and are the moſt warlike of all the neighbouring nations. The kings of theſe diſtricts, by their ambaſſadors, not only determin'd themſelves, but prevail'd with all the bordering people to take up arms, and fall upon the *Hebrews*; making this the pretence, that they were an army of aliens, who had eſcaped from the ſervitude of *Egypt*, and would by ſnares and artifice endeavour to work their ruin: *Adding withal*, That, to contemn them, would be inconſiſtent with policy; but their wiſeſt and ſafeſt courſe was to ſet upon them at firſt, before they had got an addition of ſtrength, or affluence of riches; otherwiſe a delay in themſelves might embolden them to begin the war: That, by taking this courſe, they ſhould be furniſh'd with a much better opportunity of chaſtiſing their growing pride in the wilderneſs, than at any time after they had permitted them to become maſters of their cities and wealth: For it is a greater act of prudence, to take care to weaken the power of an enemy, when it firſt begins to increaſe, than when it has receiv'd an acceſſion, to think of preventing its farther progreſs; in regard, theſe truſting in their acquir'd force, will but ſlight any propoſals of accommodation that may be offer'd to them; whereas thoſe have effectually cut off all poſſibility of an attempt againſt them. Theſe conſiderations being ſeverally weighed and diſcuſſed by their Embaſſies, it was unanimouſly reſolv'd at laſt to give battle to the *Hebrews*.

This ſudden inſurrection of the natives, gave *Moyſes* (who dreamt of no hoſtilities) no little pain and trouble: But, when matters came to be ſo far advanced, that the enemy was in ſight, and they found themſelves under a neceſſity to engage and try the fortune of the day, a general pannic and diſorder ran thorough the camp of the *Hebrews*, as being upon the point to fight with men well prepar'd, and ſkill'd in martial diſcipline. *Moyſes* therefore encouraged, and perſuaded them to magnanimity, *telling them*, That, relying upon the powerful aſſiſtance of God, who had ſo wonderfully aſſerted them into liberty, they might with aſſurance hope to ſubdue thoſe, with whom they were now going to contend in defence of it; and they ſhould conſider, their own army was large and potent enough, and wanted nothing, neither arms, money, proviſions, nor other neceſſaries, the preſence of which gives ready courage in the day of battle; in regard they ſhould find all theſe in the protection of God. At the ſame time they might reflect, that their enemies forces were ſmall, unarmed, weak, and ſuch as by whom (he well knew) God would not ſuffer them to be defeated. Likewiſe, that they ſhould call to mind what a deliverer he had been, whoſe help they had experienced in dangers, many, and greater than a war; for this was but an encounter with men: But when the conflict was more ſevere and piercing, and they were drove to conteſt with famine and thirſt, with mountains and the ſea blocking up every way to an eſcape, even then, by the bountiful aid of God, they were more than conquerors. He therefore intreated them to begin the battle cheerfully, as men, who, from this one victory over their enemies, might promiſe themſelves an affluence of all things.

When *Moyſes* by this oration had rouzed the hearts of the people, calling together the princes and chiefs of the tribes, as well one by one, as all in a body; the young men he admoniſhed to give attention to the ſeniors, and theſe not to be refractory to their leaders commands. Thoſe who were moſt forward to dangers, and long'd for the battle, pleaſed themſelves with the proſpect, that one day they ſhould ſee an end of their calamities; and made preſſing inſtances to their general to lead them right on againſt their enemies, and not to linger, leaſt their fire ſhould cool, and their force languiſh. But from amongſt the whole multitude fit to bear arms, having made a choice, he gave the direction of the army to *Joſhuah*, the ſon of *Navenus*, of the tribe of *Ephraim*; a man moſt valiant, patient in labour, and prompt both in eloquence and invention, who greatly fear'd God, and reſpected *Moyſes*, as one by whom he had been inſtructed in the principles of religion. *Moyſes* likewiſe order'd a party to take their ſtand round the water, as a guard to the women and children, and an advantage to the whole Army: All the night was ſpent in preparation, either employed about their arms, or attending the commands of their officers; and expecting every minute to march, when the ſignal ſhould be given by *Moyſes*; who paſſed the night himſelf without ſleep, to the end he might give full inſtructions to *Joſhuah* how to order the battle. Early next day *Moyſes* gave *Joſhuah* freſh inſtructions, bidding him endeavour by his conduct in the fight to merit the opinion he had conceived of him, and by valour to eſtabliſh his character among the ſoldiers. Likewiſe one by one he exhorted the moſt gallant of the *Hebrews*, and then with a ſpeech fired and awakened all the men of arms into fortitude. And having thus animated and prepared the army, he recommended them to God, and leaving the command with *Joſhuah*, ſet out for the mountain.

The two armies therefore met, and came to blows, with mutual alacrity and great incitement on both ſides. And indeed while *Moyſes* kept his hands extended upwards, the *Amalekites* fell before the *Hebrews*. *Moyſes* therefore, when, through fatigue, he could no longer elevate his hands (and as often as he let them fall down, the enemy prevail'd over the *Hebrews*) deſir'd *Aaron* his brother, and his ſiſter *Mariam*'s huſband, *Uron* by name, to wait by him and ſtay his hands in an erect poſture, nor on account of labour pretend to fail him in this friendly office. And now the *Hebrews* broke in upon the *Amalekites* with ſuch intrepidity and reſolution, that, had not the night intervened to put an end to the ſlaughter, they had extirpated them to a man. However, our anceſtors got a moſt glorious and ſeaſonable victory: For they not only proſtrated thoſe who had invaded them, but ſtruck a terror into all the inhabitants round about: Acquiring to themſelves by their indefatigable atchievements, a plenty of every thing, that was either great or ſplendid. Having ſeized the enemy's camp, as well for their own private uſe as the exigences of the ſtate, they amaſſed immenſe riches, who but a ſmall time before wanted neceſſary food. Nor was the proſperous effect of this battle reſtricted to the time preſent, but to their advantage alſo ſhew'd its influence to future ages: For thence they not only brought the bodies of their enemies into ſervitude, but even ſubdued their minds; and after this defeat of the *Amalekites* they grew more and more formidable to all the nations there about. A prodigious quantity of riches was here obtained; for much gold and ſilver they found in the camp, beſide the veſſels of braſs, in which the enemies had boiled their meat, a great number of things ſealed, embroideries, and ornaments of arms, with a multitude of other curioſities belonging to dreſs and equipage; likewiſe a various booty of beaſts of carriage, and all manner of implements whatever that uſually attend an army in an expedition. Elated with this ſpring of fortune, the *Hebrews* began to magnify and extol their own fortitude and virtue, and from a reliſh of labour perſuade themſelves, they were capable to ſurmount every thing. And ſuch was the conſequence of this battle.

The day following, *Moyſes* having given orders to ſtrip the bodies of the ſlain, and gather ſuch arms as the enemies had caſt away in their flight; to all who had bravely merited, he diſtributed rewards. And not only he, but the whole army concurr'd in the praiſe of *Joſhuah*. Of the *Hebrews* not one man was kill'd in the battle, but of the enemies fell more, than can well be reckon'd by the help of numbers. When *Moyſes* in atteſtation of his gratitude had built an Altar, offering ſacrifice and calling God the Victor; he denounced againſt *Amalek*, that their whole nation ſhould be cut off to a man, becauſe without any provocation they had invaded the *Hebrews*, under a double calamity, as well ariſing from the wilderneſs itſelf, as from the want of all things. Then he admitted the Army to an entertainment. And thus concluded the firſt engagement they entered into, from the day of their deliverance out of *Egypt*. After *Moyſes* had treated the army upon account of the late ſucceſs, and allow'd the *Hebrews* ſome days to refreſh and invigorate themſelves after the fight, he drew them out in order of battle. For now he had many ſoldiers in light armour; and marching ſlowly, in the third month from his arrival out of *Egypt*, he came to mount *Sinai*: In which, how the miracle concerning the buſh, and other viſions happen'd to him, we have before related.

CHAP. III.

Moyſes *is favour'd with a Viſit at Mount* Sinai *from* Jethro *his Father-in-law, and receives him joyfully.*

RAGUEL, father-in-law to *Moyſes*, having had an account, how proſperouſly affairs had ſucceeded with his ſon, came hither to congratulate him. And *Moyſes* ſeeing with him *Sapphora* his wife and two ſons, was tranſported with joy at their arrival. Having therefore return'd thanks and made an oblation to God, he prepar'd a banquet for the people at ſome ſmall diſtance from the buſh, that in the midſt of the flames had eſcaped intire. *Aaron* and *Raguel*, with the people ſang hymns to God, who had been the author and giver of their life and liberty; likewiſe with one voice they gratefully mention'd and exalted *Moyſes*, by whoſe wiſdom and conduct all things had come to a period, according to their wiſh. Moreover *Raguel*, in his complement of thanks to *Moyſes*, inſiſted much upon the noble qualities of the people; but in a wonderful manner he commended *Moſes*, becauſe in the midſt of greateſt dangers, labours and difficulties, he had always ſhewn an unſhaken fortitude for the welfare and liberty of the People.

CHAP. IV.

How he perſuaded him to diſtribute the People, who were before under no Regulation, and appoint Officers to preſide over Thouſands and over Hundreds: And that Moyſes *adjuſted theſe ſeveral Matters in Conformity to his Father-in-law's Advice.*

THE day following *Raguel*, having with attention view'd the load of buſineſs that reſted upon *Moyſes*, (for he patiently and upon demand accommodated all controverſies that were laid before him, and to his judgment was continual reference made, becauſe no one thought he could meet with equity without *Moyſes* was arbiter of the deciſion; and even where the cauſe was given againſt them, the loſers did not take it for an hardſhip, being fully convinced and ſatisfied that with the moſt upright and perfect juſtice, without the leaſt mixture of partiality, he had pronounced the decree) though griev'd in himſelf, yet then would ſay nothing, becauſe unwilling then to hinder the petitions and requeſts of the people. But when the multitude was gone, taking him aſide, he communicated to him what in his own opinion ſeem'd neceſſary in the caſe: And adviſed him to commit the management of all matters of ſmall moment to others, intereſting himſelf only in affairs of great conſequence, that ſo he might be at full leiſure to regard the good of the community. For no doubt, there were many among the *Hebrews* fit enough to be judges in common occurrences; but with regard to the publick weal, it was ſolely *Moyſes* could be a competent guardian, or one in all reſpects like him. Underſtanding therefore (*ſaid he*) how far thou excelleſt all others, and how much, by being the miniſter of God, thou haſt contributed to the defence and glory of this people; give them leave to ſubmit their ſuits to the ſentence of others: But thou devote thy ſelf wholly to the fear of God, that by his bleſſing, upon thy care and ſolicitude for the people, thou mayſt be able to raiſe them into greater honour and dignity. Taking therefore my advice in human affairs, with exactneſs number the army, then dividing it by ten thouſands, captains ſelected out of theſe ſet over them: The ſame do by the thouſands. Then ſeparate them into five hundreds, and again into hundreds, then into fifties: And appoint them officers, who, parting them into thirties, twenties and tens, may determine their differences. But let the man who commands theſe, always take his appellation from the number he has the charge of: And theſe, being choſen and approv'd by the whole people for their eminence in virtue and juſtice, ſhall decide their controverſies. And if any caſe ariſes that is a little intricate, it ſhall be carried before thoſe who are higheſt in authority: But if, even to them it ſhould appear too difficult and perplexed, let them remit it to thee. Thus, thou ſhalt do them a double ſervice, the *Hebrews* may preſerve their rights, and thy aſſiduity towards God, render him more propitious to the people.

This advice of *Raguel Moyſes* willingly accepted, and ſoon after diſpoſed all things according to his model: Not diſſembling the invention, nor arrogating it to himſelf, but publiſhing to the people who it was that firſt deviſed it. Nay, in his own books too, he commemorates *Raguel*, as the perſon that invented the above ſcheme: Thinking it the beſt of offices to give a true teſtimony to real merit; though ſometimes, it happens, that the works of other men exalt the praiſe of him to whom they are aſcrib'd. And from this ſpecimen, one may form a judgment of the great integrity of *Moyſes*. But of this affair we ſhall have an opportunity afterwards to deliver our opinion.

CHAP. V.

How Moyſes *aſcended into Mount* Sinai, *and delivered to the* Hebrews *the Laws he had received from God.*

MOYSES having order'd a general meeting of the people, told them, that he muſt go to mount *Sinai*, to make addreſſes to God, and what commands he ſhould there receive, he would report to them; bidding them place their tents within a ſhort ſpace of the mountain, that they might the more particularly be favour'd with the divine preſence. Then took he his way to *Sinai*, the higheſt mountain of all in that country; and by reaſon of its extraordinary heighth and abrupt precipices, is not only of difficult acceſs, but almoſt impoſſible to be view'd without pain and trouble to the eyes: And likewiſe, from a current opinion that God inhabited there, terrible and unfrequented. The *Hebrews*, in obedience to *Moyſes*, took their ſtand at the foot of the mountain, with elevated and cheerful hearts, upon account of the bleſſings he had promis'd them, expecting his return. And here they paſs'd the time in entertainments, obſerving, according to command, a ſtrict temperance, and for three days not converſing familiarly with their wives; in their prayers likewiſe ſoliciting God, that he would be pleaſed graciouſly to hear *Moyſes*, and grant him thoſe benefits which might render their life more happy. They feaſted therefore more ſumptuouſly, and, together with their wives and children, put on a decent and more elegant dreſs.

And for two days indeed the *Hebrews* enjoyed themſelves in a more dainty manner; but on the third, before the ſun roſe, a cloud (ſuch as they had not heretofore ſeen) bore down upon their camp in a circular appearance, and involved the whole ſpace, where they had fixed their tents. And while there was a brightneſs of ſky every where elſe, a ſudden tempeſt ſprung, follow'd at once by a burſt of violent winds, that occaſion'd an impetuous fall of rain, and flaſhes of lightning, that were diffuſed with dread to all the ſpectators. Thunders likewiſe with thunder-bolts, which darted from on high, gave plain evidence that God was preſent, and propitious to the requeſts of *Moyſes*. And theſe things the readers may receive according to their apprehenſion: It is my duty to keep cloſe to what has been recorded in Holy Writ. The *Hebrews* upon this tremendous incident, were extremely ſhaken with a fright, (for ſuch things they had not been accuſtom'd to,) and the commonly believed relation concerning the mountain, that God frequently viſited it, ſettled in their minds an unuſual fear: For which reaſon, full of ſorrow and anxiety, they kept within their tents; concluding, that *Moyſes* had fallen by the diſpleaſure of God, and looking every minute they ſhould be cut off themſelves.

In the mean time that they were thus ſunk in conſternation, *Moyſes* unexpectedly return'd, exalted with joy, and ſurprizingly pleaſed: Immediately the ſight of him diſſipated their fear, and reviv'd an hope of better things to come; forthwith the ſky cleared up, and thoſe aſtoniſhments ceaſed, which but a while ago had ſcatter'd terror. After this therefore having aſſembled all the people, that, in their hearing, he might recite the commandments, which had been ſent them from God; and aſcending an high place, whence his voice might diſtinctly be heard, he made the following declaration:

THE Great God, O *Hebrews*, hath receiv'd me with the ſame mercy and benevolence that I have experienced heretofore: And to the end he may ſuggeſt to you the moſt rational way and method of regulating and well-conſtituting a republic, the immenſity of his preſence at this moment fills your camp. Wherefore by him, and by his glorious works, I beſeech, and obteſt you, not to make an eſtimate from the man that ſpeaks to you, of thoſe things I am about to ſay; nor ſhew the leſs reverence, becauſe an human tongue repeats them. But when you have well weighed the nature and excellence of the commandments, you ſhall then likewiſe know the Majeſty of him who was the Author, and has condeſcended for our Intereſt to talk with me. The Author indeed is not *Moſes*, the ſon of *Amram* and *Jochebel*, but he, who by his mighty power made the river *Nile* overflow with blood for your deliverance, and broke the neck of *Egypt*'s obſtinacy with various calamities. He it is, who conducted you thorough the ſea; who in the day of your diſtreſs ſupported you with food from Heaven; who, when you wanted water, ſupplied you with a copious ſtream from a rock: He, who gave *Adam* and his poſterity, the dominion over all things both in earth and ſea; by whom *Noah* was ſaved from the deluge;

from whom *Abraham*, when as yet he had not a foot of ground, got the ſovereignty of *Canaan*; by whom the birth of *Iſaac* was indulg'd to his parents in an advanced age; by whom *Jacob* was honour'd with twelve ſons, the powers of *Iſrael*; by whom *Joſeph* was made governor of the kingdom of *Ægypt*: He it is, (I ſay,) that thorough my miniſtry, hath favour'd you with theſe precepts. But let them be reverenced by you, and eſteem'd dearer than your wives and children. No manner of felicity ſhall be wanting, whilſt you keep and obſerve them; neither ſhall the earth be barren, nor the ſea agitated by tempeſts, nor your products riſe againſt nature; and you ſhall be formidable to all your enemies: (For being admitted into the intimate Preſence of God, I heard his inimitable voice.) So great is his care for your race, and its preſervation.

Having made an end of this ſpeech, he led up the people, together with their wives and children, to the place in which they ſhould hear themſelves inſtructions from God himſelf, that the dignity of the precepts might not be ſullied by the weakneſs and impotent authority of an human tongue. And then an audible voice iſſuing from on high, in ſuch a manner reached their ears, that there was not one of them, who did not diſtinctly comprehend thoſe ſeveral mandates which *Moyſes* has tranſmitted to us in the two tables of the law. It would be wickedneſs in us to ſet them down at full length, we ſhall therefore only give their meaning.

We are taught by the firſt commandment of the decalogue, That there is but One God, and that He alone is to be worſhipped.

We are forbid by the ſecond, To pay ſervice, or adoration, to any ſort of image.

We are enjoined (under a penalty) by the third, Not to ſwear, without the laſt neceſſity, by the Name of God.

By the fourth, We are requir'd, To keep holy the ſeventh day, and inviolate from labour.

By the fifth, we are commanded, To do honour to our parents.

By the ſixth, Not to commit murder.

By the ſeventh, Not to commit adultery.

By the eighth, Not to ſteal.

By the ninth, Not to give falſe teſtimony.

By the tenth, To covet no manner of thing that appertains to our neighbour.

The people having heard what *Moyſes* had told them, confirmed by the voice of God himſelf, and growing doubly cheerful at ſo ſolemn and gracious an incident, *Moyſes* gave them leave to retire to their tents. But in a little time after they waited upon him again, importunately requeſting that he would alſo obtain for them a body of laws from God. This favour they receiv'd too, with ample preſcriptions, for all and ſingular emergencies that might ariſe in the commonwealth; which I ſhall call to remembrance at a proper time. But the greater part of theſe laws I refer to another book, intending to write a ſeparate comment upon them.

Whilſt affairs were in this ſituation, *Moyſes*, after previous notice given them of his deſign, went again to the mountain, and in their view aſcended it. And when he had ſtayed away a long time (for there he continued the ſpace of forty days) the *Hebrews* were poſſeſſed with a fear, that ſome miſchief had befallen him: And upon a recollection of all the calamities they had ſuffer'd, nothing afflicted them more, than the conſideration that they had loſt *Moyſes*. Upon this there alſo aroſe a difference among them; while ſome were perſuaded that he was tore to pieces by wild beaſts, (which opinion was obſtinately maintain'd by thoſe who hated him;) others affirm'd, he was tranſlated by God. But the moſt judicious, and ſuch as entertain'd no ſenſe of joy from either conjecture; after pondering with themſelves, that though to be deſtroy'd by wild beaſts, was a thing which might happen unto men, yet that the virtue of *Moyſes* made it very probable, he was receiv'd into the fruition of Almighty God, were ſupported by theſe thoughts, and bore the fancied accident with a more manly temper: But when they reflected, that they were bereft of ſuch a precedent and guardian, as they had no proſpect of ever meeting with again, their ſorrow increas'd too powerfully to be longer concealed. And ſo ſtrongly rooted was their ſuſpicion of this diſaſter, that they could neither recreate themſelves with good hopes of his return, nor renounce all hopes of him, and ceaſe to grieve. But then to decamp they durſt not, becauſe *Moyſes* at parting, left ſtrict orders with them there to fix their tents, and wait till he came back.

But after forty days, and the ſame number of nights had paſſed, at length he came, having in all that time taſted no nouriſhment that is the common food of men. Upon the firſt ſight of him, the whole army was filled with joy; he then gave them to underſtand, with what care Omnipotence regarded their welfare: *Telling them*, 'That during the ſpace he had been abſent from them, he had been ſhewn how well and happily they might live and govern the republick; and that it was the Command of God, a Tabernacle ſhould be erected to him, which, when it ſo pleaſed him, he might illuminate with his preſence; that alſo, wherever we journied, we ſhould carry it about with us, and have no farther an occaſion to go to mount *Sinai*, in regard the Supreme Being would frequently reſide among us, and hear and be propitious to our prayers. But the tabernacle muſt be built according to the dimenſions and form, which Himſelf hath ſpecified; and it is order'd, that you ſhall forthwith ſtrenuouſly, and cheerfully, apply to the work.' After which, he produced the two tables, (each table conſiſting of five precepts,) wherein were included the ten commandments. And the writing was by the Hand of God.

CHAP. VI.

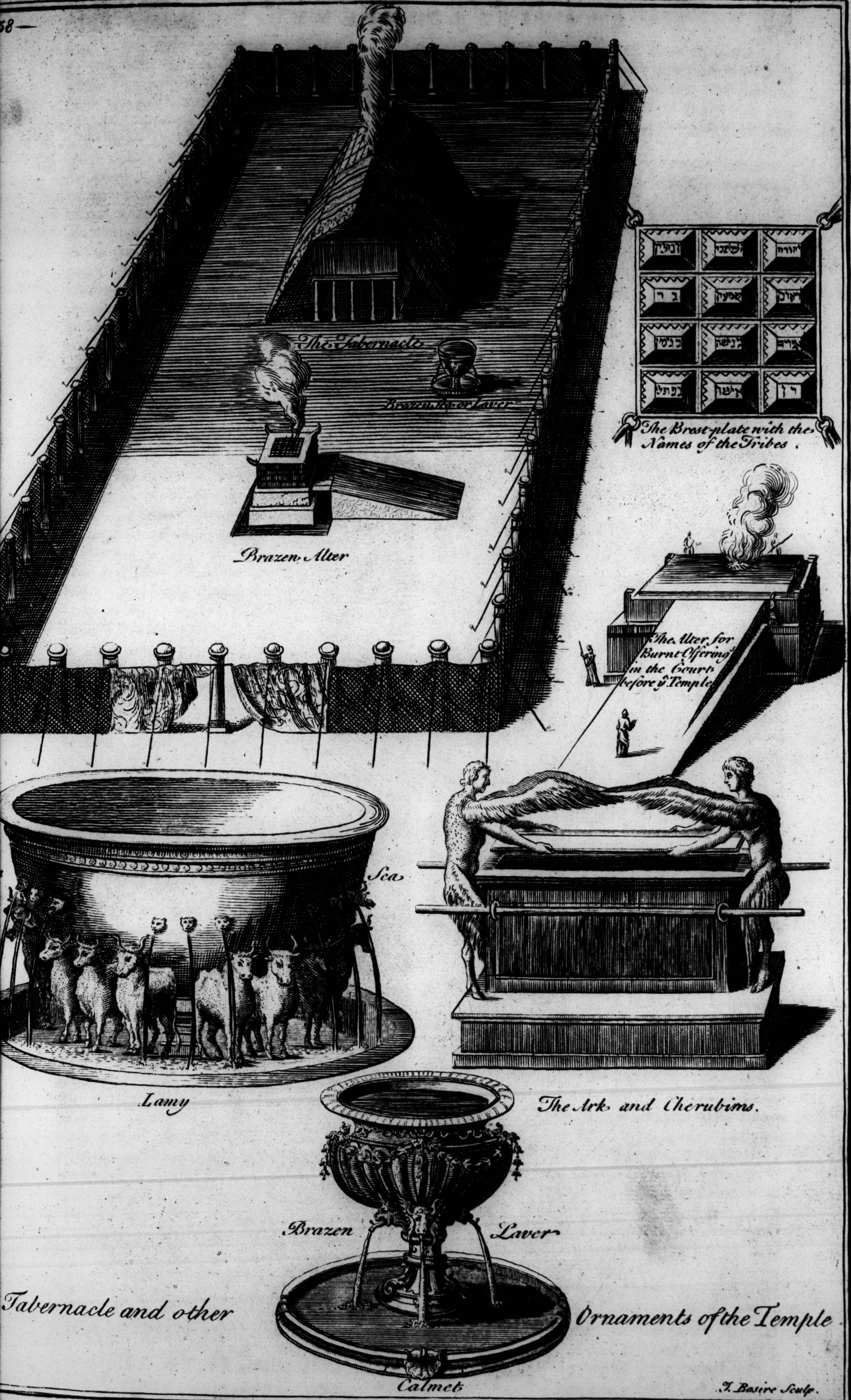
Moyſes *erects, and conſecrates to God, a Tabernacle in the Wilderneſs, bearing the Similitude of a Temple.*

THE People, being overjoyed with what they had heard and underſtood from *Moyſes*, unanimouſly came to a reſolution, that nothing of either pains or labour, as far as in them lay, ſhould be wanting to facilitate the work. They likewiſe cheerfully contributed ſilver and gold, and braſs; and gave wood of the beſt ſort, and that would not eaſily decay: Alſo goat's hair, and ram's ſkins, ſome dyed of a violent colour, others tinged with ſcarlet; ſome adorned with purple flowers, and others imbued with a whiteneſs that reſembled milk: And wool alſo diverſifyed with all the above colours, together with great quantities of the fineſt linnen: And precious ſtones, ſuch as men bind and ſet in gold, and wear for more ſumptuous ornament: Moreover, a great variety of fragrant odours: For out of ſuch materials was the tabernacle erected, and it differ'd in nothing from a portable temple that eaſily might be carried.

Theſe offerings being finiſhed with much emulation and earneſtneſs, and greater liberality than they could well bear, *Moyſes*, by the command of God, appointed architects to deſign and contrive the works; and ſuch whom even the people, if it had been left to their choice, would have nominated; and their names, for they too are made mention of in the Sacred Books, were theſe; *Beſaleel*, the firſt, the ſon of *Uri*, of the tribe of *Juda*, but nephew to *Mariam*, the ſiſter of *Moyſes*: *Eliab*, the other, the ſon of *Iſamach*, of the tribe of *Dan*. But the people with ſo great alacrity promoted the undertaking, that *Moyſes* was oblig'd to make them deſiſt, giving orders to have it publiſh'd by a crier thorough the camp, that what materials had already been collected, were ſufficient to complete the work; and this the architects had ſome time before acquainted them with. Beginning therefore the ſtructure of the tabernacle, *Moyſes*, as he had been previouſly inſtructed, gave the neceſſary directions, as well as to the length and breadth, as the heigth, and what quantity of veſſels would be requiſite for ſacrifices and other holy uſes. Such too was the generous virtue of the ladies, that they ſtrove to ſurpaſs one another in the beauty and make of the prieſts veſtments, and in every thing elſe that was wanted towards the ornament of the work, and the ſervice of God.

All things being now prepar'd and ready, as well the gold and ſilver, as the braſs, embroideries, and other curious devices; and a ſolemn feaſt and ſacrifice celebrated by the poſitive inſtitution of *Moyſes*, as their ſeveral circumſtances were able to bear; the model of the tabernacle was begun, and finiſhed in this manner: *Moyſes* having premiſed the dimenſions of the court, which in breadth extended fifty cubits, and in length an hundred, appointed twenty paliſadoes (five cubits in heighth each,) to ſupport the longer ſides, and ten to go acroſs behind; but rings were joined to the ſeveral paliſadoes. The chapiters, or tops of the paliſadoes, were of ſilver, and their baſes gilt, and ſharpned like the points of ſpears; but that part which was to be fixed in the ground was of braſs. To the rings were tied ropes, which being made faſt at one end, and paſſing through the ſeveral paliſadoes, were by braſs nails, of a cubit's length, drove into the earth, to protect and fortify the tabernacle from the violence of winds. Then, over each of the three ſides there was extended an ornament of very fine linnen, that depending from the chapiters with a full ſpread, reach'd the bottom; and while the whole ſpace was thus environ'd, it ſeem'd in every reſpect like a wall; and this way were the three ſides adorn'd. But the fourth ſide, (for that being the remaining part of fifty cubits, was the front of the whole ſtructure,) had an aperture of twenty cubits for a door, and, for the magnificence of the entry, double pillars on each ſide. Theſe alſo were wholly made of ſilver neatly poliſhed, except the baſes, which were of braſs. Upon each hand of the entry ſtood three paliſadoes faſtned and rivetted in wood, that ſuſtain'd the door; and over theſe too was drawn a curtain curiouſly wrought. But the door, (which in breadth ſtretched twenty cubits, and in heighth was five,) was cover'd with a veil of linnen intermixed with purple, ſcarlet and violet colours, and adorn'd with many and various pictures, but without the repreſentation of any animal. And within the door was an aſperſory, or veſſel to ſprinkle with, of braſs, and a baſon of the ſame metal, in which the prieſts were to waſh their hands, and refreſh their feet: And after this manner was the court incloſed and adorned.

In its center *Moyſes* fixed the tabernacle, facing the eaſt, that the Sun upon his riſing might irradiate it. Thirty cubits compoſed the lenghth, and ten the breadth; and one of the walls had a ſouth proſpect, but the other was to the north, and from behind appeared the weſt; its heighth likewiſe kept an exact proportion with its breadth. But there were wooden boards, of each ſide twenty, cut out into a quadrangular form, in breadth a cubit and an half, and in thickneſs four fingers. And plates of Gold were got ready to beautify them both within and without. Each board had two hinges, (and theſe too made of ſilver,) reaching to the two baſes, and in either baſe was an hole to receive the hinges. The weſtern part had a fence of ſix boards, and theſe ſo ſtrongly connected, and united together, that, not obſerving the junctures, they looked like one ſolid wall, inſide and outſide overlaid with gold. And on either ſide the boards were uniform, being in number twenty, and each was in breadth one cubit and an half, and in thickneſs


The Tabernacle
Brazen Sea or Laver
Brazen Alter
The Brest-plate with the Names of the Tribes.
יהורה
יששכר
זבולן
ראובן
שמעון
ג ר
אפרים
מנשה
בנימין
ר ן
אשר
נפתלי
The Alter for Burnt Offering in the Courts before yͤ Temple
Sea
Lamy
The Ark and Cherubims.
Brazen Laver
Calmet
J. Basire Sculp.

Tabernacle and other Ornaments of the Temple

BRITISH MUSEUM

neſs four fingers, and therefore completed thirty cubits. But in the poſtern wall (for ſix compacted boards of it, made only nine cubits,) from the diviſion of one cubit, they ſuperadded other two boards to ſtand in the corners, adorning them after the manner of the larger boards. And to all and ſingular theſe boards were fitted rings of gold, fronting outwards, and in lovely rows fixed, that every where correſponded to one another; and thorough theſe gilt bars were thruſt to conjoin the boards; the whole being ſo artificially made, that the head of one reſting upon the head of another, every bar paſſed through the various turns of the joints, after the ſimilitude of a ſkrew. But at the back-wall, through all the boards, was made a mortoiſe, into which entered the extremities of the ſeveral bars that belonged to the walls of the longer ſides, to the end they might be the more firmly and cloſely joined, like man and wife. And by this precaution, the tabernacle could not by any force, or aſſault of winds, be ſhaken, but ſtood ſecure and immoveable.

Its interior length conſiſting of three partitions; on about ten cubits of the foundation were raiſed four columns to fit the place, of the ſame architecture, and with the ſame materials that the reſt were made, and ſtanding upon like baſes, at a little diſtance from one another; becauſe within theſe was the *Inacceſſible*; but the reſidue of the tabernacle was patent to the prieſts. And it happened, that this dimenſion of the tabernacle had ſome reference to the univerſe itſelf; for the third part, which the columns included, and where not even the prieſts were allowed to enter, was like Heaven, ſacred to God alone. But the meaſure of twenty cubits, like the land and ſea, to which men have an eaſy acceſs, was a grant only made over to the prieſts. At the front, where a paſſage opened, were ſet five columns, leaning upon braſs baſes; but the veils for the ſervice of the tabernacle, were with colours of ſilk and purple, of violet and ſcarlet exquiſitely variegated, and interwoven, and indeed the firſt veil that was drawn over the columns reached ten cubits every way; which columns being placed acroſs the temple, within their own ſpace, contained the *inacceſſible*; and this was the veil, which made it impoſſible to be ſeen. The whole temple indeed was called *Holy*, but the *inacceſſible*, or *Adyt*, which reſted between the four columns, *The Holy of Holies*. And that beautiful veil was embelliſhed with all manner of flowers that the earth produces, and with every thing elſe embroidered capable of adding to its ornament, except figures of living creatures.

Like to this in ſize, texture and colour, another veil, joined by a ring to the corner of each column, and deſcending from the top to the middle of them, ſtretched itſelf over the five columns that ſtood at the entrance into the ſanctuary; but the reſt of the ſpace was allotted for the reception of the prieſts. Before this veil was put a linnen curtain of the ſame bigneſs, that might turn off upon ropes to either ſide, with rings adapted both to the veil and ropes, to this purpoſe, that they might either expand, or contract it into a corner, for the ſake of a free proſpect, eſpecially upon feſtival days; for at other times, and particularly when there was a fall of ſnow, the veil diſtinguiſhed with various colours, had this for its defence. And hence, after we had built the temple, obtained the cuſtom of adorning entries with a curtain of the ſame nature; beſides this, were prepared ten curtains of four cubits in breadth, and twenty eight in length, ſo neatly and accurately joined together with golden claſps, that they ſeemed to be of a piece; and theſe being handed to a ſtretch, ſerved to cover not only the ſuperiour, but both the lateral and back parts of the walls, reaching down in a circuit, within one foot of the ground. There were likewiſe eleven other curtains of the ſame breadth, but exceeding the former in length, for they conſiſted of thirty cubits: And being contrived of hair, with no leſs curioſity of artifice, than thoſe before made of wool, and fuller too in length, they came quite to the ground; appearing at the entrance like a pinnacle and ſtately porch, which was the deſign of the eleventh curtain. Others again done out of ſkins, were an outer tegument, to preſerve the fine colours of the reſt from taking damage, by an exceſs of heat or rain. Viewing it from any diſtance, every body was ſurprized; for ſo the colours ſparkled, that they ſeemed to ſee the heavens: But the teguments of hair and ſkins ſtretched forward, as a veil let down over the entry, to keep off fervent heat and offenſive ſhowers. And in this manner was the tabernacle built.

After this, they made an ark of a wood, in his own nature very durable, and above decay, ſacred to God, which in our language is ſpecified by the word *Eron*. Its fabric was in this faſhion: In length it extended five ſpans, but in breadth and depth, each three ſpans only: And being wholly, as well within-ſide as without, overlaid with gold, nothing of the woody ſubſtance was ſeen. It had alſo a cover made with golden hinges of admirable work, which every where exactly fitted; no roughneſs or inequality at all appearing to hinder an apt junction. Beſides, to each ſide in length, were two rings of gold affixed, penetrating the whole ſubſtance of the wood, and through theſe, gilt bars on each ſide paſſed, by which it might, as occaſion required, be moved from place to place; for it was not carried by beaſts of burden, the care of conveying it was an office wholly belonging to the prieſts. Upon its cover were put two effigies, which the *Hebrews* call *Cherubes*; a ſort of living creatures with wings, and of ſuch a figure as no man alive ever ſaw: But *Moſes* affirmed, theſe were a pattern of the repreſentations he had ſeen in the throne of God. In this ark he repoſed the two tables, upon which were written the ten commandments, five indeed in each table, but only two and a half of a ſide; and the ark itſelf he laid up within the *Holy of Holies*.

In the prieſts ſacrary, (or veſtry) was fixed a table, reſembling a little that of *Delphos*; in length of two cubits, in breadth but one and three ſpans in heighth. To this were joined feet, which from the middle downwards were perfectly and accurately made, like thoſe in uſe for *dorick* bedſteds, but from the middle upwards reaching to the body of the table of a quadrangular form: And the table was raiſed on every ſide, as with a ledge of four fingers in extent, a border encompaſſing both its upper and under part. To each of its feet were added rings made faſt likewiſe to the table itſelf; through theſe rings were conveyed wooden bars, overlaid with plates of gold, and ſo contrived, that they might eaſily be taken out; for in that part where the rings were joined to the table was a cavity; nor were they continued, but before they met in the circle, their extremities ended in points, one of which was inſerted into the ſuperiour border of the table, and the other into the foot; and by this means they carried the table, when they travelled. Upon this table, (for it was placed in the ſanctuary, fronting the north, not far from the *Holy of Holies*,) were ſet twelve unleavened loaves, in two rows, ſix each row, oppoſite to one another, made of two *Aſſarons* of the fineſt meal; which meaſure of the *Hebrews* contains ſeven *Attic* half-pints; but over the loaves were ſet two golden phials full of frankincenſe. After ſeven days new loaves were brought in, upon the feſtival which we call the *Sabbath*; for every ſeventh day with us is the *Sabbath*: But what was the cauſe that gave riſe to this inſtitution, ſhall be told in another place.

Oppoſite to the table near the ſouth-wall, was ſet a candleſtick of pure gold, weighing an hundred pound; which weight by the *Hebrews* is expreſſed by *Cinchares*, and when rendered into *Greek*, a *Talent*. But it was diſtinguiſhed with little globes, lillies, pomegranates, and ſmall bowls; (and of theſe there were ſeventy in number,) with which compounded, from a ſimple baſe, it exalted himſelf to a vaſt heighth, launching out in its ſtructure into as many branches, as, according to report, there are planets together with the ſun. But it put forth alſo ſeven heads, by one and the ſame ſeries at equal diſtances diſpoſed; in which were placed, candles to diffuſe a light, in each head ſeven, correſponding to the number of the planets, and from the candleſtick's oblique poſition, looking both eaſt and ſouth.

But between the candleſtick and the table, as has been ſaid, ſtood an altar for incenſe, of the wood of which the other inſtruments were made, not ſubject to corruption, and overlaid with ſolid plate, in breadth a cubit every way, and in heighth two. Upon this was fixed a ſmall utenſil, having at every corner a crown, and that of gold ſurrounding it; to which were faſtned rings with bars for the conveniency of carriage. There was likewiſe another altar before the table, conſiſting of wood and braſs, its length and breadth five cubits each, and three in heighth, with ornaments of gold, and plates of braſs, to which was fitted an iron-grate, that reſembled a ſieve; for the earth was the recipient of what fire ſoever fell from the chimney, becauſe of itſelf it ſtood upon no baſe: And where the altar was ſituated, there were tunnels, phials, cenſers and large bowls. But whatever other implements were made uſe of, and appropriated for Divine Service, were all of gold: And in this manner was the tabernacle finiſhed with all its *Apparatus*.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Veſtments of the Prieſts, and High Prieſt: Of Aaron's *Prieſthood, and the various Ceremonies of Purifications and Sacrifices: Of Feſtivals, and Obſervation of Days; together with other Laws.*

THEY made likewiſe amongſt other things, veſtments for the prieſts, whom they called *Chaanææ*, and for the high prieſt, whom they diſtinguiſh'd by the name of *Rabchaanes*; which word imports the prince of all the prieſts. The veſture of ordinary prieſts was in this manner: When the prieſt approaches to the holy miniſtry, being purified according to the purity preſcribed in the law, he firſt of all puts on the *Manachaſe*, as it is called, (being the word uſed to ſignify breeches,) and is a kind of drawers that ſurround the ſecrets, made of ſilk, into which putting his feet, as into a pair of trunk-breeches, he draws it up to his flanks, and faſtens it with ligatures.

But over this he throws a ſurplice of double linnen, called *Chethomene*, which ſignifies, of linnen, for our phraſe for linnen is *Chethon*; and this veſtment is a tunic deſcending to the ankles, compaſſing the body cloſe with ſleeves made tight about the arms; which they wear faſtened a little above the armpits, with a girdle almoſt four fingers broad, but of ſo looſe a texture, that it reſembles the caſt-ſkin of a ſerpent. It is likewiſe interwoven with flowers, diverſified with ſcarlet, purple, violet and ſilk; but the ſubſtance is all ſilk: And beginning from the breaſt, and once again environing him, is there tied, flowing amply down to his heels in thoſe intervals that he does not officiate in holy things; for ſo it looks graceful to the ſpectators. But when he muſt ſacrifice, and aſſiſt at the ſervice of the altar, that it may not encumber him in his duty, he throws it over his left ſhoulder. This by *Moyſes* was named *Abaneth*; but we in conformity with the *Babylonians*, call it *Emian*. This tunic was every where without plaits, but had a large aperture about the neck, which with certain claſps, or ſtrings, reaching from the collar to the breaſt and back, made it fit firm to either ſhoulder; and is called *Maſſabazane*.

Upon his head he wears a cap, not high raiſed, nor encircling the whole head, covering it only a little farther than to the middle, which is called *Meſnepeth*. And its ornament is ſuch, that it appears like a crown, being made of linnen, after the form of an heap of ſwathes; for it conſiſts of many circular repetitions and ſeams. Then from above, another piece of linnen covers the whole cap, and deſcending to the forehead, at once conceals the junctures of the ſwathes, and every thing elſe that does not lie ſmooth and eaſy; adhering firmly to what it covers of the head, being ſo artificially fitted, that, while ſacrifice is a performing, it may not fall off. And in this manner were prieſts apparalled.

The high prieſt is adorned after the ſame manner with the veſtments mentioned, omitting not one, only putting over them a tunic of a violet colour, which (in our dialect, is called *Meeir*) reaches to his heels, and is compaſſed about with a girdle diſtinguiſhed with colours, like the preceeding, but embroidered with gold. To this tunic, about the lower ſkirt, were added borders embelliſhed with pomegranates; and between every two pomegranates were placed bells of gold, greatly conducing to its ornament; ſo that between two bells in the middle hung a pomegranate, and between two pomegranates, a bell. This tunic does not conſiſt of two pieces, ſo as to have ſeams in the ſhoulders and ſides, but is one intire veſtment, on all ſides wove round and joining to the neck by an aperture, not obliquely ſlit, but in length, reaching from the breaſt, to the ſpace between the ſhoulder-blades; over this, is ſewed a broad lace, to fortify the edges of the cleft. It has likewiſe an aperture where the hands are let out.

Above theſe veſtments he puts on a third, called *Ephodes*, bearing a reſemblance to the *Greek Epomis*, or hood. It is made in this faſhion; it is about the depth of a cubit, adorned with various colours, and interwoven with gold, and ſo contrived as to leave the middle of the breaſt open; it has alſo ſleeves, and the whole form of it looks much of the nature of a tunic. In this hollow part of the veſtment is a piece put in about the bigneſs of a ſpan, with gold and the ſame elegant colours intermixed, that beautify the *Ephod*, and is called *Eſſenes*, but in the *Greek* tongue expreſſed by *Logion*, which ſignifies *Rational*: And this with great exactneſs, fills that ſpace of the *Ephod* which was left open at the breaſt by thoſe who prepared it: This is connected to the *Ephod* with golden rings fixed at every corner of it, rings of the ſame ſort being faſtned to the *Ephod*, that anſwer the former, and to which they are tied faſt by a violet-coloured ribband each to his oppoſite one; and that in the middle of the haſps no gap might be ſeen they deviſed to fill the vacuities with laces of the colour of the violet. The *Ephod* is faſtned over the ſhoulders with two ſardonyx ſtones, there being at either extremity of the ſhoulders a piece of gold that runs out upon them, and incloſes them, to make them fit for buttons. Upon theſe were in ſculpture raiſed the names of the ſons of *Jacob*, with the native letters of our own tongue, each ſtone containing ſix names; but the ſeniors obtained the right ſhoulder. Likewiſe the *Eſſenes* is diſtinguiſhed by twelve ſtones of exquiſite ſize and beauty, an ornament which for exceſſive price cannot eaſily be purchaſed by men. And theſe being three in a ſeries, and in four rows diſpoſed, were inſerted into wreaths of fine linnen, all which again were ſurrounded by gold with ſuch art, that paſſing through every wreath, it ſo fortified the whole contexture, as nothing could fall out. In the firſt rank was a *Sardonyx*, a *Topaz*, and an *Emerald*; and the ſecond ſhewed a *Carbuncle*, a *Jaſper*, and a *Sapphire*: In the third were ſeen to gliſten the bright *Lyncurium*, *Amethyſt*, and *Achate*: In the fourth order appeared firſt the *Chryſolite*, after it an *Onyx*, then a *Beryll* the laſt of all. Upon all theſe were inſcribed the letters of the names of the ſons of *Jacob*, whom we reckon the princes of the tribes, each ſtone containing a name, according to the order of the time in which they happened to be born. In regard therefore that the rings above-mentioned were of themſelves too ſlender to bear the weight of theſe *Gemms*, two that were larger they fixed to the extremity of the oracle, about the place where it reached the neck, to the end they might receive the curious chains of gold, which meet at the top of the ſhoulders, and with golden ligatures of twiſted work, are there conjoined: One extremity of which chains aſcending, is reduced backwards, and connected with a ring, that is placed behind, in the border of the *Ephod*. This ſupports the *Eſſenes* in ſo firm a manner, that it cannot bend any way: And to the *Eſſenes* was affixed a girdle diverſified with the foreſaid colours and gold; which embracing the whole, and afterwards tying with a knot upon the juncture, was left to flow downwards. As for the fringes, depending from the extremities of the girdle, they were received and totally included by hollow pipes of gold.

Then he put upon his head an hat of rolled up linnen, like that of the prieſts which we have deſcribed already; but over it ſtood a ſecond neatly ſewed together, and chequered with the purple. Beſides, this was ſurrounded with a crown of gold, curiouſly raiſed in a triple order, from which ſprang out little buds of gold, pretty much reſembling thoſe we meet in the herb by us called *Sacchar*, but which the *Greek* botaniſts call *Henbane*. If therefore there are any, who being ignorant of the name, either underſtand not well the nature of the plant, which they may have often ſeen; or are acquainted with the name, and know no more of it, out of regard to thoſe in ſuch a circumſtance; I ſhall not think it a trouble to deſcribe it. It is a plant that often riſes beyond the heighth of three ſpans, having a root like a turnip, (for he will not err much who ſhall make the compariſon,) but leaves like unto *Rocket*. From the branches ſprouts forth a little bud cloſe adhering to them, and it is covered with a certain huſk, which falls off of itſelf when the fruit begins to ripen: The bud is about the ſize of a joint of the leaſt finger, in its circular form not unlike a cup; which for the ſake of thoſe who know nothing of it, I will in a plainer manner illuſtrate. The bud in its loweſt part reſembles an half of any round thing that is cut in two, growing round from the moment it began to ſhoot; then ſtraightening a little, and within-ſide as it advances, being charmingly hallowed, again by degrees it ſtretches out with ſmall partitions about the lips, as may be ſeen in the head of a pomegranate. Such an huſk grows up with it, that it ſeems a little half-globe, with an accurate (if one may ſo ſpeak) ſubtility turned, and ſhut in between thoſe clefts, which (*I ſaid,*) aroſe in the manner of a pomegranate, ending in very thorny and ſharp points: And under this huſk, or cover, is contained the fruit of the whole bud, which fruit is extremely like the ſeed of the plant *Sideritis*, or *Ironwort*; the flower it bears is thought to reſemble the ratling leaves of the *Poppy*: And indeed like to this was the crown made to cover the hinder part of the head and the two temples. Now this cup (for ſo let the bud be called,) did not compaſs the forehead, but a thin piece of gold, upon which, in Sacred Characters, was inſcribed the *Name of* GOD, and thus was the high prieſt adorned.

One cannot eaſily refrain from being ſurprized at the general *Odium* with which mankind proſecute our nation; as if we did not treat with honour enough that Deity to which cuſtom has made them pay their adorations. For let but any one in his mind contemplate the ſtructure of the tabernacle, and conſider well the veſtments of the prieſts, and the veſſels which we make uſe of in the Holy Miniſtry; he ſhall ſoon be convinced, not only that our law-giver was a man of divine virtue, but that this brand of impiety is falſely objected to us: In regard no man of judgment and candour can weigh theſe things diſtinctly, but he muſt own they were all made after the ſimilitude, and image of ſomething in the univerſe. For even when he meaſured out the tabernacle, (which was thirty cubits long) into three parts, and left two for the prieſts, as a place to be trod upon, and common, he repreſents to them the land and the ſea, (theſe being of general acceſs to all men;) but the third part he conſecrated to God alone, becauſe heaven is inacceſſible to human nature.

Likewiſe by the twelve loaves which he ſet upon the table, is explained how many months an year conſiſts of. But by branching out the candleſtick into ſeventy parts, is an intimation given of the Divine Right, communicated to the ſeventy elders, as well of aſſiſting in the tabernacle, as in all other affairs: And by the ſeven lights, therein fixed, is ſhewn the courſe of the planets, being no more in number. The veils likewiſe, variegated with four colours, refer to the different elements; for linnen ſeems to repreſent the earth, becauſe flax, from whence it ariſes, thence takes its original. The purple denotes the ſea, becauſe from the *Murex*, (a ſhell-fiſh,) firſt came that colour. Air again is figured by the violet; and ſcarlet is the ſymbol of the fire. Moreover, the high prieſt's tunic being of linnen, is a repreſentation of the earth; the violet, an image of the atmoſphere; the pomegranate, a picture of a flaſh of lightning; and the bells, a faint ſimilitude of thunder: The *Ephod*, embelliſhed with four colours, is a type of the world, and an addition of gold, the figure of that ſplendor (in my judgment,) with which all things are illuminated.

He placed likewiſe the *Eſſenes* in the middle of the *Ephod*, like the earth, which is the center of the univerſe: The girdle too that environs him, is a ſignification of the ſea, which encompaſſes all ſublunary things. And the two humeral *Sardonyx's*, which with the long cloak was faſtned, are an emblem of the ſun and moon. But the twelve precious ſtones, whether one was to refer them to the number of months, or to the ſame number of conſtellations in the circle, which the *Greeks* call the *Zodiac*, from a genuine concluſion, he would not much err. *Laſtly*, the cap, hat, bonnet or mitre itſelf, ſeems to point out Heaven, becauſe it is of a purple colour, (for otherwiſe it had not been graced with the *Name of* GOD,) and adorned with a triple crown, in regard to ſplendor, with which God is greatly pleaſed. And theſe things indeed juſt now related, may ſuffice at preſent; ſince often, and very many things, whence the virtue of our lawgiver ſhall with evidence brighten out, will occur in the following pages.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Prieſthood of Aaron.

AFTER the tabernacle was finiſhed, but before its conſecration with proper offerings, God appeared unto *Moyſes*, and commanded him to beſtow the prieſthood upon *Aaron*, as a man, who for his ſuperiour virtue to the reſt, moſt deſerved the honour. Then *Moyſes*, having aſſembled the people, enlarged upon his virtue and ſingular benevolence towards them, and the many dangers he had ſuſtained for their ſake. And the people having received his words with great applauſe, and expreſſed their ſincere love and affection towords him, 'O Men of *Iſrael*, (*ſaid he*,) the fabric is now built according to the Will of God, and in a manner that ſhews his tender care of our vigour and abilities. But ſince the tabernacle is to be filled and illuminated with the Divine Preſence, our firſt and principal concern ſhould regard the choice of a prieſt, who muſt officiate in holy things, and put up prayers for the congregation. For my part, if the direction of this affair had been committed to me, I ſhould perhaps have reputed myſelf not unworthy of the preſent honour, as well from a principle of ſelf-love, which is natural to mankind, as a conſcious ſatisfaction of having encountered the greateſt labours and difficulties to promote your intereſt. But now God Himſelf hath raiſed *Aaron* into this dignity, and given him the prieſthood; becauſe amongſt you he has not found a more juſt and upright man: For *Aaron* therefore are theſe holy veſtments; his, the care of ‘the altars, the performance of ſacrifices, the duty of prayers for you, which God will the more graciouſly and favourably hear, as well from the ſingular love he bears to this nation, as their being offer'd up by a Man, particularly by himſelf nominated for that purpoſe.’ This ſpeech pleaſed the *Hebrews*, and with one voice all acquieſced in the divine choice. For *Aaron* upon account of his illuſtrious deſcent, gift of prophecy, and the many noble qualities of his brother, of all men beſt deſerv'd this honour. *Aaron* had at this time theſe four ſons, *Nabad*, *Abiu*, *Eleazar*, *Ithamar*.

Of the materials that had been prepared for the ſtructure of the tabernacle, all that was left *Moyſes* gave orders ſhould be converted into Covers for the ſervice of the tabernacle itſelf, the candleſtick, the cenſer, and other ſacred veſſels, that, when they travelled, theſe might not receive the leaſt damage from rain or duſt. And having again aſſembled the people, he laid his commands upon them to contribute one by one half a ſicle. The ſicle is a piece among the *Hebrews* equivalent to four *Attic Drachms*. And they with a cheerful obedience raiſed the ſum; there being there preſent ſix hundred thouſand, five thouſand five hundred and fifty perſons: But only ſuch as were free-born, and from twenty to fifty years of age, made this oblation. And what offerings ſoever had been given, were appropriated to the uſe of the tabernacle.

The purification of the Tabernacle and the Prieſts, was perform'd after this manner: Having taken five hundred ſicles of the beſt *Myrrh*, and the ſame quantity of *Orris*, and of *Cinnamon* and *Sweet-cane*, (for this is of a fragrant ſmell) an half of the above weight he commanded they ſhould be reduced into powder, and with an *Hine* of oil of *Olives* (for an *Hine* is an *Hebrew* meaſure which holds two *Attic Choas*) mixed, and with the niceſt art boiled up into an ointment. Then anointing with this moſt fragrant ointment he purified the prieſts and all the tabernacle. He ordered likewiſe the odours: For a great variety of moſt precious things had been brought into the tabernacle to burn incenſe with; the nature of which I ſhall not at preſent examine into, for fear of being tedious and irkſome to my readers. But they were obliged twice a day (that is, before the ſun roſe, and before he ſet) to burn incenſe, and renew the lamps with purified oyl; three of which, in reverence to omnipotent power, were kept ſhining upon the ſacred candleſtick all the day, and the reſt were lighted of an evening.

Now when all things had been thus finiſhed and perfected, of all the craftſmen, *Beſaleel* and *Eliab* acquir'd the greateſt reputation. For they labour'd and improv'd the moſt nice inventions of others, nay, many things before not known, by the ſtrength of their wit and judgment, they deviſed and added. But it happen'd, that *Beſaleel* in the general opinion had the preference. In ſeven months, and no more, was all this work finiſh'd; and this period completed an year from the time of their deliverance out of *Ægypt*. But juſt as the ſecond year began, and in the month *Xanthicus* of the *Macedonians*, *Niſan* of the *Hebrews*, upon the new moon they conſecrated the tabernacle to God, and all its veſſels, a little before recited.

And God evidently ſhew'd, that he was pleaſed with, and accepted this teſtimony of their gratitude; for his glory vouchſafed to fill this building and reſide in it, his preſence being manifeſted in this manner: The reſt of the air continuing pure and ſerene, over the tabernacle only there was ſpread a ſort of darkneſs, not with a groſs and thick cloud ſurrounding it, ſuch as may frequently be ſeen in winter; nor yet ſo thin and ſubtile that one might ſee through it; but a ſweet and pleaſant dew diſtilled from it in atteſtation of the Divine Preſence to thoſe who had hope and faith.

Moyſes having diſtinguiſh'd the ſeveral artificers, who had raiſed and adorned the works, according to their reſpective merits, at the porch of the tabernacle, as God had commanded him, offer'd in ſacrifice a bull, a ram, and a kid for ſins; (when I come to diſcourſe of ſacrifices, the ſacred rites ſhall be explain'd, and an account given what victims were by the law wholly to be conſumed by fire, and of thoſe too where a part was allow'd to go for food,) and then with the blood of the ſacrifices ſprinkled *Aaron*'s veſtments, *Aaron* himſelf, and all his ſons, purifying them with fountain water, together with oil, that they might become the prieſts of God. After this manner, for ſeven days ſucceſſively, *Moyſes* continued to ſanctify them and their veſtments. He purified likewiſe the tabernacle, and all its veſſels, with the perfum'd oil above-mention'd, ſprinkling them with the blood of bulls, rams and kids; for one out of each was killed every day to that purpoſe. But upon the eighth day a feſtival was appointed for the people, and all enjoin'd to do ſacrifice as their circumſtances would permit: And they, with a generous contention between themſelves, who ſhould be moſt liberal, and an earneſt deſire that what they offer'd might exceed their neighbours, ſoon obey'd his commands. But no ſooner were the victims laid upon the altar, than a ſpontaneous fire ſprung out of them, with a flame that gliſtned like a flaſh of lightning, which in a moment burnt up all that was upon the altar.

Immediately upon this miracle, *Aaron* was viſited with a certain affliction, (if we but conſider him as a man, and as a father,) which yet he patiently bore, not only becauſe he was endow'd with a mind ſtrengthen'd and confirm'd againſt all accidents, but likewiſe from an opinion, that ſuch a thing might happen not without the Will of God. He had four ſons, as I have already ſaid, the two eldeſt of which, *Nabad* and *Abiu*, having brought unto the altar victims, not ſuch as *Moyſes* had preſcrib'd, but what out of their own head they had formerly uſed, by ſudden flames invaded, die upon the ſpot: The fire iſſuing out upon them with ſuch an irreſiſtible force, that inſtantly preying upon their faces and breaſts, it could not be extinguiſh'd by any body; and they indeed met with this fate. But *Moyſes* gave orders to their father and brothers to carry their bodies without the camp, and give them magnificent burial. The people greatly mourned over them, much afflicted with this their ſudden death. However *Moyſes* only willed the brothers and the father to forbear ſorrow, looking upon themſelves as men, who ſhould prefer the honour of God to all other conſiderations. For now *Aaron* wore the holy veſtments.

Moyſes moreover, rejecting all the honours, which he ſaw the people were about to confer upon him, dedicated himſelf wholly to the ſervice of God. And indeed he deſiſted from going to mount *Sinai*; but entering into the tabernacle, reported what anſwers were given to the petitions, which he had humbly begged of God: And contenting himſelf with the habit of a private man, and in all other things yet more reſembling one of the people, made it his endeavour that he ſhould be diſtinguiſhed no otherwiſe from others but in his care and concern, and the burthen he ſuſtained, for the common weal. Beſides, he regulated the government of the ſtate, and enacted laws, in an obſervation of which they ſhould both pleaſe God, and lead an unſpotted life. But all theſe things, by the Dictates of the great God were eſtabliſh'd. Now therefore let us turn to the polity and the laws.

Notwithſtanding, I will firſt inſiſt a little upon what has been premiſed in relation to the high prieſt's robes: For it was not in the power of falſe prophets, by fraud and trick, to impoſe upon the people; in regard whenever there was an attempt made to violate the ſacred authority, God himſelf gave viſible demonſtration to the prieſts, that it reſted in his own will, to communicate the divine preſence or withdraw: And this miraculous appearance, not only to the *Hebrews*, but alſo to all the foreigners that attended, was plain and obvious. For, of the ſtones, which (I have above ſaid) the high prieſt wore upon his ſhoulder (they were *Sardonyx's*, and to ſhew their nature would be needleſs, ſince they cannot but be known of every body) that one (I ſay) which upon the right ſhoulder ſupplied the place of a button, always kept ſhining, while the *Name Eternal* was propitiouſly preſent at their ſacrifices, an illuſtrious light thence ariſing, that diffuſed a brightneſs over things even at a diſtance, whereas before the ſtone in itſelf had no ſplendor. And certainly this deſerves the higheſt admiration and eſteem among all, who do not from a contempt of religion affect an opinion of wiſdom. But, what is ſtill more marvellous, I am now going to relate; for by the twelve ſtones, which were affixed to the *Eſſenes* upon the breaſt of the high prieſt, the *Omnipotent* predicted the victory to an approaching battle: For, from theſe ſtones ſo vaſt a ſplendour iſſued, when as yet the army remained in their tents, that the whole people were made ſenſible, the Deity was preſent, and would aſſiſt them. Whence even the *Greeks*, who revere our ſolemn offices, becauſe indeed they cannot contradict theſe things, call the *Eſſenes*, *Logion*, *Oracle*. But the *Oracle* has ceaſed, and the *Sardonyx* to give a ſplendour, two hundred years before I ſat down to write, ſince the divinity would no longer bear the tranſgreſſion of his laws: And theſe I ſhall treat of in a more ſeaſonable place; but now I will proſecute the former narration.

The tabernacle being already dedicated, and all matters in reference to the prieſts well adjuſted, the people rejoyced in the thought that the Divine Preſence reſided among them, and therefore made it their buſineſs to perform ſacrifice and praiſe, believing they were now deliver'd from all manner of ills, and promiſing themſelves for the future many and great bleſſings: And through all the tribes, as well ſecretly as publickly, they made oblations to God: For the princes of the tribes meeting two at a time, preſented a chariot and two oxen; ſix chariots therefore were offer'd, and theſe carried the tabernacle in their journeys. Beſides, each of them brought a phial, and a diſh and a cenſer, (the cenſer was of ten *Daric's* value, or three and twenty ſhillings and four pence, and full of delicious odours; but the diſh and the phial, for they were of ſilver, weighed together two hundred ſicles, or an hundred crowns; upon the phial itſelf only ſeventy ſicles were expended; and they were full of fine flower, tempered with oil, ſuch as is uſed in ſacrifices at the altar;) as alſo a calf and a ram, with a lamb an year old for a ſolid ſacrifice, together with a goat for expiation of ſins. But again each of the princes offer'd other ſacrifices, which are called *Salutary*, bringing every day two oxen and five rams, with year-old lambs and kids: And in this manner for twelve ſucceſſive days they ſacrificed, one of their number officiating every day.

Moyſes aſcended no more into mount *Sinai*; but frequenting the tabernacle, received from God all inſtructions, with relation both to government and laws; which being better than any that could have been contriv'd by human wiſdom, thorough all ages have been religiouſly kept, becauſe they were believ'd to be a Gift from God: So that neither in peace out of luxury, nor in war through neceſſity, could the *Hebrews* be drove to violate one of them. But I refer this ſubject to another book, which I deſign to write upon the laws.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Of SACRIFICES.

I Shall now give an account of ſome laws that were made for ſacrifices and purification; ſince it has fallen in my way to make mention of them. Sacrifices then are different in kind; of which one ſort is made for private perſons, the other for all the people; and they are done two different ways: In one the whole that is offered is conſumed by fire, and thence it took the name of *Holocauſt:* The other, being appointed as a return of thanks for the benefits received, is given for a feaſt to thoſe who execute the ceremony; but of the former ſort I ſhall firſt treat. A private man, when he offers a burnt-ſacrifice, he muſt bring an ox, a lamb or a kid; each of the two laſt an year old, but oxen may be taken of a more advanced age; all however muſt be males that are wholly burnt. Theſe being killed, the prieſts pour out the blood round upon the altar, then having cleaned them, cut them in pieces, and ſalted them, he puts all upon the altar where wood enough has been laid, and the fire a burning; but the feet and inteſtines of the victims, with the reſt of the parts, muſt firſt be carefully waſhed, and with incenſe purified, before they are ſuperadded to thoſe upon the altar, the prieſts being allowed the ſkins to themſelves: And after this manner are the burnt offerings performed.

But when they offer a ſacrifice for thankſgiving, the beaſts muſt be of the ſame kind; however they muſt be ſound, and more than a year old, and males with females. When theſe are preſented, the altar is ſprinkled with the blood; but the reins and caul, and all the fat with the lobe of the liver, together with the tail of the lamb, are laid upon the altar; then giving the breaſt and the right leg to the prieſts, they feaſt for two days upon the reſidue; but what happens to be left is conſumed with fire.

After the ſame manner as is obſerved in that of thankſgiving, they perform the ſacrifice for ſins. But thoſe, who are not of ability to purchaſe larger victims, make an oblation of a pair of turtle doves, or of young pigeons; one of which is made a burnt ſacrifice, and the other a gift to the prieſt: But I ſhall write more accurately about theſe matters, when I come to treat of ſacrifices. He who through ignorance falls into ſin, offers a lamb, and a female kid of the ſame age; and the prieſt ſprinkles the blood upon the altar, but not as before, only on the extremities of the corners: The reins too, and all the fat, with the lobe of the liver, they bring to the altar. The prieſt's portion here conſiſts in the ſkins, and the fleſh, which they muſt eat the ſame day in the temple, for the law allows it not to be reſerved for next day. Then he, who is conſcious to himſelf that he hath committed a ſin, yet no man to accuſe him, is to bring a ram by the command of the law; whoſe fleſh the prieſts eat in the temple the ſame day. And the princes, making ſacrifices for their own ſins, obſerve the ſame manner that the private men do, differing only in this, that they preſent a bull and a kid, both being males.

The law likewiſe enjoins, that in publick, as well as private ſacrifices, the fineſt flower ſhould be made uſe of; to a lamb, the meaſure of an *Aſſaron,* for a ram two, and with a bull three. This they temper with oil, and conſecrate upon the altar; for even oil is prepared by thoſe that make an offering: For an ox, the half of an hin; for a ram, the third part of this meaſure; and, for a lamb, the fourth part. An *Hin* is an ancient meaſure of the *Hebrews,* and makes about two *Attic Choas,* or nine quarts. In the ſame proportion too they make a preſent of wine as they did of oil; for wine they ſprinkle upon the altar: And if any one, not offering ſacrifice, but in conſequence of a vow brings flower, a ſmall handful of it is firſt put upon the altar; then the reſt is beſtowed upon the prieſts for food, and is either boiled, (for there is a mixture of oil in it,) or made into bread: But what offering ſoever the prieſt makes, muſt all be burnt. Moreover the law forbids, to ſacrifice the young of any kind upon the ſame day and place with its dam; and that not till it is eight days old. There are other ſacrifices for the cure of diſeaſes, or upon another account, in which wine is offered with the victims: And of theſe to keep any thing for next day is againſt the law, the prieſts taking thence their own portion.

CHAP. X.

How the Feſtivals, and other ſolemn Times, were ordered to be kept.

BY a precept of the law, an year-old lamb muſt be daily ſacrificed at the publick charge, morning and evening; but upon every ſeventh day, which is called the *Sabbath,* they kill two, ſacrificing after the ſame manner. Upon the ſolemnities of the new moons, they both offer the daily victims, and alſo two oxen with ſeven lambs of an year's growth, and a ram: But a kid for expiation of ſin, where any thing has happened through oblivion.

Moreover upon the ſeventh month, which the *Macedonians* call *Hyperberetæus,* beſide the above mentioned, is offered a bull and a ram, and ſeven lambs, and a kid for ſins.

Upon the tenth day of the ſame month, (by lunar computation,) they faſt till evening; and the ſame day make an offering of a bull and a ram, and ſeven lambs; and for ſins, a young goat: Over and above theſe, two kids are brought, one whereof is to be ſent into the wilderneſs, as a deprecation of future ills, and a preſent expiation of ſins for all the people: Then taking the ſecond to a convenient ſpot of ground at a ſhort diſtance from their tents, without any purification, by fire they reduced it to aſhes ſkin and all. And the bull, which is not a gift of the people, but got ready at the proper expence of the high prieſt, muſt likewiſe be a complete ſacrifice: After the death, he carries the blood both of the bull and kid into the inner tabernacle, ſprinkling it with his finger ſeven times upwards to the cover, and as often downwards to the floor, and again as often in the outer tabernacle round the altar of gold; then taking what remained into the court, he pours it out round the bigger altar. Beſides, the extreme parts of the bull and goat, and the reins and the fat, with the lobe of the liver, are laid upon the altar. Alſo the high prieſt gives a ram of his own for a ſolid ſacrifice to Heaven.

But upon the fifteenth day of the ſame month, the ſeaſon now inclining towards winter, he gives in command to fix and join together their tents, family to family, as a precaution for themſelves againſt the nipping colds and ſtorms from the time of year: And when they ſhould arrive at their own country, and ſettle in that city, which becauſe of the tabernacle was to be called their *Metropolis*, then they were ordered to ſolemnize a feaſt for eight days, and to make both ſolid and pacifick ſacrifices to God; bearing in their hands a bundle compoſed of *Myrtle* and *Willow*, with branches of the *Palm-trees*, adding a *Pome-citron*. Upon the firſt of theſe days, they were to perform ſolid ſacrifices with thirteen oxen and fourteen lambs, and two rams and a kid, in reconciliation for ſins. Upon the following days, the ſame number too of lambs and rams together, with a kid muſt be offered in ſacrifice: But every day deducting one ox; at laſt they fall to ſeven. Then the eighth day is a reſt from all manner of work, and they do ſacrifice (as we ſaid before,) with a calf and a ram, and ſeven lambs; and, for their ſins, with a kid. And theſe rites the *Hebrews* religiouſly obſerve, as the manner and cuſtom of their country.

But upon the month *Xanthicus*, which is *Niſan* with us, and begins the year, the fourteenth day as to the moon, the ſun exiſting in *Aries*, (for this month we were made free from the ſervitude of *Ægypt*,) we are commanded by the law to keep an anniverſary ſacrifice, called *Paſcha*, which we performed (as has been already ſaid,) at the time that we left *Ægypt*; and this we ſolemnize in tribes, reſerving nothing of the victims for next day. But upon the fifteenth day, the *Paſcal* is ſucceeded by the ſolemn office of the *Azymi*, that continues ſeven days, through which ſpace they muſt not taſte bread that has been fermented, and every day two bulls are killed, and one ram and ſeven lambs: And theſe are burnt-ſacrifices, a goat being likewiſe added as a ſin-offering, and given for an entertainment to the prieſts. On the ſecond day of *Azymi*, (and that is the ſixteenth of the month) of corn the ſame day cut down, (for ſooner they touch it not,) they gather in a part; and thinking it but juſt and reaſonable to do honour firſt to Him, from whom they had received all, after this manner they make a preſent of the firſt-fruits of the barley: Having dried, and in a mortar pounded an handful of ears, and carefully cleaned it from the bran, they carry an *Aſſaron* to the altar; and laying a ſmall quantity of it upon the ſame, leave the reſt for the prieſts. And after this ceremony all the people are authorized, as well privately as publickly, to begin their harveſt; but firſt they give a lamb for a ſolid ſacrifice to God.

The ſeventh week from this ſacrifice being elapſed (ſeven weeks making the number of forty-nine days,) upon the fiftieth day, which the *Hebrews* call *Alartha*, (which ſignifies the ſame as *Pentecoſtos*, or fiftieth,) they make an offering to God of bread made with leaven, of two *Aſſarons* of the fineſt flower; and for a ſacrifice two lambs. And theſe being ſolely oblations to God, are ſerved up in a ſupper for the prieſts, of which nothing is allowed to be left 'till next morning. They likewiſe kill for an whole ſacrifice three calves, two rams, and fourteen lambs, with two goats, for ſin: But no one of the holy days is celebrated without making a burnt-ſacrifice, and a vacation indulged from all manner of labour. And in all of them, the law preſcribes as well the manner of the ſacrifice, as a ceſſation from work; and after ſacrifice, an entertainment.

As for the ſacred unleavened bread it is furniſhed by the publick; and twenty-four *Aſſarons* of fine flower are laid out in making it. Theſe loaves are prepared on the day before the ſabbath, and being brought upon the morning of the ſabbath, are placed upon the Holy Table, ſix to ſix fronting one another; then ſetting a diſh of gold filled with frankincenſe above them, there they remain till next ſabbath; at which time others are fetched to ſupply their room. Thoſe which were removed, are for food to the prieſts; and the frankincenſe is thrown into the conſecrated fire, with which, according to cuſtom, they conſume the ſolid ſacrifices; and other incenſe in its place is put over the bread. But the prieſt at his own charge, and twice every day, offers to God flower macerated with oil, and hardened by a gentle heat; the meaſure of the flower is one *Aſſaron*: One half part of which he commits to the fire in the morning, and the other at night; the reaſon of all theſe matters we ſhall afterwards more accurately explain. But let it ſuffice to have ſaid thus much of them in this place.

CHAP. XI.

Of PURIFICATIONS.

MOYSES having ſeparated the tribe of *Levi* from the community of the people, to be ſacred from thenceforth, purified them with fountain water that perpetually flows, and ſacrifices which are in uſe to be celebrated upon ſuch an occaſion. To their cuſtody he entruſted the tabernacle, the ſacred veſſels, and every other thing made for the ſervice of the tabernacle, their work conſiſting in miniſtring to the prieſts, as they ſhould command them; for now the *Levites* were conſecrated to God.

As to the uſe of living creatures, an ordinance was eſtabliſhed, directing which they might eat, and from which they ſhould abſtain. If at any time an opportunity comes in our way, we ſhall declare the particulars, adding likewiſe the reaſons that were the motives to permit ſome of them for food, and to prohibit the uſe of others. To forbear eating any manner of blood, was ſtrictly enjoined, becauſe it contains the life and ſpirits of the creature. We are alſo prohibited to touch the fleſh of an animal that dies of itſelf; or to eat the caul and fat of a goat, a ſheep or a bullock.

Perſons infected with a leproſy, or waſting with a running iſſue, were put out of the city. And alſo the women, while under their natural infirmity, are oblig'd to live apart till the ſeventh day; after which time, they may return to the company of men. In like manner, thoſe who had the care of funerals, might, after the ſame number of days, come into converſation. But if any one, after an expiration of this complement of days, is not thoroughly clean, he muſt offer by the law two lambs, one for an intire ſacrifice, and the other a refreſhment to the prieſts. The ſame method is obſerv'd by thoſe, who have a *profluvium* of ſeed; but he who has been polluted in his ſleep, if he enters into the cold water, is put to no farther trouble than thoſe who upon lawful days have accompanied with their wives. The lepers are, while ſuch, exterminated the city, having no commerce with any body, and differing in little from the dead: But if one of theſe by fervent prayers, obtains of God a cure for the diſtemper, and recovers a ſound complexion, he muſt not fail to teſtify his gratitude various ways, which we ſhall ſometime after ſhew.

From whence ariſes a full and evident proof of the groundleſs and invidious reflection of thoſe who ſay, that leproſy was the motive that induced *Moyſes* to fly *Ægypt*; and that the ſame alſo was the cauſe that the *Hebrews* (whom afterwards he conducted towards *Canaan*,) were expelled that country. For had this been true, by no means *Moyſes* to his own ſhame and infamy, would ever have made ſuch a law, which even he himſelf, beyond all doubt, would have oppoſed, had it been propoſed to be made by another. Moreover, it is ſeen that in many nations, there are perſons *Leprous*, who are raiſed into honour; and ſo far are they from puniſhing them with contumely and exile, that they have bore high offices in war, and been at the head of the adminiſtration at home, and have been to frequent ſacred places and temples. Moreover, had any diminution of dignity followed either him, or the multitude under his conduct, from the deformities of colour, no lett or impediment ſtood in his way, to prevent better laws being made with regard to lepers; far leſs could he have decreed miſery and detriment of this ſort. It is therefore manifeſt, that malice is the ſource of all this obloquy: But *Moyſes* being free himſelf from this infection, and likewiſe all his countrymen, eſtabliſhed laws amongſt them againſt this impurity, in duty and deference to the glory and honour of God. But as to this affair, every one is at liberty to think as he pleaſes.

Women, after having been delivered of a male child, were forbid entring into the Temple, or the tonch of any thing ſacred till the fiftieth day: But if they were brought to bed of females, that number of days was then by the law to be doubled. Nevertheleſs, when after the time, as we have ſaid, prefix'd, they make their entry, ſacrifice is to be kill'd, which the prieſts offer to God.

If any one ſuſpects his wife to be an adultereſs, he is to bring an *Aſſaron* of barley meal, of which throwing a pugil or ſmall quantity upon the altar, the reſt is given for food to the prieſts. Then one of the prieſts taking the woman to the porch, which is oppoſite to the temple, and uncovering her head, writes the name of God upon a parchment, and makes her ſwear to this purpoſe, That ſhe has not in any manner of way injur'd her huſband, and wiſhes therefore that if ſhe has violated her chaſtity, that her right leg may be conſumed, and a ſwelled belly her death; but if through an exceſs of love and jealouſy thence ariſing, the huſband has fallen into an unjuſt ſuſpicion, that in ten months after ſhe may bring forth a ſon. This ſolemnity being finiſhed, the prieſt dipping the divine writing in water, pours that water into a phial; then lifting a little of the firſt duſt he lights upon in the tabernacle, puts it into the phial, and gives it to the woman to drink: The woman, if ſhe has been unjuſtly accuſed, both proves with child, and at the end of the time brings forth a ſon: But if ſhe has renounced the vow of fidelity given to her huſband, and broke her oath to God, ſhe dies an ignominous death; the leg rots by piece-meal, and a tumid belly ſuffocates. And theſe are what *Moyſes* preſcribed to his countrymen concerning their ſacrifices and purifications. But other laws he gave them alſo, which are as follows:

CHAP. XII.

Various LAWS.

AGAINST adultery was made a perpetual edict, as it was the very *baſis* of happineſs, to have juſt and noble ſentiments with relation to marriage; and the great intereſt of the republick, as well as private families, to be ſecure from baſtardy.

Criminal converſation was altogether prohibited, by the laws eſtabliſhed by *Moyſes*, under various and ſevere penalties, with perſons nearly related or allied, ſuch as mothers, mothers-in-law, aunts, ſiſters, ſon's wives, the carnal knowledge of whom was deteſted, and eſteem'd a moſt abominable wickedneſs: Alſo to approach a woman in her ſeparation for uncleanneſs. Moreover, an appetite to beaſts, or for males to burn in love towards males, where a baſe and unnatural pleaſure is ſought, was moſt ſtrictly forbid. And ſuch as dared inſolently to tranſgreſs any of the above laws, were capitally puniſhed.

But the prieſts were oblig'd to a greater degree of ſanctity than others; for beſides that they were to abſtain from the fore-mention'd crimes, it was provided by law, that they ſhould not marry women that had been proſtitutes; nor take to wife a ſlave, or captive, or one that had earned her bread in a tavern, or victualling-houſe; or which, upon any cauſe whatever, had been divorced by a former husband. As to the high prieſt, he was not by the law allowed even to marry a widow, though this was a liberty enjoyed by the reſt of the prieſts; but he was permitted only to wed a virgin, whom he was to keep: For the ſame reaſon he was not to go near any dead perſon; when yet other prieſts were not denied a licence to ſee their dead brothers, and parents, and children. Beſides, they were to be men both of ſound bodies, and an integrity of manners, without defect, having no ſpot either inward or outward. But if there chanced to be a prieſt that had a blemiſh in his body, he might notwithſtanding take his portion with the other prieſts, but was not allow'd to come near the altar, or enter into the tabernacle. And not only in executing their ſacred office, was purity preſcribed, but likewiſe an exact care, that in every other part of life their conduct might be unblameable. Thoſe therefore who put on the holy veſtments, are men without a ſtain, and withal chaſte and abſtemious; being interdicted the uſe of wine only while they wear the ſacred robe, and officiate in the temple. Beſides, they muſt offer ſolid ſacrifices, and ſuch as have no defect.

All theſe laws they were to obſerve, even while living in the wilderneſs, but there were others that had a future proſpect, and were not to take place, till after the poſſeſſion of *Canaan*. Every ſeventh year was eſtabliſhed a reſt to the land both from tillage and planting, as before was given the people upon every ſeventh day a ceſſation from labour. The voluntary product of the earth was to be common, and without any reſtraint upon it, but of promiſcuous uſe, as well to foreigners as natives. And the ſame appointment likewiſe was to take effect after a ſeven weeks of years, all which put together, come to fifty years. This fiftieth year is called *Jobelus* by the *Hebrews*; in which all debtors have a general releaſe, and thoſe ſervants regain their liberty, who, being of the confederate tribes, but having violated one or other of the laws, forfeited their freedom, in regard they had been ſaved from death. All lands were in this year to be reſtored to their firſt proprietors after this method: Upon the welcome approach of *Jobel*, which ſignifies liberty, the ſeller and purchaſer of an eſtate meet, and having taken an exact eſtimate of the fruits, together with all expences that have been laid out upon the purchaſe, if thoſe are found of greater value than theſe, the ſeller immediately receives poſſeſſion. But if the charge exceeds the profit, the purchaſer, upon ſatisfaction made him for the deficiencies, reinſtates the ſeller in his property. And where an income happens only to countervail the charge, the poſſeſſion alſo returns to its original owner. The ſame method is likewiſe to be kept, by virtue of the ſaid law, as to houſes, in the ſale of ſuch as are ſituated in villages: For the purchaſe of thoſe that ſtand in a city, is regulated otherwiſe, and in this manner: If within the ſpace of a year the money is return'd, the buyer is oblig'd to reſtore the houſe; but if once a complete year has paſſed, the right of poſſeſſion is eſtabliſhed and confirm'd to the purchaſer. *Moyſes*, while the army lay encamp'd under mount *Sinai*, receiv'd theſe laws from God, and gave them in writing to the *Hebrews*.

All matters relating to the civil government being well to his mind adjuſted, he turn'd himſelf next to review the army, with a deſign to give a cloſe application to military affairs. He commanded therefore all the principals of the tribes, excepting that of *Levi*, to make an accurate report of all, who were of an age fit for military ſervice. For the *Levites* being conſecrated to the miniſtry of God, had an exemption from all other offices. In conſequence of theſe orders the army being muſter'd, there were found, from the twentieth year of age, to the fiftieth, ſix hundred thouſand, three thouſand ſix hundred and fifty men, able to bear arms. But in the room of *Levi*, into the number of princes, he raiſed *Manaſſes* the ſon of *Joſeph*, and inſtead of *Joſeph* ſubſtituted *Ephraim*. For *Jacob* (as we have already ſaid) obtain'd of *Joſeph* a right, by an adoption, to his ſons.

While the army was not on a march, the tabernacle ſtood in the center, three tribes taking their ſtations at each ſide, and between theſe were left ſpaces open to walk in. They had likewiſe a market, and goods ſeverally diſpoſed

ſed and ſet out to ſale in a neat order; and all manner of tradeſmen kept here their ſhops; ſo that it reſembled a moveable city travelling up and down. The Prieſts were aſſigned their poſts round about the tabernacle; next to them quarter'd the *Levites*, being in number (for even they, as many as were males, and of and above the age of thirty days, had been computed,) twenty three thouſand, eight hundred and eighty. In whatever place a cloud deſcended, and abode upon the tabernacle, there, in an aſſurance of the Divine Preſence, they remain'd; but when the cloud removed, they forthwith marched to another place.

Moyſes, under Heaven's auſpicious care, was the firſt inventor of a *Trumpet*, directing it ſhould be made of ſilver, and in this form: In length it is ſomething leſs than a cubit, its pipe ſtraight, a little thicker than a flute; but as to the cavity which was proper to receive and convey the wind, like another *Trumpet*, ending in a ſmall bell: In the *Hebrew* language it is called *Aſoſra*. Two of theſe being made, one of them was in uſe to intimate and aſſemble a full convocation of the people; by the ſecond, a prieſt gave the ſignal when the princes ſhould meet to conſult about their own affairs: But upon the ſound of both, the princes as well as the people muſt give an attendance.

When the tabernacle came to be moved, this was the ſolemn order: At the firſt alarm of the *Trumpet*, thoſe, who had their tents ſituated to the eaſt, began their march: On the next ſignal, thoſe quarter'd to the ſouth: Then the tabernacle being taken down, was carried in the center between ſix tribes in the front, and ſix in the rear; all the *Levites* aſſiſting about the tabernacle: But at the third ſound of the *Trumpet*, thoſe to the weſt moved; and upon the fourth ſet out the reſt, who had their ſituation upon the north. And theſe *Trumpets* were uſed likewiſe in the Holy Miniſtry, whenever ſacrifices were brought to the altar, as well upon the ſabbaths, as other days. But then firſt of all, from the time of their deliverance out of *Ægypt*, was the ſacrifice called, *The Paſchal commemorated in the Deſart.*

CHAP. XIII.

How Moyſes *conducted the People from Mount* Sinai, *to the Confines of the* Cananites.

IN a ſhort time after they departed from mount *Sinai*, and after a few ſtations by the way, they arriv'd at a place which bears the name of *Eſermoth*: And there again the people roſe into a mutiny, and objected to *Moyſes* the many calamities they had ſuffer'd in their journeying, and that, by his advice, having forſaken a moſt fertile country, to compenſate the loſs, and in room of the felicity he had promiſed to give them, they were now reduced to wander about in miſery, afflicted with a ſcarcity of water, and ſhould it happen that *Manna* failed them too, they muſt undoubtedly die of famine. As they thus continued to belch out reproaches againſt a man of conſummate merit, one of the multitude ſtept out, and bid them with gratitude regard *Moyſes*, and not forget the many great things he had brought about for the common weal, nor at preſent deſpair of the mercy and aſſiſtance of God. This friendly admonition but the more vehemently irritated the people, who now ſwell into a greater tumult, and with double rage bear in upon *Moyſes*; who ſeeing them quite dejected, and without all hope, promiſed and aſſured them, however contumeliouſly they had abuſed him, he would notwithſtanding be an inſtrument to prepare for them a ſufficient quantity of fleſh, and not for one day only, but many. But they not only ſhew'd a diffidence to him, but one of them put the queſtion, *Whence he thought fleſh could come to ſupply the neceſſities of ſo many thouſands of people? The Great* GOD, (ſaid he,) *and I, how much ſoever contemned by you, will never ceaſe from having a fatherly tenderneſs for you; and that which I have promiſed, is but at a ſmall diſtance from you.* This he had no ſooner ſaid, than the camp was immediately cover'd in every place with quails, and going about, they gather'd them. But ſoon after God ſent a judgment upon them, for this their inſolent and ſeditious carriage; and a great number of them were ſtruck to death: So that even to this day, the place retains the name of *Cabrothaba*, that is, *The Tomb of Luſt.*

CHAP. XIV.

How Moyſes *ſent ſome of the People to ſpy out the Land of the* Canaanites, *and the Greatneſs of their Cities: And how thoſe who were ſent, having returned after forty Days, and made a Report how weak themſelves were, and vaſt the Power of the* Canaanites, *threw the Multitude into ſuch a Conſternation and Deſpair, that they formed a Reſolution, firſt with Stones to murder* Moyſes, *and afterwards to go back to their former Servitude in* Ægypt.

MOYSES having thence march'd the army into a place called *Pharanx*, ſtanding upon the confines of *Canaan*, and hard to live in, ſummoned the people to an audience, where, getting up in the midſt of them, he ſpoke to this purpoſe:

‘Omnipotence having been graciouſly pleas'd to charge the wheels of time with two bleſſings for us, Liberty, and the dominion of an happy land, one from his beneficence you now poſſeſs, and the other will quickly follow; for we reſide at preſent upon the borders of the *Canaanites*: Nor ſhall it be in the power of any king, or any city, or the combined force, of all the nations to prevent our ſettlement in the country. Let us therefore prepare courageouſly to make an irruption; for it is not to be expected that the natives will tamely ſurrender their poſſeſſions, without a ſtruggle; nor can we hope but by great battles to attain and to aſcertain the conqueſt: In the mean time my counſel is, that ſpies be ſent to ſearch and examine the fertility of the land, and ſtrength of the inhabitants. But above all, let us be of one and the ſame mind, and place our chief truſt and confidence in the *Power of Powers*, who has always hitherto aided and aſſiſted us.’

Moyſes having made an end, the people praiſe and approve his advice; and ſoon after he choſe twelve men of the moſt eminent dignity, out of every tribe one, to diſcharge this office: Who, from the borders of *Ægypt*, ſurveying all the poſſeſſions of the *Canaanites*, arrive at the city of *Amathe*, and the mountain *Libanus*: And having made a diligent enquiry into the ſeveral natures both of the ſoil and people, after the ſpace of forty days return to the camp. Having therefore brought along with them a taſte of the fruits of that land, with the beauty and immenſe plenty of which, they ſaid the country abounded; this account of a ſudden inſpir'd courage into the people, and an ardent inclination to begin the war. But again they terrified them from that attempt, by repreſenting the difficulty of the acquiſition, telling them that they had rivers to paſs, ſo broad and deep, that there was no croſſing them, and mountains ſteep and inacceſſible to travellers; and their cities not only were made ſtrong with walls, but outworks and fortifications: They likewiſe made report, that in *Chebron* they found a race of giants. After this manner the ſpies, affirming that all they had ſeen, exceeded any thing they had met with ſince they left *Ægypt*, not only ſunk their own courage, but made it their buſineſs to affect the multitude with the ſame vain terror.

The people from the report made, judging it next to an impoſſibility, ever to be maſters of that country, and being permitted to go home with their wives and children, mourned and deplored their fate; as if the *Great Arbiter* of all things had in fact never given any help, but only promiſed in words *Many* and *Great Things*. Wherefore they begin again to inveigh againſt *Moyſes*, and cry out againſt both him and his brother *Aaron*, the high prieſt. And in this inquietude and humour of heaping up reproaches, they ſpent the night; but in the morning they came to the place of council, with a deſign to kill both *Moyſes* and *Aaron*, and return into *Ægypt*.

In the number of thoſe that went to ſearch the land, were *Joſhuah*, the ſon of *Navenus*, of the tribe of *Ephraim*, and *Chaleb*, of the tribe of *Judah*, who from the evil conſequence, went in amongſt the people, with an endeavour to ſtill the tumult, begging them to riſe into hope, and neither accuſe God, nor raſhly believe them, who with empty clamours had filled their ears with ſtories of the *Canaanites*, but rather hearken to thoſe, who prompted them to felicity, and the certain enjoyment of every good thing: For, (*continued they*,) neither the vaſt heighth of mountains, nor the depth of rivers, can be a let or obſtacle in the way of men reſolv'd to behave bravely, eſpecially ſince the Divine Majeſty will keep and ſuſtain them in the battle. Let us therefore march, (*ſaid they*,) againſt our enemies, without all fear, or ſuſpicion of difficulty; and having Almighty Power for your Governor and Protector, in ſure hope and confidence of victory, follow us: And thus they labour'd to mitigate the paſſions of the people. But *Moyſes* and *Aaron* falling upon the ground, humbly prayed and addreſſed God, not for their own ſafety, but to free the people from ignorance, and endow them with minds, that might look down with contempt upon the preſent hardſhips and aſperities. Then the cloud appear'd, and upon the tabernacle reſting, declar'd the *Divine Preſence*.

CHAP. XV.

How Moyſes, *moved with Indignation, predicted, that the Infinite Majeſty would for the Term of forty Years, expand his Wrath over them: And that they ſhould neither return into* Ægypt, *nor attain the Poſſeſſion of* Canaan.

MOYSES, with a more than uſual emotion of mind, having met the people, gave them to know, that Heaven, offended at their contumelies, would no longer forbear puniſhing them; yet not as their ſins merited, but in the common manner that fathers give chaſtiſement to their children: For while he ſtayed within the tabernacle, and with tears deprecated the total ruin of the people, Omnipotence was pleaſed to commemorate how many and how great benefits he had heaped and accumulated upon them, without the leaſt token of gratitude; and that now ſeduced by the timidity and cowardice of the ſpies, they gave greater credit to what they told them, than to his promiſes: For which reaſon, though he would not deſtroy them all, nor aboliſh their whole nation, becauſe he preferr'd them to the reſt of mankind; yet he would not indulge them the poſſeſſion of the land of *Canaan*, or an enjoyment of its plenty and abundance; but bring it about, that without houſe, and without city, they ſhould conſume their life in the wilderneſs, ſuffering this puniſhment for their ſins. But to our children, he has promiſed, the poſſeſſion of this land and the enjoyment of that affluence of good things, which a perverſe and petulant behaviour in you has forfeited.

But when *Moyſes* had given them this information from the *Oracle of God*, the people extremely lamented their misfortune; begging *Moyſes* to make interceſſion for them with God, to deliver them from a wandring life in the wilderneſs, and give them to inhabit the cities of liberty. *Moyſes* made anſwer, *That an attempt of that nature, would be highly reſented; for that in the Divine Majeſty there being neither any thing that was raſh or humane to provoke to indignation, a decree of eternal wiſdom was not to be reverſed.* But let it not ſeem a wonder, and incredible, that *Moyſes*, being but one man, ſhould calm and pacify the turbulent paſſions of ſo many thouſands of people, and reduce them to a more ſound and ſedate ſtate of mind: For God aſſiſted him with his preſence, and cloathed his words with a force of conviction over the multitude. From diſobedience likewiſe they had often experienced, how little contumacy had availed them, becauſe thence they had met with calamities.

But *Moyſes* not only in that age in which he liv'd, was had in admiration for his ſingular virtue, and eminent power of gaining belief to what he ſaid; but even now in theſe our days, there is not one of the *Hebrews*, who would not, as much as if he was preſent, and going to puniſh their inordinate manners, obey the laws he eſtabliſh'd, even in the caſe that a tranſgreſſion could be ſafe from any fear of diſcovery. But there are many other demonſtrations that his authority was more than humane: For at a certain time, when ſome that inhabited beyond *Euphrates*, had in honour of our temple made a journey of four months, with great danger and expence, in order to do ſacrifice to God, they were not permitted to participate of the victims, *Moyſes* denying this to them who had not been inſtructed in our laws, nor, after the native cuſtoms of the country, converſant with us. And ſome truly not having ſacrificed at all, others leaving the ſacrifices unfiniſh'd, and many more being prohibited all acceſs into the temple, thought it convenient to go home; chuſing rather to give obedience to the laws and inſtitutes of *Moyſes*, than indulge their own pleaſure; though they did not fear any one that might oppoſe them, their own conſcience only reſtraining them.

Thus the appointment of laws, which is believed to have been a *Gift from God*, was the reaſon that raiſed *Moyſes* into an eſteem above that of other men. Nay, even a little before the war manag'd againſt the *Romans*, during the reign of *Claudius* over them, and the high-prieſthood of *Iſmael* with us, at a time when famine ſo grievouſly preſſed our country, that an *Aſſaron* of corn fetched four drachms, and of coarſe meal for the feſtival of *Azymi*, were imported ſeventy *Cors*, (that is, one and thirty *Sicilian Medimni*, but forty and one *Attic*, the *Medimnus* being a meaſure containing ſix buſhels,) yet no one of the prieſts, though in extreme want, preſum'd to touch the leaſt particle of it, in relief of their neceſſities; ſo great was their reverence of the laws, and fear of the wrath, with which the Majeſty of Heaven takes frequent vengeance, even of the moſt hidden ſins. Wherefore it is not to be wonder'd, that ſuch glorious matters were then tranſacted, ſince likewiſe to this very day the writings tranſmitted us by *Moyſes*, have that ſtrength and authority, that even our greateſt enemies confeſs, that God himſelf, making uſe of *Moyſes* and his virtue, conſtituted our polity and manner of life. But of theſe occurrences, every man may, according to his capacity, judge.

The *END* of the Third BOOK of the Antiquities.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

ANTIQUITIES of the *JEWS*.

BOOK THE FOURTH.

Containing the Space of Eight and Thirty Years.

CHAP. I.

The Hebrews, *without the Permiſſion of* Moyſes, *give Battle to the* Canaanites, *and meet with a great Deſtruction.*

THE *Hebrews*, tired out with a miſerable and uncomfortable life in the wilderneſs, entered now into a reſolution, even without the command of God, to try their fortune with the *Canaanites*; for not only would they not, in obedience to *Moyſes*, be kept within their tents; but likewiſe without his direction, fancied themſelves an overmatch for their enemies; and began to load him with accuſations, and to ſuſpect that he took all methods whatever to detain them in calamitous circumſtances, that they might always want his help. They therefore made an attempt to break in upon the *Canaanites*, pleaſing themſelves with theſe ſentiments, that the *Father of Mercy* gave, and extended help to them, not ſo much for the ſake of *Moyſes*, as for the love he bore in general to their nation, upon account of their progenitors, whom he had greatly diſtinguiſhed by his Care and Providence; and as at firſt for their virtue he had aſſerted them into liberty, ſo now too, if they but acted manfully, he would not diſcontinue his aſſiſtance. Nay, they did not ſtick to ſay, that of themſelves they were of ſtrength ſufficient to ſubdue thoſe nations, though they ſhould not have any extraordinary aſſiſtance from Heaven: And that it was entirely their intereſt to be at their own diſpoſal, and not think of congratulating one another upon a deliverance from *Ægyptian* ſervitude, while they patiently ſubmitted to an uſurpation of *Moyſes*, and at his arbitrary pleaſure liv'd bug-bear'd with an idle opinion, that the Divine Majeſty in benevolence to *Moyſes*, would only give charge to him concerning our affairs; as if we were not all of us the progeny of *Abraham*, but Heaven had intruſted him alone with the management of all things, and in his breaſt ſolely lodg'd the knowledge of futurity: That therefore it was the moſt prudent courſe to deſpiſe the arrogance of *Moyſes*, and repoſing all their confidence in God, couragiouſly take poſſeſſion of the land that he had promiſed them; and for this reaſon no longer to regard him, who, under a pretext of the Divine Oracle, was their hindrance. Thus animating themſelves, and puſh'd on too with reflections upon the wants and difficulties that oppreſſed them in the wilderneſs, they make what haſte they can to invade the *Canaanites*, begging God to be their General and Protector, but not ſtaying for the conſent and advice of *Moyſes*.

This being concerted amongſt them, they march'd directly againſt the enemy; and theſe indeed, neither diſpirited at the fierceneſs of the charge, nor the number of aſſailants, bravely receiv'd them. But ſuch a ſlaughter of the *Hebrews*, and general diſorder in their army enſued, that in a little time none but ſtragglers were to be ſeen ſhamefully flying, and cloſely purſued to their very camp. Ill ſucceſs having thus attended them contrary to their expectation, they deſponded in mind, and look'd for no farther good; and concluded thence that the calamity was inflicted upon them from God, for daring to fight without his counſel.

But *Moyſes* ſeeing his own people ſtruck with conſternation at this terrible diſaſter, and apprehending too that the *Canaanites* elevated with their recent victory, and through an appetite to more honour, might invade them, thought it the wiſeſt expedient to draw his forces off, at a diſtance from the enemy, into the deſert: And the people having again devolv'd this authority upon him, (for now they were become ſenſible that without his direction and counſel no proſperity would follow them,) he decamped, and retir'd with them into the deſert; being of opinion, that there they would willingly take up their quarters, and not think of another battle with the *Canaanites*, till an admonition from God had pointed out to them the proper time.

CHAP. II.

The Sedition of *Corah*, and the People, againſt *Moyſes* and his Brother, about the Prieſthood.

AS in great armies it is not unuſual to mutiny, eſpecially when thorough adverſe fortune they become ſullen and diſcontented, the ſame thing alſo happened amongſt the *Jews*; for being in number ſix hundred thouſand, even granting that all things had proſperouſly ſucceeded with them, it would have been difficult perhaps to have contained ſo vaſt a multitude within the bounds of their duty, much more ſo, when they were afflicted with penury and calamities, and not only with anger burned one againſt another, but with fury roſe againſt their general. Wherefore ſuch a ſedition came into their heads, as neither among the *Greeks*, nor barbarous nations, we ever heard of; by which, having drove themſelves upon the brink of extreme danger, *Moyſes*, though but a little before he had narrowly eſcaped being ſtoned to death by them, not reſenting the injury, gave them a deliverance. And God did not ſo far forget them, as to let them ſuffer any greater affliction; but though they had inſolently offended againſt their own lawgiver, and the mandates, which himſelf had by *Moyſes* given them; yet he reſcued them from the calamity, which ſedition, no doubt, would have involved them in, had not his mercy ſeaſonably interpoſed. This ſedition therefore, and the prudent reſolution of *Moyſes*, I ſhall inſtantly deſcribe, when I have once premiſed the cauſe whence it ſprung.

Corah, being a man of the greateſt nobility and opulence, as affairs then went among the *Hebrews*, and not without a volubility of tongue, and excellently formed likewiſe for popular management, ſeeing *Moyſes* in the higheſt dignity, and at the helm of affairs, flamed with vehement envy, (for he belonged to the ſame tribe, and was his near relation,) taking it inſupportably, from this conſideration, that he thought himſelf more worthy of the honour, upon account of his equality in birth, and ſuperiority in riches. And amongſt the *Levites*, (for they were of the ſame tribe,) and chiefly among relations, he exclaimed againſt *Moyſes*; urging, that it was an unworthy thing, that *Moyſes* ſhould attempt to wreſt all the glory to himſelf, and by unjuſtifiable arts acquire it, pretending that he was moſt obſervant of God, at the ſame time that againſt the laws he beſtowed the prieſthood upon *Aaron*, not by the common ſuffrage of the people, but his own deſpotic will; and not otherwiſe than a tyrant, diſtributed all honours at his pleaſure. And he farther averred, that it was a matter of worſe conſequence, to bear private affronts, than publickly to reſent them; becauſe ſuch a tame proceeding not only ends in the ruin of the diſaffected, but of all thoſe alſo who never dreamt of any harm. For whoever is conſcious to himſelf, that he has merited honour, doubting nothing ſues for it, and where diſappointed, boldly ſeizes it: But thoſe again who know they have no title, abſtain indeed from violence, affecting the character of good and moderate men, while they make uſe of all the artifices of fraud and cunning, to compaſs their deſigns: That it is the certain intereſt of a wiſe people, ſpeedily to puniſh thoſe who deviſe ſuch things, even whilſt they conclude themſelves ſecure through the ſecreſy of their contrivances; and not to ſuffer them by new acceſſions of power, ſo to magnify their ſtrength, as to put them in a capacity afterwards of becoming their enemies. For what colour of reaſon, *ſaid he*, can *Moyſes* alledge, why he conferred the prieſthood upon *Aaron*, and his ſons; for, if God, out of the tribe of *Levi*, would have decreed that honour to any one, he himſelf conſequently muſt have been preferred, being equal to *Moyſes* in nobility and merit, and in wealth and years preferable: But if the priority was to be ſetled according to the antiquity of the tribes, then beyond all controverſy, the tribe of *Ruben* ſhould have had the pre-eminence: and *Dathan* and *Abiram*, and *Phalaus*, would be the men honoured with the dignity; for they of that tribe are at once the eldeſt, and moſt opulent.

Thus ſpoke *Corah*, with an intention to make them believe he only minded their intereſt, when at the ſame time all his drift was to thruſt himſelf upon their ſhoulders into the honour of the prieſthood. And theſe things truly with a malignant view, though fair and ſpecious words were uttered among thoſe of his own tribe; but this diſcourſe of his by degrees reaching the ears of others, and every one of thoſe to whom it came, adding ſomething of their own to the reproaches againſt *Aaron*, the whole army at laſt join in the invective, and are fired with the opprobrious language. With *Corah* there aſſociated two hundred and fifty men of the firſt quality, among the *Hebrews*, endeavouring not only to eject *Aaron*, the brother of *Moyſes*, from the prieſthood, but to cover *Moyſes* himſelf with ignominy. The multitude join in the mutiny, and in confuſion, and with great tumult, crowd together to their uſual place of meeting, with a bloody purpoſe to kill *Moyſes* with ſtones; and all, before the tabernacle, with one mind cried out, *That the Tyrant muſt be pulled down, and the people delivered from a ſlavery to him, who, thorough the pretext of revelation, oppreſſed them with hard and imperious commands*; for, (ſaid they,) *if God had elected one to be an high prieſt, he would certainly have advanced a man of worth to that honour; and not have exalted to the dignity him, who was inferior to many: And if it had been his will to confer the prieſthood upon* Aaron, *the grant would have proceeded rather by a ſuffrage of the people, than an arbitrary judgment of* Moyſes.

Moyſes, though he had previous intelligence of the calumnies of *Corah*, and ſaw too the tumultuous rage of the people, was not in the leaſt intimidated; but reſting in the conſcious ſatiſfaction of having well and juſtly adviſed and executed all affairs, and knowing that his brother, not by any favour of his own, but by the counſel of God, had arrived at the prieſthood, ſtept boldly forth into the middle of the people, where, not directing his diſcourſe to them, but turning towards *Corah*, and raiſing his voice as high as he was able, (for beſides an uncommon dexterity in other things, he was by nature formed to ſway the multitude,) ‘To me, O *Corah*, (*ſaid he*) either thou, or any one out of theſe, (*for he pointed to the two hundred and fifty conſpirators*,) ſeem worthy of honour; nor am I the man that would refuſe the whole people the ſame illuſtrious reputation, though to you they ſhould yield, as to wealth, and other qualities. And now I have not beſtowed the prieſthood upon *Aaron*, with any regard to his ſuperiority in riches, for thou in that particular excelleſt both him and me; nor on account of the nobility of his race, for this, God has made common to the confederate tribes, being all of us deſcended of the ſame progenitor; nor induced by a brother's love, have I given to a brother what any man elſe might have claimed. For if, in the donation of that honour, I had not preſerved an inviolable regard to God, and the laws, by no means ſhould I have neglected myſelf to be liberal to another, ſince I to myſelf am nearer than a brother, and by a cloſer tie bound to myſelf than him. Nor was it the part of a wiſe man, by an unjuſt act, to create danger to himſelf, that thence he might promote the happineſs of another. But neither am I the perſon who would injure you; nor would Almighty God have ſuffered either himſelf to be contemned, or you to continue ignorant what it was that ſhould moſt pleaſe him: Wherefore, ſince the Omnipotent has declared the choice of his own prieſt, he has made you know that no blame from this matter can be charged upon us. However, though not by any partiality in me, but by the will of God alone, he has obtained the prieſthood, yet he is willing before all this aſſembly, to lay down, and abdicate the ſacred office, that it may be claimed by thoſe that have a mind to contend for it; demanding, in regard to his prior right, that the conteſt may be ſubmitted to a reference, and he, as well as others, allowed the privilege to put in a title: Wiſhing more earneſtly to ſee you without ſedition, than to repoſſeſs that dignity, though even with the approbation of your own ſuffrages he carried it. For an imputation of a fault cannot ariſe, if, what Heaven has beſtowed, we ſhould be known to have received it likewiſe by your conſent. Add to this, an honour which the Infinite Majeſty condeſcended to give, without great impiety, could not be refuſed: Nay, it muſt have ſhewn a thorough abſence of reaſon not to accept it. Since then the Almighty has alone the right of conferring this benefit, let us refer the determination to him, who ſhall be the perſon to do ſacrifice for you, and preſide in holy things; for it would not be wiſdom in *Corah*, who is aſpiring to that high ſtation, to preſume to take from God the power of conferring it on whom he will. Ceaſe therefore to foment ſedition and mutiny, as to this affair, but to morrow, all you that are competitors, preſent yourſelves, bringing along with you from your houſes, cenſers with perfumes and fire. But even thou, O *Corah*, leave the judgment to God, and in this matter wait his ſentence, nor make thy ſelf, in thine own opinion, his ſuperior: But rather give an attendance, that in this manner it may be tried, whether or no that honour is to be reſerved for thee. But I think it moſt reaſonable, upon a double account, that *Aaron* ſhould not be forbid acceſs to this arbitration, both as he is of the ſame tribe, and, in every thing elſe that relates to his conduct in his office, irreprehenſible. So ſoon therefore as you meet, in the face of the people, offer incenſe, and upon the riſe of the fumes, he whoſe oblation is moſt acceptable to Heaven, ſhall be conſtituted your high prieſt: Which for the future, will prevent all objections againſt a brother, as if by favour he had ſtole the dignity.’

CHAP. III.

How the Incendiaries were by the Will of God deſtroy'd; and Aaron, *the Brother of* Moyſes, *together with his Sons, retained the Prieſthood.*

MOYSES had no ſooner come to a concluſion, but the multitude at once were quieted, and had no farther ſuſpicions of *Mcyſes*; what he had ſaid was praiſed, unanimouſly agreed to, and thought moſt conſiſtent with their intereſt. And then indeed the aſſembly broke up. But next day, full of curioſity they met in crowds to be preſent at the ſacrifice, and deciſion, that was to terminate the controverſy about the prieſthood. Nor was this meeting without ſome commotion, the People being intoxicated with lofty notions from an expectation of what was to follow; and ſome were elevated with the hopes that *Moyſes* would be found guilty of wicked practices; but others of more judgment, that they ſhould ſee an end of troubles and diſorder: For they began to fear, that if the mutiny once got an head, the conſtitution muſt fall of courſe; ſuch being their nature of the multitude, that they take delight in aſperſing magiſtrates, and may, by the moſt inſignificant ſpeech, be blown up into riots and ſedition. *Moyſes*, having diſpatched meſſengers to *Dathan* and *Abiram*, left orders for them to come, in conſequence of their agreement, and attend the ſacred event. But they made anſwer, that they would neither obey the meſſage, nor longer ſuffer

Moyſes to increaſe in power, which by ſubtle arts he had obtain'd; *Moyſes* upon this their refuſal, taking with him the elders of the people, who willingly follow'd him, went ſtreight to *Dathan* and his faction, who did not at all dread what might be the iſſue of their pride and obſtinacy. Then *Dathan* with thoſe about him, upon the news that *Moyſes*, accompanied with the chiefs of the people, was come to pay them a viſit, calling out both wives and children, ſtood before their tents, doubtful in thought as to the deſign of *Moyſes*. They were ſurrounded too with their ſervants, that in caſe *Moyſes* offer'd violence, theſe might aſſiſt them.

But *Moyſes* no ſooner approach'd them, than with hands extended towards Heaven, and in a voice loud enough to be heard by all the people, he expreſſed himſelf in theſe words:

‘O God, the ſupreme Lord of all in Heaven and earth and ſea (for thou art the faithful and impartial witneſs of my tranſactions), by whoſe authority I have always acted, and the power that hath hitherto aſſiſted me, (from whom is the mercy that hath never failed the *Hebrews* in difficulties) vouchſafe me thy preſence, I beſeech thee, and propitiouſly hear my prayer. Before thee, both our actions and thoughts appear naked and open. It is therefore my moſt humble requeſt, that, in atteſtation of thy ſervant's integrity, infinite truth may convince this people, how ingratefully they have uſed me. Thoſe things indeed that preceeded my birth, thou moſt perfectly knoweſt, yet not from report, but by thy immenſity of preſence which made them to exiſt. As to my conduct ſince, which theſe men, though they cannot but know, yet ſcandalouſly dare aſperſe, graciouſly pleaſe to vouch it with thine own irrefragable teſtimony. Whilſt through thy bleſſing upon my innocence, and the kindneſs of my father-in-law *Raguel*, I kept in a ſweet receſs, my life was cheerful, without any inquietude; yet all that felicity I forſook to devote myſelf wholly to miſeries for the ſake of this people. And firſt for their liberty; then afterwards for the common weal I have ſuffer'd many preſſures; and with alacrity, in all dangers, expoſed myſelf. Now therefore, becauſe I am ſuſpected of fraud and injuſtice, even by thoſe who to my care and ſolicitude owe their life and ſafety, *Thou fountain of truth and mercy*, who ſhewedſt me that fire upon *Mount Sinai*, and condeſcendedſt to let me then hear the divine voice, and thoughteſt me not unworthy to ſee thy miracles in that place; who commandedſt me to make haſte into *Ægypt*, and there to reveal to this people thy purpoſes; who broughteſt to nought the proſperity of *Ægypt*, and gaveſt us an eſcape from their cruel ſervitude, and ſubjectedſt the tyranny of *Pharaoh* to my rule; who, when we knew not the way and were hard beſet, turnedſt the ſea into dry land, and madeſt the ocean, that by thy might was before reſtrain'd, reſume and glut its waves with the ſlaughter of the *Ægyptians*; who, when we were unarm'd, ſenteſt arms for our defence; who madeſt the corrupt waters flow ſound and pleaſant to the taſte, and fountains in relief of our extreme neceſſities to iſſue from the rock; who, whilſt we were deſtitute of all food by land, didſt ſupply us from the ſea; who, from heaven ſenteſt nouriſhment before neither ſeen nor heard of; who infuſedſt into us the knowledge of thy laws, with a beautiful ſyſtem of government; make it appear, ſupreme arbiter of all things, as my judge and irreproachable witneſs, that I have neither taken reward from any of the *Hebrews*, to pervert juſtice and equity, nor ſuffer'd the poor, who had the better cauſe, to be diſpoſſeſſed or injured by their rich adverſaries; nor by an exerciſe of power in any one thing exerted myſelf to the detriment of the republic; notwithſtanding which, I am charg'd with a crime moſt abhorrent from my nature, that without thy command, and only by my favour, I have beſtow'd the Prieſthood upon *Aaron*. Wherefore even now in meekneſs publiſh an irrefutable argument, that all things are govern'd and ſubſiſt by thy providence; and that no one thing by a fortuitous and voluntary effect, but, by thy breath alone diſpoſed, produces an event: And that thou extendeſt thy care to thoſe, who have done real ſervices to the *Hebrews*, in taking vengeance of *Abiram* and *Dathan*, who have impeached thy wiſdom, as if my ambition could incline thy will. Manifeſt therefore thy judgment upon thoſe, who have detracted from thy glory, and to the end, no one may think that nothing has happen'd at their death, but what is incident to humanity, let them not die after the manner of other men; but let the earth, which they are unworthy to tread upon, cleaving aſunder, conſume them with their families, and all their wealth. For this ſhall not only be an infallible demonſtration of thy power, and communicate inſtruction, but an eminent warning to others not to preſume upon ſuch daring impiety for the future, nor entertain unbecoming ſentiments of thee. By this means too, even I ſhall be found thy faithful miniſter in an execution of all thy commands. But, if I have committed the crimes they load me with, preſerve them unhurt, and from all evil free; and the deſtruction I have imprecated upon them, let it fall upon myſelf. But puniſhment being once inflicted upon him, who had it in his thoughts to wrong thy people, let peace and amity revive, and be eſtabliſh'd, and the multitude kept obedient to thy precepts, granting them to live a ſecure and happy life, and without all puniſhments which the wicked ſuffer. For thou knoweſt, it would not be conſiſtent with juſtice, that all the *Iſraelites* ſhould come involved in the penalty due to their wickedneſs.’

When in a flood of tears he had pronounced theſe words, of a ſudden, to the vaſt aſtoniſhment of all the people, the earth trembling, labour'd with a concuſſion like what riſes in the ſea, when high winds ſhake its waves; and with a loud burſt and horrible noiſe, juſt by their tents, the ground cleaving aſunder, ſwallowed them up, and all their ſubſtance; the deſtruction happening in ſuch a ſudden manner, that it even anticipated the apprehenſions of the multitude. After which the earth, which about their habitations had widely opened, ſo cloſely united and rejoined, that not the leaſt appearance of this terrible accident was to be ſeen: And this was the cataſtrophe of them, and an undeniable proof of the Power of God. One might regard them with a little pity, not only upon account of the calamity, which was really lamentable, but their relations who at firſt took no ſmall pleaſure in their miſerable fate. For this tremendous ſight made them forget alliance, and with joy approve the cœleſtial judgement: So concluding that *Dathan* with his aſſociates had periſhed, as the peſt and ruin of the republic, they totally ceaſed from deploring the miſfortune.

Moyſes then, in order to decide who ſhould be nominated prieſts, aſſembled thoſe who had thruſt themſelves in candidates for the office; that the man, whoſe ſacrifice appeared moſt grateful, and acceptable to Heaven, might be dignified with the prieſthood. But when attendance was given by the two hundred and fifty men, who were reſpected both on account of the virtue of their anceſtors, and an eminent merit in themſelves, that ſeemed in the people's opinion to ſurpaſs even that of their progenitors, *Aaron* alſo and *Corah* came out, and all before the tabernacle performed ſacrifice with odours they had brought along with them. But ſo great a fire in a moment blazed, as never was ſeen before, either to proceed from a ſubterraneous eruption, or from burning woods blown up by the winds; and ſuch, as by Divine Command only, could have been lighted up, at once moſt reſplendent and flaming: By the violence of which, all, as well the two hundred and fifty men, as *Corah* himſelf, were ſo conſumed, that not the leaſt remnant of their carcaſſes was to be ſeen. *Aaron* only remained unhurt by the fire, becauſe the Almighty Power had commiſſioned it to burn but thoſe that had offended. *Moyſes*, after their deſtruction being deſirous to tranſmit the memory of this puniſhment to lateſt ages, and willing that ſucceeding generations ſhould underſtand the fact, gave it in charge to *Eleazar*, the ſon of *Aaron*, to depoſite their cenſers by the brazen altar, as an everlaſting monument of their puniſhment and preſumption from a vain perſuaſion they could circumſcribe the Power of God. And now, it having appeared plainly to the multitude, that not by the *Gift of Moyſes*, but the *appointment of GOD alone*, *Aaron* was exalted to the prieſthood, he with his ſons enjoy'd the dignity, as a right no man afterwards could diſpute.

CHAP. IV.

What happened to the Hebrews, *thro' a Series of Eight and Thirty Years in the* WILDERNESS.

NOtwithſtanding this remarkable judgement a ſtop was not put to the ſedition; but it increaſed the more, and proceeded with greater fury. And ſuch a reaſon was urged why matters grew worſe daily, as made it almoſt impoſſible that ever the malady ſhould ceaſe. For though the people were firmly convinced in their own Minds, that nothing could be brought to paſs without the divine will, yet they believed alſo that theſe things had not been done but for the ſake of *Moyſes*: Him therefore they charge as the cauſe of the late miſfortune, perſuading themſelves that, it had happened rather through the force of his intreaties than the guilt of the ſufferers. And indeed (*ſaid they*) this fate they met with for no other crime, than a conſtant application to the duties of piety and religion: As for *Moyſes*, he had afflicted the people by the loſs of the beſt and worthieſt among them, with an intent to rid himſelf even of a poſſibility to be called in queſtion again, and to ſecure above all attempts the prieſthood for his brother. For henceforth no man would affect it, who did but conſider the deſtruction that had ſwallowed up thoſe who ſued for it before. Likewiſe the relations of the dead much inſtigated the people, to leſſen the ſtate and arrogance of *Moyſes*; inſiſting it would tend to his own ſafety and advantage.

But *Moyſes*, who was not inſenſible of the ſeditious humour that poſſeſſed the people, fearing they might have other new projects in their head, whence ſome great miſchief would ariſe, had the multitude called together: And patiently hearing what all of them had to ſay, offered not one word in his own excuſe, leaſt he ſhould have but the more provoked the vulgar. Wherefore addreſſing himſelf to the princes of the tribes, he deſired each of them to provide a rod marked with the name of the particular tribe he belonged to, and that the prieſthood ſhould be conferred upon him, to whoſe rod, Almighty Power gave an atteſtation. Which propoſal being readily complied with, rods inſcribed were prepared as well by the reſt, as by *Aaron*, who upon his has the character of the Tribe of *Levi*: And *Moyſes* having received the rods, depoſited them within the tabernacle of God. The day following he produced the rods which might eaſily be known, becauſe they had not only been marked by the ſeveral princes that brought them, but had a ſeal alſo put upon them by the reſt of the people. All the other rods remained in the ſame form in which they had been delivered to *Moyſes*: But out of *Aaron*'s rod, to the ſenſible conviction of all the people, ſprung buds and branches, and ripe *Almonds*; for ſuch they were, the rod as thoſe of the others being of the *Almond-*

Tree. Aſtoniſhed at the wonderful novelty of the ſight, they dropt the hatred which they had conceiv'd againſt as well *Moyſes* as *Aaron*, and continued in a ſilent admiration of the Divine Sentence: And at length, ſince they could not otherwiſe than approve the decree of infinite wiſdom, it was agreed on all hands that *Aaron* had the beſt and only title to the prieſthood. And in *Aaron* truly, thrice divinely choſe, and with happy ſucceſs eſtabliſh'd, firm remain'd the dignity. By the ſame means too the ſedition of the *Hebrews*, which for a long time had prey'd upon the bowels of the ſtate, was ſucceeded with tranquillity and peace.

The tribe of *Levi*, by reaſon of its attendance on the miniſtry of God, had an immunity from wars and expeditions. Wherefore leaſt they ſhould ever come to want conveniences, or through an application to the purchaſe of the neceſſaries of life neglect the care of the ſacred office, *Moyſes* laid his command upon the *Hebrews*, that ſo ſoon as, by the bleſſing of God, they had got the poſſeſſion of *Canaan*, they ſhould diſtribute to the *Levites* eight and forty cities commodious and elegant, and alſo aſſign them ground of about two thouſand cubits in circumference for walls and other uſes. Likewiſe he perpetuated a law, by which the people were to pay the tenths of their yearly product to the prieſts and *Levites*. And this is the portion that the tribe of *Levi* receives of the people. And here it is requiſite that I alſo relate what are the proper rights belonging to the prieſts, and what was for their ſubſiſtence to be levied upon all the people.

Of the forty and eight cities, *Moyſes* order'd the *Levites* to give the prieſts thirteen; together with the tenth part of all the tenths they receiv'd yearly of the people. Beſides he made an ordinance, that the multitude ſhould give the firſt fruits of all manner of corn, that the earth produced, to God: And of all cattle, where the law did not forbid, the firſt production, if a male, was to be offer'd in ſacrifice, and afterwards converted into an entertainment for the prieſts and their families, in the holy city. But as to thoſe beaſts, which the laws of our country prohibit to feed upon, the proprietor was oblig'd to pay a ſicle and an half. The firſt human birth was to be ranſom'd five ſicles. To them likewiſe were due the firſt profits of ſheep: And thoſe who grind wheat, and make bread, of every batch muſt yield a ſmall acknowledgment. Thoſe who, by taking upon themſelves a vow, are conſecrated to God, (to whom is given the demonſtration of *Nazarites*,) permitting their hair to grow, and abſtaining from wine; upon a reſolution to return into the buſy ſcenes of life, muſt ſhave their heads and together with a victim dedicate the locks before the prieſts, who commit them to the fire prepared for the ſacrifice. Likewiſe he who binds himſelf with a vow, ſaying, *Sim Korban*, (which expreſſion being interpreted from the *Hebrew*, imports a gift to God) upon an inclination to quit the miniſtry, to which he had devoted himſelf, is under a precept to pay down money to the prieſts; the ſum for a man being fifty ſicles, for a woman thirty: But thoſe who have not ſo much money, are left to the diſcretion of the prieſts. Nay, whoever kills at home an ox and a ſheep for his private uſe, not for Divine Service, muſt of neceſſity give the prieſts the tripe, the little breaſt, and right ſhoulder of the cattle. And this copious proviſion *Moyſes* ordain'd for the prieſts, as an addition to thoſe things which ariſe to them from victims preſented by the people in ſatisfaction of ſins, agreeable to what I have ſaid in the book immediately preceeding. Of all thoſe things, which by right appertained to the prieſts, by the command of *Moyſes*, their ſervants, daughters, and wives were allowed a ſhare; excepting the ſacrifices in propitiation for ſins. For theſe the males only of the houſe of the prieſts muſt eat upon the very day an oblation is made, and within the tabernacle.

Moyſes from the time of the pacification having made theſe ordinances, marched with his whole army to the borders of *Idumæa*; where being arriv'd, he ſent the king of *Idumæa* an embaſſy, charg'd with inſtructions, to deſire the favour of a permiſſion to paſs through his country, and to offer what hoſtages ſoever the king ſhould require, to ſecure him againſt all injuries and harm; and *laſtly*, a free commerce with his ſubjects, for what neceſſaries the *Hebrews* might want, promiſing even to pay for their water, if the king demanded it. But his majeſty not at all pleaſed with the terms of the embaſſy, not only forbad him paſſage, but arming a great body of men, came out to meet *Moyſes*, with a reſolution to oppoſe him by violence, if an attempt was made to ſet foot upon his territories. *Moyſes* therefore drew back his army into the wilderneſs, with a deſign to purſue his journey in a circuit, (for upon conſulting the Oracle, he was commanded by the Divine Authority not to fight.)

About this time, upon the new moon of the month *Xanthicus*, (or *April*,) died *Mariam*, the ſiſter of *Moyſes*, in the fortieth year from their deliverance out of *Ægypt*; and with a ſplendid funeral, at the publick expence, was buried upon a mountain, which is called *Sin*. When the people had lamented her death thirty days, *Moyſes* purified them in this manner: The high prieſt taking an heifer that had never been put to labour, and was over all her body red, to a pleaſant place without the camp, there ſacrificed it, ſprinkling the blood ſeven times with his finger towards the Divine Tabernacle: As the whole heifer with skin and inteſtines lay a burning, he threw into the fire, *Cedar-wood*, together with *Hyſſop* and *Scarlet-wool*, all which being reduced to aſhes, are carefully gather'd up by a man of a pure and unſpotted life, and depoſited in a place without the camp. A little therefore of theſe aſhes being put into a veſſel, and fountain water added thereto, by a clean perſon, with a branch of *Hyſſop* dipped into this mixture, upon the third and ſeventh day, he ſprinkled thoſe that had been polluted by the dead; and ſo they needed no further purification. The ſame ordinance alſo too was appointed to be obſerv'd, when they had got poſſeſſion of the land of *Canaan*.

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But *Moyſes*, who was not inſenſible of the ſeditious humour that poſſeſſed the people, fearing they might have other new projects in their head, whence ſome great miſchief would ariſe, had the multitude called together : And patiently hearing what all of them had to ſay, offered not one word in his own excuſe, leaſt he ſhould have but the more provoked the vulgar. Wherefore addreſſing himſelf to the princes of the tribes, he deſired each of them to provide a rod marked with the name of the particular tribe he belonged to, and that the prieſthood ſhould be conferred upon him, to whoſe rod, Almighty Power gave an atteſtation. Which propoſal being readily complied with, rods inſcribed were prepared as well by the reſt, as by *Aaron*, who upon his has the character of the Tribe of *Levi :* And *Moyſes* having received the rods, depoſited them within the tabernacle of God. The day following he produced the rods which might eaſily be known, becauſe they had not only been marked by the ſeveral princes that brought them, but had a ſeal alſo put upon them by the reſt of the people. All the other rods remained in the ſame form in which they had been delivered to *Moyſes :* But out of *Aaron*'s rod, to the ſenſible conviction of all the people, ſprung buds and branches, and ripe *Almonds* ; for ſuch they were, the rod as thoſe of the others being of the *Almond-*

Tree. Aſtoniſhed at the wonderful novelty of the ſight, they dropt the hatred which they had conceiv'd againſt as well *Moyſes* as *Aaron*, and continued in a ſilent admiration of the Divine Sentence: And at length, ſince they could not otherwiſe than approve the decree of infinite wiſdom, it was agreed on all hands that *Aaron* had the beſt and only title to the prieſthood. And in *Aaron* truly, thrice divinely choſe, and with happy ſucceſs eſtabliſh'd, firm remain'd the dignity. By the ſame means too the ſedition of the *Hebrews*, which for a long time had prey'd upon the bowels of the ſtate, was ſucceeded with tranquillity and peace.

The tribe of *Levi*, by reaſon of its attendance on the miniſtry of God, had an immunity from wars and expeditions. Wherefore leaſt they ſhould ever come to want conveniences, or through an application to the purchaſe of the neceſſaries of life neglect the care of the ſacred office, *Moyſes* laid his command upon the *Hebrews*, that ſo ſoon as, by the bleſſing of God, they had got the poſſeſſion of *Canaan*, they ſhould diſtribute to the *Levites* eight and forty cities commodious and elegant, and alſo aſſign them ground of about two thouſand cubits in circumference for walls and other uſes. Likewiſe he perpetuated a law, by which the people were to pay the tenths of their yearly product to the prieſts and *Levites*. And this is the portion that the tribe of *Levi* receives of the people. And here it is requiſite that I alſo relate what are the proper rights belonging to the prieſts, and what was for their ſubſiſtence to be levied upon all the people.

Of the forty and eight cities, *Moyſes* order'd the *Levites* to give the prieſts thirteen; together with the tenth part of all the tenths they receiv'd yearly of the people. Beſides he made an ordinance, that the multitude ſhould give the firſt fruits of all manner of corn, that the earth produced, to God: And of all cattle, where the law did not forbid, the firſt production, if a male, was to be offer'd in ſacrifice, and afterwards converted into an entertainment for the prieſts and their families, in the holy city. But as to thoſe beaſts, which the laws of our country prohibit to feed upon, the proprietor was oblig'd to pay a ſicle and an half. The firſt human birth was to be ranſom'd five ſicles. To them likewiſe were due the firſt profits of ſheep: And thoſe who grind wheat, and make bread, of every batch muſt yield a ſmall acknowledgment. Thoſe who, by taking upon themſelves a vow, are conſecrated to God, (to whom is given the demonſtration of *Nazarites*,) permitting their hair to grow, and abſtaining from wine; upon a reſolution to return into the buſy ſcenes of life, muſt ſhave their heads and together with a victim dedicate the locks before the prieſts, who commit them to the fire prepared for the ſacrifice. Likewiſe he who binds himſelf with a vow, ſaying, *Sim Korban*, (which expreſſion being interpreted from the *Hebrew*, imports a gift to God) upon an inclination to quit the miniſtry, to which he had devoted himſelf, is under a precept to pay down money to the prieſts; the ſum for a man being fifty ſicles, for a woman thirty: But thoſe who have not ſo much money, are left to the diſcretion of the prieſts. Nay, whoever kills at home an ox and a ſheep for his private uſe, not for Divine Service, muſt of neceſſity give the prieſts the tripe, the little breaſt, and right ſhoulder of the cattle. And this copious proviſion *Moyſes* ordain'd for the prieſts, as an addition to thoſe things which ariſe to them from victims preſented by the people in ſatisfaction of ſins, agreeable to what I have ſaid in the book immediately preceeding. Of all thoſe things, which by right appertained to the prieſts, by the command of *Moyſes*, their ſervants, daughters, and wives were allowed a ſhare; excepting the ſacrifices in propitiation for ſins. For theſe the males only of the houſe of the prieſts muſt eat upon the very day an oblation is made, and within the tabernacle.

Moyſes from the time of the pacification having made theſe ordinances, marched with his whole army to the borders of *Idumæa*; where being arriv'd, he ſent the king of *Idumæa* an embaſſy, charg'd with inſtructions, to deſire the favour of a permiſſion to paſs through his country, and to offer what hoſtages ſoever the king ſhould require, to ſecure him againſt all injuries and harm; and *laſtly*, a free commerce with his ſubjects, for what neceſſaries the *Hebrews* might want, promiſing even to pay for their water, if the king demanded it. But his majeſty not at all pleaſed with the terms of the embaſſy, not only forbad him paſſage, but arming a great body of men, came out to meet *Moyſes*, with a reſolution to oppoſe him by violence, if an attempt was made to ſet foot upon his territories. *Moyſes* therefore drew back his army into the wilderneſs, with a deſign to purſue his journey in a circuit, (for upon conſulting the Oracle, he was commanded by the Divine Authority not to fight.)

About this time, upon the new moon of the month *Xanthicus*, (or *April*,) died *Mariam*, the ſiſter of *Moyſes*, in the fortieth year from their deliverance out of *Ægypt*; and with a ſplendid funeral, at the publick expence, was buried upon a mountain, which is called *Sin*. When the people had lamented her death thirty days, *Moyſes* purified them in this manner: The high prieſt taking an heifer that had never been put to labour, and was over all her body red, to a pleaſant place without the camp, there ſacrificed it, ſprinkling the blood ſeven times with his finger towards the Divine Tabernacle: As the whole heifer with ſkin and inteſtines lay a burning, he threw into the fire, *Cedar-wood*, together with *Hyſſop* and *Scarlet-wool*, all which being reduced to aſhes, are carefully gather'd up by a man of a pure and unſpotted life, and depoſited in a place without the camp. A little therefore of theſe aſhes being put into a veſſel, and fountain water added thereto, by a clean perſon, with a branch of *Hyſſop* dipped into this mixture, upon the third and ſeventh day, he ſprinkled thoſe that had been polluted by the dead; and ſo they needed no further purification. The ſame ordinance alſo too was appointed to be obſerv'd, when they had got poſſeſſion of the land of *Canaan*.

Thus the people, who had mourn'd for the ſiſter of *Moyſes*, being purified, he conducted them with all his forces by the way of the wilderneſs and *Arabia*; and arriving at a place, which the *Arabs* accounted their metropolis, (once call'd *Arce*, but now *Petra*,) every where ſurrounded with an high mountain, *Aaron* was told by *Moyſes*, that there he muſt die. *Aaron* therefore aſcending into a certain cliff of the mountain, in the ſight of the whole army, (for, where he ſtood, was right againſt them,) put off his prieſtly robes, and delivering them to *Eleazar* his ſon, to whom by prerogative of birth the prieſthood deſcended, whilſt the people were ſeriouſly looking upon him, exchang'd this life for a better; dying in the ſame year that he loſt his ſiſter, and at an age of an hundred and three and twenty years. But the day of his death, (according to the moon,) happen'd about the beginning of the month, which the *Athenians* call *Hecatombæon*; the *Macedonians*, *Lous*; and the *Hebrews*, *Abba*; (taken by ſome for *July*, by others, *Auguſt*, thought it included a part of both.)

CHAP. V.

How Moyſes, *after the Defeat of* Sichon *and* Oges, *Kings of the* Amorites, *and the Deſtruction of their Forces, gave their Territories to two Tribes and an half of the* Hebrews, *for an Inheritance.*

WHEN the time of mourning was expired, the people having deplor'd *Aaron* thirty days, *Moyſes* marching from the mountain, came with his army to the river *Arnon*, which taking its riſe from the mountains of *Arabia*, and bending its courſe through the wilderneſs, diſcharges itſelf into the lake *Aſphaltites*, dividing the land of *Moab* from the *Amorites*. The country is very fertile, and of itſelf produces plenty enough of every thing neceſſary to human life. From this place, *Moyſes* in a friendly way ſent ambaſſadors to *Sichon*, king of that region, deſiring liberty to march the army through his dominions, with a tender of ſubmiſſion to what conditions ſoever might beſt pleaſe him, in order to protect and ſecure him from injury, and his lands and ſubjects from detriment: Aſſuring him likewiſe, for the benefit of his ſubjects, all the people ſhould frequent their markets for every thing they wanted, even in the caſe a price was ſet upon water. But *Sichon* having denied the requeſt, immediately after drew out all his forces, reſolv'd in himſelf not to let the *Hebrews* paſs *Arnon*.

Moyſes finding the *Amorite* act the part of an enemy, by no means thought it reaſonable to put up the affront; determin'd therefore with himſelf to reſcue the *Hebrews* from an idle habit of life, and conſequently from poverty, which had frequently been the cauſe of their inteſtine diviſions, and a ſtate that even then they could not well bear, he made his addreſſes to Heaven for a permiſſion to begin the war. And the Great God having granted his petition, and alſo promiſed him the victory, *Moyſes* with an aſſur'd confidence prepares for battle, and encourages the hearts of his ſoldiers; intreating, and ſoliciting them to fulfil now their deſire of fighting, eſpecially ſince their MAKER had given them a permiſſion to become maſters of their wiſh.

The *Hebrews* upon this joyful conceſſion, which for a tedious ſpace of time they had earneſtly long'd for, inſtantly take to their arms, and with eager haſte enter the field of battle. No ſooner did they make the firſt attack, but the courage of the *Amorite* king did utterly forſake him; even the ſight of the *Hebrews* having not only diſpirited him, but ſo terrified his army, that they, who a little before affected to ſeem valiant, now ſhew'd every ſign of fear. Immediately therefore, without daring to ſtand the firſt onſet, or ſuſtain the force of the *Hebrews*, they gave way; imagining they ſhould find more ſafety in a retreat, than if they ſtaid to try the fortune of the battle: For they truſted much to the ſtrength of their towns, which however did them no manner of ſervice, in regard the *Hebrews* no ſooner ſaw them betake themſelves to flight, than they cloſely purſued; and as they had been put into confuſion, every thing was an addition to their fright. The *Amorites*, now that their army was in the utmoſt diſorder, endeavour'd to make an eſcape into the city, nor were the *Hebrews* backward and unwilling to purſue; but encouraging one another, particularly thoſe that were fatigued, to march on briſkly, as they were excellent ſlingers, and of all men the moſt expert in throwing the dart at a diſtance, and, from their light armour, quick and active in the purſuit, they ſoon came up with the main body of the enemy; and as for thoſe that had got too far to be reach'd with their hands, them they attacked with their ſlings and darts: Vaſt therefore was their ſlaughter, and the number of their wounded. Drought likewiſe oppreſſed them much, for it was in the greateſt heat of ſummer; for which reaſon not only many ſtragglers, but large bodies of them fled to the river to quench their thirſt; and here with darts, ſlings and arrows, the *Hebrews* made ſuch an havock of them, that not one of them eſcaped: *Sichon* alſo, their king, fell by the ſword. The *Hebrews* after the fight ſtript the ſlain, and fared ſumptuouſly upon the prey: For now they had all things in great abundance, and a great quantity of corn yet remain'd in the fields not cut down; wherefore the ſoldiers having ſubdued thoſe who had threatened them with hoſtilities, and killed their ſtouteſt men in battle, at this time, without all hazard, or impediment, go a foraging whither they pleaſed. This was the calamity that befel the *Amorites*, who had neither wiſdom in counſel, nor fortitude in the field. Thus the *Hebrews* enjoy'd their lands. This country is ſituated amidſt three rivers, very much like an iſland: Where it fronts to the ſouth, *Arnon* environs it; towards the northern ſide it is encompaſſed by *Jabacch*, which emptying itſelf into the river *Jordan*, loſes its name; and the reſidue that looks to the weſt, is waſh'd with the ſtreams of *Jordan*.

While matters were in this ſituation, a new war is commenced againſt the *Iſraelites* by *Oges*, king of *Galadena* and *Gaulanitis*, who brought an army in all haſte to give aſſiſtance to *Sichon* his friend and ally. But though in his march he had an information of the miſfortune and death of *Sichon*, yet nothing could diſſuade him from coming to an engagement with the *Hebrews*, not doubting in the leaſt, but he ſhould make an intire conqueſt of them, and in the mean time deſirous to have an experiment of their valour. He was however fatally diſappointed of his hope, for in the battle not only himſelf, but all his army periſh'd to a man. Then *Moyſes* croſſed the river *Jabacch*, and leading his army over the whole kingdom of *Oges*, both overturn'd their cities and put all the inhabitants to the ſword: Being men that exceeded in riches all the other natives of thoſe parts, as well on account of the fertility of the ſoil, as an abundance of wealth. *Oges* their king, had been a man of that ſize and beauty of body as is rare to be met with, and withal ſo valiant, that his famous exploits in all things anſwer'd his heighth of ſtature and comelineſs of ſhape. As to his uncommon ſtrength and gigantick bulk, they made a conjecture from a bed of his they took in *Rabatha* the royal city of the *Ammonites*; which bed being made of iron, extended in breadth four cubits, and in length was nine. Upon the deſtruction of this kingdom, affairs not only ſucceeded well with the *Hebrews* for the preſent, but in future time too the death of him was of no ſmall benefit to them. For they got the poſſeſſion of ſixty cities ſtrong and beautiful that had belong'd to him; and ſuch a prodigious quantity of prey, as enrich'd not only the public, but every private man.

CHAP. VI.

Of Balaam *the Prophet, and what Sort of Man he was.*

AFTER this *Moyſes* conducting his army towards *Jordan*, encamp'd in a large plain oppoſite to *Jericho*. The country is opulent and fruitful in *Palm-trees*, and the *Balm-tree*, which is the tree that produces the precious balſam, or *Balm of Gilead*. Now the *Hebrews* reſum'd their courage, and military renown ſeem'd to be their greateſt paſſion. Wherefore *Moyſes* after a return of gratitude in ſacrifices to God, and a feaſt exhibited to the people, ſent a ſufficient detachment of his army to depopulate and waſte the land of the *Madianites*, and by force reduce their cities. Which war took its riſe from the following cauſe:

Balac, king of the *Moabites*, by an antient league and friendſhip united to the *Madianites*, upon ſeeing the continual acceſſions of power that ſtrengthen'd and confirm'd the might of the *Iſraelites*, was overwhelm'd with no ſmall care and anxiety about his own dominions. Tho' he had not heard that the *Iſraelites* would go in queſt of any other land, (ſince the Majeſty of Heaven had forbid it) after they were arriv'd at the peaceable poſſeſſion of *Canaan*; notwithſtanding with more ſpeed than prudence, he concluded, it was his ſafeſt way to manage them by trick and cunning. And indeed to make war againſt men, animated with an happy ſeries of proſperous events, and in whom adverſity had but produced the greater courage, he could by no means judge conſiſtent with his intereſt; turning his endeavours therefore to prohibit, as far as in him lay, an increaſe of their power; full with this purpoſe, he ſent an embaſſy to the *Madianites*. The *Madianites* knowing that there was one *Balaam* liv'd near *Euphrates*, who, at that time, from general opinion, had the character of an eminent prophet, and a man, they believ'd, that would induſtriouſly ſerve them, with *Balac*'s ambaſſadors, ſent ſome of their own moſt honourable men, charg'd with a requeſt to the prophet, to come and curſe *Iſrael*. Upon their arrival *Balaam* receiv'd them with a kind hoſpitality; and having prepar'd ſupper for them, went to conſult the pleaſure of God, as to the deſire of the *Madianites*. But the Almighty charging him not to go along with them, he return'd to the ambaſſadors, and told them in a very friendly manner, he ſhould be proud to have it in his power to gratify their prayers and wiſhes, adding withal, he could not oppoſe himſelf to the will of God, from whoſe bounty flow'd all the skill and reputation he had acquir'd in ſpeaking and predicting the truth. For that army, ſaid he, you require me to come and curſe, is exceedingly belov'd of God: My advice therefore is, that, returning to your principals, you make it your buſineſs to perſuade them to renounce all enmity againſt *Iſrael*; and ſo he dimiſſed the ambaſſadors.

But the *Madianites*, upon farther and more preſſing inſtances of *Balac*, and ſweetened too with large promiſes, diſpatch another embaſſy to *Balaam*; and he, from an ardent inclination to ſatisfy their intreaties, applies himſelf again to the Divine Oracle; now the Divine Majeſty offended at this ſecond addreſs, commands him not to contradict the ambaſſadors. *Balaam*, not ſuſpecting that the command had been given him in wrath and indignation, ſtreight follows the ambaſſadors. But whilſt he purſued the journey, an angel of God met him in a certain narrow place, on each ſide fortified with a wall of ſtone. The aſs which carried *Balaam*, perceiving an angel ſtanding in the way, inſtantly turn'd out of her path with *Balaam*, towards one of the walls, notwithſtanding the ſtrokes that *Balaam* inflicted upon her, through a ſenſibility of pain, ariſing from a cruſh of his foot againſt the wall. But when, upon the angel's approach, the aſs, notwithſtanding his repeated blows, would not move forward but fell down, God having been pleaſed to open her mouth with an human voice, ſhe charged *Balaam* with injuſtice, in regard that though he had nothing to tax her with, as to former ſervices, yet he had now loaded her with ſtripes, not underſtanding that he was now reſiſted by the providence of God, and incapacitated from being of uſe to thoſe, whither he directed his courſe with ſo much haſte. In the mean time, as *Balaam* ſtood confounded and aſtoniſh'd at this accident, the angel came manifeſtly in his ſight, and reprov'd him for his barbarity to the aſs; becauſe the beaſt was not in fault, it was himſelf that oppoſed him, for having undertaken a journey contrary to the pleaſure of God. *Balaam* in a fright, deſir'd leave to go back again: But by an order from Heaven, he was commanded to proceed, as he had firſt intended, and expreſs himſelf to *Balac* in the manner that Divine Inſpiration ſhould lay before his mind.

Balaam, after this revelation of the command of God, went to *Balac:* Where, being magnificently entertain'd by the king, he made a requeſt, that he might be ſhew'd the way to the top of one of the mountains, whence he ſhould have the moſt diſtinct proſpect of the *Hebrews* in their tents. Wherefore the king himſelf in perſon with a royal attendance waited upon *Balaam* to a mountain, hanging over their heads, which from the *Hebrew* camp was diſtant ſixty furlongs. And when he had taken a view of them, he ſpoke unto the king, telling him to build ſeven altars, and prepare him the ſame number alſo of bulls, and of rams: Which deſire being ſoon obey'd, *Balaam* offers ſacrifices, with an hope that thence would be ſignified the cowardly flight of *Iſrael*. But he had no ſooner finiſh'd, than he ſpoke to this purpoſe:

O fortunate people! to whom God hath given the poſſeſſion of innumerable bleſſings, and whom with his Providence, in every circumſtance of life he will guide, protect and gladden. Certainly, no nation any where ſubſiſts, that ſhall ever merit a comparative light with you in valour, or attain to be like you in underſtanding and virtue: Theſe are the gifts muſt deſcend to your children, and they ſhall even exceed you; of all men, you are the moſt favour'd of God, and his bountiful hand ſupplies you, for which reaſon, in happineſs you ſhall ſurpaſs all that the ſun ſhines on. That country therefore, which he hath ſent you to poſſeſs, you ſhall obtain, and your poſterity for ever keep it: And the glory of their name ſhall fill both earth and ſea. The whole world in time will but ſuffice you; for every part of it, from your offspring, ſhall be furniſh'd with inhabitants. You may therefore wonder, O proſperous army! who, from one parent, have increaſed to ſo great a multitude. As yet the land of the Canaanites *may contain you, but I give you to know, that the whole earth one day ſhall be your perpetual reſidence; and being more in number than the ſtars of Heaven, in iſlands, as well as the continent, you ſhall ſpend your days. And when you have advanced to be thus great and numerous, even then the Mercy of God will follow you, beſtowing in the calm of peace, an affluence of all things, and in the ruffle of war, victory and conqueſt. Let your enemies burn with an inclination to fight you, and may they too at length be ſo tranſported, as to provoke you to take arms, and give them battle. They ſhall not any more, as they have done, return with victory, nor thence communicate joy to their wives and children. Thus hath the fortitude, with which you ſhall prevail, been exalted by the Providence of God, who can at once level the mighty with the ground, and lift up the miſerable to the higheſt honour.*

Theſe things indeed he plainly foretold, being at the time much beyond himſelf, and enlightened by the Power of God. But *Balac* at this propheſy loſing all patience, and crying out that he had a mind to violate the condition, by which only he could have a title to the great rewards promiſed him from his allies; for when he came with an intention to curſe his enemies, inſtead of that, he had openly praiſed them, and promiſed them too greater happineſs than all men: ‘O *Balac*, anſwer'd he, all things being diligently ſifted, canſt thou think it within our capacity how to ſpeak or be ſilent, when the ſpirit of God is upon us? For what words and ſpeeches ſoever are agreeable to his will, he makes us pronounce when we perceive it not. However I am not unmindful of thoſe particulars, the want of which determin'd you and the *Madianites* with great earneſtneſs to fetch me hither, and upon that account I came: And I had made it my wiſh, that I might oblige your deſire in all things. But I found a neceſſity upon me to pay an obedience to heaven in thoſe affairs, by which I had reſolv'd to gratify you. For they are moſt ignorant and weak, who, in occurrences of life, by the help only of their own invention, pretend to a judgment in future things; and are ſo far from ſaying any thing by Divine Inſpiration, that, as much as in them lies, they reſiſt the Will of God. Let it be remember'd then, that from the moment the Divine Spirit is infuſed into our breaſt, nothing more of ours falls from our lips. For, to tell you the truth, I neither had it in my mind with praiſes to extol this army, nor repeat thoſe great bleſſings which God hath decreed to beſtow upon their offspring. And as he is moſt bountiful and propitious to them, and infinitely provideth to make their life happy and their glory immortal, thoſe words he put into my mouth, and made me ſpeak according to his will. Now truly (for it runs much in my head, to do ſomething that may pleaſe thee and the *Madianites*, whoſe intreaties I cannot think lawful to refuſe) go to, let us erect other altars, and gifts and ſacrifices, in the ſame manner as before offer'd, it may happen that God will permit me to curſe this race of men.’ And when *Balac* had given him leave, and upon his performing ſacrifice again, Almighty Power would not ſuffer him to curſe the *Iſraelites*; but throwing himſelf down upon his face, he foretold what calamities would ariſe to many neighbouring kings and ſtately cities, ſome of which, at the time he ſpoke, were not ſo much as begun to be inhabited; telling likewiſe things that ſhould happen in future ages, to men both by ſea and land, down to our days. And ſince all matters hitherto have had an iſſue anſwering to his prophecy, we may thence form a conjecture, that the reſt of his prophecy, which has a reſpect to times ſtill to come, will alſo be fulfilled.

Balac taking in ill part, that he had not curſed the *Hebrews*, diſmiſſed *Balaam* without honour, who now ſet out upon his return to his own place; but as he came to croſs *Euphrates*, ſending for *Balac*, and the princes of the *Madianites*, O Balac, (ſaid he,) *and you* Madianites *here preſent, (for I cannot forbear, even contrary to the Will of God, to exert myſelf to the utmoſt to merit your favour;) the line indeed of the* Hebrews *ſhall never fail; neither by war, nor by plague, nor by famine, nor any other unforeſeen accident ſhall they come to ruin; for God has purpoſed by his Providence, to preſerve them from all evil, and ward off all misfortunes that might involve them in a general deſtruction. They ſhall, however, for a ſhort time, fall into ſome miſchiefs and diſtreſſes, through which, though they ſhould in appearance ſeem oppreſſed, and caſt to the ground, yet afterwards they ſhall flouriſh, from the minute of time that they begin to ſuſpect thoſe who have done them damage. But as for you, if for a ſmall time a ſtrong inclination leads you to get a victory over them, take but my advice, and you ſhall accompliſh your wiſh. Wherefore let the handſomeſt of your Daughters, whoſe beauty may be likely to prove too powerful for the modeſty of the ſpectators, be ſet out with all the luſtre and elegant ornaments of dreſs; let theſe be ſent out to walk in the ſight of the* Iſraelites, *before their tents; but forget not to give them inſtructions, not to be hard-hearted to the young gentlemen, who will probably invite them to a collation. And when once they find them irrecoverably loſt in love, and faſt in their nets, it will not be amiſs to make a ſhew then, as if they wanted of a ſudden to run away: And whilſt with tears in their eyes the youths beg them to ſtay, let not the ladies ſooner grant their requeſt, than they have perſwaded them, by renouncing their native laws, and the worſhip of God, who is the author of all their ſucceſs and proſperity, to ſerve the gods of the* Madianites *and* Moabites. *For by this means the Infinite Majeſty will inflict his wrath and indignation upon them.* So *Balaam*, after he had given them this advice, return'd to his own country.

The *Madianites*, accordingly in purſuance of his advice, ſending out the handſomeſt of their young women, the *Hebrew* youths are wonderfully taken with their graceful looks and beauty; and getting into converſation, make earneſt ſuit to the ladies not to deny them the great pleaſure of their amiable company. The ladies willingly receiving the propoſal, conſented: But when they had bound and fetter'd them with the chains of love, and ſaw them too in all the vehement agonies of deſire, they prepared to be gone. Then the youths, while the maids were upon the point to leave them, ſigh'd for very ſorrow, and with moſt humble inſtances begg'd they would not deſert them; but continue with them to be their wives, and miſtreſſes of all their fortunes. And this they confirm'd too with the ſolemnity of an oath, invoking the Moſt Sacred Name to ſtrengthen their proteſtations, and with tears, and all other methods, ſtriving to bring them to compaſſion. The maids now perceiving them wholly at their command, and wholly at their devotion, began to diſcourſe them in this manner:

For us, O beſt of youths, are reſerved our father's houſes, and an ample ſtore of wealth, nor are we without the love and affection of parents and relations. Yea, through the want of no ſuch thing are we come to talk with you, nor with a deſign to put our beauty to ſale have we lent an ear to your requeſts: But taking you to be good and juſt men, in condeſcenſion to your earneſt petitions, we have been brought to do you this favour. And now, in regard you pretend, you are mightily in love with us, and with unſpeakable grief affected at the thoughts of our going away, we do not reject your preſſing inſtances; but provided we ſhall once receive that aſſurance of your fidelity, which only can entitle you to an eſteem from us, we will willingly ſpend our days with you as lawful wives. For now there is danger, leaſt, when familiar converſation cools into a diſlike, you ſhould ſend us home to our Parents with ignominy and reproach. And that we take this neceſſary caution, we hope, you will forgive us. Then the youths faithfully promiſing to give them what ſecurity they pleaſed, and through the violence of paſſion and force of love in nothing contradicting them; *Since,* (added they,) *this is your pleaſure, and your cuſtoms and way of life differ vaſtly from others, not only reſtricting yourſelves to certain meats, but even not having drink common with other people; we think it neceſſary, if you will live with us, that you worſhip our Gods. For there can be no other certain teſt of your preſent love you profeſs to us, nor pledge of your future regard, without you conſent to the adoration of the ſame gods with us. Nor can it be reputed any fault to you, if you reverence the gods of the Country, into which you are come: Eſpecially ſince our gods are had in honour by all, but your God only worſhipped by yourſelves. Therefore,* ſaid they, *you muſt either regulate your belief and practice by that of others, or ſeek out of a new world, where you may live according to your own laws.*

The young gentlemen, becauſe of the violence of their affection, thought they could not ſufficiently praiſe their ſpeech: Whence it came to paſs, that, giving way to their demands and enticements, they came to violate their native laws. And being ſo blinded with love as to think there was a multitude of gods, they ſacrificed unto them after the idolatrous manner of thoſe nations, and ran diſorderly into the uſe of all their food; in every ſtep afterwards of their conduct, walking contrary to the law, for the ſake of theſe women: So that the ungovernable inſolence of theſe youths, ſpreading itſelf throughout the whole army, and a ſedition worſe than the former beginning to rage, it was to be fear'd, that their laws, yea, and their whole conſtitution, ſhould fall into a general neglect. For theſe youths having had once a taſte of foreign cuſtoms, were hurried away with an inſatiable deſire of more: And even many of the firſt quality, who bore an illuſtrious rank among the people, from the merit of their anceſtors, were infected with the ſame vicious inclinations.

Zambrias, the prince of the tribe of *Symeon*, who had taken to a familiarity with *Chosbia* the *Madianite*, daughter to *Sures* a prince of the nation, being deſir'd by the woman to contemn the laws of *Moyſes*, and liſten only to her requeſt; complied in complaiſance to her doing ſacrifice not after the manner of his own country, but of her's, and married a woman that was a foreigner. Whilſt this was the circumſtance of affairs, *Moyſes*, fearing that ſomething worſe might happen, upon a full meeting of the people, would not accuſe any of them by name, from this conſideration, that it was not prudent to throw thoſe into deſpair, who, if they were not publickly known, might ſoon return to a better ſenſe of things; he told them however, 'That they had committed ſuch iniquities as reflected diſgrace and reproach, not only upon themſelves but upon their anceſtors; that they choſe rather to indulge their wicked appetites, than ſerve God, and lead a life in conformity to his will: That they muſt of neceſſity, if they conſulted their own happineſs, come to a ſincere repentance, eſteeming true fortitude to conſiſt, not in offering violence to the laws, but in putting the bridle upon inordinate deſires. Beſides he gave them to remember, how abſurd it was for thoſe who had liv'd regularly and temperately in the deſart, ſo monſtrouſly to forget themſelves, when ſurrounded with an affluence of all things, as, to conſume in proſperity what was acquir'd in the day of diſtreſs.' Thus ſpake *Moyſes* to the aſſembly, who in what he ſaid, had no other intention, than to reclaim the youth and reduce them to a penitence for what was paſt.

After which, *Zambrias* riſing up, *Thou indeed, ſaid he,* O Moyſes, *mayſt obſerve the laws about which thou haſt taken ſo much pains, to which cuſtom has added great ſtrength and authority. Had it not been ſo thou hadſt often ſuffered puniſhment, and from experience learn'd, how unſafe it was to publiſh thy word among the* Hebrews. *For my part, I am reſolv'd never to yield obedience to what thou haſt ſo tyrannically impoſed, under the colour of law and religion, thou haſt by wicked arts brought upon us ſervitude, and ſovereignty to thyſelf; denying us pleaſure and the liberty of living as we will, which are the birthright of all freemen, whoſe ſpirits have not been brought to receive arbitrary fetters. He verily oppreſſes the* Hebrews *more than ever* Ægypt *did, who prohibits by the law, and puniſhes, what ever a compliance with our own inclinations prompts us to do. But much more juſtly thou deſerveſt puniſhment, who hadſt it in thy mind to aboliſh what by general conſent had been approved; and haſt ſo brought it about, that thy ſentence alone prevailed againſt the univerſal opinion of others. Since then, what I have acted at preſent is what I approve myſelf, I ſhall not afterwards make any difficulty to publiſh and confeſs it. A ſtrange woman, thou ſayſt I have taken to wife: (And thou heareſt truly from myſelf all my ſecrets, as from a freeman, nor has it ever enter'd my thoughts to conceal myſelf) and that I pay my reſpects to thoſe people, whom to regard, you reckon wickedneſs: I acknowledge it is ſo, and think it is but juſt to follow the deſires of my own heart, that at length I may come to my wiſh, and not live under a tyranny, repoſing all the hope of my life in thee. Nor is their a man in my circumſtances that dare to ſhew his face with more reſolution.*

When *Zambrias* had thus expreſſed himſelf, in relation to what both he and others had impiouſly committed, ſuch was the people's apprehenſions, that they had not one word to ſay, their fear doubling upon them, as well upon account of a future event, as the ſilence of *Moyſes*, who would no longer add fuel to the heat of an inſolent man; for he prudently foreſaw, that an intemperance of words in *Zambrias*, might prove a bad example, and upon the leaſt occaſion raiſe a diſturbance among the people; and ſo the aſſembly broke up. But in all likelihood the matter had not thus ended, if *Zambrias* had not been ſeaſonably cut off. *Phineas*, one of the chief of the youth, and from his father's high ſtation, among all of his own age, the moſt eminent, (for he was the ſon of *Eleazar* the high prieſt, and the nephew of *Moyſes*, in a deſcent from his brother,) overcome with an hearty ſorrow at the guilt of *Zambrias*, and willing to puniſh him with his own hand, before an impunity gave him time to tranſact more wickedneſs; and that he might hinder iniquity from infecting others, through want of vengeance upon its authors, (and he was of that fortitude of ſoul, and excellent ſtrength of body, that he no ſooner undertook an enterprize, than, let the danger be what it would, he carried his purpoſe to an end,) having purſued *Zambrias* into his own tent, with one thruſt of a javelin, pinned both him and *Chosbia* to the ground. And the reſt of the youths, who had any virtue remaining, and glowed with any ſenſe of honeſty, fired by his noble example, put to the ſword all they could meet with guilty of the ſame crime: Many therefore of thoſe, who had trampled upon their native laws, were in this manner cut off. But all the reſt periſh'd by the plague. Infinite Power inflicting upon them this diſeaſe; and as many of their relations, who, when they ſhould have reſtrain'd them, perſuaded to theſe courſes, being reckoned by Divine Juſtice equally ſinners, were likewiſe adjudged to death. There died therefore of the nobility and commons together, by this deſtruction, not fewer than twenty and four thouſand.

This was the cauſe, that *Moyſes*, in a paſſion, ſent an army utterly to deſtroy the *Madianites*; of which expedition we ſhall preſently give an account, after we have finiſhed that affair from which we have made a ſmall digreſſion; for I think it is but juſt, not to paſs (ſince we are upon this ſubject,) the merit of our lawgiver, without due praiſe. For *Balaam* (who, being ſent for by the *Madianites* to curſe the *Hebrews*, and was hindered from his purpoſe by the *Providence of God*, notwithſtanding gave ſuch counſel, as gave our enemies an opportunity to deprave, and almoſt ruin the whole people,) he has truly diſtinguiſhed with great honour, in giving his prophecies a place in Holy Writ. And when he might have eaſily claimed, and aſcribed to himſelf all the ſame and glory of them, yet has he left us an atteſtation to him, and tranſmitted his name to poſterity. But theſe things, every one as he pleaſes, ſo let him take.

CHAP. VII.

How the Hebrews, *giving Battle to the* Madianites, *put them to Flight, and obtained a ſignal Victory.*

MOYSES, for the reaſons above-mentioned, ſent into the land of the *Madianites* an army of twelve thouſand men, notable for valour, out of every tribe one thouſand; and appointed *Phineas* to be their general, whom we have already mentioned, as one that had preſerved the *Hebrew* laws and puniſhed *Zambrias* for the breach of them. The *Madianites* having got intelligence that an army was marching againſt them, and not a great way off, make ready all their forces, and poſting ſoldiers to guard the places, where they had any ſuſpicion the enemy might break in, in this poſture of defence expected them: But when the *Hebrews* came to an engagement, ſuch a multitude of the *Madianites* fell, as is beyond our conjecture to give the number, and all their kings were ſlain in the battle. Five kings there were, to wit, *Oëus* and *Sures*, likewiſe *Robees* and *Ures*, and the fifth *Recemus*, whoſe name one of the chief cities of *Arabia* bears, and to this day, in remembrance of the *Arabic* king who built it, is called *Areceme*, though by the *Greeks* it is known by the name of *Petra*. Upon the defeat and flight of the enemy, the *Hebrews* pillage the country, and taking much prey, put all the inhabitants, both men and women, to the ſword, giving quarters to none but virgins; for this *Phineas* had received in command from *Moyſes*. Then the victorious *Phineas* returned to the camp, bringing along with him very rich and valuable ſpoils; of oxen, fifty two thouſand; of ſheep, ſix hundred ſeventy five thouſand; of aſſes ſixty thouſand; and of gold and ſilver veſſels, and other furniture, a prodigious quantity; for, through an exceſs of riches, they wallowed in luxury. They brought with them alſo about thirty two thouſand virgins. Of this prey, *Moyſes* made a diſtribution, giving one fiftieth part of it to *Eleazar* and the prieſts, and to the *Levites* another fiftieth; then what remain'd, was parted among the people. After this, they lived well and comfortably, for as on one hand by their valour they had acquir'd an exceeding heap of wealth, on the other, there was neither ſorrow nor trouble to pall their enjoyments.

Moyſes being at this time advanced in years, and commanded by the *King of Kings* to devolve the ſupreme power upon *Joſhua*, nominated him as his ſucceſſor, in the capacity both of prophet and general, if there was occaſion: For *Joſhua* was a man of univerſal knowledge, both in Divine Law and Human, having had *Moyſes* for his inſtructor.

About the ſame time, the two tribes of *Gad* and *Ruben*, and an half of *Manaſſes*, abounding in a great number of cattle, and other things, with one conſent earneſtly begged and intreated *Moyſes* to give them for their inheritance the conquer'd land of the *Amorites*, as being very fit for the paſturage of cattle. But he, from a ſuſpicion that they wanted to be diſcharged from the war againſt the *Canaanites*, and had found the care of their beaſts as a feaſible pretence for their returning home in idleneſs, tells them, *They were moſt ſlothful perſons, and invented a ſpecious maſque for their cowardice: That they had a mind to riot in luxury, free from labour, whilſt all the reſt muſt bear fatigues, to become maſters of the* Promiſed Land; *refuſing the danger of the battles, by which only thoſe that paſs* Jordan, *can obtain their poſſeſſion, and ſubdue the people, whom God has commanded us to take for our enemies.* They, ſeeing their general highly diſpleaſed, and allowing too within themſelves that he had juſt cauſe to reſent their petition, made him this anſwer: *That neither the fear of danger, nor any effeminacy of mind, had determin'd them to make this petition, but their ſole motive was, that, having diſpoſed their cattle into proper and convenient places, nothing might encumber them from engaging cheerfully in all conflicts and battles. As for ourſelves,* continued they, *when, by your permiſſion, we ſhall have fitted up cities for the ſafety of our children and wives, and ſubſtance, without any farther concern we will march with the army.*

Moyſes being pleaſed with what they ſaid, ſent for *Eleazar* the high prieſt, with *Joſhua* and the reſt of the magiſtrates, and in their preſence made over to them the land of the *Amorites*, upon this condition, that they ſhould aſſiſt the confederate tribes with their forces, till they had made an intire conqueſt of the *Canaanites*. Accepting therefore the country upon theſe terms, and having fortified the cities with ſtrong works, in them they put their children and wives, and all other things that might prove troubleſome in their intended expedition.

Moyſes alſo in this country built ten cities, to be numbered amongſt the forty and eight that muſt be ſacred; three of which, by his order, were appointed for cities of refuge, whither thoſe who ſhould have the misfortune to commit involuntary murder, might fly for a protection: And the life of the high prieſt, under whoſe prieſthood the murderer flies, is to determine the time of exile; for at his death, the murderer may return to his own city, and his own houſe. During the time of his exile, the relations of the perſon kill'd, may by the law kill the manſlayer, if they meet him without the bounds of the city of refuge; but no one elſe has a liberty to hurt him. The cities appointed for this purpoſe, were theſe; *Boſora*, in the borders of *Arabia*; *Arimanum*, in the land of *Galadena*; and *Gauland*, a city of *Batanea*; but when they came to poſſeſs *Canaan*, the other three cities of the *Levites*, were, by the command of *Moyſes*, to be aſſigned for the reception of exiles.

The chief of the fathers of the tribe of *Manaſſes* having waited upon *Moyſes*, acquainting him that *Solopades*, one of the principal men of their tribe, was dead, leaving no male-iſſue, only ſome daughters, put the queſtion, *Whether theſe ſhould ſucceed to his inheritance?* *Moyſes* made anſwer, *If the Daughters of* Solopades *think fit to marry to one of their own tribe, their inheritance ſhould go along with them; but if they diſpoſed of themſelves in marriage to men of another tribe, their fortune muſt continue in their father's tribe.* And then he made a decree that every man's eſtate ſhould remain within his proper tribe.

CHAP. VIII.

Laws given by Moyſes, *and how he was taken from amongſt Men.*

BUT when forty years, all to thirty days, were expir'd, *Moyſes* having order'd the attendance of the people near *Jordan*, where now ſtands the city of *Abila*, (for it is a place beautified with *Palm-trees*,) and the whole army being met, open'd his mind in words to this purpoſe:

'Gentlemen, fellow-ſoldiers, and copartners in my manifold troubles and afflictions, it being the pleaſure of God, that I, who am now arrived at the age of an hundred and twenty years, ſhould depart this life; and his expreſs command that my help and aſſiſtance in your affairs ſhall determine on this ſide *Jordan*: I have thought it my duty even at this juncture, not to ſlacken my care for the common-weal, and when I ſhall have inſtructed you with the neceſſary foundations for a firm and laſting eſtabliſhment, and all things have ſucceeded to your wiſh, with gratitude commemorate me. For which cauſe alſo, having repreſented the method, how you may be happy yourſelves, and convey the ſame bleſſing to lateſt poſterity, I ſhall with cheerfulneſs reſign. And ſure I am, my teſtimony cannot but merit your belief, as well upon account of my paſt ſtruggles for you, as that the ſoul in its laſt exertions on this ſide of time, vaſtly riſes in its views through a communication with univerſal virtue. O children of *Iſrael*, *Omnipotence propitious*, is the cauſe alone of felicity to all men; for he only can diſtinguiſh the worthy, and defeat the meaſures of guilt; therefore, if you will religiouſly perform thoſe duties he hath ſet you, and I by his command enjoin; you ſhall never fall into misfortune, nor ceaſe to be happy and conſpicuous among men: Your preſent poſſeſſions ſhall not diſcontinue, and the future ſoon come forward. All that is required of you, is to give obedience to the will of God, and neither prefer another conſtitution, to the laws in being, nor in contempt of the piety which you now bear towards your maker, turn aſide to another worſhip. An obſervation of theſe precepts will render continual ſucceſs to your arms, and raiſe your puiſſance above the ability of all your enemies. For whilſt the favour and gracious aid of God ſupports you, defiance may be bid to all men. To you, are propoſed the great rewards of virtue, if you will but always follow after it. Virtue is of itſelf the firſt and moſt valuable of all bleſſings, and never fails to bring along with it an abundance of others: For whilſt you tread in her paths, your life will be proſperous, your renown greater than that of other nations, and your glory eternal. And theſe you ſhall obtain, if you keep, meditate upon and obſerve the laws, which, receiv'd from God, I give you. For myſelf, in high ſatisfaction I part with this world, now that I ſee you in proſperity, and can recommend you to the wiſdom of the laws, an excellent order of government, and magiſtrates of ſuch integrity as in all points will regard your intereſt. *Infinite Majeſty* likewiſe, who hath hitherto govern'd you, and by whoſe authority I have been enabled to do you ſervices, will not only at this time direct you, but as long as you follow the practice of virtue, continue his care and providence. *Eleazer* the high prieſt and *Joſhua*, and the ſenate and the magiſtrates of the tribes, will with joy explain to you thoſe things that concern your welfare: Whom I deſire you without reluctance to obey, aſſuring yourſelves of this, that thoſe who have learn'd how to obey, are the fitter afterwards to command, when they come into adminiſtration: Conſider alſo, that true liberty conſiſts in not murmuring at the commands of your governors. Whereas, now you place liberty in daring to repay your benefactors with contumely; which temper if you would but guard againſt for the future, affairs would ſucceed much better with you: Have a care you never riſe up againſt them with the ſame fury, that you have often preſum'd to level at me: For well you know, that my life has oftner been in danger from you than from our ‘enemies. This admonition I give you, not out of any reſentment or reproach (for it is not my intention upon the verge of life to bring up any thing into memory, that may be an occaſion of grief, ſince even at the time you vexed me moſt I was not in anger) but to teach you hereafter in this matter to behave circumſpectly, that upon a new acceſſion of riches, which, after you have paſſed *Jordan*, and conquered *Canaan*, will plentifully ariſe to you, no manner of inſults through pride and vanity may be done to your ſuperiors. For if once wealth carries you into a deteſtation and contempt of virtue, remember you will certainly forfeit the favour of God, whoſe vengeance, if you draw down upon yourſelves, you ſhall again loſe the land which you go to poſſeſs, with everlaſting ignominy, be defeated by all your enemies, and ſcattered through the world, fill all the earth with monuments of your diſobedience. But when you ſhall have made this experiment, repentance then will avail you nothing, nor the memory of laws not kept. Wherefore, that you may for ever inviolably preſerve theſe, as ſoon as you have ſubdued your enemies, leave neither root nor branch, but in conſideration of your own ſafety deſtroy them all, leaſt by ſuffering them to live, and learning their way, and following their cuſtoms, you ſhould by degrees warp, and at laſt totally ſubvert, the conſtitution. Beſides, I give it you in charge to throw down all their altars and groves and temples, and with fire aboliſh both their images and memory. For you can by this means only ſecure your own eſtates. To the end therefore, that through ignorance of what is great, good and laudable, your nature may never enervate and run into degeneracy, I have at once prepared laws for you, and a form of government by the ſpecial dictates of Almighty God, which, if you will obſerve, ſhall exalt your happineſs above the ſtate of all other men.’

Upon the cloſe of this diſcourſe, *Moyſes* delivered to them a book, in which were written the laws and conſtitution of the republick. Then they began to mourn, and heavily bewail the loſs of their general; and calling to mind the many dangers and pains he had ſuſtained for the common-weal, they could not help falling into a diffidence of future management, becauſe there was no probability they ſhould ever meet with ſuch another prince; and believing that *Infinite Majeſty* would be leſs propitious to them, becauſe the fervent prayers of *Moyſes* had been always honoured with a gracious return. Now with compunction they bewailed thoſe outrages had been done him in the wilderneſs; inſomuch, that the whole multitude diſſolving into tears, felt upon this account too great an affliction to be comforted by words. But *Moyſes* endeavoured to mitigate their grief; and bidding them not unman themſelves with tears, begged they would only regard and uſe the inſtructions he had left them; after which the aſſembly was diſmiſſed.

It is my deſign, after I have once premiſed a few things relating to the conſtitution of the republick, agreeable to the high virtue and dignity of *Moyſes*, and thence given my *Readers* to underſtand what was of old the nature of our conſtitution, in like manner to paſs on to an account of other matters. However, as all the Precepts of *Moyſes* are ſtill preſerved in writing, I will neither pretend to make an addition by way of ornament, nor advance any thing that he has not left us. This alteration only has been made by us, that we have thought it convenient to reduce them one by one to a certain method, which *Moyſes* could not then do, being obliged to ſet them down in the order of time he propoſed his inquiries with a ſubmiſſion to the Will of God. And this precaution I have been inclined to take, leaſt we ſhould incur the cenſure of any of the confederate tribes, who may light upon this treatiſe, as if we had deviated from *Moyſes*. What laws therefore principally regard the republick, we have diſpoſed in the following manner; for as to thoſe that he has left common amongſt us, and relate to private right, I refer to *A Commentary upon the Cuſtoms and their Reaſons*; which (God willing) after this work is finiſhed, I am reſolved to publiſh.

When you have got poſſeſſion of *Canaan*, and enjoy in peace and quiet your property, intending then to build more cities, if you keep theſe precepts, you ſhall at once do what is acceptable in the *Sight of God*, and, to yourſelves, confirm a ſure and laſting felicity. In the moſt beautiful, and for eminence, moſt illuſtrious ſpot of all the land of *Canaan*, which God, by prophecy, ſhall be pleaſed to determine, muſt one ſacred city be built. And within it, there muſt not be above one temple, and one altar, of ſtones not laboured, but compendiouſly raiſed, that cemented with plaiſter, may yield a pure and becoming aſpect. Nor muſt an aſcent be contrived with ſtairs, but virgin earth, gently moulded to a right form. In no other city muſt either altar or temple be; for *God is One*; and *One* the race of the *Hebrews*.

What perſons ſoever ſhall dare to blaſpheme *Almighty God*, let them be ſtoned to death; hanged up by the neck for a whole day, and buried with diſhonour and obſcurity.

At the city, where the temple is erected, let all the *Hebrews*, in what part of the country ſoever their eſtates lie, meet thrice in a year; that, with hearts full of gratitude, they may return praiſe to God for bleſſings hitherto received, and with earneſt ſupplications obtain a right to more in time to come: Alſo that they may perpetuate friendſhip, and mutual benevolence, by mutual enjoyments, and eſtabliſhing an intimacy between themſelves. Beſides, it is moſt conſiſtent with decency of manners, that thoſe who participate of the ſame deſcent, and obſerve the ſame laws, ſhould cultivate and retain an acquaintance; and this cannot but ariſe from an agreeable fellowſhip, whilſt with an interchange of kind looks and words, they remember the relation. For if once they renounce ſociety and mutual commerce, they will turn ſtrangers and aliens to one another.

Of all your fruits likewiſe, let a tenth part, without including what you are bound to pay to the prieſts and *Levites*, be ſet apart, and put to ſale in the country where you live, and the money thence ariſing, be applied for entertainments and ſacrifices within the holy city: For it is a debt of juſtice to make uſe of the profits of the land, which you have bountifully received of God, in honour of the *Giver*.

With the reward of a female proſtitute no ſacrifices ſhall be purchaſed; what effect ſoever of wickedneſs being an abomination to the Lord; for nothing can be baſer than a pollution of the body.

Alſo upon account of a dog's admiſſure to a bitch, whether under a pretence of the game, or cuſtody of cattle, let no man take a reward, with an intention to do ſacrifice therewith.

Let no man reproach the gods that have an eſteem amongſt other nations, nor ſteal what has been conſecrated by foreigners, nor pilfer a gift from one of thoſe gods.

Let no man amidſt you, preſume to wear cloaths interwoven with wool and linnen; for this only is the privilege of the prieſts.

When the multitude, at the feſtival of tabernacles, ſhall have preſented themſelves to ſolemnize the ſeptennial ſacrifices, the high prieſt, from a pulpit of a ſufficient heighth, whence he may be diſtinctly heard, ſhall recite the laws to the whole people: Let neither women, nor children, be debarred acceſs, nor even bond-ſervants. For it is a general duty to have the laws inſcribed upon the heart, and impreſſed upon the memory, that nothing can efface. By this means alſo they will refrain from ſin, ſince they cannot plead ignorance of what has been decreed by the laws. The authority likewiſe of the laws muſt of neceſſity be of great force to reſtrain offenders, as well becauſe hereby they come to know the puniſhments that attend guilt, as that, from an hearing the commands are inculcated firmly in their minds; ſo that their counſel and import being always preſent with every one, all may be ſenſible in what things a contempt, or diſregard, infers a fault or crime, and conſequently will bring detriment to themſelves. Let your children alſo, with early care, be taught theſe laws, as the beſt of diſcipline, and origin of all felicity.

Thrice likewiſe of a day, when firſt the light appears, and when an hour of ſleep approaches, let all with a grateful mind commemorate the *Mercies of God* from the day of our deliverance out of *Egypt*: The law of nature itſelf commanding gratitude for benefits paſt, in order to deſerve and invite the future: But upon their gates let them write the principal Bleſſings God hath conferred upon them, and upon their arms alſo, all of them ſhew the particulars: And what things ſoever are indications of the *Power of God*, and his benevolence towards them, let them be written upon their forehead and arm, as a publick teſtimony in all places of the favour of God.

But in every city there muſt be ſeven preſidents, excellently ſeen both in virtue, and the knowledge of equity: And each of theſe magiſtrates ſhall chuſe two aſſiſtants out of the tribe of *Levi*. Let thoſe therefore who may be called to the office of diſtributing juſtice in the cities, be had in all honour; nor let any one dare in their preſence commit an outrage, nor behave himſelf with the leaſt inſolence; a reſpectful deportment towards men in high ſtations, producing a dread that will not permit an offence againſt the *Fountain of Power*. To the judges is given an authority to pronounce what ſentence they pleaſe, unleſs it can be made out that they have taken bribes to pervert juſtice, or any other cauſe is ſhewn that comes up to a full evidence of an unjuſt decree. For it would be very wicked to conſtitute publick judicatures, with an eye either to private gain, or the dignity of any man; equity being in all things the rule of preference. For, if this was not their care, it might ſeem a contempt upon *Infinite Majeſty*, as if he would not direct an iſſue, to which they, from a fear of his power, had ſet their voices: *For Juſtice and Equity is the Power of God*. The Judge therefore that indulges men of quality, as far as his impious endeavour can reach, exalts them above, and derogates from the Power of God. But if the judges happen not to be capable to decide the ſuits that are brought before them, (accidents verily which are not infrequent amongſt men,) bring the cauſe, to the holy city, let them, and the high prieſt and prophet and ſenate meeting together, decide the matter according to juſtice.

Of one witneſs let not an evidence be taken, but from three, or at leaſt two; whoſe teſtimony muſt be confirmed by their preceding life. But women ſhall not be admitted to give evidence, becauſe of the natural levity and temerity of their ſex. Nor muſt bond-ſervants be brought as witneſſes, for the mean and grovelling qualities of their mind; who, it is not unlikely, either for gain, or through fear, will not atteſt the truth. But whoever ſhall appear to the judges to have teſtified a falſhood, upon conviction, let him incur the very ſame fate which he was to have ſuffer'd, againſt whom the perjury was levelled.

If upon a murder committed in a field, the perſon that did it cannot be found, nor any is ſuſpected through hatred to have killed him; with moſt exact care let a ſearch be made after the manſlayer, and a reward appointed to forward the diſcovery. But when no notice can be had, the magiſtrates of the towns contiguous to the field where the murder was done, together with their ſeveral ſenates, muſt meet, and every where round about the place where the dead lies meaſure the ground. After this, the magiſtrates of the town which is next the ſlain, ſhall bring an heifer, that they have bought, into a valley and place not fit for the plough and ſowing, and cut open the ſinews of the heifer: Then the prieſts and *Levites*, and ſenate of the town, taking water, and waſhing their hands over the head of the heifer, ſhall make proclamation, that they are innocent of the ſlaughter, neither having committed it, nor been preſent at the doing of it; and therefore pray, that God may for ever be propitious to them, and that no ſuch cruel deed may happen afterwards within the land.

A government, where the adminiſtration is lodged in the nobility, is certainly the beſt to live under: Nor let a deſire of another inſtitution of the republic ever enter your thoughts, but be content with this, acknowledging the laws for your governours, and taking their direction in all things, as your guide: For all ſufficient is God to be your higheſt ſovereign.

However, if you ſhould grow into an inclination to take a king, let him be your relation, and one who may be indefatigable in his care of Juſtice, and the reſt of the virtues. But in wiſdom let him yield to God and the laws: and attempt nothing without the concurrence of the high prieſt and ſenate: Neither uſing many wives, nor coveting vaſt ſums of money, or a multitude of horſes; which being once obtained, he may likewiſe think himſelf ſuperior to the laws. But, if he ſhould affect any ſuch thing, let him be hindered from riſing into a power, that may be inconſiſtent with your intereſt.

The bound-ſtones of the land muſt not be moved, neither of your own nor others, with whom you are at peace: But have a care how you take them away, as a firm ſeal of heaven therein ſet for ever to continue; for often wars thence ariſe and ſeditions, becauſe the covetous will venture beyond the marches. Nor indeed are thoſe far from an inſurrection againſt the laws, who remove the marks of the land out of their place.

He, who has laid out a nurſery in his ground, if the trees in leſs than four years produce fruit, ſhall neither make an oblation of the firſt fruits, nor apply them himſelf in food: In regard they did not come in due time; all unſeaſonable efforts of nature being unfit both for Divine Service, and the proprietor's own uſe.

Upon the fourth year, however, he may reap the increaſe of every thing, (for then is the ſeaſon,) and being gathered, carry them to the holy city, and ſpend them with the tenths of other fruits, feaſting with his friends, and with orphans, and women that have loſt their huſbands. But upon the fifth year, we give him a power to take in all the fruits of his own occaſions.

A land planted with vines ſhall not be ſowed. For it is enough to nouriſh one kind, and be free from the labour of the plough. With oxen let the ground be tilled, and no other animals joined in the yoke with them. Alſo let always beaſts of a ſort be matched together for the plough. The ſeeds you ſow muſt be pure and unmixed; not two or three blended together; for nature is diſpleaſed at an aſſociation of things unlike. Neither to cattle admit ſuch as are not of the ſame kind; for thence there is a danger, that men may diſgrace themſelves with horrible mixtures; a light and trivial beginning ſometimes uſhering in monſtrous conſequences. Nothing therefore of this nature muſt be permitted, that from an impious imitation may bring a ſcandal upon the republic. For which reaſon the laws neglect not even the moſt minute occurences, with this prudent regard, that every part of the conſtitution may be ſo ſettled as to leave no room for cenſure.

In cutting down, and gathering in their harveſt, let not the owners glean their corn; But even let them drop ſome handfuls in compaſſion to the needy, that unexpectly may give them comfort, and be found for their relief. In like manner of the vintage, leave ſmall bunches of grapes to the poor; of your olive fruits alſo paſs over ſome, that thoſe may refreſh themſelves with it, who cannot afford any of their own. For verily from a gleaning of ſuch things the advantage to the owners is but ſmall, whereas, when this is not done, a great ſatiſfaction to a good man comes from the prayers and thanks of the neceſſitous: And God will make the land to bring forth all manner of fruits in great abundance, whilſt they continue to have a regard not only to their own profit, but the diſtreſſes of others. You ſhall not muzzle the mouths of oxen that tread out the corn upon the floor: For it would not be juſt to deny them a part, that have together laboured with you, and often been wearied by their labour towards bringing it to perfection. Neither hinder travellers from a taſte of your ripe fruits, but let them fill their bellies with them as if they were their own, whether they be natives are foreigners, rejoicing that they have fine fruits to give them a ſhare: Let them however carry nothing away. Nor ſhall the maſters of the vintage forbid thoſe whom they meet, from eating of their grapes and olives, or other fruit that is carrying home to the preſs. For it is not honeſt to grudge the goods, (which by the will of God, are deſigned for food,) to thoſe who have a mind to taſte them in the ſeaſon, at once flouriſhing and in haſte to be gone, according to the pleaſure of God. Moreover, if any through modeſty ſhould be in a doubt to touch them, ſuch muſt have an invitation to take, the *Iſraelites* truly, as being of the ſame ſociety, and from kindred copartners in their eſtates; but the men that arrive from other countries, they muſt intreat to except their hoſpitable gifts, which God hath ſent them in their ſeaſon. For no man muſt reckon it an expence to thoſe to be bountiful to others, ſince God gives a plenty of good things, not only for one's own enjoyment, but alſo to be liberal to others; and it is his will, that in this manner all men may know his favour towards *Iſrael*, and the happineſs he has raiſed them to, whilſt with others they communicate what has been abundantly ſupplied to themſelves. But he, who refuſes obedience in theſe things, ſhall publicly receive thirty-nine laſhes from the common beadle: Which moſt ignominous puniſhment let a freeman ſuffer; becauſe by a ſlave-like drudgery to gain, he has diſgraced his character. For as to you, who have had an experience of calamities both in *Ægypt* and in the wilderneſs, it will be moſt laudable to take pity of thoſe that feel the like neceſſities; and having received an abundance of wealth from the mercy of Divine Providence, from the ſame conſideration extended it liberally to them that want.

Over and above the two tenths which I have ordered ſhould yearly be paid, the one of them to the *Levites*, the ſecond for entertainments, every third year, let a third part be appropriated for the relief of thoſe that are widows, and children that are orphans. But of ripe fruits, whatever comes to hand firſt, let them bring into the temple; and with grateful voice having praiſed God upon account of the land he has given them, and performed ſacrifice in obedience to the law, let them give the firſt fruits to the prieſt. Theſe things when any one has done, and alſo brought the tenths of all, together with the firſt fruits, which either were to be paid to the *Levites*, or beſtowed in feaſting before his return home, ſtanding over againſt the temple, let him give thanks to God, that delivered them from the ſore oppreſſion of *Ægypt*, and has bleſſed them with the poſſeſſion of a large and fertile land: And having declared that he has made payment of the tenths according to the laws of *Moyſes*, let him humbly pray God, always to be bountiful and propitious to him, and continue to be mercifully preſent with all the *Hebrews*, protecting them in the poſſeſſion of what he has beſtowed upon them, and graciouſly adding to their happineſs.

When youths are arrived at an age fit for a married ſtate, let them take to wives freeborn virgins, deſcended of honeſt parents: However he, who has no mind to wed a virgin, let him not join himſelf to one, whom he has corrupted, and that lives with another, leaſt he ſhould give an affliction to her former huſband. Likewiſe free-men ſhall not marry bond-ſervants, how great ſoever their love may be. For, as a regard to what is decent ſhould weigh more than wild deſire, ſo this is the only way by which every one may preſerve the dignity of life. Moreover, no man muſt enter into matrimony with a whore, whoſe nuptial ſacrifices God will not accept, becauſe ſhe has brought a reproach upon her body. And thus, the diſpoſition of the children will be generous and inclined to virtue, if they have not ſprung from baſe marriages, nor by the wicked taſte of thoſe who have kept company with a woman that is not free-born. If a man ſhall be contracted to one whom he believed to be a virgin, and afterwards finds himſelf diſappointed, let him begin his action and accuſation, uſing ſuch proofs as he can bring to make the matter evident. But the woman's cauſe muſt be ſupported by her father or brother, or thoſe who next to them are neareſt of kin to her. And if it ſhall appear to the judges, that ſhe has not been in fault, ſhe may continue to live with her accuſer, he having no power to put her away, without ſhe gives him ſuch provocations, as cannot be contradicted. But if he has laid this crime and calumny through imprudence and raſhneſs, let him ſuffer puniſhment, receiving forty laſhes, and pay to her father fifty ſickles. But if he brings ſtrong evidence that ſhe had been defiled, and is one of the people (becauſe ſhe has not with prudence defended her virginity to the time of marriage) let her be ſtoned to death: And if ſhe be a daughter of one of the prieſts, let her be burnt alive. If any one has two wives, and he treats one of them with great honour and kindneſs, for love or beauty, or ſome other cauſe, but the other with leſs regard and affection; if the ſon of the favourite wife, being younger than him begot upon the other, ſhould, for the father's love to his mother, endeavour to fill the place of an elder ſon, in order to get a double portion of the paternal inheritance (for this I have taken care of amongſt the laws) let him not obtain his purpoſe. For it is unjuſt, that the eldeſt, from a ſmall inconvenience upon the mother-ſide, ſhould be defrauded of that which is his due by birth.

He, who diſpoils a maid contracted by another man of her honour, if indeed he has perſuaded her, and to her own ſhame got her conſent, ſhall together with her be put to death. For both of them are alike naught: He, for having enticed a virgin to run headlong into a moſt vile act, and prefer it to an honourable marriage; and ſhe for agreeing, for ſenſual appetite or gain, to give him acceſs to commit the wickedneſs. But if he has met her any where by herſelf, and raviſhed her, none being preſent to lend aſſiſtance, the man alone ſhall ſuffer death. He who lies with a virgin not affianced to another man, ſhall take her to wife. But if her father is not willing to beſtow her upon him in marriage, then muſt the man pay down fifty ſicles by way of fine for the damage. He, who from what reaſon ſoever, wants to part with his wife that lives with him, (for many ſuch caſes happen amongſt men) muſt give it her in writing, that he will have no more to do with her. And by this means ſhe ſhall have a liberty to marry another. But before this is done, ſhe cannot take the privilege. But if it falls out, that ſhe likewiſe ſuffers abuſe by her next huſband, or, that, upon the death of this, the former huſband would take her back again to wife, it ſhall not be granted her to return.

When a man dies without children, let his brother marry the widow, and the firſt boy born of her be called after the name of the dead, and bred up as an hope and ſucceſſor of his inheritance. If this be done it will both be much to the advantage of the republick; whilſt families are not permited to fail, and eſtates kept among relations: And it will lighten the grief of the women, to be married to men ſo near in blood to their firſt huſbands. But if the brother abſolutely refuſes to marry her, the woman ſhall teſtify this before the ſenate; that being willing to continue in the family and have children by him, he would not accept her, doing an injuſtice to the memory of his dead brother. And the ſenate, having demanded a reaſon, why he appears to have an averſion to the marriage, whether he gives a real or pretended one, muſt be ſatisfied with it. Then the wife of his deceaſed brother having drawn off his ſhoes, and ſpit in his face, may tell him he deſerves no better treatment from her, becauſe he had done an injury to the name of the dead. And he muſt go from the ſenate, with a note of ignominy for life: But ſhe may give herſelf in marriage to the firſt man ſhe likes that aſks her the queſtion. If any one has brought home a captive virgin, or a woman that has been married, and comes to a reſoa reſolution to make her his wife, let him not firſt touch the bed, and familiarly converſe with her, till ſhaved and in a funeral habit, ſhe has mourned her relations and friends, that periſh'd in the battle: To the end, that when ſhe ſhall have overcome the ſorrow, which ſhe feels for the loſs of them, ſhe may thus, at length, turn her thoughts to jollity and marriage. For it is a decent and reaſonable thing, that he, who takes a woman with a deſign to have children by her, ſhould have a regard to her pleaſure, and not refuſe her deſires, by following only his own will. When once thirty days are paſt in mourning, (for theſe are reckoned by wiſe people a ſufficient time to bewail the dead,) then he may marry her. But if converſation ſhould bring a diſguſt, and he abhors the thought of taking her to wife, let him not have the power to make her a bond-ſervant. But the woman, by the liberty which ſhall be given her, may go where ſhe pleaſes.

What youths ſoever contemn their parents, and give them not due honour, affronting them either with ſome reproach or malicious provocation, let the parents firſt reprove them with words, (for they commonly are fit judges,) and tell them, *That they had married not with a view of pleaſure, nor join'd their eſtates together, in order to come at an heap of wealth; but with an intent to have children, who might ſupport them in their old age, and ſupply them with all things, that at laſt they might not happen to want.* Adding, that *giving moſt humble thanks to God, for favouring us with a ſon, we have educated thee with all care, grudging no coſt, that ſeem'd neceſſary either for thy health, or the improvement of thy mind in excellent knowledge. But now (for we muſt give ſome indulgence to the errors of youth) we would have thee think it enough, that thou haſt hitherto fail'd in the regard due to us, return therefore to a ſound judgment; conſidering with thyſelf, that God likewiſe is highly offended at thoſe things, which are committed againſt parents; ſeeing himſelf is the Father of all mankind, and looks upon it as a contempt of him, when thoſe who are dignified with the ſame name, receive not that reſpect which is due to them from their children. And beſides, in ſuch caſes the law gives a ſentence, from which there is no appeal; be it far therefore from thee to try the experiment.* If with this admodition the youth is reform'd, let him be free from all farther chaſtiſement. For by this means the lawgiver ſhall be had in reputation, and the parents be reckon'd fortunate, who have neither ſeen a ſon or daughter puniſh'd. But if their words and inſtructions for amendment, appear to have profited nothing; but by continued provocations againſt their parents, they come at laſt to forfeit all mercy from the laws, let the perſon or perſons guilty be brought by the parents themſelves without the city, the multitude following them, and ſtoned to death; and after they have been hang'd for one whole day, in the ſight of all mankind, let them be buried in the dark of the night. After the ſame manner let all come to be treated, who have been condemned for a capital crime. But let even enemies be buried, and let no dead perſon lie without a ſpot of earth to cover him, ſuffering a puniſhment beyond what is conſiſtent with juſtice.

We forbid by a law, to take uſury of any of the *Hebrews*, either for meat or drink. For it is not juſt to mix with our eſtates, what ſhall ariſe from the miſeries of our brethren: But the man who lends them aſſiſtance, ſhould compute amongſt his gains, as well the thanks of thoſe he may relieve, as the certain reward he ſhall meet with from God for his humanity.

But ſuch as have borrowed, either ſilver, or any ſort of fruits, either moiſt or dry, if affairs, by the bleſſing of God, ſucceed to their wiſh, with a greatful and cheerful mind, let them return them to their creditors, as perſons that only have them in depoſit, and will, if they happen to want, reſtore them. But if the debtors act unjuſtly, with regard to payment, and make unneceſſary delays, the law permits not them, that enter their houſes to take the pledges, before they have had the decree of a judge; however, they may, ſtanding without doors, aſk the pledge, and let the debtor himſelf fetch it to the creditor, in nothing contradicting him, who makes his demand by authority of the law. And if the man be rich who gave the pledge, let the creditor detain it, till the loan is ſatisfied: If poor, the creditor ſhall give it him back before ſun-ſet, eſpecially where the pledge conſiſts of wearing apparel, to the end he may have ſomething to defend himſelf from the cold in his ſleep; for the Great God extends his mercy to the poor. But let no man take a mill, and inſtruments belonging to it in pledge, leaſt by the want of theſe, they ſhould be deprived of means to prepare food, and conſequently fall through their great poverty into very great hardſhips.

He that ſteals a man, ſhall certainly be puniſhed with death: But he who has ſtole gold or ſilver, muſt reſtore it double. Any man may kill a perſon that endeavours to rob his houſe, even, in the caſe he found him only in an attempt to dig through his wall; and the law ſhall bear him harmleſs. He, who hath ſtole a beaſt, ſhall make a four-fold reſtitution, except it be an ox, for then he muſt reſtore five oxen. But the perſon who cannot pay, muſt be made over as a ſervant to thoſe, for whoſe uſe he ſtands adjudged to lay down the fine.

When a man is ſold to any one of his confederate tribes, he ſhall ſerve him ſix years, and have his liberty on the ſeventh. But if he ſhould take a reſolution to ſtay with the buyer, either out of affection to children he may happen to have by one of the ſlaves, or from gratitude to his maſter for kindneſſes received, let him at the year of jubilee, (which falls out every fiftieth year,) be ſet at liberty with his wife and children.

He, who finds either gold or ſilver upon the road, after enquiring who loſt it, and ſignifying by the crier, the place where it was found, if the owner comes to be known, ſhall then reſtore it, conſidering with himſelf that it is not honeſt to reap advantage by another's loſs. In like manner alſo, as to cattle that one may find wandering in the deſert, till the owner can be heard of, he may keep them amongſt his own, calling God to witneſs, that he will not act unjuſtly by his neighbour.

No man ſhall paſs by his neighbour's beaſt that he ſees lying in diſtreſs, ſtuck faſt in the mud by ſtormy weather: But let him aſſiſt and relieve it, thinking it his duty and proper buſineſs ſo to do.

Let every one ſhew the ways to paſſengers that aſk them; and not, for the ſake of a little laughter, hinder the profit of another, by ſending him out of the road.

In like manner, let no man throw reproaches upon an abſent, or a dumb man.

If any man is wounded in a ſcuffle, where no inſtrument of iron is uſed, let him inſtantly be puniſhed who did the injury in the ſame manner. But if he ſhall continue ill for many days at home, and afterwards die, let not the perſon be puniſhed who gave him the blow. But if he ſhould recover, and has ſpent a great deal upon his illneſs, let him be repaid all that has been laid out for medicine during the time of his confinement, and alſo the fees given to his phyſicians. He that kicks a woman with child, and thence an abortion follows, ſhall be fined by the judges, from this conſideration, that he has diminiſhed the people, by deſtroying the fruit in the womb: Beſides, he ſhall be bound to pay money to the woman's husband. But if ſhe dies of the blow, he likewiſe ſhall ſuffer death; the law judging it reaſonable, that life ſhould go for life.

Let none of the *Iſraelites* keep by them any drugs, that are either deadly, or made up with a deſign for other miſchief. Whoever therefore happens to be ſeized with ſuch things about him, let him be condemned to death, ſuffering the ſame evil he had intended to thoſe who were to have received the poiſon.

He that has maimed another, ſhall meet with the ſame fate, forfeiting the like member; unleſs the perſon maimed chuſes rather to take money; the law impowering the injured perſon to make an eſtimate of the damage ſuſtained by the accident, and permitting him to do this, except he has a mind to be more cruel.

When an ox puſhes with his horns, the maſter ſhall give orders to have him ſlain. But if he has wounded and killed any man, let him be ſtoned to death, and his carcaſe thrown away, not to be eaten by men. And if the owner ſhall be convicted, of having previouſly known the vicious nature of the beaſt, and hath not kept him within doors, let him alſo be put to death, as being the cauſe that the man was killed by the ox. And in the caſe, that an ox has killed either a man or a maid ſervant, let him alſo be ſtoned to death; but the maſter of the ox, ſhall pay thirty ſicles to the maſter of the perſon killed. Moreover if one ox ſtrikes his horns into another ox, ſo that he dies, both the dead one and the puſher ſhall be ſold, and the money equally divided between the two maſters.

Thoſe who ſink a well or pit, muſt take great care to make a defence of boards round them, not ſo as to hinder people from drawing water, but only to prevent the danger of falling into them. But if the beaſt of any man happens to die, by a fall into one of theſe unfenced pits, he who dug the pit ſhall pay the value to the owner. Likewiſe let the roofs of your houſes be ſurrounded with ſomething, which, ſupplying the place of a wall, may guard and preſerve you from falls and death.

He who has received a truſt, ſhall keep and ſecure it like a thing ſacred and venerable; and let no one, either man, or woman, attempt any thing with a view to defraud him who gave it them in charge; even ſuppoſing that great gain ſhould thence ariſe, and the matter might be ſo concealed that none could accuſe them. For it is moſt juſt and reaſonable, that all mankind ſhould behave honeſtly, aſſuring themſelves that their own minds are conſcious of whatever they do, (and ſince every one is a ſufficient witneſs to his own actions, let him always ſtudy to deſerve the praiſe of others,) remembering, eſpecially, that all your tranſactions ſtand manifeſt and open in the ſight of God, from whom no wicked man can hide himſelf. However, if the perſon entruſted, has innocently loſt the depoſit, he muſt go before ſeven judges, and make oath, that nothing has been loſt by his will and fault, nor any part thereof uſed by him, and ſo he ſhall clear himſelf. But, if he has ventur'd to put to his own uſe, the leaſt part of any thing that belonged to the creditor, and then loſes it, he ſhall be bound to reſtore the whole that he has received. In like manner as in depoſits, if any one detains the wages of thoſe who labour with their bodies, let him call to mind, that an hire of the poor man is not to be withheld, and let him conſider, that God has given him a right to wages, in the room of lands and other poſſeſſions. Let nothing therefore retard payment, but ſatisfy him the ſame day: For it is the pleaſure of God, that the labourer ſhould not be defrauded, even ſo much as a minute of time of the fruit of his labour.

Let not the children ſuffer for the wickedneſs of parents; but rather account them worthy of pity, and of eſteem, (upon account of their own innocence, which is not ſullied by their being deſcended of impious parents,) than proſecute them with hatred for what is none of their fault. Neither are the ſins of the children to be charged upon the parents: For youth very often take a diſtaſte to learning, allowing themſelves in many things, that they were never taught by their parents example.

Let all men abhor *Eunuchs*, and ſhun their converſation who have loſt their manhood, and the fruit of generation, which God has beſtowed upon man, towards an increaſe of the human ſpecies. But let them be drove away as thoſe that have killed their children, and deſtroyed their birth by cutting off that, whence they ſhould have proceeded, (for it is very plain, that they, who have weakened the ſpring of their mind, muſt alſo have effeminate bodies.)

bodies.) Baniſh likewiſe whatever the ſpectators take to be a monſter. The law commands you, neither to caſtrate men, nor other animals.

If the republick is governed by this body of laws in time of peace, God will preſerve and defend their integrity from the ſhocks of ſedition; but it is to be hoped you will not innovate, or make any alterations. However, becauſe ſuch is the neceſſary viciſſitude of affairs, that mankind muſt either involuntarily, or by choice, ruſh into tumults and dangers, let us not even neglect a few precautions in this caſe, to the end that foreſeeing what may happen, you may not be deſtitute of what will be of uſe to you in the day of danger; nor being then at a loſs what to do, fall unprovided into calamitous times. God grant, that in peace and tranquillity you may poſſeſs the land, which his bleſſing upon your labours, and exerciſe of virtue, will give you; and may no pernicious invaſion of foreigners, or inteſtine commotion hurt you, through which, being prompted to forſake the cuſtoms of your anceſtors, you may deſtroy the conſtitution; and that alſo you may never ceaſe to regard the laws which God has approved and given you.

If any war ſhould happen, either now in this your age, or afterwards afflict your poſterity, I wiſh the ſcene of action may not lie within your native country. But before you enter into a war, ſend Embaſſies and Heralds to thoſe that threaten an invaſion; for it is expedient, before hoſtilities are commenced, to make uſe of perſuaſion, declaring, that you, though an army is in readineſs, with horſes and arms, and above all, God himſelf propitious, and your helper, you would notwithſtanding rather decline it, and the ſpoil of their riches, than bring to yourſelves an envied gain. And indeed if they will hearken to you, it is fit to preſerve the peace: But, if truſting too much to themſelves, (as if they were by much your ſuperiors in ſtrength,) they ſeem reſolved to do you an injury, lead your army againſt them, in the firſt place, repoſing all your truſt in God, as your chief commander; then chooſe one from amongſt yourſelves of the moſt conſpicuous valour, to command in battle. For where many have an authority, beſides the detriment which it muſt needs give to thoſe, whoſe intereſt conſiſts wholly in expedition, even the very method itſelf never fails to cover with ſhame the perſons that make uſe of it. But let an army of valiant men be choſen, remarkable as well for ſtrength of body, as fortitude of mind, rejecting all the faint-hearted; leaſt, when the battle begins, by taking themſelves to flight, they ſhould give an advantage to the enemy. And thoſe who have lately built houſes, and have not enjoyed them for one year, and who have raiſed a nurſery, but have not partaken of the fruits, let them be permitted to ſtay at home; giving the ſame privilege to ſuch who have entered into a treaty of marriage, or been newly wedded: Leaſt for theſe reaſons, cautious of life, and preſerving themſelves for enjoyment, they ſhould renounce the brave part of the man, and incline wholly to the woman.

When you have reſolved upon war, and raiſed your army, let it be your care to do nothing cruel and wicked. When you beſiege a city, and want wood to make your engines, deface not the land, by cutting down tender and fruitful trees; but ſpare them, recollecting that they had their being for the profit of men; and that, if they were able to ſpeak, they would expoſtulate with you, how contrary to their merit, and without any juſt grounds, they had been ill uſed, as having had no hand in the war, and certainly would thence inſtantly depart, and take up their reſidence in another country, if it was but in their power. But when you have overcome your enemies in battle, kill every one that made a ſtout oppoſition; as to the reſt, tie them down to be ſlaves, excepting the nation of the *Canaanites* only: For theſe you muſt of neceſſity deſtroy to a man.

Beware, however, and eſpecially in armies, that a woman be not ſeen in maſculine habit, nor a man decked out with the trinkets of a woman.

This was the excellent inſtitution of the republick at this time; but ſome other matters were regulated by him about forty years before, and theſe we ſhall refer to another book. And upon the following days, (for by his order the people were every day called together,) he beſtowed upon them his hearty bleſſings, together with heavy curſes upon thoſe who would not give obedience to the laws, but act in contradiction to them. Then he repeated a *prophetical Song*, which he has left us in Holy Writ, containing a prediction of things future, agreeable to which, all events hitherto have come to paſs, and do daily happen; nor has he failed in one particular from the truth. He gave the books wherein thoſe things were written to the prieſts, together with the ark, in which he had depoſited the *Ten Commandments* written in two tables, and the tabernacle. He likewiſe admoniſh'd the people, that, when they had ſubdued the land of the *Canaanites*, and got the peaceable poſſeſſion, they ſhould not put up the miſchiefs that had been done them by the *Amalekites*: But undertaking an expedition againſt them, take vengeance of thoſe injuries, with which the *Amalekites* had oppreſſed them, whilſt they continued in the *Deſert*.

When you ſhall have made the conqueſt of *Canaan*, and utterly deſtroyed (as is neceſſary,) all the inhabitants, you ſhall build an altar with an aſpect to the riſing Sun, not far from the city of *Sichem*, placing it between two mountains, *Garizim* towards the right hand, and that which is called *Gibal*, upon the left: And dividing the army into two bodies, ſix tribes in a body, aſſign them their quarters upon the two mountains, and together with them the *Levites* and the prieſts. And firſt of all, thoſe placed upon *Garizim*, ſhall humbly pray for happineſs to them, who ſhall be fervent worſhippers of God, and obſervers of the law he had given them, and had not neglected the kind admonitions: The ſix other tribes ſhall give their beſt wiſhes to the confederates, and whilſt theſe again continue praying, the former ſix tribes ſhall ſing praiſes. Then likewiſe they muſt pronounce curſes againſt the wicked, mutually ratifying and approving what one and other ſaid. But he committed to writing both the prayers for ſucceſs and the curſes, that it might not be in the power of time to diſcontinue their uſe. After an order (a little before his death,) to have them inſcribed upon each ſide of the altar, he gave the people leave to ſacrifice ſtanding and preſent burnt-offerings, but forbad them from that day to lay another ſacrifice upon it: For it was not lawful. Theſe were the inſtitutes of *Moyſes*, and the nation of the *Hebrews* continues their obedience to them.

The day following, having aſſembled the people together, with the women and children, and alſo their ſlaves: He bound them all by an oath, to keep and obſerve the laws: And that reverently eſteeming the will of God, they ſhould not violate them, either upon account of relation, or fear; nor reckon any cauſe whatever powerful enough to ſuperſede an obſervance of the laws. That they ſhould likewiſe take revenge of ſuch, whether it was a kinſman or city, as ſhould riſe up, or endeavour either publickly or privately, to bring confuſion, and an end to their government: And having overcome them, they ſhould finally cut them off, and, if poſſible, not leave the leaſt veſtige to call up the memory of their mad inſolence. But if they had not force ſufficient to chaſtiſe them, they ſhould at leaſt ſhew a convincing proof, that theſe things had been concerted without their knowledge. And the whole multitude enter'd into this oath.

He likewiſe taught them, how to make ſacrifices more acceptable to God, and when to begin a war, taking the ſign from the ſtones, as has been before declared. *Joſhua* propheſied alſo, whilſt *Moyſes* was yet preſent: And having weigh'd and conſider'd all things, that he deſign'd to do for the common-weal, both in war and peace, in order to eſtabliſh the laws and the conſtitution, he foretold, by Divine Inſpiration, that 'If they violated their religion towards God, they ſhould feel many calamities, in ſuch a manner that their land ſhould be filled with hoſtile armies, their cities utterly deſtroyed, and the temple ſet on fire, and themſelves being ſold ſhould become ſlaves to men, who would ſhew no pity to their wretchedneſs, but when they came to ſuffer thus, they ſhould in vain fly to repentance. But God, who created you, will reſtore to the confederates both their cities and the temple: But it will happen that you ſhall loſe them not once, but often.'

Then *Moyſes* having exhorted *Joſhua* to conduct the army againſt the *Canaanites*, under the propitious aid of God, and wiſhed all joy and proſperity to the people, *Since I am*, (ſaid he,) *upon taking a receſs with our forefathers, and God hath appointed this day for my removal to them, whilſt I am yet on this ſide of exiſtence, and in your company, I give him all praiſe and thanks, as well for his fatherly protection of you, (which he hath ſhewn not only in averting your calamities, but exalting you to an happy ſtate) as his aſſiſtance to me in all my labours, and ſtruggles of mind, to bring about your welfare, and his moſt gracious mercy to us in all things. For He preſided over us in all our undertakings, and beſtowed the fortunate iſſue, uſing only me as an inſtrument, and miniſter of the benefits, that he was pleaſed to confer upon his people. For which reaſons, I have thought it a debt of juſtice, before my departure, to commemorate the Power of God, and recommend you to His Providence. Returning therefore this my tribute of gratitude to him, I muſt leave with you this in memory, that it is your duty to worſhip and honour Him, and keep and obſerve his laws for ever, as the moſt precious gift of all the worldly bleſſings you have hitherto received, or can probably expect. You know truly, that even a lawgiver amongſt men, is a terrible enemy, whilſt his laws are violated and inſolently deſpiſed. But have a care, how you incur the wrath of God, for a contempt of thoſe laws, which* He Himſelf *hath made and given you.*

Moyſes having ſpoke theſe things to the laſt period of his life, and propheſied of all the good things which in ſucceeding ages ſhould happen to each tribe; the multitude on a ſudden burſt out in tears, and the women, by violently ſtriking their breaſts, declared their ſorrow for him, now he was ready to die: Nay, the very children expreſt a great concern, who, being of a more tender diſpoſition, and leſs able to ſuppreſs their grief, now ſeem'd, with a ſenſibility ſuperior to their ages, to deplore the loſs of his virtue, and great conduct in the management of affairs. In ſhort, both old and young, from a lively ſenſe of his merits raiſed among themſelves a kind of contention, in their lamentations on his account; for the former were exceedingly dejected at the conſideration of being ſhortly to be deprived of ſuch a general for the future, and the latter were no leſs mournful on the ſame occaſion, becauſe now, (they fancied,) being to be forſaken by him, they ſhould not ſufficiently experience his goodneſs and piety.

Now any one may imagine the great concern which at this time the people ſhewed, from that which our lawgiver himſelf expreſſed; for though he had made it, throughout the whole courſe of his life, an eſtabliſh'd rule, and firmly was of opinion, that it was an unbecoming thing in any man to be caſt down at the thought of dying, as being that which every perſon muſt one time or another ſuffer, according to the Will of God, and law of nature; yet the deſponding ſpirit which he now obſerved in the multitude, drew at laſt the tears from his eyes. As he went to the place from whence he was to vaniſh out of ſight, an univerſal weeping was ſeen among thoſe who followed after him, but lifting up his hand to thoſe at ſome diſtance from him, he ſignified to them to ſtop, and remain eaſy; and thoſe who were about him, he exhorted, with friendly words, not to go any further after him, leaſt by that means, they ſhould make his departure grievous and uneaſy to himſelf. At this, the people eſteem'd it a very juſt thing, to let him depart and die after his own deſire; whereupon ſorrowfully lamenting one another, they deſiſted from going any further, and only the *Elders*, and *Eleazar* the high prieſt, and *Jeſus* the general, accompanied him; but when *Moyſes* was come upon mount *Abarus*, which is a lofty hill ſtanding over-againſt *Jericho*, and affords a very wide proſpect over the moſt pleaſant and moſt fruitful country of the *Canaanites*, to thoſe who aſcend it, he diſmiſſed the *Elders*; after which, embracing *Eleazar* and *Jeſus*, while as yet he was diſcourſing with them, a cloud deſcended, and hung over him, when ſuddenly he diſappear'd, being carried away into a certain vale. In the *Sacred Books* it is written, *that he died, and was buried in a valley in the land of* Moab, *by God; but that no man knows of his ſepulchre.*

He lived in all one hundred and twenty years, the third part of which, wanting one month, he exerciſed the chief authority, and died at the new moon, in the laſt month of the year, which is called *Dyſtrus*, by the *Macedonians*; and *Adarus*, by our nation. He was a perſon who greatly excelled all other men before him, and one, who, in his reſolutions and enterprizes, diſcovered the greateſt depth of underſtanding; being bleſſed with a wonderful perſuaſive force of ſpeech, eſpecially when at any time he publickly ſpoke to the people. He was likewiſe ſo great a maſter over his paſſions, that his ſoul ſeemed always to be in a calm, and wholly ſet at liberty from them; and if at any time he ſeemed to be in a paſſion, he was not really ſo, but only made a ſhew thereof, by reaſon of the influence it had upon others. Then, for the poſt of a general, he was reckoned among the firſt; and in the office of a prophet, no one was his equal, for he was enabled to foretel every thing; and in his diſcourſe one would have imagined to have heard the language of a God.

The people mourned for him thirty days, the *Hebrews* in that ſpace expreſſing ſo great a ſorrow for him, as ſince his departure never poſſeſt them in the like manner: For not only thoſe who had lived and converſed with him, had him in high veneration; but alſo thoſe who had either ſeen or peruſed his laws, entertain'd the ſame opinion of him, making their conjecture from thence of the excellency of his virtue. And ſuch was the *End of Moyſes*, as we have herein declared.

The END *of the* Fourth BOOK.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

ANTIQUITIES of the *JEWS*.

BOOK THE FIFTH.

Containing the Space of Four Hundred Seventy Six Years.

CHAP. I.

How Jeſus *the General of the* Hebrews, *waging War with the* Canaanites, *overcame and ſlew them, and afterwards divided their Country among the Tribes by Lot.*

NOW when *Moyſes*, as is before related, was taken away from the ſight of men, and *Jeſus* had perform'd all due ſolemnites to him, and the time of mourning was over, he commanded the people to prepare themſelves, and to be ready with him for an engagement; whereupon alſo he ſent ſpies to *Jericho*, that he might get intelligence of the ſtrength of the citizens, and in what diſpoſition they ſtood. Mean time he reviewed his army, with a deſign at a convenient time to paſs over *Jordan*, and to the princes and chiefs of the tribes of *Ruben*, *Gad* and *Manaſſes*, he ſent orders to meet together; (for to the half tribe of *Manaſſes* fell *Amoræa*, the ſeventh portion of the country of the *Canaanites* to dwell in.) When they were come unto him, he put them in mind of all thoſe things which they had promiſed to *Moyſes*, and entreated them, that, for his ſake, who, to the laſt moments of his life, had ſhewn himſelf ready and unwearied in taking care of them, they would now, for the common good, chearfully perform their agreement. With *Jeſus* ſix hundred thouſand armed men marched from *Abila* to *Jordan*.

When he was come near to *Jordan* he encamped there, and the ſpies in a ſhort time returned, having made themſelves thoroughly acquainted with the condition of the inhabitants; for, unknown to any one, and without the leaſt fear they view'd their city, but more eſpecially the walls, and took cloſe obſervation in what part they were the ſtrongeſt, and in what the leaſt defenſible and beſt to be attack'd; beſides if any of the gates were weak enough, ſo as to admit an entrance to his army. All who met them, paſſed by, neglecting or rather eſteeming them ſtrangers and travellers, who, as was cuſtomary, through a deſire of ſeeing their city, had come, and were viewing the curioſities in it, but not with any intention as enemies. It happen'd that about the evening they entered an inn near the walls, with deſign to ſup there; but whilſt they were anxious and full of thought about their return back, news was carried to the king, that certain men from the camp of the *Hebrews* were come to ſearch the city, and that they abſconded themſelves in *Rachab*'s houſe. Upon hearing of this the king ſent ſome of his guards, with expreſs orders to bring them bound to him, that by putting them to torment, he might find out the occaſion of their coming there: But *Rachab*, as ſoon as ſhe was made acquainted with the arrival of the guards, hid the ſpies under ſome bundles of flax, which ſhe at that time had accidentally laid upon the roof of her houſe to dry. Whereupon, ſhe told thoſe who were ſent from the king, that certain ſtrangers, whom ſhe knew nothing of, had ſupp'd at her houſe a little before ſun ſet, but were ſince departed, adding, that if they were perſons who might be ſuſpected by the city, and endangered the ſafety of the king, they might, without much difficulty, be overtaken by any who would purſue after them: The men being thus deceived by the woman, went away without ſearching the houſe, and having traced all the paſſages which lead to the river, and through which there was any poſſibility of their paſſing, they gave over their purſuit at laſt, without making any diſcovery of them; and no ſooner was the noiſe and diſorder occaſioned hereby over, than *Rachab* brought out the men, and acquainted them with the riſque ſhe had undergone for their ſafety; ſaying, if the king had found her out in the fact, of having

ing hid them, it had been impoſſible for her to have eſcaped his vengeance, but that ſhe muſt have periſhed with her whole houſe; therefore ſhe begged them, that when they came to poſſeſs the land of the *Canaanites*, they would bear this action of her's in their remembrance, and repay it with thanks; ſhe bad them deſcend into the houſe, and bind themſelves with an oath, that they would preſerve her and her family, when the city ſhould happen to be taken, and all the inhabitants therein put to the ſword, as it was foretold to them; for (added ſhe) theſe things I am made privy to by ſigns given me from God. The ſpies hereupon, not only owned themſelves under great obligations for what at preſent they had received from her, but likewiſe ſwore that they would deal truly with her for the time to come; adviſing her at the ſame time, that the moment ſhe ſhould underſtand that the city was taken, ſhe ſhould convey into ſome ſecret place all her goods and neceſſaries, and that for a token, whereby the general might diſtinguiſh her houſe, and ſo reſtrain his people from committing any injury againſt it, ſhe ſhould hang lines of ſcarlet to the windows thereof, adding, we ourſelves will point at them to him, becauſe of thy readineſs to preſerve us; but if any of thy kindred ſhall happen to be abroad and fall in battle, let us not be reproached by thee upon that account, for we pray that God, by whom we have ſworn, may execute his vengeance upon us if we violate our engagement; after they had promiſed thus to perform, and had let themſelves down by a rope from the walls, they departed; and getting back in ſafety to their camp, told all they had done in the city; whereupon *Jeſus* related to *Eleazar* the high prieſt and to the elders, what the ſpies had ſworn to *Rachab*, who all unanimouſly agreed to perform what had been promiſed.

Now *Jeſus*, the general, was in great ſollicitude about paſſing the ford of *Jordan*; for at this time the river was ſwollen, and very rapid, and there was not any poſſibility of fixing bridges whereon to march over, no ſuch attempt having ever been made there; neither, if bridges could have been fixed, was there any reaſon to believe that the *Hoſt* could uſe them with ſafety, and moreover they had no boats. God therefore promiſed *Jeſus* that he would make the river paſſable for him, by cauſing a ſudden retreat of the waters; wherefore after the ſpace of two days, he march'd with the whole army in the following manner: In the firſt place came the prieſts, bearing the ark, who were followed by the *Levites* carrying the tabernacle and the veſſels appointed for the ſervice of the ſacrifice. After theſe marched all the tribes, having the women and children in the midſt of them; this being done through a motive of caution, leſt the force of the current ſhould bear them away; but when the prieſts obſerved that the river was paſſable, and that the rapidity of the ſtream was reſtrained, they entered the channel firſt; whereupon the reſt confidently followed, and went in; for now the waters being divided, and withdrawing on each ſide, they perceived that God had made the river paſſable, according as he had before promiſed. Whilſt the multitude marched through and were getting ſafely to the other ſide, the prieſts ſtood ſtill in the middle; aftet which they went out of the river themſelves, and ſuffer'd it to poſſeſs its former place and channel; for the *Hebrews* were no ſooner got out, than the waters recover'd their accuſtom'd depth and force.

After this the *Hebrews* marched fifty furlongs further, and pitched their tents about ten furlongs diſtance from *Jericho*. But *Jeſus* built an altar of thoſe ſtones, which the princes of the tribes had brought with them out of *Jordan*, according as the prophet had before enjoined, and thereon ſacrificed to God; for in that very place where he erected it, was unanimouſly celebrated the feaſt of the *paſſover*: And it was likewiſe there, that they began to receive a plenty of all things, of which but lately they ſtood in want. For now the harveſt of the *Canaanites* was ripe for the ſicle, which they gather'd in great abundance; and made all other things the right of ſpoil and plunder. At this time it alſo was, that their food of *Manna* left them, wherewith they had been ſuſtain'd for forty years.

Now when the *Canaanites* offered no manner of reſiſtance againſt the *Iſraelites* for doing theſe things, but that, through a cowardly fear, they kept themſelves ſhut up within their walls; *Jeſus* reſolv'd to beſiege them. Whereupon, the prieſts upon the firſt day of the feſtival carried the ark, (which was ſurrounded by a body of armed men to defend it,) who were followed by other prieſts winding ſeven horns, and exhorting the men to behave gallantly; theſe ſurrounded the city, and the rear was brought up by the elders. When the prieſts had ſounded their horns, they returned to the camp, and did nothing more, but only for ſix ſucceſſive entire days continued to ſound after the ſame manner. But on the ſeventh, *Jeſus* aſſembled all the people and acquainted them with the manner of taking of the city; for that, on that very day God would bring it to paſs, that the ſame ſhould be deliver'd into their hands, and the walls on their own accord ſhould tumble down without any toil of the ſoldiers: But notwithſtanding this, he enjoyn'd them to put to the ſword all they met with, and not to keep their hands from the ſlaughter upon any conſideration whatever, nor to buſy themſelves about the plunder, whereby they might ſuffer any of their enemies to eſcape; but that they ſhould deſtroy every living thing, and convert nothing to their own uſe; beſides, what gold and ſilver they ſhould find, he commanded them to bring into one place, that they might make an offering of it to God, as the firſt fruits of their proſperous undertaking, and as the ſpoil of the firſt city they had taken by ſiege; adding, that they ſhould preſerve in ſafety *Rachab*, with her kindred, becauſe of the oath, which the ſpies had obliged themſelves ſolemnly to perform.

After *Jeſus* had declared himſelf in this manner, and marſhalled the hoſt, he drew his forces to the city, and once more ſurrounded it; the prieſts in the mean time bearing the ark, and ſounding their trumpets, animating the ſoldiers with courage to perform bravely; but when the army had marched and encompaſſed the walls ſeven times round, it halted for a ſmall ſpace; when ſuddenly the walls tumbled down, without any inſtruments of war, or other violence or force uſed by the *Hebrews* for that purpoſe.

When they ſaw this, they entred the city, and ſlew all therein without diſtinction; for the inhabitants were overwhelmed with too great a ſurprize at the ſudden ruin and unexpected overthrow of their walls, to be able to ſuſtain the force of the enemy. All in the ſtreets fell by the ſword, and thoſe in the houſes in like manner, there being no viſible way for any of them to eſcape death; and all, to the very women and infants, were utterly cut off. The city was filled with the carcaſſes of the ſlain, and no living thing was exempted from the ſword, but the whole city and country round about it were laid waſte by fire. *Rachab*, with her relations, were preſerved from the common danger by the ſpies; and when ſhe was brought before *Jeſus*, he profeſſed his great obligation to her for what ſhe had done to them, ſaying, *He had not ſent for her, if he had not deſign'd to have made a ſuitable return for ſuch a kindneſs:* Whereupon he gave to her lands, and uſed her with all imaginable reſpect and civility.

But if any place in the city eſcaped the violence of the flames, *Jeſus* afterwards utterly deſtroy'd it, and wiſhed heavy curſes upon any one who ſhould attempt to rebuild what he had once laid waſte; namely, that what man ſoever ſhould offer to lay the foundation of the walls, might loſe his firſt-born ſon; and what man ſoever erected it, might be deprived of his youngeſt-born ſon. Theſe curſes, notwithſtanding, were not pleaſing to the Deity: But in the ſequel we ſhall relate the calamity which enſued upon them.

A vaſt quantity of gold, ſilver, and braſs, were gathered together out of the ruins of the city, no one preſuming to infringe what *Jeſus* had commanded, or to take any thing, and turn it to his own advantage. Theſe ſpoils he gave to the prieſts, that they might lay them up in the treaſury; and in this manner fell *Jericho*.

But there was a certain man named *Achar*, (*Achan*,) the ſon of *Zebedie*, of the tribe of *Judah*, who finding a royal garment very richly embroidered, together with an ingot of maſſy gold, weighing about two hundred ſicles, thought it an hardſhip not to make uſe of them as his own property, when he had acquired them with ſo much hazard and danger to himſelf; therefore he ſunk a pit within his own tent, and therein concealed them, ſuppoſing that by that means, he ſhould keep ſecret the thing as well from God as from his companions the ſoldiers.

Now the place where *Jeſus* had incamped, was named *Galgal*, (*Gilgal*,) taking its denomination from the word *Liberty*, becauſe having now paſſed over the river, they believ'd themſelves to be altogether freed from the miſeries which they ſuſtained under the *Ægyptians*, and in the *Deſert*.

A few days after the deſtruction of *Jericho*, *Jeſus* diſpatch'd three thouſand armed men to *Aina*, (*Ai*,) a city ſtanding above *Jericho*, in order to beſiege it; who engaging with the citizens, were put to flight, and thirty-ſix men loſt: Which news being carried to the *Iſraelites*, threw them into a great fear and trouble; not ſo much on account of the loſs of their brethren, though they that were ſlain were all men of valour, and highly eſteem'd, as for the deſpair which they now conceived; for they had brought themſelves to believe that the country ſhould be wholly theirs, and that their armies ſhould for the future return always victorious and unhurt from the battle, becauſe God himſelf had vouchſafed to promiſe it to them; wherefore now ſeeing the enemy conquerors, and triumphant, contrary to all their expectations, they caſt ſackcloth over their garments, and all the day appear'd full of ſorrow and tears, not ſuffering themſelves to taſte the leaſt ſuſtenance; ſo great was their trouble for this accident.

When *Jeſus* ſaw the army in this mournful condition, and with looks thus ſadly dejected, in a manner baniſhing all hopes of ſucceſs, he thus with confidence addreſs'd himſelf to God: *We*, (ſaid he,) *came not hither raſhly, or unadviſedly, to reduce this country under our power and dominion; but* Moyſes, *thy ſervant, on the credit of thoſe many ſigns, by which thou gaveſt us aſſurance that thou wouldſt deliver this country into our hands, and make our arms always victorious in the field, and to ſubdue their enemies, incitedſt us to this undertaking: It is true, that according to thy word, we have conquer'd ſome times; but now that, contrary to our expectations, we have receiv'd an overthrow, and part of our forces is ſlain, not according to thy promiſes, and what* Moyſes *foretold us; we are greatly afflicted, and the more ſo, in regard of our fortunes for the future; becauſe our affairs on the firſt trial, have proved thus unſucceſsful: Do thou, therefore, O Lord, provide a remedy to our preſent misfortunes, and baniſh our grief, by giving us victory; and confirm our minds againſt the time to come, by taking away that deſpair which we now labour under.*

Thus did *Jeſus*, caſting himſelf proſtrate on his face, humbly beſeech God, from whom he receiv'd this anſwer, 'That he ſhould ariſe 'and view the army, which had committed a 'great wickedneſs, in daring to appropriate 'thoſe things which had been dedicated to 'him, this being the cauſe of their defeat; 'but after an enquiry ſhould be made, and 'the ſacrilege duly puniſh'd, they ſhould al'ways return victorious from their enemies.' Theſe words *Jeſus* declared to the people, and calling to him *Eleazar* the high prieſt, and the chief of the magiſtrates, he bid all the tribes caſt lots. Now when it was found out that the wickedneſs had been committed in the tribe of *Judah*, he order'd again that the families thereof ſhould caſt lots, when it plainly appear'd that the fact was done in the family of *Sarachia*; afterwards, when they came to caſt man by man, they ſeized upon *Achar*; who refuſed to make any diſcovery, for which God ſorely wounded his conſcience:

at laſt he confeſſed the theft, and brought the ſtolen things into the midſt of the tribes; whereupon he was preſently ſlain, and in the night buried in an ignominious manner, as is uſual, when any one receives condemnation from the publick voice of the people.

And now *Jeſus* having given inſtructions to his army, led them to *Aina*, and placing privately in the night men in ambuſcades about the city, he began to encounter with the enemy about break of day; but perceiving the citizens fluſhed with their new gotten victory, and boldly ruſhing upon his men, he made a retreat as if he had fled before them, and by that means drew them a great way from their city, rejoicing and boaſting as if the victory had already fallen on their ſide: *Jeſus* obſerving this, ſuddenly gave the ſignal to thoſe who were in ambuſh, to come out, whom he had placed for that purpoſe: Theſe broke into the city, while ſome of the inhabitants within were buſy about the walls, and others wholly taken up in obſerving their countrymen that were without; and the city was in a ſhort time afterwards ſet on fire, and all therein put to the ſword: But *Jeſus* breaking into the ranks of the enemy without, put them to flight, who ſeeing the city was taken, and fearing that their wives and children ſhould be burned with it, they ran diſtractedly over the fields unable, being confounded and deſtitute of all their courage, to defend themſelves. After this misfortune had befallen the people of *Aina*, a great number of women, and children, and ſlaves, were obtained by the *Iſraelites*, beſides great quantities of moveables, and other ſpoils; alſo large flocks of ſheep, and much ſilver, the country being very rich and fruitful: All theſe things *Jeſus* beſtowed upon the ſoldiers, when he was at *Galgal*.

The *Canaanites*, who lived near to *Jeruſalem*, *(Jeroſolyma)* ſeeing the calamities which the people of *Jericho* and *Aina* had lately ſuſtained, and apprehending that the like deſtruction would happen to them, had not any thoughts of ſeeking redreſs for them at the hands of *Jeſus*, who had denounced war and deſtruction to the whole nation of the *Canaanites*; they therefore invited into an alliance with them the *Cepherites*, and *Cariathiarimites*, who were their neighbours, telling them, that they themſelves would not prove ſufficient to defend their countries, if the *Iſraelites* ſhould come upon them. In this manner were they perſwaded; and at laſt they reſolved to unite againſt the impending danger, and therefore yielded to the remonſtrance that had been made them. But the *Gabaonites* did not think fit to ſend to *Jeſus* to ſpeak openly to him about the hoſtilities he had committed; but decreed to ſend to him ſome of the beſt citizens, who ſhould offer terms of friendſhip to him, and who beſt knew how to tranſact what ſhould be thought to be moſt expedient in their preſent ſituation: But fearing they might render themſelves liable to ſome unforeſeen misfortune, if they ſhould diſcover themſelves to be *Canaanites*, they eſteemed it neceſſary to avoid any danger upon this account: Wherefore they were inſtructed to ſay, that by no tye, or otherwiſe, they were allied to them, but that their own habitations were placed at a long diſtance from them; *adding further*, that upon the report of his fame, and of the exploits of the people under his conduct, they had travelled ſo far, having performed a journey of many days; and laſtly, as a token of the veracity of their words, that they ſhould ſhow them their garments, which being new at the time of their firſt ſetting out, were by the length of the way quite worn out and torn: All this was done to obtain credit with *Jeſus*. Standing therefore in the middle of the *Iſraelites*, they ſaid, that they were ſent from the elders of their own, and other neighbouring cities, places far diſtant from that land, with offers of peace, after the laws of their country: For underſtanding, that by the *Grace and Gift of God*, they were to poſſeſs the land of *Canaan*, they were on that ſcore exceeding glad, and therefore heartily wiſhed them to receive their countrymen into the number of their citizens. Having declared themſelves in this manner, and ſhewn their garments as the tokens of their long journey, they intreated the *Hebrews* to enter into a covenant of alliance and friendſhip with them: *Jeſus* believing what they had ſpoken to be true, and that they were not of the nation of the *Canaanites*, received them as friends and allies; *Eleazar* the high prieſt, and the elders, at the ſame time ſwearing, that for the future they ſhould be eſteemed as their friends and companions, and that nothing ſhould be attempted againſt them to their injury or detriment. This was confirmed by the whole ſuffrage of the people. After the Ambaſſadors had ſucceeded in this artifice, according to their wiſh, they returned home. Now *Jeſus* having conducted his army into a mountainous part of *Canaan*, was informed there, that the *Gabaonites* dwelt not far from *Jeruſalem*, and that they were deſcended of the *Canaanites*, whereupon he ſent for their magiſtrates, and upbraided them with their deceit: But they remonſtrating to him that they had no other way left to procure their ſafety, and by neceſſity were obliged to find a refuge this way, he called to him *Eleazar* the high prieſt, and the elders, enjoining them, as having the management of publick buſineſs, to take care, and not in the leaſt infringe the oath they had taken. And thus the ambaſſadors of the *Gabaonites* effected the buſineſs for which they were ſent, and procured the alliance before mentioned.

After the *Gabaonites* had thus made an alliance with *Jeſus*, the king of *Jeruſalem* hearing of it, was very wroth, and thereupon entring into a league with four other kings of the bordering nations, he, in conjunction with them, declared war againſt them. The *Gabaonites* perceiving this, and that they had incamped near a certain fountain, not far from their city, with a deſign to beſiege it, called *Jeſus* to their aſſiſtance; for at this time their affairs were brought to that *Criſis*, as to expect inevitable death at the hands of the confederate kings; but from the *Iſraelites*, who warred againſt the race of the *Canaanites*, they expected their protection and ſafety, through a reliance on the late alliance of ſriendſhip made with them. Hereupon *Jeſus* uſing all diligence and haſte, and marching with his whole Army day and night, came up with the enemy, and early in the morning encountered them, juſt as they were reſolving upon the ſiege; who, turning their backs, and flying, he purſued after them, down the ſteep mountains of the country. The place where this happened, is called *Bethor*, for there God manifeſted himſelf in an eſpecial manner, and gave him to underſtand that he was preſent and aſſiſtant to him; all the Time of the battle, thunderings bellowed, and lightnings flaſhed from Heaven, and hail-ſtones deſcended greater than had been ſeen. Beſides theſe things, the day was lengthened, leaſt the force of the *Hebrews* ſhould be reſtrained by the ſudden approach of the night; by which alſo it happened that *Jeſus* took the kings at *Macchida* in a cave there, wherein they had hid themſelves, and there ſlew them. Now that the length of the day at that time was prolonged above its accuſtomed meaſure, is made evident from the *Sacred Writings* laid up among the records of the temple.

After the kings who invaded the *Gabaonites*, were overthrown by *Jeſus* in this manner, he marched his forces into the mountains of *Canaan*, where having made a great ſlaughter, and obtained a vaſt prey, he returned to the camp at *Gilgal*; but in the mean time, the report of the valour of the *Hebrews* was in every body's mouth and converſation, and began now to ſpread itſelf throughout all the neighbouring nations; ſo that the fame of ſuch great multitudes conquered by their arms, ſtruck them with aſtoniſhment. Now alſo, it was, that the kings inhabiting mount *Libanus*, and the other kings of the *Canaanites*, who dwelt on the plains, in league with the *Paleſtines*, incamped at *Beroth*, a city of the higher *Galilee*, not far diſtant from *Cedeſa*, which is part of the poſſeſſion of the *Galileeans*, with an army conſiſting of three hundred thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and thirty thouſand chariots; which numerous hoſt ſo dejected both *Jeſus* and the *Iſraelites*, that by reaſon of that fear which now ſeized them, they could not preſume to hope for the leaſt ſucceſs: Whereupon God reproving them for their faint-heartedneſs, and demanding, whether they could rely on any better aſſiſtance than that he would give them, promiſed them, that they ſhould prove triumphant over their enemies, enjoining them at the ſame time, to hough their horſes, and burn their chariots with fire. At theſe promiſes of God they took courage, and marched againſt their enemies; when upon the fifth day, they came up with them, and began the onſet; upon which a furious conflict enſued, but at laſt ſuch a ſlaughter of the enemy was made, as in a manner exceeds all belief: Thoſe who fled *Jeſus* purſued, and their whole forces, to a very few, were put to the ſword; their kings were all ſlain; and the deſtruction and havock was ſo great, as that there being no more men to be ſlain, he killed the horſes, and burned their chariots; and afterwards none daring to engage him, he marched over the whole country without moleſtation, taking and beſieging cities, as he travelled, and putting every living thing he met with to death.

All theſe affairs were accompliſhed in the ſpace of five years, and there was now no other remnant of the *Canaanites*, than what was incloſed in their places of defence, whither they had fled for ſhelter. *Jeſus* therefore, decamping from *Gilgal*, placed the holy tabernacle in the city of *Silo*, (being a very convenient place, becauſe of its beauty and pleaſantneſs,) until the affairs of the *Hebrews* would permit a temple to be built; from whence with his whole army he marched to *Sichem*, building an altar there as *Moyſes* had commanded, and dividing the army, he appointed one half thereof to remain on mount *Garizim*, and the other on *Gibal*, (where is alſo an altar) with the *Levites* and prieſts; afterwards, when they had ſacrificed, and denounced curſes, which they ingraved upon the altar, they returned back to *Silo*.

Jeſus was now well advanced in years, and had obſerved, that the cities of the *Canaanites* which remained, were difficult to be won, as well in regard of the ſtrong ſituation of the place, in which they were built, as of their walls which were defended with high towers and battlements; for theſe were carried in a wide circumference round their cities, beſides that, they were exceedingly well fortified by nature; and therefore the inhabitants imagined, that their enemies ſeeing theſe ſafeguards, would quit their enterprize of beſieging them, as deſpairing of ever carrying them. Theſe ſtrong defences the *Canaanites* induſtriouſly raiſed, and built from the time they firſt heard of the *Iſraelites* coming out of *Ægypt*, to ſubdue them. Wherefore *Jeſus* aſſembling the people in *Silo*, in a full audience, reminded them of all the ſucceſſes which they had received to that time; and that the actions they had performed, where the moſt brave and glorious, being ſuch as, they might juſtly believe, were carried on under the protection of God, and what became the dignity of the laws they were governed by: Beſides theſe, he recounted to them the thirty one kings, who, preſuming to engage in battle with them, were ſlain; and the army, following them, and relying on their might and force, were ſo vanquiſhed in the fight, as that now no offspring of them was remaining: Moreover, that many of their cities had been taken by them, but others were ſtill ſubſiſting, who, by reaſon of the ſtrength of their walls, and the confidence which the inhabitants placed therein, required a long and vigorous ſiege: He was of opinion therefore, that thoſe who had come from the countries over *Jordan*, and through a ſenſe of the nearneſs of the danger to all of them, had joined themſelves, companions in the wars, ſhould return home, being firſt publickly thanked for the aſſiſtance they had afforded them; after this, from all the tribes he ſingled out thoſe who had made proof of their courage, who, laying aſide all animoſities, ſhould go and view the country, and report to him without any diſſimulation, the true dimenſions thereof.

After he had made an end of this ſpeech, the whole people gave their aſſent thereto, and ſhortly after, men were appointed to meaſure out the country; with theſe were join'd perſons skilled in *geometry*, who, by their knowledge in that ſcience, would more probably give a full and exact account of the country to him; at the ſame time bidding them to take an accurate ſurvey and menſuration, both of that ground which was rich and fruitful, and that which was leſs ſo; for the large land of the *Canaanites* is a fine champaign country, yielding large proſpects, and is ſituated in the beſt climate for the production of fruits; and being compared with other countries, in regard of its fertility and pleaſantneſs, may be reckoned the moſt delightful and plentiful; but if it be ſet in oppoſition to the rich and verdant fields about *Jericho* and *Jeruſalem*, the compariſon will be quite loſt: For although the whole quantity of land which they contain is but ſmall in reſpect of that of the others, and in a great meaſure is all hilly and mountainous, yet for beauty, proſpect, and fertility, they far ſurpaſs them all; wherefore it was deem'd more reaſonable, that the diviſion ſhould be made rather according to the eſtimate or value put upon each place, than by the length and breadth thereof; eſpecially when it was found that one acre for goodneſs in one place, was equal to, if not better than one thouſand bad ones in other places. Now the men who were ſent upon this affair, were ten in number, who, having ſurveyed and made a valuation of the whole region, return'd on the ſeventh month to *Jeſus* at *Silo*, where he had placed the tabernacle.

After this, *Jeſus* calling together the high prieſt, the elders and the princes of the tribes, divided the country amongſt nine of the tribes, and the half tribe of *Manaſſes*. When the diviſion was made, to *Judah*'s lot fell all the higher *Judea*, reaching in length as far as *Jeruſalem*, and in breadth ſtretching to the lake of *Sodom*. In this partition were ſituate the cities of *Aſcalon* and *Gaza*. To the tribe of *Simeon* was given, as being the ſecond, part of *Idumea*, bounding upon *Ægypt*, and *Arabia*: To *Benjamin*'s lot it fell to poſſeſs the region, reaching in length from the river of *Jordan*, as far as the ſea; and in breadth, terminating with *Jeruſalem*, and *Bethel*: This was the narroweſt diviſion, as comprehending only *Jericho*, and *Jeruſalem*: The tribe of *Ephraim* obtain'd the land lying from *Jordan* to *Gadar*; taking in its latitude all the ground from *Bethel*, even to the large *level country* forwards. The *half tribe* of *Manaſſes* poſſeſſed in length, from *Jordan* to the city of *Dor*, and reached in breadth to *Bethel*, which is now called *Scythopolis*. *Iſſachar* received all the country, ſtretching from *Jordan* to mount *Carmel*, weſt; whoſe breadth extended to mount *Tabor*, *(Itaburis.)* To the tribe of *Zabulon*, was allotted all that ſpace of land, reaching in length to the lake of *Genneſerith*, and adjoining to *Carmel* and the ſea: But to *Aſhur*, was given all that region behind *Carmel*, which takes its denomination from the valley there, and is ſituated over againſt *Sidon*; in this diviſion was the city of *Aræ*, which now is named *Actipus*. To *Nepthalim*, was granted for an inheritance, all that portion of ground reaching from the eaſt as far as the city of *Damaſcus*, and the higher *Galilee*; even into the mountain *Libanus*, and the ſprings of *Jordan*, and ſtretching northwards to *Aræ*. Laſtly, to the tribe of *Dan*, was aſſigned all the ground weſtwards, until bounded by *Azot* and *Dor*, and all *Jamnia* and *Getta*, from *Accaron* even to the mountain; from whence the tribe of *Judah* receives its beginning.

In this manner did *Jeſus* divide the country, poſſeſſed by the ſix nations of the *Canaanites*, ſo called from the ſons of *Chanaaneus*, (or *Canaan*) and allotted their regions, as an inheritance to nine tribes and an half tribe; but *Amoræa*, or that country ſo named from another of the ſons of *Chanaaneus*, (or *Canaan*.) *Moyſes*, as I have before hinted, had already diſtributed it to two tribes and an half; yet all thoſe places about *Sidon*, and which belong'd to the *Arrucæeans*, *Amathæans*, and *Arithæans*, were not as yet allotted.

Now *Jeſus* finding his inability to perform thoſe things by reaſon of his advanced age, which, nevertheleſs remained ſtill to be done, and which he was deſirous to have accompliſh'd; and perceiving thoſe who were in the management of affairs under him, did not, with the care they ought, adviſe and tranſact for the publick good; he therefore, in a full aſſembly, enjoined all the tribes, to drive out, and utterly extirpate all the race of the *Canaanites*, from that land, which was allotted to them; for that in this action, as *Moyſes* had formerly told them, and as himſelf firmly believ'd, conſiſted their ſecurity, and the ſafeguard of their laws. After this, he order'd them to give to the *Levites* the eight and thirty cities; for as yet, they had received only ten belonging to the *Amorites* beyond *Jordan*, three of which were appointed as *Aſylums*, or places of refuge for malefactors, or perſons running away for debt or otherwiſe, to inhabit; to wit, *Chebron*, (or *Hebron*,) in the tribe of *Judah*, *Sichim* in *Ephraim*, and *Cedeſa*, of *Nepthalim*; there being another place of that name in the higher *Galilee*; and thus careful was *Jeſus*, not to omit any one of thoſe things which *Moyſes* had commanded. Moreover, the ſpoil which remain'd, he gave among the *Iſraelites*, for there was an infinite quantity taken; ſo that all perſons, as well publick as private, abounded in wealth, by reaſon of the great prey that was obtain'd in gold, ſilver, cloaths, houſhold furniture, and great numbers of herds and cattle of all ſorts, which in a manner exceeded all calculation.

Immediately after theſe things, he ſummoned the army to aſſemble, particularly thoſe who lived beyond *Jordan*, near the *Amorites*; (being fifty thouſand fighting men, who in conjunction with the reſt had undertaken the expedition) and when come together, he ſpoke to them in this manner. ‘ *Seeing that God the Father, and Lord of the* Hebrew Nation, *hath given this land to be poſſeſſed by us, and hath promiſed that ſuch poſſeſſion ſhall be retained by us for ever; and ſeeing likewiſe, that when we ſtood in need of your aid and aſſiſtance, you ſhewed yourſelves, according to the command of God, always the moſt forward and ready to perform* *any thing, we now think it but juſt and reaſonable, when no further difficulty, or hardy enterprize remains for you, that you ſhould enjoy ſome reſt and reſpite from your labours; but while we thus commend your diligence, we hope, if any future occaſion ſhall happen, wherein we ſhall want your helping hand, we ſhall find you ſtill ready to aſſiſt in repelling the danger, that at any time ſhall threaten us, and not ſhew yourſelves to be men tired with the actions already paſt, and ſo render your bodies unfit, or more ſlow to perform any enterprize for the future: We return you our ſincere thanks for all thoſe dangers which, in conjunction with your aſſiſtance, we have eſcaped; and not only ſo now, but we ſhall preſerve the memory thereof in all ſucceeding times, our diſpoſition being ſuch, as always to remember you as our friends, and retain our acknowledgment, for whatever ſhall befal to us through your valour; wiſhing, that the enjoyment of thoſe good things, which, together with us, you have purchaſed by much toil and hardſhip, may, through the bounty of God, anſwer your expectations, and fully reward your diligence: Moreover, great riches will now be added to what you had before acquir'd, which has been obtain'd through labours common to us all; namely, the great quantity of ſpoil, and of gold and ſilver, which you will carry with you; but, that which will prove far better than all theſe things, you will have our good will and ready heart, to beſtow upon you whatſoever favours you ſhall deſire. In all thoſe commands, which* Moyſes *enjoined, you have ſhewn yourſelves very punctual in performing them; and ſince his deceaſe, you have not in the leaſt ſet light by his authority. In fine, there is not any thing which you have done upon our account, for which we ſhall not always be ready to teſtify our grateful acknowledgment. Wherefore, we preſume, we ſend you back to your poſſeſſions, well pleaſed and cordially affected; and our intreaty is, that the nearneſs of blood between us may not be diſtinguiſhed with any other names, or appellations, than at preſent; and that, although this river of* Jordan *divides us by its ſtreams, you would not account us any other than your brethren: For all of us are from* Abraham; *both we who inhabit on this, and you who dwell on that ſhore; and alſo it is the ſame and one God who hath given life as well to our as to your fathers, and him ought you to ſerve, and in all things diligently to conform to that model of government which he himſelf by the mouth of* Moyſes *hath inſtituted; by the practice of which, it will come to paſs, that God in times to come will prove propitious to you and be your helper. But if you relapſe into an imitation of the cuſtoms, and manners of other nations, he will certainly become an enemy to, and puniſh, both you and your offſpring.'* After he had made an end of ſpeaking thus; he ſtood ſtill, and ſaluted all the magiſtrates one by one, and after them the whole multitude; who were followed by the reſt of the people with ſighs and tears, and between both was ſeen a departure from one another full of ſorrow and lamentation.

After the tribes of *Rubel*, (*Ruben*,) and *Gad*, and the one half of that of *Manaſſes*, who follow'd them, had paſſed over *Jordan*, they erected an altar upon the ſhore, as a monument to poſterity, and a token of brotherly alliance with thoſe who dwelt on the other ſide. But they on the oppoſite ſhore hearing that they had built an altar, and being ignorant of their deſign in ſetting it up, and giving credit to report, that they had done ſo in order to introduce a new religion and ſtrange gods among them, took up arms with one conſent againſt thoſe who had erected it, reſolving to revenge the injury committed againſt their worſhip, and the foulneſs of their crime, with a juſt puniſhment for violating the cuſtoms of their forefathers. In this thought they were ready to paſs over the river; nor did they think that either the nearneſs of kindred, or their former acquaintance and familiarity with thoſe who were involved in this crime, were to alter their reſolutions to make war upon them; when the Will of God, and the religion which he himſelf had appointed, requir'd it at their hands. Wherefore being greatly incenſed, they made all haſte immediately to put in execution their enterprize; but *Jeſus*, *Eleazar* the high prieſt, and the *Elders*, diſſuaded them from it, and remonſtrated to them, that they ſhould rather firſt of all expoſtulate with them, and ſtrive to find out by that way their deſign in erecting the altar; and then, if it ſhould appear to be done with a criminal view, they ſhould then proceed in their deſign. In ſhort, Ambaſſadors were diſpatched to them, namely *Phinees* the ſon of *Eleazar*, and ten other perſons of eſpecial note among the *Hebrews*, with orders to learn their intention of building the altar upon the ſhore of *Jordan*, immediately after their paſſing over. No ſooner therefore were the ambaſſadors landed on the other ſide, but coming amongſt them, and calling an aſſembly, *Phinees* ſtood up in the midſt thereof, and ſpoke thus: *You appear this day to be guilty of a crime againſt your God, and your brethren, of ſo heinous and attrocious a nature, as is not to be paſſed over by us, after uſing only friendly expoſtulations and admonitions: Notwithſtanding which your brethren have not yet reſolved to take arms, in order to revenge it, in conſideration of the nearneſs of kindred between us, hoping alſo to convince you of your error, and reclaim you. Wherefore they have ſent an ambaſſy, which we have undertaken, that they may from yourſelves underſtand for what cauſe, and with what deſign, you have erected this altar; that it may not be thought that raſhly, and without conſideration, they ſhall enter into a war with you. 'Tis poſſible you may, through a pious motive, have built it, and it would have been but conſiſtent with equity, that before we had revenged ourſelves upon you, our accuſation ſhould have been found juſt. For we were very difficult to be induced to believe that you, who thoroughly underſtood the Will of God, and were hearers of thoſe laws, which he himſelf gave unto you, ſhould in a manner as ſoon as you were ſeparated from us, and got to the inheritance which you received through his favour, and owe to his great Care and Providence over you, ſlight and put from your remembrance him and his works for you; and that forſaking his tabernacle, ark, and the religion of your country, you ſhould introduce*

troduce ſtrange Gods *amongſt you; and purſue after the wicked ways of the* Canaanites. *But now you will be thought to deſerve no puniſhment, if repenting of your late tranſgreſſion, and ſtriving to eſchew the commiſſion of greater crimes, you obey the laws of your country, and keep them always within your remembrance. On the contrary, if you perſiſt in your evil courſes, we ſhall think all labour well ſpent in the vindication of the laws, and paſſing over* Jordan, *we ſhall endeavour to defend the Honour of God, and of them with equal ardour of mind; eſteeming you and the* Canaanites *little different from one another, but putting to death you and them alike. Wherefore have a care how you fancy to yourſelves, that becauſe of this river which you have lately paſſed over, you are on that account out of the reach of the* Almighty; *for be aſſured, that whereſoever you are, there doth he exerciſe his empire over you; nor is it poſſible for you in any place to eſcape his power, or flee from his revenge. Now if you ſuppoſe that you can hinder any deſcent upon theſe coaſts of yours, you will find yourſelves greatly miſtaken therein. But if the land of your poſſeſſion be unclean, and pleaſe you not, it will be more expedient for you to paſs over unto the land of the poſſeſſion of the Lord, and to remain with us, together with your herds and flocks; but rebel not againſt the Lord, nor offend againſt us, in building you an altar, beſide the altar of the Lord our God. We beſeech you, therefore, for the ſake of your wives and children, that you give us no occaſion, nor force us to fight againſt you; and as this ſpeech of mine contains the beſt means for the ſafety of you all, and thoſe whom you hold moſt dear, be adviſed, and eſteem it a ſafer way for you to be perſuaded by a few words, than in facts to experience the fatal chances of war.*

When *Phinees*, who preſided over the embaſſy, had ended his harangue, the whole multitude began to excuſe themſelves of the crime objected to them, ſaying, *That they had neither offended againſt the nearneſs of kindred ſubſiſting between them, nor had they erected the altar, with any deſign of worſhip, and ſacrificing thereon: But that they acknowledged* One God, *common to all the* Hebrews, *and that* Brazen Altar *before the tabernacle, whereon were perform'd ſacrifices. For that which we have now built, and which affords to you an handle of ſuſpicion, was not raiſed through any motive of religion, but only placed there as a ſymbol, or mark of the alliance between us; aud therefore it is a juſt demonſtration of our religious opinion of God, and the real ſenſe we have of his laws; but not as you imagine, is it the beginning of tranſgreſſion on our ſide; for God is our ſufficient witneſs, that upon that account alone we erected it: Wherefore we would have you believe more favourably of us, and not impute ſuch things to us, but rather think, that we declare our real ſentiments, when we profeſs, that as many as run counter to the ancient inſtitutions by embracing new cuſtoms, are worthy of death, eſpecially thoſe who are deſcended from* Abraham.

Phinees having praiſed this friendly ſpeech of the aſſembly, returned back to *Jeſus*, and communicated to the people all they had done; whereupon rejoicing that no matter was found which could occaſion a muſter of the army, or a waging of war with their kindred, and ſhedding of their blood, they offered ſacrifices of thankſgiving to God; after which, *Jeſus* diſmiſſing the people to their reſpective habitations, went and abode in *Sichem*. *Jeſus* being now of an advanced age, after the twentieth year of ruling there, he ſent for all the magiſtrates, elders, and wealthy perſons of the towns about him, and as many of the common people as could be preſent, and there, in their hearing, he recalled to their memory all the favours which God had beſtow'd upon them, very many of which he had conferr'd on thoſe, who from a mean and deſpicable beginning, had ariſen to great glory, and an abundance of all things; and withal adviſed them, to yield dutiful obedience to the Will of God, who had ſhewn himſelf ſo propitious and bountiful to them; and would for the future extend to them his wonted goodneſs and love: *Adding*, That it was incumbent upon him, who was ready to depart this life, to leave ſuch an admonition as this to them; and concluded with an earneſt requeſt, that they would for ever keep in remembrance his exhortation and advice.

As ſoon as he had finiſhed ſpeaking theſe words to thoſe preſent about him, he died, having lived one hundred and ten years, forty of which he paſſed under *Moyſes*, with deſign to be inſtructed by him; but after his deceaſe, he poſſeſſed the government five and twenty years. He was a perſon of great prudence and eloquence, and had an admirable talent in delivering his ſentiments to the people, with clearneſs of expreſſion and pronunciation; being an excellent maſter in both. He was as couragious and undaunted in dangerous enterprizes, as careful in making and preſerving of peace, being endow'd with a temper of mind accommodated to all occaſions; he was buried in *Thamna*, of the tribe of *Ephraim*: About the ſame time died alſo *Eleazar* the high prieſt, (the prieſthood on that account devolving on *Phinees* his ſon,) whoſe monument and ſepulchre is ſtill to be ſeen in the city of *Gabath, alias Gibeath*.

CHAP. II.

How the Iſraelites, *after the Death of their General, underwent great Calamities; the whole Tribe of* Benjamin, *upon raiſing a Sedition, being ſlain, excepting ſix hundred Perſons.*

AFTER the deaths of *Jeſus*, (or *Joſhua*,) and *Eleazar*, *Phinees*, according to the Will of God, propheſied that the ſuperiority ſhould be granted to *Judah*, in deſtroying the *Canaanites*, the people at that time being very deſirous of knowing what God intended as beſt to be done; wherefore *Judah* aſſociated to him the tribe of *Simeon*, under a condition that as ſoon as the tributaries ſhould be cleared out of the portion of *Judah*, they ſhould perform the like upon thoſe who remained in *Simeon*.

The *Canaanites* at this time being in a very flouriſhing condition, waited for the *Iſraelites* with a great army at the city of *Bezec*, under the command of *Adonibezec* their king, who had obtain'd the government of the *Bezecenites*, (that word ſignifying *A Lord of the* Bezecenites, for in the *Hebrew* language, *Adoni* is interpreted *Lord*,) and with a firm hope now believed that they ſhould carry the victory from the *Iſraelites*, now that *Jeſus* was dead. But the two tribes of the *Iſraelites* before mention'd, encountring with them, behaved themſelves with great addreſs, and fighting valiantly, in a ſhort ſpace ſlew more then ten thouſand of them; the reſt flying away, they purſued them, taking their king *Adonibezec* captive, who having his thumbs and great toes cut off by them, ſpoke thus: *I could not always keep my ways concealed from God, but I ſuffer now the ſame puniſhment which I violently inflicted upon ſeventy two kings.* He was afterwards carried alive by them as far as *Jeruſalem*, but dying in the way, they buried him; and then travelling over the country, with a deſign to beſiege the cities in it, they took a great number of them, and at laſt ſat down before *Jeruſalem*, when taking the lower part thereof, they entered it, and put all therein to the ſword; but the higher part of the city was very difficult to be won, becauſe of the ſtrength of its walls, and convenient ſituation.

Wherefore they remov'd their tents to *Chebron*, (*Hebron*,) where, taking the place by force, they ſlew all the inhabitants. At this time alſo remain'd ſome of the race of the giants, who, for bigneſs of body, and terrible aſpect, were very unlike other men; the ſight of them was aſtoniſhing, being a thing fearful in its relation; their bones are yet to be ſeen, but ſo large, as exceed all belief. *Chebron*, (*Hebron*,) was given to the *Levites*; but the reſt of the country, according to the command of *Moyſes*, was beſtow'd upon *Caleb*, who was one of the ſpies ſent by him to ſearch the land of the *Canaanites*: Beſides, they gave poſſeſſions to the poſterity of *Jethro*, the *Madianite*, who was father-in-law of *Moyſes*, to inhabit in, for they had left their native country, and followed the *Hebrews*, having before accompanied them in the deſart.

The tribes of *Judah* and *Simeon* took all the cities in the mountains of *Canaan*, but in the plains, and about the ſea-coaſt, only the cities of *Aſcalon* and *Azot*; for being ſituate in a level and champaign country, and abounding in chariots, they fought from them, always making a very great ſlaughter amongſt the tribes; who being now made rich with the ſpoils which they obtain'd in war, betook themſelves unto their own cities, and laid down their arms.

However, the *Benjamites*, in whoſe lot was placed *Jeruſalem*, granted the city to the inhabitants, under a condition that they ſhould become thence forwards their tributaries; whereupon a general peace was granted to them, and many from their averſion to killing and purſuing the ſlaughter, others from their diſlike of perpetual fatigues and dangers, betook themſelves to huſbandry, and the tilling of the land. The reſt of the tribes ſeeing this, and being ſtirred up by the example of the *Benjamites*, did the like; and alſo contenting themſelves with the payment of the tribute, permitted the *Canaanites* to ſit ſtill, and dwell peaceably amongſt them.

The tribe of *Ephraim* having march'd its forces againſt *Bethel*, ſpent a long time, and uſed a great deal of labour in beſieging the place to no purpoſe; wherefore though they were in a manner tired out with the tedious delay which they ſuffer'd in the ſiege, yet they reſolv'd to continue before it, and hold out to the laſt: But in a ſhort ſpace after this, they took one of the citizens, as he came to them with proviſions, and promiſed him, that if he would ſhew to them the entrance into the city, he and his kindred ſhould be preſerved; in conſequence of theſe words, the man ſwore to them that he would ſhew it to them, which accordingly he did; and he, together with his houſe, were preſerved from danger. The *Ephramites* in the mean time, put all the inhabitants to the ſword, and ſeized upon the city.

After theſe things were thus perform'd, the *Iſraelites* ſlackened their hands from the war, and began to behave themſelves more quietly. Huſbandry was diligently exerciſed by them, and their hours were imploy'd in rural labours, by the means of which they procur'd riches to themſelves, and on a ſudden growing luxurious and wanton, they wholly neglected their martial diſcipline, and no more obeyed the laws and inſtitutions of their republick. God ſeeing this was wroth with them, and being provoked by their wickedneſs, by his oracle rebuked them, telling them, that firſt of all, in contradiction to his will, they had ſpared the *Canaanites*; and that afterwards, when an opportunity was put into their hands, they, inſtead of cutting them off, had uſed them with clemency and mercy. The *Iſraelites* at this warning of God, were overwhelmed with great ſorrow: Yet in their minds hated the very mention of war, not only becauſe they received many profitable things from the *Canaanites*, but alſo, now being enervated through luxury and lazineſs, they had made themſelves unfit to fight. At this time the government of the chief men among them began to be corrupted; their elders or ſenators were not choſen as uſual, nor had they any officers or magiſtrates among them lawfully appointed; their whole method of living was practiſed in the fields, being intirely abandon'd to pleaſure and paſtimes; at laſt, a diſturbance aroſe among themſelves, from the great licentiouſneſs and prodigality in which they lived, which grew to that heighth, as plunged them into continual wars with one another; and this was the cauſe:

A certain man, of the common rank of the *Levites*, but who was an *Ephraimite*, and dwelt in that tribe, married a wife of *Bethlehem*; now this place belongs to *Judah*: The man was exceedingly in love with the woman, and greatly admired her beauty, but was made very uneaſy when he found that ſhe did not return his affection with a like ardour of ſoul: But perceiving further, that from day to day ſhe carried herſelf to him with more reſerve and coolneſs, whereas he, for his part, was the more enamour'd of her, there aroſe daily diſcontents and complaints between them; until at laſt the woman being uneaſy and not able to ſuffer them, eloped from her huſband in the fourth month after her marriage, and went home to her parents: Notwithſtanding what had paſt, the huſband ſtill burning with love towards her, went to his father and mother in law, and there making his complaint to them, a reconciliation was ſoon made up between him and his wife. Four days he abode with them, during which time they treated him very courteouſly and civilly: But upon the fifth day, he fixed his reſolution to return to his houſe, whereupon he would have begun his journey about noon day, but the parents deferr'd their daughter's journey until the decline of the day. They were followed only by one ſervant, and an aſs whereon the woman rode. As they came near to *Jeruſalem*, having then travelled above thirty furlongs, the ſervant adviſed them, there to take up their lodging, leſt marching in the night, they might meet with ſome unforeſeen dangers and difficulties; for that then they were not far diſtant from their enemies, the times being very perilous, and even thoſe whom they accounted familiar friends being to be ſuſpected. This advice however did not pleaſe the *Levite*, nor did he care to take up his abode that night with people of another nation, (for it was a city belonging to the *Canaanites*,) he judg'd it much ſafer to journey twenty furlongs homewards, and lodge in ſome city of the *Iſraelites*; wherefore, having taken this reſolution, they purſued their journey and came at laſt to *Gaba*, (or *Gibeath*) a town in the tribe of *Benjamin*, juſt as the ſun was ſet; but finding none in the market place there, who offer'd to invite them to their houſe, or entertain them, they at laſt met an old man returning out of the fields from his labour, who was of the tribe of *Ephraim*, but at that time ſojourn'd in *Gaba*, (or *Gibeath*) and being asked by him who and whence he was, and for what reaſon he came thither juſt in the dark to ſeek for ſuſtenance; he diſcover'd himſelf to be a *Levite*, and ſaid that he had been fetching his wife from her parents houſe, for that he dwelt in the tribe of *Ephraim*. The old man thereupon invited him to his houſe, upon account of his being of the ſame country, and willingly entertain'd them. But the young men of *Gibeath* having obſerved the woman in the market place, and admir'd the comelineſs of her beauty, perceiving now that ſhe was gone along with the old man, and diſregarding the weakneſs and ſmall number of thoſe who attended him; came to the gates of his houſe: The old man ſeeing this, intreated them to go their ways and depart, begging them not to uſe any violence or commit any outrage againſt him. The young men made anſwer, and bid him diſpatch his buſineſs with the woman and diſmiſs her. Whereupon he acquainted them, that ſhe was his kinſwoman and a *Levite*, and that they would prove guilty of an enormous crime, if they, to ſatisfy their libidinous deſire, ſhould thereby violate the laws of their country, and the rights of hoſpitality. But they ſeem'd to deride him, and laugh at the mention of rights and law, threatning him at the ſame time with preſent death, if he offer'd any longer to hinder the ſatisfaction of their luſt. The old man being reduced to this extremity, and unwilling that ſtrangers ſhould ſuffer any injury through his means, brought forth his own daughter, and gave her to them; telling them that he did think there was leſs ſin in permitting them to ſatisfy their deſires with her, than in the expoſing of ſtrangers to inſults and injuries; fancying likewiſe to himſelf, that in this manner he ſhould act no kind of injuſtice upon thoſe whom he had received within his houſe. But finding in the end, that all his remonſtrances were ineffectual, and that the more he ſpoke in behalf of the ſtrange woman, the more was their deſire kindled to enjoy her, he at laſt in a ſuppliant manner beſeeched them, that they would not offer to do any baſe thing by her; in ſhort, being yet more and more inflam'd by their luſt, they by force and violence took the woman and carried her to their houſe; where raviſhing her, and uſing her all the night with great indignity and ſcorn, early in the morning they puſhed her away; but ſhe being ſorely troubled for the ill treatment which ſhe had received, return'd to her hoſt, and being overwhelmed with ſorrow at the reflection on her uſage, and, through ſhame for what had happened to her, being afraid of appearing before the eyes of her huſband, whom ſhe judged to be inconſolable at this accident, ſhe threw herſelf upon the ground, and gave up the Ghoſt. Her huſband, ſuppoſing her to be oppreſſed with a deep ſleep, and ſuſpecting nothing worſe had befallen her, endeavour'd to awake her, thinking when ſhe was come to herſelf to comfort and pacify her; as having not upon her own accord and inclination yielded to the ſollicitations of the men, but that by them ſhe was hurried into another place. But as ſoon as he perceiv'd that his wife was really dead; deſigning in himſelf to expoſe the heinouſneſs of the crime, he laid the dead body upon an aſs, and in that manner returned home with it, where cutting it into twelve parts, he ſent one of them to each of the tribes, commanding thoſe who carried them to report throughout the tribes the cauſe of the death of the woman, and the unheard off treatment with which ſhe had been uſed.

When the ſeveral tribes were made acquainted with, and ſaw this horrid piece of villainy and barbarity, they were greatly incenſed thereat, as having never known the like before that time; therefore being moved with a juſt indignation at the fact, they aſſembled themſelves together at *Siloe*, and in a council there, which they had appointed before the tabernacle, they immediately decreed to take up arms againſt the inhabitants of *Gibeath* of *Benjamin*, and to declare them their enemies. But the *Elders* kept them back from this ſudden reſolution, by perſuading them, that they ought not thus haſtily to denounce war againſt their fellow tribe, before they had expoſtulated with them about the affronts and injuries which they had received from them, ſeeing that the law it ſelf did not permit, or allow that an army ſhould be carried againſt ſtrangers who had wronged them, before an embaſſy for that purpoſe had been ſent, which might uſe the beſt means, whereby to reduce them to a better underſtanding for the future; therefore they deemed it reaſonable that, according to the law, ambaſſadors ſhould be diſpatched to them, who ſhould demand the authors of the wickedneſs to be delivered up to puniſhment. After which, when they had them in their cuſtody, they ſhould be contented by their deaths; but if they ſhould meet with a refuſal, and the men of *Gibeath* ſhould behave themſelves towards them with inſolence and ſcorn, they ſhould then proclaim a war againſt them. In conſequence of this remonſtrance, ambaſſadors were ſent to them, with orders to accuſe the young men of thoſe things which had happened to the woman, and to demand that they ſhould be delivered to them, that they might be brought to juſtice, who had committed ſuch an unheard of villainy, and were on that account worthy to ſuffer death for it. But the inhabitants of *Gibeath* would not deliver into their hands the young men, judging it a blemiſh to their honour, if, through a fear of war, they ſhould comply with the demands of thoſe of the other tribes; deſiring at the ſame time to let them know that they had no occaſion to ſubmit to any other people in point of arms, or in the number or valour of their forces. For they had made great preparations of war as well as the other tribes, having contracted an enmity againſt them, and reſolved to revenge themſelves upon thoſe who ſhould offer violence againſt them.

As ſoon as the news was carried to the *Iſraelites* of theſe things, and they had heard in what temper of mind the *Benjamites* ſtood, they took an oath, that not one amongſt them would wed his daughter to a *Benjamite*, but would purſue them with war, being more offended at this their uſage, than, as we have before mention'd, were our anceſtors with the *Canaanites*: For on the ſudden they brought into the field againſt them an army of four hundred thouſand fighting men, and the *Benjamites*, to oppoſe this number, muſter'd twenty five thouſand ſix hundred perſons bearing arms; five hundred of whom were left-handed, and all of them moſt expert in uſing ſlings. The battle was fought at *Gaba*, (or *Gibeath*,) wherein the *Benjamites* put the *Iſraelites* to flight, two and twenty thouſand of whom were ſlain; and in all likelihood a greater number had periſh'd, if the night had not reſtrain'd the ſlaughter, and put an end to the fight. The *Benjamites*, rejoicing at this victory, return'd to the city; but the *Iſraelites* being overwhelm'd with ſorrow at their overthrow, betook themſelves unto their camp, and on the next day engaged the *Benjamites* again, who obtained another victory, and killed eighteen thouſand of the *Iſraelites*; which deſtruction ſo terrified them, that they forſook their camp, and marched away to *Bethel*, a city ſituated next to *Gaba*, and there having faſted all the following day, they beſought God, by *Phinees*, the high prieſt, that he would forbear to be angry with them; and having puniſh'd them with two overthrows, which they had ſuſtain'd, he would be pleaſed to beſtow the victory upon them for the future, and give them ſtrength to ſubdue their enemies: And this God promiſed them by the mouth of *Phinees* his prophet.

Upon this, the *Iſraelites* divided their army into two parts, and placed one half thereof in ambuſcades about the city, in the dead time of night; but the other, when the morning was come, engaged with the *Benjamites*, and when they perceived them to be eager in the fight, and to puſh forwards, they drew back, and made as if they gave ground, in order to fly; whereupon the *Benjamites* purſued after them: But the *Iſraelites* ſtill retreating, and being exceeding deſirous to draw them out of the city, all together in one body, were cloſely follow'd after as they fled; nay, all the old men, and youth, who had been left behind in the city, by reaſon of their age, which made them unfit for action, accompanied their countrymen in this purſuit, greatly deſiring to bring their enemies within their power. When therefore they were got at ſome diſtance from the city, the *Hebrews* deſiſted from retreating any further, and ſuddenly turning back their forces upon them, and calling aloud to the men who were placed in ambuſh, they began the encounter; which the *Benjamites* perceiving, and finding themſelves decoyed, and reduced to that condition, as not to know what to do in their preſent extremity, they were at laſt forced into a narrow vale, and beſet on every ſide, and there they were all put to the ſword, except ſix hundred perſons; who, collecting themſelves into one thick body, ruſh'd through the midſt of the enemy, and fled to the neighbouring mountains, and there poſſeſſing the faſtneſſes, they remain'd for ſome time; but all the reſt, to the number of five and twenty thouſand, were ſlain. The *Iſraelites* in this engagement burnt their city, and killed all the women and children therein; uſing the reſt of the cities of *Benjamin* with the like hoſtility and violence; nay, ſo far was their rage extended, that taking twelve thouſand men out of the army, they commanded them to march againſt *Jabiſus* (*Jabeſh*) and raze it to the ground, for not lending them its aſſiſtance againſt the *Benjamites*. This number of men went and ſlew in the city all they found able to bear arms, together with their wives and children; reſerving only from the ſlaughter four hundred virgins. Thus for the barbarity which the *Levite Woman* had ſuſtained, was all this rage and fury kindled, being followed by a vaſt deſtruction and overthrow of valiant men.

But this ſlaughter of the *Benjamites* was the cauſe of great ſorrow and repentance to the *Iſraelites*, for that one tribe was now lacking in *Iſrael*; wherefore they made a ſolemn faſt for what had happened, although at the ſame time they judged the *Benjamites* worthy of the calamities which they had lately ſuffered, by reaſon of their tranſgreſſing the laws; whereupon they ſent ambaſſadors to recal the ſix hundred perſons who had eſcaped, being now lodged upon a rock in the wilderneſs, called *Rhoa*, (or *Rimmon*.) The ambaſſadors not only bewailing the miſfortunes which the *Benjamites* had ſuſtained, but alſo expreſſing their own great concern for the loſs and death of ſo many of their kindred, exhorted them to bear the fortunes of their late war patiently, and with an even temper of mind; and adviſed them to be reconciled unto their fellow-citizens, and not utterly to ruin their own whole tribe. *For*, (ſaid they) *we grant you the lands that were given to your tribe as an inheritance, and as much of the ſpoil as you can carry hence:* Whereupon the *Benjamites*, changing their reſolution, acknowledged that their late calamities had fallen upon them by the judgment of God, and their own wickedneſs; and immediately after this, they returned to the houſes within their own tribe, thanking at their departure thoſe who had adviſed them to it. The *Iſraelites* gave the four hundred virgins taken at *Jabiſus* to them to be their wives, and held a conſultation about the two hundred remaining, how they might ſupply them alſo with wives, in order to propagate their kind. For before the beginning of the war, they had made an oath, that no *Benjamite* ſhould have a daughter of theirs to wife. Some of them were of opinion, and ſaid openly, that ſuch an oath was of no force, and ought to be rejected; for that being heated with anger, and not following what would have been the dictates of their more ſober and ſedate judgment, they had bound themſelves by it; however, that they would do a thing very acceptable to God, in preſerving from utter deſtruction, a tribe now reduced to the laſt extremity; adding, that breach of oaths, when extorted by force or neceſſity, was not blameworthy, or became criminal, but only proved ſuch when done with a wicked and detrimental view. But to this the elders did not give their conſent, lamenting for themſelves as unhappy men. But at that time a certain man among them ſtood up, and ſaid, *That he knew a method, whereby he could both find wives for them, and preſerve the integrity of their oath.* After he had thus ſpoken, they asked him, *What was his opinion, and what he would adviſe?* To which he made anſwer, *It is a cuſtom thrice in the year, both for wives and daughters to follow us to* Siloe, *there to celebrate a feaſt; let it then be permitted to the* Benjamites, *while we ſit neuter in the affair, neither aſſiſting nor hindring them, to have for wife each that virgin whom fortune ſhall throw in his way. Now if the fathers of them ſhall happen to be offended with the raviſhment of their daughters, we will tell them that they themſelves are alone to be blamed, who had not taken due care of them; and that for our own ſakes we ought to ſpare them, and not to purſue the* Benjamites *with any further hoſtility, ſeeing already ſo much violence and rage hath been ſhown to them by us; for that otherwiſe a tribe ſhall be deſtroyed out of* Iſrael.

This propoſal met with approbation, and it was ſtraightways agreed that the *Benjamites* ſhould ſteal for themſelves wives. Now when the time of the feaſt was at hand, the two hundred *Benjamites*, who had no wives, lay in ambuſh before the city for the virgins, as they came to view the ſolemnity, and hid themſelves by two or by three together in the vineyards, and other places convenient for their purpoſe; and as the virgins were coming on unguarded, and ſporting in their way, the men came ſuddenly out from their ambuſcades, and ſeized upon them as they endeavoured to fly away; by this means having procured to themſelves wives, they, with great alacrity and vigilance, betook themſelves to husbandry, and gave good hopes of their arriving in times to come to their former happy ſtate. Thus the tribe of *Benjamin*, which was brought to that extremity, as not to be far off from being entirely aboliſhed, was, as we have before hinted, preſerved from ruin by the *Iſraelites*; and although its decline from a flouriſhing condition was ſudden, great, and very lamentable; yet, was it but of ſhort continuance: And in the quickeſt manner, beyond all expectation, this tribe received a vaſt increaſe, both in the multitude of its men, and other acquiſitions. *And thus was the period put to this war.*

CHAP. III.

How after this Affliction the Iſraelites, *continuing to go on in their Impieties, were brought under the* Aſſyrian *Bondage, and at laſt delivered therefrom by* GOD, *under the Conduct of* Hothniel, *who continued at the Head of Affairs forty Years.*

IT happened now, that the tribe of *Dan* muſt undergo the ſame calamities with thoſe mentioned above of *Benjamin*; the cauſe of their affliction ariſing thus: When the *Iſraelites* had now begun to abate their wonted ardour for martial diſcipline, and in exchange thereof had given themſelves wholly up to husbandry and the tilling of land; the *Canaanites*, making little account of them, and in a manner deſpiſing them on that ſcore, gathered together their forces; not through any apprehenſion of being invaded and expelled by the *Hebrews*, but relying upon a certain hope, that, in giving them diſturbances, they ſhould in greater ſecurity for the future enjoy the poſſeſſion of their cities. With this view therefore they got ready chariots, and with great induſtry raiſed an army, many of their cities aſſociating themſelves together in the ſame enterprize, and drawing to their ſide *Aſcalon* and *Accaron*, cities placed in the lot of *Judah*, beſides a great many more ſituated upon the plains; by means whereof they forced the men of *Dan* to fly into the mountains, not leaving them in the champaign country the leaſt place to fix themſelves in; who, perceiving themſelves an undermatch for thoſe who had warred againſt them, and knowing that they had not ground ſufficient for their maintenance, ſent five perſons of their tribe into the inland country, to inſpect the ſame, and find out convenient places to plant colonies in. The men, having travelled one day, came into the wide and open country about *Sidon*, which is not far from mount *Libanus*, and the ſprings of *Jordan*; where finding the ground was good and very fruitful, they acquainted their countrymen therewith, who in a ſhort ſpace afterwards marched thither with their army, and built the city of *Dan*, naming it from one of the ſons of *Jacob*, and their own tribe.

The affairs of the *Iſraelites* did now daily run more and more into confuſion, by reaſon of their diſuſing themſelves to labour, and neglecting the worſhipping of God: For, no ſooner had they departed from the preſcriptions of their firſt wiſe and commendable inſtitutions, than they purſued a life entirely ſuited to their own perverſe wills and lawleſs paſſions, giving themſelves a looſe to all the vices of the *Canaanites*. Hereupon God became diſpleaſed with them, and they, who in a manner had procured to themſelves an happy and quiet ſtate, through infinite hardſhips and dangers, fell now from it, by following luxury and wantonneſs: For *Chuſhan-riſhathaim*, (*Chuſarthus* king of the *Aſſyrians*,) waging war againſt them, they loſt great numbers of their men in battle, and many of their ſtrong holds were taken by ſiege; beſides, ſome revolted to him through fear, and others ſubmitted, and conſented to pay tribute, which was almoſt impoſſible for them to perform. In fine, all degrees of them for the ſpace of eight years, underwent all manner of hardſhip and contumely, at the end whereof they procured their liberty in the following manner:

A certain man of the tribe of *Judah*, ſirnamed *Hothniel*, the ſon of *Kenez*; a perſon of reſolution, vigilance and courage, was warned by the oracle not to think meanly of his countrymen the *Iſraelites*, although reduced to the abject condition in which he beheld them; but to take courage and venture himſelf to regain their freedom. In obedience therefore to the admonition given him, he got together ſome companions of his, who had been well tried in dangers; (for there were remaining yet a few gallant ſouls, who were aſhamed of the preſent ſituation of affairs, and on that account were deſirous of ſome change therein for the better,) with whom he firſt of all attacked the guards of *Chuſarthus*, and ſlew him. The number of his ſoldiers increaſing, upon the report of his victory being ſpread abroad, he engaged the *Aſſyrians*, and putting all of them to flight, he forced them to paſs over the *Euphrates*. *Hothniel* after this, in regard of the great courage which he had ſhewn in this action, and the good ſucceſs he had obtained, received at the hands of the people the principality, and was made *Judge* over them: In which high office, having governed the *Iſraelites* forty years, he departed this life.

CHAP. IV.

How our Nation again were again made Servants to the Moabites, *and reſtored to Liberty by* Ehud, *who enjoyed the Government eighty Years.*

AFTER the death of *Hothniel*, the eſtate of the *Iſraelites* began to receive again a melancholy aſpect; and the reaſon was, becauſe there was none at the head of affairs to govern the people. But that which was the chief cauſe and principal ſource of all their afflictions, was their neglect of giving to God the honour due to him, and their non-obedience of his laws. Wherefore *Eglon*, king of the *Moabites*, beholding the confuſion into which their affairs were plunged, deſpiſed them, and had them in contempt: And therefore he began

gan to commit hoſtilities againſt them, whereby, in ſeveral encounters he overcame them; and moreover, that he might utterly deſtroy the force and might of thoſe who had behaved themſelves in a more lofty and lordly manner than other nations, and humble their pride, he made them to ſerve under him, exacting an intolerable tribute from them; for having his regal palace in *Jericho*, he ſtrove by all methods to vex the *Iſraelites*, cauſing them to live for the ſpace of eighteen years in the utmoſt want and miſery. God, however, in the end, taking compaſſion on the calamities which they ſuſtained, and being moved thereto, by the ſupplications made by them to him on that account, freed them from the ſervitude of the *Moabites*, in the manner following:

A young man of the tribe of *Benjamin* ſirnamed *Ehud*, whoſe father was *Gera*, being endowed not only with a ſoul capable of forming great deſigns, but alſo with an unuſal ſtrength of body to put ſuch things in execution; being alſo left handed, for in that arm conſiſted all his might, had obtained a more than ordinary degree of friendſhip with *Eglon*, as living himſelf in *Jericho*, and confirming the acquaintance he had with the king, with continual preſents that he made him, by which means he had a freer acceſs to him, than any other perſon about him, and likewiſe was held in the higheſt favour. It fell out one time, that *Ehud* carried preſents to the king, attended only by two ſervants at that time, and went in unto him, only armed with a dagger, fixed under his raiment to his right thigh. The ſeaſon then being very hot, and about noon-time of day, the guards were not ſo ſtrict upon their duties, either becauſe of the ſummer's heat, or that then it was dinner time. *Ehud* having made his preſents to *Eglon*, who then remained in his ſummer-houſe, the king entered into diſcourſe with him; for they were both alone together, *Eglon* having commanded the ſervants, who waited at the time of *Ehud*'s coming, to retire, and to leave him to talk with him by himſelf. In the mean time the king was ſitting on a throne, when *Ehud* entertaining ſome fear of the miſcarrying of his ſtroke, and that he ſhould not give him a blow mortal enough, did therefore take hold of the king, acquainting him that he had a dream, which God had enjoined him to unfold to him. *Eglon* rejoicing that he was about to hear ſuch a dream, ſtepped from his throne; whereupon *Ehud* ſtriking him to the heart with his dagger, left the blade thereof in the wound, and went out of the room, making the door faſt after him: All the ſervants in the mean time being very ſtill, as ſuppoſing the king was fallen into a ſleep.

After this, *Ehud* privately acquainted the inhabitants of *Jericho* with what he had done, and adviſed them now to ſeek out a way whereby to regain their liberty; which words were well received by them, and immediately they not only made haſte to take up arms, but diſpatched certain perſons throughout the whole country, who, by the ſound of rams horns, ſhould ſignify ſuch their reſolution. This was a cuſtom in that country, whereby they aſſembled the people together. Now the ſervants of *Eglon* remained a long time ignorant of what had happened to the king; wherefore, in the cloſe of the day, fearing leſt ſome new and unuſual accident had befallen him, they entered the room; but finding him dead they ſtood looking upon one another, as if bereaved of their reaſon and ſenſes, and before they were able to muſter up the guards, the *Iſraelites* in a great body came upon them; when many were thrown from the ſtairs that led to the chamber and ſo killed, others fled unto the land of *Moab* to the number of above ten thouſand; but the *Iſraelites* firſt taking poſſeſſion of the fords of *Jordan*, where the *Moabites* were to paſs over, intercepted and ſlew them, and ſuch as eſcaped in their paſſage over were drowned, not one of them remaining to get into their own country. And in this manner were the *Hebrews* freed from the ſervitude of the *Moabites*. *Ehud*, for this ſignal piece of ſervice, having obtained the rule over the whole people, died, after a government of eighty years continuance. He was a perſon, who, in conſideration of what he had performed, as we have juſt now mentioned, had juſtly deſerved to be held in eſteem, and judged worthy of all commendation. After him ſucceeded in the government, by the univerſal conſent of the people, *Shamgar*, (or *Sanagar*,) the ſon of *Anath*, who departed this life in the firſt year of his reign.

CHAP. V.

How under the Canaanites *the* Iſraelites *were oppreſſed with a cruel Servitude of twenty Years continuance, and regained their Liberty by* Barac *and* Debora, *who governed forty Years.*

THE *Iſraelites*, not in the leaſt amending their lives, or taking warning from the calamities which they had experienced, but ſtill continuing not to worſhip God, or obey his laws, were again, before they had long enjoyed a reſpite from the ſervitude of *Moab*, brought under ſubjection to *Jabin*, king of the *Canaanites*: This king originally came from the city of *Hazor*, (or *Aſor*,) ſituated above the lake *Semechonitis*, and kept an army conſiſting of three hundred thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and three thouſand chariots; over which *Siſera*, (or *Siſares*,) was the general, who was next in dignity to the king. This captain, having brought under ſubjection the *Iſraelites*, reduced them to great extremities, ſo that in the end he impoſed an heavy tribute upon them.

For twenty years ſpace they remained under this ſervitude, but in all that length of time, the greater part were not in the leaſt made ſenſible of their wickedneſs by the calamities they ſuffered; whereupon God, beholding them to be of a ſtubborn diſpoſition, and viewing their ingratitude towards him, was willing to afflict them ſtill longer; but they who were of a ſounder judgment, and by the afflictions which had befallen them had learnt that all their hardſhips proceeded from a contempt of the laws, went and beſought *Debora* a propheteſs (which ſignifies a *Bee* in the *Hebrew* language,) to intreat God by her prayers, that he would take compaſſion upon their condition, and not ſtill be angry with them, now they were in a manner deſtroyed by the *Canaanites*: Wherefore, God vouchſafing to have compaſſion on them, appointed for their deliverer *Barac* of the tribe of *Nepthalim*. The word *Barac*, in the dialect of the *Hebrews*, is interpreted, *Lightning*.

Debora ſending for *Barac*, commanded him to make choice of ten thouſand young men of valour, and with them to march againſt the enemy; ſuch a number being ſufficient, eſpecially ſeeing God himſelf had appointed that number, and declared he would give the victory by them. *Barac* however told her, *He would not lead out the army, unleſs ſhe ſhared in the command thereof*; whereupon ſeeming angry, ſhe ſpoke thus: *Would thou give to a woman part of that honour which God hath aſſuredly deſigned for thee alone? However, I will not refuſe it.* After this they gathered together ten thouſand men, and incamped on mount *Tabor*, (or *Itabrius*,) where *Siſera*, (*Siſares*) ſat down over againſt them, by the command of the king, he himſelf being not far from the enemy with the reſt of the army. The *Iſraelites* and *Barac* were ſtruck with fear at the multitude of the enemy, and were ready to retreat, when *Debora* kept them from it, enjoyning them to engage them that very day, for the victory was almoſt in their poſſeſſion, God being ready to afford them his aid and aſſiſtance.

Whereupon the battle began: But as they were engaging, a prodigious tempeſt aroſe, wherein deſcended large drops of rain and hail, and the wind blowing fiercely, threw the rain in the faces of the *Canaanites*, by which being blinded, their darts and ſlings proved of little or no ſervice to them; and the ſoldiers, by reaſon of the cold, and the weight of their armour, could not wield their ſwords: But the tempeſt was upon the backs of the *Iſraelites*, and therefore the leſs annoyed them. Whereupon taking freſh courage, as then believing that God was preſent to their aſſiſtance, they ruſhed into the middle of the enemy, and there followed a terrible ſlaughter of them; ſome were ſlain, falling by the hands of the *Iſraelites*; others, tumbling headlong from their horſes, died; and a great number more, flinging themſelves from their chariots, ſeemed to covet death. When *Siſera*, (*Siſares*,) ſaw his men flying away, he leaped from his chariot, and fled to the tent of a certain *Kenite* woman, named *Jael*, (*Jale*,) who, upon his requeſt that ſhe would conceal him, entertained him, and gave him ſoure milk to drink, upon his asking for ſomething to quench his thirſt; and having immediately drunk thereof, he was ſuddenly overwhelmed with a deep ſleep; whereupon *Jael*, with a mighty force, drove a nail through his temples, and faſtened him to the ground, ſhowing him to the ſoldiers of *Barac*, who in a litle ſpace afterwards came to enquire for him, in that condition nailed to the floor: Thus did a *woman* obtain the victory as *Debora* had propheſied. But *Barac* beſieging the city of *Azor*, ſlew *Jaban* as he came to relieve it, and after the death of his general, he laid it level with the ground. After this victory, *Barac* kept poſſeſſion of the government during the ſpace of forty years.

CHAP. VI.

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Gideon the ſon of *Joaſh*, at this time a man of low condition, and of the tribe of *Manaſſes*, carried the ſheaves of his corn and thraſhed them ſecretly by his wine-preſs, for he was afraid of doing ſo on the floor of his barn, becauſe of the enemy. But while he was threſhing, a viſion appeared to him in the likeneſs of a young man, which told him, *That he was an happy man, and beloved of God. It is no great ſign of favour,* anſwered Gideon, *that I am obliged to uſe my wine-preſs inſtead of the threſhing-floor.* But the viſion bad him *be of good courage, and endeavour to regain the liberty of his countrymen.* To which *Gideon*, anſwered, *That ſuch a thing was impoſſible, ſeeing that his family was*

was but ſmall in the tribe to which he belong'd, and he himſelf a young man, who durſt hardly entertain a thought of performing things of ſo great importance. At this, God promiſed him, that he would give him whatever he wanted, and beſtow the victory upon the *Iſraelites*, on condition he himſelf would conduct the army.

Immediately after this, *Gedeon* made the whole affair known to ſome young men, with whom he found credit, and in a little time had an army of ten thouſand perſons ready with him to enter the field: But God appearing to him in a viſion, acquainted him, *That the perſons conſtituting his army, were of ſuch haughty diſpoſition, as to be great admirers of themſelves, and to bear enmity againſt all others who were remarkable either for virtue or courage; and moreover they always took it ill, when it was believed that the victory proceeded from God, and not from them, who would have it always attributed to their ſkill and valour, as being a great number of fighting men, and able enough to encounter with any enemy.* Wherefore, that the Divine Aſſiſtance might appear in this affair, He gave him this injunction; *That as ſoon as the heat of the day was at its heighth, he ſhould lead his army to the river, when thoſe who ſhould fall on their knees, and in that condition did drink, he ſhould eſteem them as valiant men; but as many as with haſte and eagerneſs did take up water in their hands, lapping it, he ſhould mark them as perſons who drank in that manner through cowardice, and fear of the enemy.* *Gedeon* obeying this command of God, made trial of the experiment, and found three hundred men, who through fear took water in their hands, and with trembling put it to their lips; theſe perſons God enjoin'd him to take, and engage the enemy with: Whereupon they encamped near *Jordan*, reſolving to paſs over the next day.

Gedeon at this time entertain'd a great fear within himſelf, becauſe God had commanded him to attack the enemy in the night-time; whereupon the Almighty, willing that he ſhould baniſh from his breaſt all thoughts of dangers, bid him join in company with him one of his ſoldiers, and go down, and draw near unto the camp of the *Madianites*, for that from them he ſhould receive ſtrength and courage. In obedience to what he was enjoin'd, he went, taking with him *Phora*, (or *Phurah*,) his ſervant, who approaching a certain tent, they found the ſoldiers in it awake, and one among them telling a dream to his comrade, which *Gedeon* eaſily overheard; the man told it in this manner: *Methought I ſaw a cake of barley rolling through the army, which for badneſs was not fit for any man to eat; and having paſſed through the king's tent, and thrown it down, it afterwards enter'd all the other tents of the hoſt, doing the like.* His Companion anſwer'd, *That the utter deſtruction of the* Madianites *was ſignified by the dream*; and gave, for ſuch his opinion in this matter, this reaſon, *That as* Barley *of all grain was the meaneſt, ſo the* Iſraelites *of all the nations who lived in* Aſia, *ſeem'd now to be the moſt deſpicable, reſembling the barley-cake; and that which then carried in itſelf any marks of courage and ſtrength, were* Gedeon *and his army.* To this he likewiſe further added, and ſaid, *Seeing that thou ſayeſt thou haſt ſeen a cake of barley overturning our tents, I am much afraid leſt God will take the victory from us, and give it to* Gedeon.

When *Gedeon* had heard this dream, he was inſpir'd with new courage and hope, and acquainted his men with what he had heard in the camp of the enemy, and ordered them forthwith to betake themſelves to their arms. The men being now emboldened from the relation which had been told them, ſhowed themſelves very ready to perform his commands. Wherefore about the fourth watch, *Gedeon* drew out the three hundred men, and divided them into three parts, each conſiſting of an hundred men: Every perſon carried in his left hand an empty pitcher, with a torch burning in it, to prevent the enemy from perceiving their march, and in their right they bore a *ram's horn*, which they made uſe of in the room of a trumpet. The enemy's camp took up a large ſpace of ground, having in it a great number of camels; and the forces within it being diſtributed by their nations, were all contain'd in one large circumference. Now the *Hebrews* had been before inſtructed what they ſhould do, namely, that as ſoon as they came near the enemy, upon a ſignal given, they ſhould ſound their horns, and break their pitchers, and with their lighted torches, with a great ſhout, they ſhould ruſh amongſt the midſt of their enemies, and overcome them, God in the mean time lending his aſſiſtance to *Gedeon*. All theſe things they punctually obey'd, when a vaſt diſorder and fear ſeiz'd all the *Madianites*, being hardly awake, but half aſleep, for it was night-time, God ordering that it ſhould ſo happen: Few indeed were killed by their enemies, but a great number by their own companions and allies, by reaſon of the difference of languages amongſt them; all who ſtood in their way being put to the ſword as enemies, when once the confuſion had begun. The ſlaughter was exceeding great: And no ſooner was this victory, which *Gedeon* obtain'd, reported to the *Iſraelites*, than they took to their arms, and purſuing after them, they came upon them in a flat part of the country, ſurrounded on every ſide with rapid torrents of water, which rendering it impracticable for them to paſs over, they encompaſſed them all about, putting every man of them to the ſword, and killing their two kings, *Oreb* and *Zeb*, (or *Zeeb*.) The other generals in the mean time taking the remaining part of the army along with them, marched with it farther into the country, (being about eighteen thouſand men,) and incamp'd at a good diſtance from the *Iſraelites*. But *Gedeon*, with indefatigable pains, follow'd after them with his whole army, and engaging them, put them all to the rout, making a great ſlaughter of them, and took at the ſame time their two leaders, *Zebah*, (or *Zebe*,) and *Zalmunna*, (or *Salmana*,) which were now left, his priſoners. In this battle fell of the *Madianites* and *Arabians* their auxiliaries, about one hundred and twenty thouſand; the *Hebrews* obtaining a vaſt plunder of gold, ſilver, embroidery, camels and cattle: At the end whereof, *Gedeon* time, the greater part were not in the leaſt made ſenſible of their wickedneſs by the calamities they ſuffered; whereupon God, beholding them to be of a ſtubborn diſpoſition, and viewing their ingratitude towards him, was willing to afflict them ſtill longer; but they who were of a ſounder judgment, and by the afflictions which had befallen them had learnt that all their hardſhips proceeded from a contempt of the laws, went and beſought *Debora* a propheteſs (which ſignifies a *Bee* in the *Hebrew* language,) to intreat God by her prayers, that he would take compaſſion upon their condition, and not ſtill be angry with them, now they were in a manner deſtroyed by the *Canaanites:* Wherefore, God vouchſafing to have compaſſion on them, appointed for their deliverer *Barac* of the tribe of *Nepthalim.* The word *Barac*, in the dialect of the *Hebrews*, is interpreted, *Lightning.*

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Now the tribe of *Ephraim* were diſpleaſed with the ſucceſs of *Gedeon*, and reſolved to proclaim war againſt him, alledging as a reaſon for their ſo doing, his engaging the enemy, before he had communicated the affair to them, and call'd them to accompany him. Hereupon *Gedeon*, who was a perſon of much moderation, and endow'd with virtuous accompliſhments, acquainted them, that it was not from any deſire or inclination of his own, he had fought with the enemy, without their concurrence in the action, but he had done ſo, in conformity to the Divine Command; adding, that the victory was as much belonging to them who had not fought, as thoſe who had. Having at laſt by theſe remonſtrances, appeaſed their indignation againſt him, he thereby perform'd a piece of ſervice more beneficial to the *Hebrews*, than what he had atcheiv'd againſt their enemies amounted to; for a ſeditious humour ſpreading among them, he entirely baniſh'd it: Yet, for the contumely which this tribe uſed him with, it ſuffer'd a puniſhment, which we ſhall mention in its due place.

Gedeon, being deſirous of laying down the government, was neverthelеſs oblig'd to retain it forty years, preſiding in the judgment ſeat, and determining the differences of all who applied to him on that account, who always went away ſatisfied with his deciſion, *Gedeon* having arrived at a good old age, died, and was buried at *Ephra*.

CHAP. VII.

How the Hebrews *under ſeveral ſucceeding Governors, waged War for a long Time with all the bordering Nations.*

GEDEON had ſeventy ſons born to him in lawful wedlock; he having many wives. But he had one ſon by his concubine *Druma*, who was illegitimate, and was call'd *Abimelech*, who, after his father's deceaſe, went to *Sicim* (or *Shechem*,) where he was born, to viſit his mother's kindred; where receiving money from them, therewith he hir'd vain and light perſons, with whom he return'd to his father's houſe, and there ſlew all his brethren, except *Joatham* (or *Jotham*,) who fortunately had hid himſelf, and by that means was preſerv'd. But in the mean time, *Abimelech* govern'd every thing in a tyrannical manner, eſteeming his will and pleaſure, and whatſover he acted thereby as lawful and juſt, being a profeſſed enemy to thoſe who ſhow'd themſelves guardians or protectors of the laws.

It fell out upon a time, that as a feaſt was celebrated at *Sicim*, whereat all the people were aſſembled, his brother *Joatham*, whom we have before mention'd to have hid himſelf, aſcending the mount *Garizim*, which overlooks *Sicim*, he lift up his voice, to the end that all might diſtinctly hear him ſpeak, and pray'd them to keep ſilence, and give attention unto his words. No ſooner was ſilence made among them, than he ſpoke thus: *The trees on a time, met together in council, wherein they deſir'd the* Fig-tree *to exerciſe the government over them; but upon its refuſal and ſaying, that it would continue to enjoy the honour which its own fruit gave it, rather than be oblig'd for any thing that proceeded from the gift of another; thereupon the trees bethought themſelves of ſome other, unto whom they might commit the rule; when at laſt, it was adjudg'd proper for the vine to receive it: But the vine, after they had fixed their choice upon him, made uſe of the ſame reaſons as the* Fig-tree *had done before, to refuſe the government. In like manner the* Olive-tree *being offer'd the command, refuſed it. But the* Bramble, *which is a plant only for burning, being asked, gave them his promiſe, that with great aſſiduity and care, he would manage their affairs. But,* ſaid he, *you muſt put your truſt under my ſhadow: For, if at any time you go about to contrive my ruin, I will put fire within my branches, and conſume all of you.* After *Joatham* had declar'd himſelf thus, he told them he had not mention'd theſe things to create laughter, or for the ſake of a jeſt, but to make them reflect upon their own ingratitude, who, having receiv'd many favours at the hands of *Gedeon*, now tamely ſuffer'd his illegitimate ſon *Abimelech* to rule over them; adding, that they themſelves were accomplices with him in the murther of his brethren, and in the end, would find by experience, his temper to be like that of fire. Having thus ſpoken, he withdrew himſelf, and dwelt among the mountains, as one in exile, flying through fear from *Abimelech*, and hiding himſelf from him for the ſpace of three years.

Not long after the feaſt, the *Sicimites*, repenting themſelves of the murther committed upon the ſons of *Gedeon*, baniſhed *Abimelech*, not only out of their city, but their tribe: Whereupon he, and thoſe who accompanied him, reſolv'd to revenge themſelves upon the city. At this time, the ſeaſon of gathering in the grapes drew near; but the people had ſuch terrible apprehenſions of the cruelty of *Abimelech*, that they durſt not go into the fields to reap their vintage. In order to encourage them, and remove their fears, one *Gaal*, a perſon of principal authority, came to them, with his relations and a band of armed men: Him therefore they intreated to be their ſafeguard, while their vintage was finiſh'd; and *Gaal* complied with their deſire: Whereupon they, by the aſſiſtance of *Gaal*, to whom were likewiſe join'd a troop of ſoldiers, which belong'd to them, being ſecur'd from the inſults of *Abimelech* and his men, reap'd their fruits, and carried them home in ſafety and peace; and over their cups took the freedom of aſperſing *Abimelech*, and his relations who were officers. Beſides, they placed ambuſcades about the city, whereby, taking many of the guards of *Abimelech*, they put them to death.

Hereupon one *Zebul*, a chief man among the *Sicimites*, but a friend of *Abimelech*, ſent meſſengers to acquaint him, how *Gaal* moved the people againſt him; withal adviſing him to plant liers in wait before the city; for that in the mean time he would perſuade *Gaal* to come out and engage him, whereby he would have it in his power to be revenged upon him: After which, he gave him aſſurance, that he would be able to bring about a reconciliation betwixt him and the people. In conſequence of this information, *Abimelech* aroſe and his men in the night, and lay in wait in the fields; *Gaal* in the mean time together with *Zebul*, in a careleſs manner marching about the ſuburbs. But when *Gaal* ſaw men in armour drawing near him, he called aloud to *Zebul*, telling him, that men in battle array were approaching them: Upon this, *Zebul* anſwered, that the things he ſaw were only the ſhadow of rocks. But *Gaal* perceiving them to come nearer and nearer, cried out, that they were no ſhadows, but a real company of men. To which *Zebul* rejoined, "Didſt not thou ſay that *Abimelech* was "a ſlothful and impotent prince? Shew now "thyſelf what a man thou art, in engaging with "him" *Gaal* was not a little ſurprized at this, and coming out of the city encountred with *Abimelech*. Having loſt ſeveral of his men in the engagement, he got into the city, being put to flight; but ſoon returning, brought with him back a freſh ſupply of ſoldiers. *Zebul* during theſe tranſactions endeavoured to perſuade the citizens to diſown *Gaal*, and hinder him from coming among them, as having cowardly, and without cauſe, engaged with *Abimelech*. On the other hand, *Abimelech* underſtanding that the *Sicimites* were gone forth to gather in their vintage, put men in ambuſh in places about the city, commanding the third part of his army to ſeize upon the gates, thereby to hinder the citizens from coming out; but all the reſt who fled he purſued after with his army, putting to the ſword all he met with; and taking the city without ſiege, he levelled it with the ground, ſowing afterwards with ſalt the places where the walls ſtood. Thus were the *Sicimites* in a manner all cut off. But thoſe who had eſcaped the danger, by flying into the country, gathered themſelves into a body, and entering into a ſtrong hold well fortified, deſigned there to defend themſelves: Which *Abimelech* underſtanding drew near it with all his forces, and carrying in his hands bundles of dry and combuſtible wood, with an intent of ſurrounding the place therewith, he ordered his army to follow his example. In a ſhort ſpace of time the whole circumference of the hold was incompaſſed with wood, and other combuſtible matter, to which they ſet fire: At this, a ſudden and terrible blaze enſued, wherein was conſumed to aſhes, as well the men as their wives and children, not one being able to eſcape. About one thouſand five hundred men periſhed, but of others a very great multitude. Such was this deſtruction that befel the *Sicimites*; and their unhappy caſe had merited a far greater ſhare of pity, but that they ſuffered a puniſhment very juſt, for their ungrateful treatment of the poſterity of *Gedeon* a perſon ſo well deſerving at their hands.

Theſe miſeries which the *Sicimites* ſuſtained by the means of *Abimilech*, ſtruck a terrour into the *Iſraelites*; and now it plainly appeared, that through his deſire of revenge, he would not ſit down contented with what he had done, but coveting ſtill to accompliſh a more heavy deſtruction, he would purſue the dictates of his enraged ſoul ſo far, as to cut them all off. With this reſolution he marched againſt *Thebes* (or *Thebez*,) and in a ſudden encounter took it; but there was a tower of very great ſtrength in the city, unto which great numbers of the people had fled to ſecure themſelves; this he attempted to force: But as he was making his attack upon the gates, a woman caſt a piece of a milſtone upon his head: *Abimelech* with the ſtroke fell upon the ground, and beſought his armour-bearer to draw his ſword and ſtab him, that it might not be ſaid, *he was killed by the hand of a woman.* The man performed his commands; and this puniſhment did *Abimelech* undergo for his cruelty towards his brethern, and inhumanity ſhown to the *Sicimites*; all this happened according to the prophecy of *Joatham*. The ſoldiers who followed *Abimelech*, now when they found him dead diſperſed themſelved about, and returned to their habitations.

After this *Jair* a *Gileadite*, of the tribe of *Manaſſes*, ſucceeded in the government of the *Iſraelites*, a man not only happy in his worldly acquiſitions, but in his children, who were thirty in number, all good and able horſemen, and to whom were committed the ſuperintendency of the cities of the *Gileadites*. *Jair*, when he had ruled twenty and two years, died in an advanced age, and was buried in *Camon*, a city of *Gilead*.

But after his deceaſe, the *Iſraelites* began again to tranſgreſs the Ordinances of God, and contemn the laws; Whereupon the *Ammanites*, (or *Ammonites*,) *Palæſtines*, (or *Philiſtines*,) came and inſulted them, and waſted their country, with a great army; ſtriving at the ſame time, after they had got into their poſſeſſion the places beyond *Jordan*, to reduce under their power all the reſt. The *Hebrews*, moved by theſe outrages done againſt them, and becoming more circumſpect from the ſenſe of their calamities, turned themſelves by prayers towards God, and offered ſacrifices to him, imploring him, That putting an end to his anger, he would hear their ſupplications. God hereupon turned from the fierceneſs of his wrath, and repenting him of the evil, had compaſſion upon them, being grieved for the miſery of *Iſrael*.

The *Ammanites* now marching into *Gilead*, the inhabitants of the country having no leader to conduct them, aſſembled themſelves together at *Miſpeh*. At this time there was a man named *Jephthes*, (or *Jephthah*,) of ſingular courage and conduct, who maintained an army under him at his own expence; to this perſon the *Gileadites* ſent meſſengers, with an earneſt requeſt that he would give them his aſſiſtance, promiſing him at the ſame time, to confer the government upon him as long as he lived.

Jephthah appear'd not in the leaſt to be moved with their words and promiſes, but upbraiding them, expoſtulated with them for their neglecting to aſſiſt him, at the time when his brethren openly injur'd him: For *Jephthah* not being their own lawful brother, nor born of the ſame mother that they were, they had thruſt him out of his father's houſe as a ſtranger, without any regard had either to his age or weakneſs. *Jephthah* at this time liv'd in a country of *Gilead*, called *Tob*, where giving admittance to all thoſe who gather'd to him, he aſſociated himſelf with them. Thither it was, that the *Gileadites* had ſent their meſſengers to *Jephthah*, by whoſe repeated intreaties being at laſt prevail'd upon, after they had ſworn to him that he ſhould enjoy the government during life, he took upon him the command of their forces.

Jephthah having now provided every thing in the beſt manner for his enterprize, and incamped his army in *Miſpeh*, ambaſſadors were ſent by him to the king of the *Ammonites*, with inſtructions to demand redreſs for the wrongs committed by him. To which this anſwer was return'd by the king of the children of *Ammon*, *That* Iſrael, *when they came out of* Ægypt, *had taken away his land from* Arnon *to* Jabbok, *and unto* Jordan; *and therefore he deſir'd them to leave the country of* Amorea, *as being the inheritance of his predeceſſors time out of mind*. To this *Jephthah* by his ambaſſadors made anſwer, *That they had no reaſon to blame the* Iſraelites *for taking the poſſeſſion of* Amorea; *but that they rather ought to thank them for paſſing by the country of* Ammon, Moyſes *while living, having had the power to ſeize it, if he had ſo intended*. Hereupon the king of the *Ammonites* enjoined the *Iſraelites* to depart out of his land, which they had detain'd above three hundred years. To which *Jephthah* again returned anſwer, *That foraſmuch as they had poſſeſſed it above three hundred years, his intention was to preſerve what they now enjoyed.*

Having declar'd himſelf thus, he diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors; after which, he offer'd up prayers for the victory, and promiſed to ſacrifice to God the firſt thing he ſhould meet, after his ſafe return from the war. With this reſolution he attack'd the enemy, and in a little time he put them to flight, purſuing and killing them as far as the city of *Maniathe*, (or *Minnith*;) after which, paſſing over into *Ammon*, he demoliſhed many of their cities, and obtain'd a very great prey, freeing the inhabitants from a ſervitude which they had continued under for the ſpace of eighteen years. As he return'd home, a melancholy accident befel him, which damped the joy he had conceiv'd, for the glorious victory that he had lately obtain'd; for his daughter, who was his only child, and a virgin, came out to meet him. *Jephthah* at the ſight of her, was exceedingly afflicted with grief, and blamed his daughter for the over-much haſte ſhe had made in coming to meet him; for that he had promiſed, *To make a Sacrifice to God, of the firſt thing he ſhould meet at his return.* The young woman hearing this ſpeech of her father, was not at all affected with the thoughts of what was to befal her, conſidering that her loſs by death was abundantly made up, by the victory and liberty her father had obtained for his citizens; whereupon ſhe deſired him to let her alone for two months, that with her companions ſhe might bewail her virginity; at the end of which he ſhould be at full liberty to perform his vow. *Jephthah* hereupon allowed her the time ſhe demanded, but at the expiration thereof he took and ſacrificed her. In this action he did what was neither conformable to the law, nor acceptable to God, becauſe he had not ſufficiently conſidered the evil conſequences that might follow upon ſuch a raſh vow; and the opinion men might entertain of him, who ſhould chance to hear the unnaturalneſs of the fact.

The *Ephraimites* at this time proclaimed war againſt *Jephthah*, becauſe he had not carried them along with him in his expedition againſt the *Ammonites*, to the end he might reſerve the booty and the glory of the action entirely to himſelf. *Jephthah* having underſtood this, in the firſt place told them, that though they were not ignorant how his brethren and relations were oppreſſed with war, yet in ſuch their neceſſity they denied them their aſſiſtance, when intreated to grant it, at a time when they ought to have endeavoured their reſcue above all other conſiderations. Beſides, he upbraided them with their want of courage and generoſity, in not daring to engage with the enemy, but inſtead of that committing hoſtilities againſt their brethren. Finally, he told them, he would revenge himſelf, with the Divine Aſſiſtance, upon them, unleſs they behaved themſelves in another manner. But with all theſe remonſtrances *Jephthah* prevailed not: Wherefore gathering an army out of *Gilead*, he encountred them as they were marching againſt him; the engagement was ſharp, and many were ſlain in the fight; the reſt being routed, and flying towards *Jordan*, he diſpatched a party to ſeize upon the paſſages of that river, to intercept them, that none might eſcape: So that at this time were killed to the number of forty two thouſand men.

After this *Jephthah* governed the *Iſraelites* ſix years, and then died, being buried in *Sebee*, a city of *Gilead*.

After his deceaſe, *Apſan* (or *Ibſan*) of the tribe of *Judah*, and of the town of *Bethlehem*, obtained the government; this perſon had ſixty children, thirty ſons, and as many daughters, who ſurvived him: To the ſons he gave wives, and to the daughters huſbands; and after a government of ſeven years continuance, which was attended with nothing either remarkable, or worthy remembrance, he died in his old age, and was buried in his own country.

After *Apſan*'s death, *Elon*, a *Zabulonite*, ſucceeded in the government, and poſſeſſed it ten years; in all that time performing nothing of any moment.

After the death of *Elon*, *Abdon*, the ſon of *Hellel*, a *Pharothanite*, and of the tribe of *Ephraim*, obtained the government. This perſon is not famous for any thing, except for his numerous iſſue of good children, and the great peace and ſecurity which ſubſiſted during his reign; for he had forty ſons, and thirty nephews begot by them: All theſe were able horſemen, and it was *Abdon*'s cuſtom to ride with them, being ſeventy in number. He died in an advanced age, leaving them his ſurvivors, and was buried in a magnificent manner in *Pharathon*.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Strength of Sampſon, *and the many Evils he brought upon the* Paleſtines.

WHEN *Abdon* was dead, the *Paleſtines*, (or *Philiſtines*,) having overthrown the *Iſraelites* in battle, exacted from them a tribute, bringing them into ſubjection for the ſpace of forty years; but in the end they were deliver'd from their oppreſſion in this manner:

There was a certain man of the family of the *Danites*, nam'd *Manoch*, (or *Manoah*,) who, without any exception, was eſteem'd the beſt and principal perſon of his tribe. This man, *Manoah*, had a wife of extraordinary beauty, who was the faireſt of her ſex; but having no children, her husband was exceedingly grieved on that account. It was *Manoah*'s cuſtom, very often to take a walk with his wife into the ſuburbs of the city, which was a large field, where he made his ſupplications to God, that he would grant him a lawful heir to ſucceed him. He was exceedingly enamour'd of his wife, and not without ſome tincture of jealouſy. It happen'd as the woman was alone, that the *Angel of God*, in the likeneſs of a beautiful young man, appear'd to her, telling her, *He brought her glad tidings; for that by the favour of God, ſhe ſhould bring forth a ſon, who ſhould prove remarkable for his ſtrength, by whom the* Paleſtines *ſhould be afflicted; admoniſhing her, not to cut his hair, nor let him taſte of any ſtrong drink, for ſo God enjoined; but that ſhe ſhould accuſtom him from his childhood to drink only water.* * After the Angel had ſpoke thus he departed.

When her husband came back to her, ſhe acquainted him with what ſhe had been told by the Angel, inſiſting upon the comelineſs and tallneſs of the young man ſo much, that on account of the commendations ſhe gave him, *Manoah* was ſuddenly ſtruck with jealouſy, and entertain'd a ſuſpicion within himſelf of ſome unwarrantable converſation having paſſed between them. The woman obſerving this, was deſirous to baniſh from her husband's breaſt the uneaſineſs he had entertain'd; wherefore ſhe fell upon her knees, and humbly prayed God, *That he would again vouchſafe to ſend his Angel, that her husband might alſo behold him.* Her prayer was granted, and by the favour of God, the Angel came, and appear'd to the woman by herſelf; hereupon ſhe intreated the Angel to ſtay a little, until ſhe went and fetched her husband. *Manoah* though he had ſeen the Angel, was not however freed from his ſuſpicion and jealouſy, but asked him, *To declare all thoſe things which his wiſe had before been made privy to.* To this the Angel anſwer'd, *That it was ſufficient his wife had been made acquainted with the things he had told her.* Whereupon *Manoah* deſir'd, *That he would tell him who he was, that he and his wife might make ſome return of kindneſs for the news he had brought them when that ſon ſhould be born unto them.* But the Angel anſwer'd, *That he ſtood in need of no manner of kindneſs, neither was it through any motive of that nature, that he had declar'd the glad tidings about his ſon*; yet *Manoah* continuing to deſire the Angel to ſtay, and partake of ſome acknowledgment, he was at laſt induced ſo to do. At this *Manoah* ſlew a kid, and commanded his wife to dreſs it. When the collation was ready, the Angel order'd the fleſh of the kid, and bread, to be laid upon a rock; after which, he touched the meat with a rod which he had in his hand, when ſuddenly a flame of fire riſing out of the rock, conſumed the fleſh, together with the bread; and the Angel in both their ſights aſcended to Heaven in the ſmoke. *Manoah* beholding this, was ſtruck with fear, leaſt ſome evil ſhould overtake them, becauſe of their having looked upon the Divinity. But his wife encouraged him, telling him, *That if God had been diſpleaſed with them, he would neither have accepted their ſacrifice, nor imparted to them the knowledge of ſuch good tidings, which ſhould be fulfilled in their ſeaſon.*

The woman in a ſhort time became pregnant, and obſerved all that the Angel had enjoin'd. And when ſhe had brought forth a ſon, they called his name *Sampſon*, that word ſignifying *Strong*. The child grew up, in a wonderful manner diſcovering all the ſigns of his becoming what was foretold by the Angel, as well from the ſpare diet he uſed, as the length of hair which he indulged.

Sampſon on a time accompanied his parents to *Thamna* (or *Timnath*,) a city of the *Paleſtines*, where happen'd to be a great feaſt. Here he fell in love with one of their virgins, whereupon he deſir'd his father and mother to procure the young woman, to be given in marriage to him: But they refuſed it, ſaying, She was not of their kindred, being a daughter of the uncircumciſed. *Sampſon* however, brought it to paſs, that the maiden was betrothed to him, God ſo ordering it in his Providence to the advantage of the *Hebrews*, and damage of the *Paleſtines*. Hereat his parents were incenſed. Not long after this, as he was going down to *Thamna*, he met with a lion, which he encountred, and, being without arms, ſtrangling him with his hands, he threw his carcaſe into the open road.

After this, he went down to celebrate the nuptials, and turning aſide to ſee the lion, he found in his carcaſs a ſwarm of *Bees*, from whence he took three honey-combs, and preſented them to his miſtreſs, with ſome other things which he carried with him. Now when the nuptial feaſt was celebrated, the *Thamnites* who were invited to the wedding, brought thirty of their ſtouteſt youths to be his companions, pretending the cuſtom on ſuch occaſions, but in reality to be ſo many guards upon him, leſt relying upon his ſtrength, and when the cup ſhould go briſkly round, and he begin to be merry, he ſhould commit any violence. *Sampſon* ſeeing the young men, ſaid unto them, if you can certainly declare within the ſeven days of the feaſt, the meaning of the riddle which I ſhall propoſe to you, each of you, as a reward of your wiſdom, ſhall receive from me a ſheet and a garment. Having thus ſpoken, they bid him put forth his riddle; whereupon *Sampſon* ſaid, *Out of the Eater came forth meat, and out of the Strong came forth Sweetneſs.* But the young men could not unfold it in three days; wherefore, they deſir'd the woman to learn of her husband the ſolution of his riddle; and acquaint them with it, threatning if ſhe ſhould refuſe to do it, to burn her to death. Terrified with theſe words, the woman beſought *Sampſon* to diſcover the thing to her; which at firſt he refuſed; but being more and more importuned by her, ſhedding abundance of tears, ſhe told him, That his refuſal to unfold the riddle to her, was a certain mark of his not loving her. Hereupon, *Sampſon* told her how he had ſlain a lion, in whoſe carcaſe finding a ſwarm of bees, he had brought to her as a preſent three of their combs. Having thus ſaid, and apprehending no deceit in her requeſt, having made the whole affair known to her, ſhe thereupon revealed the ſecret to the young men. When the ſeventh day of the feaſt was come, the time limited for their unfolding of *Sampſon*'s riddle, a little before the ſun went down, they told him, that nothing was more terrible to meet than a lion, nor any thing more ſweet to the taſte than honey. To which *Sampſon* replied, nor is any thing more deceitful than woman, who has made known my riddle unto you. After he had ſpoke thus, he gave to the men thoſe things he had promiſed: For one time, as he was on the road to *Askelon*, which is a city of the *Paleſtines*, he had accidentally met ſome of the citizens, whom he encountred, and having ſlain them, carried of their ſpoils, wherewith he accompliſhed his promiſe. His wife, ſeeing this warm reſentment of her husband, and that ſhe was neglected by him, was afterwards married to his companion, who had been his aſſiſtant in bringing about his marriage.

Sampſon was very much incenſed at this manifeſt injury done to him, and reſolv'd within himſelf to be reveng'd, both upon the woman, and upon her people. Wherefore, when the time of harveſt drew near, he caught three hundred foxes, to whoſe tails he faſtened firebrands, letting them in that condition looſe among the fields of the *Paleſtines*, by which means their crops of ſtanding corn were deſtroyed. But when the *Paleſtines* underſtood that *Sampſon* was the author of this miſchief, and knew the motive that had induced him thereto, they came to *Thamna*, and burnt the woman, with all her kindred, as being the occaſion of the outrage done by *Sampſon*.

Sampſon being enraged at this, made a great ſlaughter of the *Paleſtines*, and afterwards went and dwelt at *Ætam*; which is a rock in the tribe of *Judah*, and well fortified by nature. The *Paleſtines* getting intimation of this, march'd with their army againſt the whole tribe of *Judah*. The men of this tribe having declar'd themſelves innocent, and that they ought not to ſuffer for what was not their fault; *Sampſon* only being to blame: Anſwer was made by the *Paleſtines*, that if they had a mind to clear themſelves of the injuries done them, they muſt deliver up to them *Sampſon*. Wherefore, the men of *Judah*, fearful of giving cauſe of offence to the *Paleſtines*, went to the rock with three thouſand armed men; and complain'd of the injuries he had daringly preſumed to commit againſt the *Paleſtines*, in whoſe power it was to deſtroy the whole nation of the *Hebrews*; that therefore they were come to apprehend him, in order to deliver him up, and deſire him to ſubmit himſelf willingly to it. *Sampſon*, after having taken an oath of them, that they would not fall upon him themſelves, but only give him up to the *Paleſtines*, came down from the rock, and yielded himſelf into the hands of the tribe. Whereupon they bound him faſt with two cords, and led him towards the camp of the *Paleſtines*. When they came to a certain place, which at this day is called the *Jaw-bone*, from the famous action performed there by *Sampſon*, the *Paleſtines*, who lay incamped at a ſmall diſtance from thence, marched towards him rejoicing and ſhouting, as if all their deſires againſt him had been accompliſhed. Whereupon, he broke the ropes wherewith he was bound, and ſnatching up a jaw bone of an aſs, which happen'd to lie before him, he ruſhed among his enemies, and ſmiting them with it, ſlew a thouſand men, putting the reſt, who were ſtruck with fear, to flight,

This extraordinary atchievement made *Sampſon* glory too much in himſelf; accounting, that the conqueſt he had made, was not to be aſcribed to the aſſiſtance of God, but what he had perform'd was only owing to his own ſtrength: And that though a great number of the enemy was laid proſtrate upon the ground, yet a greater number, through a fear of his arm, had fled. After this he was affected with a violent thirſt, and believed it would put a period to his life, and was oblig'd at laſt to own that all things were to be aſcribed to God. Wherefore, in a ſuppliant manner he beſought God, that laying aſide his anger for what he had gloried in, he would preſerve him from his enemies, and afford him his aſſiſtance in his preſent difficulties. To this prayer of *Sampſon* God lent an ear, and ſuddenly commanded a pleaſant and plentiful ſtream of water to guſh out of a certain cavity, in the place where he had found the jaw; whereupon *Sampſon* named it *the Fountain of him that called in the Place of the* Jaw-bone, which is ſo termed even unto this day.

Sampſon, not now afraid of the *Paleſtines*, after the late deſtruction he had made of them, went to *Gaza*, and enter'd into an houſe of entertainment. But as ſoon as the principal men of *Gaza*, got intelligence that he was come thither, they laid men in wait for him before the gates, with deſign to hinder his getting away ſecretly. *Sampſon*, who was not ignorant of the ſnares prepar'd for him, aroſe at midnight, and ruſhing with a violent force againſt the doors of the gates, he took them off the hinges, and placing them, together with the poſts, locks, and bolts thereof upon his ſhoulders, he carried them to the top of the mountain, that ſtands before *Chebron*.

But after this, he began to depart from the firſt inſtitution of his life, modelling his actions after the example of the heathen nations. This change of behaviour became the ſource of all his misfortunes: For at this time he chanced to ſee and fall in love with a certain *Paleſtine* harlot, named *Dalila* (or *Delilah*,) and went in unto her. This coming to the knowledge of the magiſtrates of the *Paleſtines*, they went to her, and making large promiſes to her, perſuaded her to learn of *Sampſon* the cauſe of his great ſtrength, and what it was that made him invincible by his enemies. Wherefore *Dalila*, that ſhe might accompliſh what they deſir'd, in their hours of mirth, admiring and praiſing the great atchievements of *Sampſon*, artfully endeavour'd by that means to find out the cauſe of his ſtrength. *Sampſon* perceiving this, (for as yet his underſtanding was ſound) ſtrove to elude *Dalila*'s artifices, by ſaying, That if he was bound with ſeven vine branches, which were never dried, he ſhould become no leſs weak than other men. *Dalila* hereupon appeared to be ſatisfied, and having communicated the affair to the magiſtrates, ſhe planted in ſecret certain men within her houſe: But when ſhe found *Sampſon* overwhelmed with wine and ſleep, ſhe bound him, in the ſtrongeſt manner ſhe was able, wirh ſuch branches; and afterwards awaking him, ſhe told him ſome of his enemies were ready to lay hold of him. At this, *Sampſon* broke the branches with which he had been bound, and prepar'd to defend himſelf, as if he had been to be attack'd. *Dalila*, with whom *Sampſon* ſtill continued his commerce, told him, That ſhe took it very unkindly at his hands, who, diſtruſting her love and kindneſs to him, would not truly acquaint her with what her ſoul greatly wanted to know. *Sampſon* hereupon again diſſembling with her, ſaid, If ſhe bound him with ſeven new ropes, his ſtrength would then depart from him. This likewiſe *Dalila* tried, but found it was to no purpoſe. *Sampſon*, then the third time told her, that ſhe muſt weave the ſeven locks of his hair in the web. This alſo ſhe put to trial, but found no truth in it. *Sampſon* at laſt, upon her earneſt intreaty, and willing to retain the favour of his miſtreſs, (for it was ordain'd, as the deſerv'd puniſhment of his ſin, that he ſhould fall into a calamitous ſtate,) thus acquainted her with all that was in his heart. God preſerves me, by his care over me; and it is by his direction that I ſuffer my hair to grow, he having enjoin'd me not to ſhave it; which ſo long as I ſhall obſerve, my great ſtrength ſhall remain with me. When *Dalila* underſtood this, ſhe ſhaved his hair at a time when he little thought of it, and immediately betrayed him into the hands of his enemies, being unable to make any reſiſtance againſt them. After they had put out his eyes, they deliver'd him up to others, with deſign to bind him and lead him away.

But in proceſs of time his hair began to grow. About this time the *Paleſtines* celebrated a ſolemn feſtival, whereat were preſent their lords and men of better note, who made merry, being aſſembled together in one place, which was a large houſe, whoſe roof was ſupported by two pillars. *Sampſon* hereupon was ſent for to be brought to the feaſt, with deſign to be made ſport with: Who, coming among them, was grieved to the heart, accounting it the greateſt misfortune he had ever met with, thus to be ſcoffed and jeered at, and not to have the power to be revenged upon them; wherefore he begged the lad who led him by the hand to place him againſt the pillars, telling him, that being exceedingly tired, he wanted to reſt himſelf a little time: No ſooner had he fixed himſelf between them, than forcing himſelf with a great might againſt them, he broke down the pillars: Whereat the houſe falling, three thouſand perſons were buried alive in the ruins, *Sampſon* himſelf, at the ſame time, periſhing among the reſt. This was the fate of *Sampſon* after he had governed *Iſrael* twenty years. He was a perſon that deſerves our admiration, not only upon account of his great ſtrength and valour, but of his great magnanimity which appear'd at his death, having purſued to the laſt moment of his life his revenge upon the enemies of his country. As to his being over-reached and enſnared by a woman, it is to be aſcribed to the weakneſs of the nature of man, which is very prone to be biaſſed by ſuch inclinations. But ſetting this aſide he is in other reſpects to be accounted a very great and worthy man. After this his kinsfolk came and took him away, and buried him with his anceſtors in *Saraſa*, (or *Zorah*) in his native country.

CHAP. IX.

In what manner Boaz *took* Ruth *to Wife, when* Eli *governed* Iſrael, *of whom came* Obed *the Grandfather of* David.

AFTER the death of *Sampſon*, *Eli* the high prieſt govern'd *Iſrael*. In his time a ſore famine oppreſſing the land, one *Elimelech*, a man of *Bethlem-Judah*, not being any longer able to ſuſtain the calamity, remov'd into the land of *Moab*, taking with him his wife *Naami*, (or *Naomi*,) and his ſons *Chellion*, (or *Chilion*,) and *Mallon* (or *Mahlon*.) *Elimelech*'s affairs ſucceeding pretty well in *Moab*, he join'd in matrimony to his ſons two women of the country, namely *Ophra* to *Chellion*, and *Ruth* to *Mallon*. After the expiration of ten years, *Elimelech* and his ſons died, *Naomi*, being very much afflicted for what had befallen her, having ſuſtain'd the great loſs of thoſe ſhe held deareſt to her, and being deprived of the enjoyments of the converſation of thoſe who rendred the abſence of her native country eaſy to her, ſhe reſolv'd to return thither; having heard that the ſtate of all things were alter'd for the better there. Her daughters-in-law could not bear the thoughts of being ſeparated from their mother. Nor could *Naomi* with all the intreaties ſhe could uſe diſſuade them from accompanying her; but on the contrary they ſtill perſiſted in their reſolution of going along with her. Wherefore *Naomi* told them they might expect, and ſhe wiſhed them, a more happy marriage, from which, in their own country, they might have a race of good children; and obtain the poſſeſſion of many other advantages, which they might in vain hope to receive in a ſtrange country: That therefore it was better for them to remain where they were, and not to undertake with her a journey, full of uncertainty, and which might be followed by worſe conſequences. With this remonſtrance *Orpha* reſted ſatisfied, and ſtayed behind: But *Ruth* was not to be perſuaded. Wherefore *Naomi* took her with her, who became now the partner of her fortunes.

Ruth coming into *Beth-lehem* with her mother-in-law *Naomi*, the citizens having taken notice of her, ſaid, *Is this* Naomi? But ſhe anſwering ſaid, *Call me not* Naomi, (which word in the *Hebrew* denotes *Happineſs*,) *but rather give me the Appellation of* Mara, (that is *Bitterneſs*). This being the time of barley-harveſt, *Ruth* asked her mother-in-law, and obtain'd her permiſſion, to glean, with deſign to provide ſuſtenance for her mother and herſelf. Wherefore going out into the fields, ſhe chanced to light on one belonging to *Boaz*, a man of wealth, and kinſman of *Elimelech*, *Naomi*'s deceaſed husband. He coming himſelf a ſhort time after, enquir'd of his ſervant, who was ſet over the reapers, who ſhe was. The man, having before hand learn'd, of *Ruth* herſelf, her buſineſs and condition, acquainted his maſter therewith. *Boaz*, when he had heard an end of the ſervant's ſpeech, began to entertain favourable ſentiments of her, both on account of her kindneſs to her mother-in-law, and the memory ſhe preſerved of her ſon, to whom ſhe had been given in marriage; deſiring her to believe, that ſhe was welcome to his field, and therefore he would not have her employ her time in gleaning any were elſe, but left her at her liberty to gather as much as ſhe was able, and take it to herſelf. *Boaz*, further commanded the overſeer of his reapers, not to prohibit her from taking any thing ſhe deſir'd, but to allow her both victuals and drink, in common with the other reapers: Which *Ruth* receiving, after ſhe was ſufficed, reſerved the remainder for her mother-in-law, and in the evening carried it together with her corn to her, acquainting her at the ſame time with what *Boaz* had ſaid to her. Upon this *Naomi* told *Ruth* that *Boaz* was a near kinſman, who very likely, being a perſon of piety and goodneſs, would demonſtrate his kindneſs to her for the future: Whereupon, in the ſucceeding days ſhe went forth with the maidens of *Boaz*, to glean the ears of corn.

A few days after the harveſt was got in, *Boaz* went to winnow his corn, and afterwards lay down and ſlept upon his threſhing floor. *Naomi*, underſtanding this, bethought herſelf how ſhe ſhould bring it about, that *Ruth* might lie down by him, and ſleep at his feet, ſuppoſing that if *Boaz* ſhould happen to diſcourſe with her, it might prove to her advantage. Upon this ſhe ſent *Ruth* thither, with deſign to lie down and ſleep at his feet. *Ruth* thinking it inconſiſtent with her duty, to counteract the commands of her mother-in-law, in any thing, went directly to the threſhing floor, and did as ſhe was deſir'd. For ſome time ſhe was not perceived by *Boaz* being faſt aſleep. But about the middle of the night, *Boaz* awaking, and perceiving a woman lying by him, he ask'd who ſhe was: At which *Ruth* diſcover'd to him her name, and asked leave to lie by him as one of his handmaids. Hereupon he was quiet. But early in the morning, before the ſervants were riſen to their labours, he bid her get up, and after having taken as much barley as ſhe could well bear with her, go to her mother-in-law, before it could come to the knowledge of any one that ſhe had lain there; for that it was prudence to beware of the calumny and ſcandal that might ariſe from ſuch a matter, though the affair had been innocent, and nothing had been acted therein that was evil or diſhoneſt. In ſhort, ſaid *Boaz*, This is my reſolution about this matter: I will firſt of all ask the man who is nearer a kin to thee than I, if he is willing to take thee to wife: If he conſents to do it, then thou muſt go with him. But if he ſhall reject the propoſal, then I myſelf will make thee my lawful wife.

When *Ruth* had acquainted her mother-in-law with all theſe things, they both began to take heart, not doubting now, but that *Boaz* would extend his care over them. And indeed *Boaz*, about the middle of the day went into the city, and aſſembled the elders; when ſending for *Ruth* and the kinſman, he ſaid unto this laſt, Art not thou in poſſeſſion of the inheritance which pertain'd to *Elimelech* and his ſons? To which he anſwer'd, Yes, I am. Adding, that what he did was according to the direction of the laws. *Boaz* replied, That it was incumbent upon him to obſerve the laws, not by halves, but in every thing thereby enjoyned. A woman, ſaid he, The relict of *Mahlon* is come hither, whom, according to the laws thou oughteſt to marry, if thou deſigneſt to retain that which was his. But the man reſign'd the eſtate together with the woman to *Boaz*, as being a near relation of the deceaſed, he having a wife and children of his own. *Boaz* hereupon having made the elders bear witneſs of what had paſſed, commanded *Ruth* to go to the man, and unlooſe his ſhoe, and then ſpit in his face. When this was done, *Boaz* took *Ruth* to wife, and after the expiration of one year a ſon was born to him, whom *Naomi* nurſed, being by her called by the name of *Obed*, thereby ſignifying her expectation of his becoming a nouriſher of her old age, the word *Obed* in the *Hebrew* language implying a *Servant*. Of *Obed* was begotten *Jeſſe*, and of him *David*, who was afterwards king: In his line the government deſcending to the one and twentieth generation. Thus much I judged neceſſary to ſpeak of *Ruth*, thereby to ſhow the power of God, who can eaſily raiſe thoſe of low and mean condition to the greateſt dignity and honour; whereof *David* is a plain inſtance, being ſprung from a mean original, but afterwards advanced to a kingdom.

CHAP. X.

Of the Birth of the Prophet Samuel; *and how he foretold the Calamity which fell upon the Sons of* Eli.

THE affairs of the *Hebrews* now falling into a worſe condition than ever, another war was commenced by the *Paleſtines* againſt them, of which the divine diſpleaſure was the cauſe, as will be underſtood by the ſequel. *Eli* the high prieſt had two ſons, *Hophnis* (or *Ophni*) and *Phinees* (or *Phinehas*) who were not only infamous for the injuries done to men, but for their diſhonouring God, reſtraining themſelves from no manner of impiety and wickedneſs. Sometimes they forcibly ſeized on preſents, as due to their worth and merit; other times they took away the property of others clandeſtinely and fraudulently. When the women, through a motive of religion came to perform ſacrifice, they gave them gifts with deſign to violate their honour; others they raviſhed, debauching them by violence, and in this tyrannical manner they demeaned themſelves in their courſe of life. *Eli* ſeeing theſe outrages of his ſons, was very wroth with them, expecting that God would revenge himſelf upon them for their atrocious wickedneſs; moreover the people were likewiſe greatly incenſed thereat. But after God had foretold to *Eli* by the prophet *Samuel* (who then was but a boy) the deſtruction that would happen to them, *Eli* in a publick manner mourned for his ſons.

Here I ſhall in the firſt place relate ſome things concerning the prophet *Samuel*, and afterwards ſpeak of thoſe which reſpect the ſons of *Eli*.

There was a certain *Ephraimite* named *Elcanes* (or *Elkanah*) a man of moderate fortune, and a *Levite*; he dwelt at *Ramatha* (or *Ramathaim-Zophim*) and had two wives, *Anna* (or *Hannah*) and *Phenanna* (or *Penninnah*.) Of the laſt he had children born, but of the firſt none, notwithſtanding which he did not ceaſe to love her exceedingly. It fell out on the time that *Elkanah* was at *Siloe* in company with his wives (for there the tabernacle of God was placed, as we have before intimated) that according to cuſtom he diſtributed to his wives and children by turns, at the feaſt there, portions of the victuals. *Anna* beholding this, and ſeeing the children of his other wife ſitting about her, could not reſtrain her grief, but ſtraitway fell into tears, and bewailed her barrenneſs and want of iſſue. *Elkanes* endeavoured to comfort her; but ſhe was overwhelmed with ſo much ſorrow, as not to admit of any conſolation. Wherefore ſhe went up to the tabernacle, and humbly made her prayer to God, that he would beſtow iſſue upon her, and make her a mother, promiſing that ſhe would dedicate her firſt ſon to his holy ſervice, and that his ſuſtenance ſhould not be like that of other men. When *Hannah* had for a long ſpace of time continued to offer up her prayers, *Eli* the high prieſt, thinking her to be drunk, commanded her to depart. But *Hannah* acquainting him that her drink was chiefly water, and that her ſoul being ſorrowful on account of her barrenneſs, ſhe beſought God by prayer to give her children: He then bid her be of good cheer, telling her, that God had heard her prayers, and would beſtow a ſon upon her.

Hannah after this was no more ſorrowful, but returned to her huſband, and chearfully eat with him. Now, when they were come into their country *Ramah*, ſhe conceived, and became pregnant; and after her time was expired, ſhe bore a ſon, whom ſhe called *Samuel* (that is as much as to ſay) *Aſked of God*. After this they went up to the tabernacle and performed a ſacrifice of thankſgiving for the birth of their ſon, bringing at the ſame time the tenths according to cuſtom. *Hannah* bearing in remembrance her vow which ſhe had made for the child, delivered him unto *Eli*, thereby conſecrating him to be a prophet of God; ſhe having let his hair grow long, and given him nothing but water to drink. *Samuel* now dwelt about the tabernacle, and was there brought up: Beſides him *Elkanes* had other ſons and three daughters born to him of *Hannah*.

Samuel, after he had attained his thirteenth year, began to be employed by God as his prophet. For as he was ſleeping, God called to him by his name: But *Samuel* ſuppoſing that the high prieſt had called him, went to him. *Eli* told him, that he did not call him. God after this calling him a ſecond time, and a third; he went to *Eli*, and received ſtill the ſame anſwer. But *Eli* now perceiving that it was God who called him, ſaid, Go, and lie down, and if thou art again called, ſay, *Here I am, Lord, ready to receive thy commands*. Wherefore, after *Samuel* had been called a fourth time, he anſwered, *Here I am, Lord, ready to do whatſoever thou ſhalt command*. Whereupon God ſaid, *Becauſe thou art ready, know thou therefore, that calamities hang over* Iſrael, *greater than have hitherto been known. For verily the ſons of* Eli *ſhall all in one day be cut off, and the prieſthood ſhall be taken from him, and given to the family of* Eleazar; *foraſmuch as he has preferred his children to my honour and worſhip*. Aſſoon as *Eli* had extorted from *Samuel* what God had told him (for he was unwilling to acquaint him with ſuch evil tidings) he from that moment nothing doubted of the certain deſtruction to come upon his ſons. In the mean time the fame of *Samuel* increaſed more and more, becauſe all his prophecies were verified, and what he ſpoke failed not to come to paſs.

CHAP. XI.

In this Chapter are declared the Things that befel the Sons of Eli, *the Ark, and the People; and how* Eli *ſuffered a lamentable Death.*

ABOUT this time the *Paleſtines* having proclaimed War, as was before hinted, againſt the *Iſraelites*, incamped at *Aphec*. The *Iſraelites* expected them, and therefore on the following day they began the engagement, wherein the *Paleſtines* became the conquerors, putting to the ſword four thouſand of the *Hebrews*, and purſuing the reſt even to their camp.

The *Hebrews* having received this overthrow, which gave them much trouble and vexation, ſent to the elders and the high prieſt, deſiring that they would order the Ark of God to be brought into the camp, that being amongſt them, they might put themſelves in battle array, and overcome their enemies; not conſidering in themſelves, that he who had decreed their overthrow, was greater than the Ark, and that on his account only the Ark was to be regarded. The Ark accordingly was brought, and with it came the two ſons of *Eli*, having received a command from their father, not to preſume to come in his ſight again, if, after the Ark was taken, they ſhould deſire to live. *Phinees* at this time exerciſed the office of high prieſt; his father allowing it by reaſon of his great age. When the Ark was brought into the camp, the *Hebrews* gave a ſhout, being poſſeſſed with certain hopes of victory over their enemies: On the other hand, the *Paleſtines* were ſtruck with fear and conſternation, dreading the preſence of the Ark, which they apprehended would defend the *Iſraelites*. Things however did not fall out according either to the hopes of the *Hebrews*, or fears of their enemies. For when the engagement was begun, the victory, which the *Hebrews* certainly expected, ſtood on the ſide of the *Paleſtines*, and the deſtruction ſo much feared by the *Paleſtines*, fell upon the *Hebrews*, and made them ſenſible they had in vain placed their confidence in the Ark. For no ſooner was the battle begun, than the *Iſraelites* were forced to fly, loſing in the conflict thirty thouſand men, among whom fell the ſons of the high prieſt; by means whereof the Ark came into the hands of the *Paleſtines*.

No ſooner was the report of this defeat, and of the captivity of the Ark made at *Silo*, (for a certain youth, a *Benjamite*, who had been preſent at the battle, was ſent as a meſſenger to declare the melancholy news,) than the whole city was full of ſorrow. *Eli* the high prieſt, who now ſat upon an high throne at one of the gates, hearing of the general lamentations of the people, and ſuſpecting from thence, as the thing was but too true, that evil had befallen the army, ordered the young man to be called; of whom learning the event of the battle, he ſeemed to receive the tidings of the death of his ſons, and the havock that had been made in the army of the *Iſraelites*, without any extraordinary emotions of grief, having beforehand heard from God what was to happen. But when he came to underſtand that the Ark was fallen into the hands of the enemy (as misfortunes, which come unforeſeen, ſtrike the ſoul with the keeneſt grief,) by the unexpected and diſmal diſaſter he was quite overwhelmed; ſo that tumbling headlong from his throne, he gave up the Ghoſt, after he had lived ninety eight years, and had for forty of them adminiſtred the government.

Upon the ſame day died alſo the wife of his ſon *Phinees*, who, after hearing of the misfortune of her huſband, was not able to live. The death of her huſband was told her when ſhe was big with child, and near her time, wherefore ſhe brought forth a ſon at the end of ſeven months, and called him *I-chabod* (or *Jochab*) that word ſignifying *Infamy*, from the infamous overthrow at that time given the *Iſraelitiſh* army.

Eli was the firſt who of the houſe of *Ithamar*, the younger ſon of *Aaron*, obtained the prieſthood; for before it was continued in the deſcendants of *Eleazar*, the dignity being conferred by him upon his ſon *Phinees*, who left it to his ſon *Abiezer*, and he at his deceaſe to his ſon *Bocci*, who was followed in the prieſthood by *Ozis* his ſon; after whom *Eli* abovementioned poſſeſſed it, leaving his poſterity in the ſacred function until the days of *Solomon*, when the ſucceſſors of *Eleazar* recovered it.

The END *of the* Fifth BOOK.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

ANTIQUITIES of the *JEWS.*

BOOK THE SIXTH.

Containing the Space of Two and Thirty Years.

CHAP. I.

Of the Deſtruction which fell upon the Paleſtines *and their Country, God being wroth with them for taking the Ark; and how they ſent it back to the* Hebrews.

AFTER the *Paleſtines* had taken the ark of the *Hebrews*, as we have a little before mentioned, they carried it into the city *Azot*, and placed it, as eſteeming it the beſt of their ſpoils obtained in the war, near their god, in the temple of *Dagon*, (which was the name of their idol,) near unto him. Early the next morning the *Paleſtines* went to their temple to worſhip their god; but entering the place, they found him proſtrate before the ark, in a poſture of adoration; for he lay upon the ground, having tumbled from the pedeſtal upon which he always ſtood, with his face looking upon the ark. Upon this they took the image up and fixed it again in its place, being very much ſurprized at what had happened. But after they had ſeveral times viſited the temple of *Dagon*, and ſtill found him in the ſame manner fallen down, and in the poſture of a ſuppliant worſhipping the Ark, they began to be exceedingly afraid, and troubled in their minds. Not long after this God viſited the inhabitants of *Azot*, and the country about it, with a terrible deſolating peſtilence. The people ſuffered a death of unſpeakable torment, being proceeded by exquiſite pains and unexperienced tortures within their bodies, whereby they yielded up their laſt breath, in the moſt bitter agonies imaginable: For, their bowels before they died rotted, and their diſtemper was ſuch as cauſed them to vomit up the victuals they had eaten, undigeſted and corrupted in a wonderful manner. Beſides which, mice, for their prodigious ſwarms not to be numbered, did, as it were, ſpring out of the earth, and ſpoiled every thing that grew within their country, neither the trees nor the fruits eſcaping the common calamity. The citizens of *Azot* being oppreſſed with theſe evils, and finding it impoſſible to bear them any longer, concluded that their detaining in captivity the Ark of God, after their victory over the *Hebrews*, was the ſole cauſe of their ſuffering ſuch heavy afflictions, and that inſtead of reaping any advantages thereby, it had brought upon them their preſent miſery. Wherefore they ſent to the *Aſcalonites*, begging them to receive the Ark among them. This intreaty was not unacceptable to them; whereupon they willingly granted their requeſt. But no ſooner had they received the Ark into their city, than the very ſame plagues befel them as did before the *Paleſtines* of *Azot*. For the calamities that had afflicted the inhabitants of *Azot*, conveyed themſelves with the Ark to thoſe who took it from them. Hereupon, the *Aſcalonites* diſmiſſed it, and ſent it to others; but they would not let it remain with them; for being viſited with the like deſtruction, they diſpatched it to their neighbouring cities; and in this manner was the Ark removed by turns to all the five cities of the *Paleſtines*, which no ſooner came amongſt them, than they were plagued with the ſame deſolating judgments.

Thoſe who were viſited with theſe calamities, being almoſt utterly deſtroyed by them, and thoſe who had heard of the diſmal account thereof, being warned by their ſad example, not to purchaſe the preſence of the Ark among them at ſo fatal a price as the others had done, bethought themſelves at laſt, in what manner, and by what means they might get rid of the Ark, whoſe preſence was the ſource of all their miſeries. In conſequence of this, the princes of the five cities, namely *Gita*, *Accaron*, *Aſcalon*, *Gaza*, and *Azot*, met together, with deſign to conſult about that which was neceſſary to be done; and firſt of all they thought it expedient to ſend back the Ark, becauſe the vengeance which the God of it executed upon them was too viſible and plain, not to make them underſtand that the calamities they ſuſtained, were brought upon them for their taking and detaining it; which no ſooner was received within the walls of their cities, than they underwent the ſame evils. Contrary to this advice, there were ſome among them, who ſaid, that ſuch an opinion was by no means to be approved; and that they were much deceived, who imagined the Ark to be the cauſe of their misfortunes, no ſuch power being to be aſcribed to it. For if the God of the *Hebrews* had ſhewn any regard to it, it had not fallen into the hands of men of another religion. In ſhort, they adviſed them to be quiet, and patiently to bear whatever would happen; perſwading them that there was no other cauſe to be aſſigned of their calamities, than the very nature of things itſelf, which at certain periods of time, cauſes not only human bodies, but the earth and plants, and all things elſe productive of ſeed, to undergo the like cataſtrophes and revolutions. However, the opinion of thoſe perſons carried the greateſt ſway who ſpoke firſt, being thought men of ſound judgment and ſenſe, and their ſentiments were approved, as the moſt proper to be followed in the preſent buſineſs, judging the keeping or ſending back the Ark, a matter of the higheſt concern. They were further of opinion, that five golden images of emerods to anſwer the five cities of the *Paleſtines*, ſhould be made and conſecrated to God as an offering of thankſgiving to him, who had preſerved them in ſafety, and prolonged their life, in driving away from them their calamities, evils which they themſelves had not power to reſiſt. And moreover, that they ſhould offer up the ſame number of golden mice, which ſhould reſemble thoſe that had ſpoiled and laid waſte their country. All theſe to be put into a casket and placed upon the Ark. That they ſhould then make a new chariot for it, and thereto faſten two milch kine newly calved, whoſe calves they ſhould leave at home, that their dams might not be hindred in their march, through their deſire of going back to their young, unleſs impelled by ſome greater power. After which they ſhould lead them to a place where three ways met, and there leave them to go which way they would. That if they went towards the *Hebrews* by marching into their country, it ſhould be an undoubted ſign by which they might certainly know that the Ark was the cauſe of the calamities that had befallen them. But if the cows ſhould take another path, they ſhould drive back the Ark again, concluding for certain from thence, that no power or force was lodged therein.

This advice was thought very good and prudent, and immediately was put in execution. When thoſe things which we have above related, were performed, they led the chariot to a place where three ways met, and there left it. The kine, taking the way which led to the land of *Iſrael*, marched directly along, in the ſame manner as if ſome perſon had conducted them, while the princes of the *Paleſtines* followed at ſome diſtance, with a deſire of knowing where they would ſtop, or to whom they would go. Now there is a village in the tribe of *Judah*, named *Bethſama* (or *Beth-Shemeſh*;) unto the borders of this place the kine came, having before them a large and pleaſant plain; but here ſtaying the carr, they would not proceed any farther. The ſight of this accident was very acceptable to all the villagers, who were very much rejoiced at it; for now their harveſt time being come, all of them were employed in the fields in gathering in their corn: But when they beheld the Ark, being filled with a ſudden joy, they deſiſted from their labours and ran to the carr; whence taking the casket, in which were depoſited the golden images and mice, they put it upon a certain ſtone which was in the field; after which ſacrificing to God they feaſted, and made an intire burnt offering to the Almighty of the chariot and kine. The *Paleſtines* ſeeing this returned back.

But the anger and indignation of God purſued the people of *Bethſama*, becauſe, being not of the ſacerdotal order, they had irreverently preſumed to touch the Ark. Seventy men of the village were killed with a thunderbolt, becauſe they had with profane hands adventured to touch it. The inhabitants of the place ſeeing this diſmal accident, expreſſed their great ſorrow, and poured out ſuch doleful complaints, as was cuſtomary when the Almighty was pleaſed to ſend upon them any ſudden calamities. Every one mourned exceedingly over his dead friends. Upon this, acknowledging themſelves a people unworthy, among whom the Ark ſhould ſtay, they ſent meſſengers to the general aſſembly of the *Hebrews*, to notify to them how the *Paleſtines* had ſent back the Ark. The aſſembly, after they had been made acquainted with the matter, ordered the Ark to be carried unto *Cariathiarima* (or *Kirjathjearim*,) a neighbouring city to *Bethſama*; here there lived one *Aminidab* a *Levite*, a perſon held in great eſteem for his juſtice, and his religion towards God. Into this houſe the Ark was carried; a place in which ſo righteous a man dwelt, being judged the fitteſt, and moſt approved on by God. The ſons of *Aminidab* were employed about the ſervice of the Ark, and continued in that charge for the ſpace of twenty years, for ſo long it abode in *Cariathiarima*, after it had remained amongſt the *Paleſtines* four months.

CHAP. II.

Of the Expedition of the Paleſtines *againſt the* Hebrews; *and the Victory obtained by theſe under the Conduct of the Prophet* Samuel.

WHILE the Ark remain'd in *Cariathiarima*, the whole multitude of the people applied themſelves to the performing of vows and ſacrifices, and gave an ample teſtimony of their religion towards God, and great care of obſerving the laws. The prophet *Samuel* obſerving this their pious inclination, and thinking it a proper opportunity, ſince they behaved themſelves ſo modeſtly and devoutly, to raiſe in them a deſire of liberty, and make them to underſtand the benefits ariſing from it; he entertain'd them with an oration, well adapted to this end, in the following words: *Oh men of* Iſrael! (ſaid he) *Foraſmuch, as the* Paleſtines *are your implacable enemies, and ſeeing God now beginneth to ſhow himſelf more propitious, and favourable unto you, it is incumbent upon you, not only to deſire, but to uſe the utmoſt of your endeavours to recover your liberty. But if you expect to proſper in any thing which you ſhall undertake, let it be your eſpecial care to refrain from every practice that may prove diſpleaſing to God. For you muſt never entertain an opinion among yourſelves, that you ſhall be freed from bondage, while you perſiſt to do thoſe things, which alone ſubject you to ſlavery. Let juſtice prove always the guide of your actions, and remove from your ſouls all manner of wickedneſs, by ceaſing to commit evil. Worſhip God with your whole heart, and perſevere in his ſervice. By the performance of theſe things which he hath commanded, and doing what is well-pleaſing to him, you will purchaſe to yourſelves an abundance of all good things; free yourſelves from the ſervitude that oppreſſes you, and get the victory over your enemies; which is not always obtain'd through the valour, ſtrength, or multitude of men, and armed hoſts: For, to theſe things, God hath never yet promiſed the reward of ſucceſs and triumph over enemies; but to that uprightneſs of heart, and the exerciſe of juſtice and benevolence, which he requires of all thoſe who deſire to approve themſelves to him. On condition you perform according to what I have told you, I promiſe you, that every thing I have ſpoken ſhall happen unto you.* When *Samuel* had made an end of this ſpeech, which by all the people was approv'd, they took courage from, and rejoiced at the exhortation he had delivered, and unanimouſly conſented to do that which was acceptable in the ſight of God. *Samuel*, after this, aſſembled them in a certain city called *Maſpha*, (or *Mizpey*) which ſignifies in the *Hebrew* language *Conſpicuous*, where drawing water, and pouring it out as a libation to God, they faſted all that day, continuing in prayers and ſupplications.

But their meeting together could not be kept ſecret from the *Paleſtines*, who, no ſooner heard of their aſſembling at *Mizpey*, but they drew out a vaſt army, and on a ſudden came upon the *Hebrews*, hoping by this means to take them at unawares and unprepar'd. The *Hebrews* ſeeing this, were ſeized with a great fear, and began to run about tumultuouſly and in great diſorder, their dejection of ſpirit on this occaſion, increaſing their confuſion. Wherefore they went in haſte to *Samuel*, and acquainted him; *That their ſpirits were ſunk through fear, and the memory of their late deſtruction; therefore they would very willingly be at quiet, and not ſtir up the power of their enemies againſt them. For now at the time that, according to thy deſire and exhortation, we are come hither naked and unarm'd to offer up ſupplications, perform ſacrifices, and ſolemn vows, the enemy marches againſt us. Wherefore we have no other ſafeguard left but God, and thee, whom we deſire to intreat him, that he would free us out of the hands of the* Paleſtines. *Samuel* exhorted them to be of good heart, and promiſed them that God would lend them his aſſiſtance; after which he took a ſucking lamb, and made a burnt offering thereof for the people, beſeeching God that he would defend them from the force of the *Paleſtines*, and not ſuffer them again to fall into their hands. God heard the prayer of *Samuel*, and after he had receiv'd propitiouſly the *Sacrifice*, vouchſafed to promiſe them the victory, and to increaſe their power. Now, while as yet the victim lay upon the altar, not wholly conſumed with the fire, the forces of the enemy drew out of their camp, and put themſelves in order of battle, entertaining in their minds a certain hope of victory, and perſuading themſelves that the *Jews* were in great diſorder, as having neither arms to fight with, nor ground convenient to draw up their forces upon. But the event of the day was ſuch, that if any man had foretold it to the *Paleſtines* as it happen'd, he would not have been believ'd. For God in the firſt place, diſturb'd their ranks with a violent concuſſion or ſhaking; the earth trembling underneath their feet, ſo that there was no place ſafe enough for them whereon to tread or ſtand; and ſo mightily was the ground moved, that they either fell down, or tumbled into ſome chaſm of the earth that open'd and ſwallow'd them up. Beſides, thundrings bellow'd around them, and lightnings flaſh'd in their faces, ſo dazzling their ſight, and ſcorching them, that their weapons fell out of their hands, and they were thereupon forced to fly away unarm'd. *Samuel* obſerving this, in conjunction with the people, ruſh'd among them, and making a great ſlaughter, purſued the reſt as far as *Corræa*, (or *Beth-car*,) a place ſo called. Here he ſet up a ſtone in memory of the victory over, and flight of the enemy, calling it the *Stone of Aſſiſtance*, to ſignify the help which God vouchſafed to give them in conquering the *Paleſtines*.

After this overthrow, the *Paleſtines* did not preſume to bring any army into the field againſt the *Iſraelites*; but through fear and a ſad remembrance of what had happen'd to them, kept themſelves quiet; that confidence and boldneſs, with which before the *Paleſtines* marched againſt the *Iſraelites*, was now loſt after this defeat, and ſeated itſelf in the hearts of the *Hebrews*. Moreover *Samuel*, carrying his forces againſt them, made vaſt ſlaughter of them, and wholly ſuppreſſed their pride and arrogance, taking away all that country from them, in which before they had committed ſo many ravages, having wreſted by violence, and forcibly detain'd it from the *Jews*, when they overcame them. This country, taking it in its length and breadth, extended itſelf from the confines of *Gitta*, as far as the city of *Accaron*. At this time the reſt of the *Canaanites* were at peace and friendſhip with the *Iſraelites*.

CHAP. III.

How Samuel, *being by reaſon of his Age unfit for the Government, committed the Adminiſtration to his Sons; and how the People, diſſatisfied with their evil Manners and Government, asked for a* King; *whereat* Samuel *was very much offended.*

SAMUEL the prophet, having eſtabliſhed order and government amongſt the people, he appointed to them certain cities to which they were to repair, for determining of the differences among them. To theſe he went in circuit twice in the year, and there judging uprightly, and adminiſtring juſtice impartially; which courſe he continued for a long time.

But growing very old and infirm, and being no longer able to ſupport the weighty charge, he committed the government and care of the republick unto his ſons: The name of the elder was *Joel*, and of the younger *Abiah*. *Samuel*, after he had divided the people between them, enjoin'd them, that one ſhould reſide and keep his judgment-ſeat in *Bethel*, the other in *Barſabe*, (or *Beer-ſheba*.) But in his ſons was to be ſeen a plain example, and demonſtration, that children do not always in their manners and diſpoſitions reſemble their parents; but that often it happens that good and virtuous perſons are the parents of wicked and flagitious children; as on the contrary commendable and good children proceed from evil and unworthy parents. For now *Joel* and *Abiah*, turning away from the inſtitutions and commandments of *Samuel*, and purſuing a different method from what he had appointed, perverted the courſe of juſtice, for the ſake of receiving preſents and amaſſing riches; and in their decrees, not ſo much having reſpect to the truth and juſtice of the cauſes before them, as the largeneſs of the bribes that were given, they began openly to give reins to luxury, and to give themſelves up to ſumptuous delights, and a wanton life. By theſe practices they provoked God, and ran counter to the will of the prophet their father, who had uſed his utmoſt endeavour and care that the people might be govern'd with juſtice and equity.

The people therefore perceiving that the good eſtate of their affairs, into which *Samuel* had before put them, was now daily declining, and becoming worſe and worſe through the miſbehaviour of his ſons, and being greatly offended at the things committed by them, they had recourſe to *Samuel*, who at this time had his habitation in *Ramatha*, (or *Rama*,) and acquainted him with the flagitious life of his two ſons; deſiring that, he himſelf by reaſon of his great age and infirmity of body being no more able as he was wont to adminiſter affairs, he would therefore appoint ſome perſon who might be their king to rule over their nation, and take due revenge upon the *Paleſtines*, for all former injuries and inſults committed by them.

This declaration of the people greatly troubled *Samuel*, becauſe of his innate love of juſtice, and hatred to a kingly government; for he was violently attach'd to an ariſtocracy, as deeming it the only plan of rule, by which a nation might make itſelf happy and peaceful: And therefore, by reaſon of what the people had deſir'd of him, he conceiv'd ſuch a vaſt uneaſineſs, and labour'd with ſo much anxiety and thoughtful care, that he quite neglected his uſual times of taking repaſt and repoſe, but continuing all the night awake, he ran over in his mind a thouſand different thoughts about affairs.

While he was in this condition, God appear'd to him, and comforted him, (ſaying,) *He ought not to be uneaſy at what the people demanded, ſince they had not rejected him, but himſelf, that he ſhould not reign over them. That they had endeavour'd at this change, from the very day upon which they came out of* Ægypt; *but that the thing they were about to do, ſhould in a ſhort time bring repentance with it, and prove very heavy and grievous to them; that the evil which he now foretold ſhould be ſurely fulfilled, and they ſhall be chaſtized* (ſaid the Lord,) *for their ingratitude towards me, and towards thee their prophet. I enjoin thee* Samuel *therefore, to give them for their king him whom I ſhall point out to thee: But firſt, thou ſhalt declare to them, the many evils which they ſhall ſuſtain under their reſpective kings, and teſtify to them the inconveniences ſuch a change of affairs, as they have raſhly and unadviſedly thrown themſelves into, will bring along with it.*

Samuel having heard theſe words, called together the people betimes the next morning, and in open aſſembly told them, He was ready to create them a king: But that it behoved him in the firſt place to acquaint them, in what manner their kings in ſucceeding ages would behave towards them, and what calamities they were to undergo, by reaſon of the preſſure of their government. *For* (ſaid he) *know ye all, That they will firſt of all take your ſons from you, ſome of whom they will make their charioteers, others horſemen, guards, and runners,*

ners before their chariots, and captains over thouſands and hundreds. Some again ſhall be their artificers, and makers of their inſtruments of war and chariots; they ſhall be their plowmen, husbandmen, and diggers of their vineyards. There ſhall be nothing but what they ſhall be commanded to do, being left wholly ſubject to their wills, like ſervants who were purchaſed with a price. Beſides, they will take your daughters, and make them their confectioners, cooks and bakers; ordering them to do all manner of labour which bond-women perform, who lie under the fear of ſtripes or tortures. Likewiſe they will take away your poſſeſſions, and give them to their eunuchs and ſervants, diſtributing at the ſame time among others your flocks of ſheep. In ſhort, ye ſhall not only be ſlaves to your king with all you have, but muſt be ſubject even to his very ſervants. When ye come to ſuffer all theſe things ye will then remember what I have now acquainted you with; and being made wiſe by your own folly, ye will ſupplicate God, to have pity upon you, and deliver you ſpeedily from the government of kings: But your prayers he will not hearken to; for neglecting and leaving you to your own ways, ye ſhall receive a puniſhment due to your prepoſterous councils, and ungrateful actions.

To theſe remonſtrances of *Samuel*, made with regard to the things that ſhould fall out, the multitude were deaf, and gave no manner of attention; and he found it impoſſible to root out of their minds an opinion ſo ſettled there, or to diſſuade them from ſo fixed a reſolution. Wherefore perſiſting in their purpoſe, and ſhewing no manner of regard to what *Samuel* had repreſented to them, they earneſtly inſiſted upon their demand, and deſired him to make them a king, and not to ſhow himſelf anxious about what was to enſue thereupon; ſaying, That it was neceſſary, above all things, that they ſhould have a king, who, marching at the head of their armies to battle, might revenge their nation upon their enemies; that it was not at all unreaſonable, ſince their neighbouring nations were govern'd by kings, that they ſhould have the ſame privilege, and make the like appearance. *Samuel* perceiving that his ſpeech had no manner of effect upon them, but, on the contrary, that they perſiſted in the ſame opinion, ſaid, *Depart every man of you to his own houſe, and as ſoon as it ſhall pleaſe God to ſignify to me the perſon whom he ſhall appoint to be your king, I will forthwith ſend for you again.*

CHAP. IV.

Saul, *by the Appointment of* God, *is declared* King.

THERE was a certain man of the tribe of *Benjamin*, named *Ciſes*, (or *Kiſh*,) a perſon of an honourable deſcent, and liberal education. He had a ſon, a young man of a goodly preſence, being tall of ſtature, and well built; but his endowments of mind, and lively genius, far ſurpaſſed his external ſhape: *Saul* was his name. *Ciſes* his father, having ſome aſſes, very beautiful, both for colour and ſhape, and which he admir'd more than any others in his poſſeſſion, which had at this time ſtrayed out of his paſtures, bid his ſon take a ſervant with him, and go in ſearch of them. *Saul*, in obedience to his father, having made a thorough enquiry all about his tribe, went into others; but finding his labour fruitleſs, he reſolv'd to return home, leaſt his father ſhould be made uneaſy at his long ſtay. As he happen'd to travel near the city of *Ramah*, his ſervant that waited on him, told him, that in that city there dwelt a true prophet, whoſe words came always to paſs, and therefore he would adviſe him to go to him, and learn of him what was become of his father's aſſes. To this *Saul* replied, *That he had nothing to reward the Prophet with, ſhould he reſolve to go and aſk his advice; for all the proviſions which they had brought to ſuſtain them in their journey, were conſum'd.* To this the ſervant made anſwer, *I have the fourth part of a ſhekel of ſilver, which you may beſtow upon him*; both of them being ignorant that the prophet took no reward. Accordingly they went onwards towards him. Now coming near the gates of the city, they inquir'd of ſome young women, who were going out to draw water, where the houſe of the prophet was? The maidens ſhew'd it to them, and bid them uſe all expedition in going to him, before he ſat down to the feaſt. For it happen'd at that time, that *Samuel* had invited a great number to an entertainment, and it was not uſual for the gueſts to ſit down before he came and bleſſed the ſacrifice. This great feaſt had been appointed by *Samuel*, on this occaſion; God having from day to day been importuned by the prayers of *Samuel*, deſiring that he would let him know the perſon whom he ſhould conſtitute king, had the day before told him, that the next day at the ſame hour, there ſhould come to him a young man of the tribe of *Benjamin*, who was the perſon he had deſtin'd for their king. So *Samuel* was at this time ſitting in his houſe, and expecting until the appointed hour. When it was come, he went down to go to ſupper, and as he was going, met with *Saul* before the gates of his houſe, whereupon God gave him to underſtand, that this young man was the perſon he had choſen to be king over the *Iſraelites*. *Saul* thus being come up with *Samuel*, accoſted him, aſking him, *Where the Prophet dwelt? for*, ſaid he, *I am a ſtranger, and know not.* To this *Samuel* anſwer'd, *That he was the Prophet.* Upon this he conducted *Saul* to the ſupper, and acquainted him that the aſſes he ſought after, were found, and in ſafety. Moreover, he told him, that he ſhould be king, and have all things in his power. *Saul* replied, *My lord, what you mention, is far above my hopes, who am of a tribe too mean, and my family but ſmall in our tribe; wherefore I muſt conclude that thou art not in earneſt.*

But the prophet carried *Saul* to the entertainment, and bid him and his ſervant take the chiefeſt ſeat above the other gueſts who were invited, about ſeventy in number, and ſit down; commanding at the ſame time his ſervants to bring the royal portion, and ſet it before *Saul*. When the time was come for the people to depart home, each went to his own houſe; but *Saul* and his ſervant abode, and ſlept that night with the prophet.

Early the next morning *Samuel* raiſed *Saul* out of his bed, and brought him out of his chamber. And when he had led him out of the city, he adviſed *Saul* to bid his ſervant go before them, and himſelf to tarry a while with him, for that he had ſomething to communicate to him. *Saul* hereupon commanded his ſervant to walk on before them. Then *Samuel* took a phial of oil, and pour'd it on *Saul*'s head, and kiſſed him, ſaying, *Be thou king, for thou art appointed by God to be ſuch, both to purſue the* Paleſtines *in war, and revenge the* Hebrews *upon them. As a token of theſe things, I would have thee mind what I am now going to tell thee. When thou art departed from me, thou ſhalt find three men in thy journey going to* Bethel *to worſhip God: The firſt of them ſhall carry three loaves of bread, the ſecond a kid, and the third, a bottle of wine. They will ſalute thee, and ſpeak friendly to thee, and give thee two loaves of bread, which thou ſhalt receive at their hands. After this, thou ſhalt come to the place call'd* Rachel's *ſepulchre, where thou ſhalt meet with a man, who ſhall acquaint thee with thy aſſes being ſafe. After this thou ſhalt come to* Gibeath, *where thou ſhalt meet with a company of* Prophets, *and the ſpirit of God coming upon thee, thou ſhalt* propheſy *with them; whereat every one ſhall be much amazed; and, being ſuddenly ſtruck with the wonder of the accident, ſhall ſay; What is this, that has happen'd to the ſon of* Kiſh? *Now know when theſe things ſhall come to paſs, that God is with thee. Moreover ſalute thy father and kindred. Thou ſhalt go down likewiſe to* Gilgal, *where I will come unto thee, that we may ſacrifice ſacrifices of peace offerings together for theſe things.* When *Samuel* had ſpoken thus, he diſmiſſed *Saul*. Now every thing which *Samuel* had foretold, happen'd to *Saul*.

When *Saul* was return'd back to the houſe of *Abenar* his kinſman, (this perſon he lov'd above all other his relations) he not only acquainted him, at his requeſt to hear of his journey, and the occurrences he had met with in it, with all that *Samuel* and he had tranſacted together at his houſe; but alſo how his aſſes were ſafe. Yet however, of thoſe things that reſpected his kingdom, he made no mention, as eſteeming the telling ſuch an incident, would certainly create envy, and beſides, would hardly obtain credit from his kinſman. For although at this time there was the neareſt tie of friendſhip ſubſiſting between him and *Abenar*, yet he neither thought it ſafe nor prudent to communicate an affair of ſuch conſequence to him. That *Saul* entertain'd ſome ſuch ſentiment as this at this juncture, is our opinion, becauſe we know the diſpoſition of man is of that nature; that neither the beſt of friends or relations preſerve themſelves in a conſtant harmony of temper; for the affections run into another channel, whenever the bleſſing of God diſtinguiſhes itſelf upon any perſon; envy and detraction being the uſual ill attendants on proſperity and good fortune.

After this *Samuel* conveened the people at *Mizpey*, and acquainted them with the very words that God had commanded him to ſpeak. 'That, after he had reſtor'd them to liberty, and reduced their enemies, they were now little mindful of the kindneſſes which they had received at his hands, rejecting God, and taking away the dominion from him who alone ſhould be their king; being groſly ignorant in not knowing, that to be govern'd by God himſelf, was the chiefeſt good of all; for he was the moſt perfect and ſovereign good; yet, for all this, they had rather have a man to be their king, who ſhould rule over his ſubjects like ſo many ſheep, and uſe them according to his lawleſs paſſion and appetite, making an immoderate uſe of his power, and purſuing mankind with ſuch indignities and hardſhips, as if he himſelf did not belong to the ſame ſpecies. But ſince ye are reſolv'd to have a king, and have thus contumeliouſly rejected God, diſtribute your ſelves by your tribes and by your ſceptres, and then caſt lots.'

When the *Hebrews* had done thus, the lot fell upon the tribe of *Benjamin*; and after it was drawn among the families, the chance came upon the family of *Matri*; but when it was caſt among the men ſingly, *Saul* the ſon of *Kiſh*, obtain'd the kingdom. As ſoon as this affair was made known to *Saul*, he immediately hid himſelf, willing (as we ſuppoſe) to have it believ'd that he receiv'd the kingdom with reluctancy and not cordially. Moreover, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf at this time in ſo modeſt and complacent a manner, that, (as many others, riſing from a low beginning to a bulky ſhare of grandeur, can hardly contain themſelves within the ſphere of their new gotten power, but arrogantly lift themſelves up, and look big in the eyes of mankind.) On the contrary, *Saul*, who was appointed king over ſo great a people, was ſo far from boaſting, or appearing proud with the thoughts of that elevation of poſſeſſing the kingdom, that he privately withdrew himſelf from the ſight of thoſe very men, over whom he was to exerciſe his dominion, and made it a difficult matter for them to find him out: The people, upon *Saul*'s non-appearance, were made very uneaſy. *Samuel* hereupon, beſeeched God, to ſhew him where he was, that he might bring him before their ſight. After God had diſcover'd to the prophet, where *Saul* had hid himſelf, he ſent perſons to bring him along with them; and when he was come, *Samuel* placed him in the midſt of the people, who, in ſtature was much higher than them all, and appear'd worthy of that dignity.

Then ſaid the prophet, 'This is he whom God hath given to be your king; ſee how far he excells all, and doth he not deſerve to be exalted to the kingdom?' After this, the people ſhouting, ſaid, *God ſave the king.* The prophet hereupon, having before written down every thing that was to happen, recited the ſame now to the people before *Saul*, and then laid the book in the tabernacle of God, there to remain an evidence for ever of what he had propheſied. When *Samuel* had done this, he diſmiſſed the people, and himſelf went to *Rama*, which was his native city. But as *Saul* went to *Gibeah*, to which he belong'd, many good men accompanied him, paying him all poſſible honour and reverence as king; however there were ſeveral others of a wicked diſpoſition, who deſpiſed him, and laughed at him, and would not bring him preſents, nor ſtudy either by words or deeds to pleaſe him; but he held his peace.

CHAP. V.

Saul *leads an Army againſt the Nation of* Ammon, *with which he overcomes the Enemy.*

ABOUT the ſpace of a month after this, a war broke out with *Nahaſh*, king of the *Ammonites*, which *Saul* waged with him. This prince marching with a great and valiant army againſt thoſe *Jews* that dwelt beyond *Jordan*, not only committed ſeveral great hoſtilities againſt them, but reduced many of their cities to ſlavery; thoſe indeed that he took by ſtorm, he reduced and weakned ſo by his ſubtilty and craft, that they had no manner of power of freeing themſelves from his ſlavery, had they been minded to revolt. Both thoſe who yielded to him upon conditions, and thoſe who were taken by the power of the ſword, had their right eyes pulled out: This he did, that their left eye being hid behind their ſhields, they might by that means be rendred incapable of engaging in battle.

When *Nahaſh* had acted thus againſt thoſe beyond *Jordan*, he conducted his army to oppoſe the *Gileadites*, and pitch'd his camp overagainſt their capital city, call'd *Jabeſh-Gilead*; at the ſame time ſending ambaſſadors to them, threatning, that if they did not ſubmit themſelves to him, and ſuffer their right eyes to be pluck'd out, they muſt expect to be beſieged, and their cities razed to the ground by him: That the choice remained wholly in their power, whether they would rather loſe a ſmall part of their body, or oblige him to deſtroy the whole. The *Gileadites* terrified with this melancholy alternative, durſt not return an anſwer to either of theſe propoſitions; nor declare whether they would throw themſelves upon his mercy, or hazard a battle with him. But they deſired a reſpite for ſeven days to be allowed them, that in that time they might ſend to all the coaſts of *Iſrael*, and beg their aſſiſtance; and if it happen'd that any came to them, they would declare war againſt *Nahaſh*; but if otherwiſe, then they told them they would ſurrender themſelves to him, to be dealt with according to his pleaſure.

Nahaſh, who ſlighting the account of the *Gileadites*, deſpiſed the anſwer they had returned; and not only granted them reſpite for ſeven days, but gave them leave to call to their aid as many as they could procure. Purſuant to this, the *Gileadites* immediately diſpatched meſſengers through all the cities of the *Iſraelites*, to acquaint them with every thing that *Nahaſh* had terribly denounced againſt them, and into what ſtreights they were reduced. The *Iſraelites* underſtanding this ſad calamity to which the people of *Jabeſh-Gilead* were brought, lamented heavily, not being able, (through the fright that the news had put them into,) to go about any act or undertaking. But when the meſſengers came into the city of king *Saul*, and had declared into what imminent dangers the *Gileadites* were likely to fall, the inhabitants thereof were overwhelmed with a deep ſenſe of ſorrow for their kindred.

King *Saul* at this time accidentally returning after the herd out of the field, into the city, and finding his citizens all in tears, asked, What had happened to them during his abſence, that had occaſion'd this great ſorrow and concern? and being acquainted with what the meſſengers had told them, *Saul* having then the ſpirit of God come upon him, ſent the meſſengers of *Jabeſh-Gilead* back, promiſing that on the third day from that time he would come to their aſſiſtance, and before the Sun was ſet, would vanquiſh the enemy, ſo that *that* luminary ſhould behold them joyful victors, and freed from the dejection they then laboured under. Some of the meſſengers he ordered to ſtay with him, to be his guides, to conduct him in his journey.

Saul being thus ſtirred up to avert the impending evils that threatned them, and to excite the people to undertake the war againſt the *Ammonites*, and cauſe them to get together with the utmoſt expedition, *Took a yoke of his oxen and hewed them to pieces, threatning to perform the like upon theirs, who would not the very next day ſhow themſelves at* Jordan, *ready to follow him and* Samuel *the prophet, whitherſoever they ſhould conduct them.* Of thoſe who feared the edict of *Saul*, and met at the appointed time, a muſter was made at the city of *Bezek*, (or *Bala*;) the number of fighting men, excluſive of the tribe of *Judah*, which amounted to ſeventy thouſand, was ſeven hundred thouſand. *Saul* having with this vaſt multitude paſt over *Jordan*, and travelled all the night, at laſt came to the place he had fixed upon; where making a diviſion of his army into three companies, he ſuddenly (when the enemy little expected it,) attacked them on every ſide; and engaging briſkly, put a great number of them to the ſword, and ſcattered them, ſo that two of them were not left together; and withal ſlew king *Nahaſh*. *Saul* in this engagement diſtinguiſhed himſelf bravely, and the fame of his courage was ſounded among all the *Iſraelites*, attended with wonderful commendations and applauſes, which gained him mighty glory. For now thoſe very men who before had contumeliouſly treated him, not only changed their opinions, and did him honour, by commending his high atchievements, but extolled him for the beſt and braveſt of all men. *Saul* however was not content with having only preſerved the *Gileadites* from deſtruction, but he made an inroad into the country of the *Ammonites*, and laid it all waſte, taking thence a great booty, and ſo returned to his own city triumphant, and crowned with good fortune and glorious renown. The people being ſenſible of their proſperous condition and ſucceſſes under *Saul*, rejoyced that they had procured ſuch a valiant ſoldier for their king. But thoſe perſons who had ſaid that *Saul* was unable either to defend their eſtates, or increaſe them, they cried out and exclaimed againſt asking where thoſe men were, that they might be brought to condign puniſhment, and all manner of reproachful words were thrown upon them; a cuſtom with people who are puffed up with ſucceſs and felicity, to vilify and aſperſe thoſe who were the authors of their ſo happy fortune. *Saul*, though he commended the regard and kindneſs they expreſſed towards him upon this occaſion, yet ſwore that none of the tribes ſhould that day be put to death; for, ſaid he, It would be a heinous thing, and look'd upon as abominably wicked, to ſtain with the blood and death of any man, the victory which God had given them; ſince too they were perſons of their fellow-tribes, of the ſame ſtock and kindred; wherefore it became them more to end the day in acts of mutual love, friendſhip, and feſtivities.

After this *Samuel* declared, that they ought to renew the kingdom, another inauguration being neceſſary, that the kingdom by freſh omens might be confirmed to *Saul*; hereupon all the people aſſembled at *Gilgal*, for *Samuel* had enjoined them to meet him in that place: And there the prophet, in the ſight of the whole people, anointed *Saul* with the ſacred oil, and pronounced him once more, king; and in this marvellous manner was the republick of the *Hebrews* changed into the form of a kingdom: For under *Moyſes*, and *Jeſus* his follower, who conducted the army, and preſided in the government, the ſtate was *ariſtocratical*, and conſiſted of the nobility: But after his death, for full eighteen years, the people were ſubject to no head-magiſtrate. Some time after they renewed their former plan of government, and committed the chief adminiſtration of affairs to him who was eſteemed the moſt valiant and courageous; whereupon all that ſpace of time, which was managed under ſuch a government, was termed the time of the *Judges*.

The prophet *Samuel* having aſſembled the *Hebrews* together, ſaid thus unto them, 'I adjure you by the Great God, who brought to light two good brothers, I mean *Moyſes* and *Aaron*, and freed your fathers from the dominion and ſlavery of the *Ægyptians*, that, at this time, neither through any motive of baſhfulneſs, or fear, or any other affection, you tell me, if I have committed any unjuſt or diſhoneſt thing, for the ſake of gain, or poſſeſſing more than I ought to have done, or to gain favour with any man Reprove me, if I have taken any perſon's heifer, ſheep, or any other thing of that nature, (the crime however may be eſteemed leſs, if it be found to have been done for the ſake of ſuſtenance,) or, if I ſeized on any man's aſs, and made it my property: If in any of theſe caſes I have in the leaſt wiſe ſinned, declare it before your king.' The people hereupon cried out, and ſaid, 'Thou haſt committed none of theſe things, but haſt governed the nation in righteouſneſs and juſtice.'

Samuel having received from the people this ample teſtimony of his innocence, ſaid, 'Since you have not been able to object any crime againſt me, come near, and hearken to me while I ſpeak ſomething to you with more freedom, and tell you, that in asking a king, you have greatly offended God: It behoved you to have remembred, that *Jacob* our great forefather, only with ſeventy perſons of our nation, when oppreſs'd with famine, went into *Ægypt*, and how their offspring increaſed there to ſeveral thouſands, and underwent an hateful ſervitude. How God, without the aſſiſtance of a king, being invoked by your fathers, freed them from that ſlavery, by ſending them *Moyſes* and *Aaron*, two brothers, who brought you into this land which you now poſſeſs. And yet after all theſe favours beſtowed upon you by God himſelf, yet you have often rejected him and his true religion. Moreover, when your enemies had dominion over you, he preſerv'd you your liberty, cauſing you in the firſt place, to overcome the *Aſſyrians*; in the ſecond, to vanquiſh the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*; and laſtly, the *Paleſtines*. All theſe things you have perform'd, not under the protection of kings, but the conduct of *Jephthah* and *Gedeon*: What madneſs therefore has poſſeſſed you, that you ſhould ſtill reject the Government of God, and ſubmit yourſelves to a king? But I myſelf have gained you a king, whom God mark'd out to me. Now as a manifeſt ſign that the Almighty is angry at this clamour of yours for a king, I will bring it to paſs, that you ſhall have moſt ſure tokens of his diſpleaſure from himſelf. I will call upon him, and ſuddenly you will ſee a tempeſt riſe in this country, now in the midſt of ſummer, a thing which never yet was known by any man.' No ſooner had *Samuel* declared himſelf thus, than ſuch loud claps of thunder, lightnings and hailſtones fell from heaven, in confirmation of what the prophet had foretold; ſo that all of them being ſtruck with wonder and fear, owned they had ſinned, and thro' ignorance had committed this great crime of chooſing a regal government: Therefore they beſought him, that, like an indulgent father to them, he would ſtrive to appeaſe God's fierce anger, for this their wickedneſs, whereby they had provoked his juſt indignation, and to intreat the Almighty to pardon all their other grievous contumelies and omiſſions. *Samuel*, upon this declaration of theirs, promiſed to beg of God, that he would be pleaſed to grant them their requeſt; but adviſed them to follow juſtice and righteouſneſs, and always to keep in remembrance the calamities they had brought upon themſelves, by their ſtubborn neglect of purſuing virtue; and the miraculous ſigns which God had viſibly ſhown them, and the laws of *Moyſes*, if they had any regard or value for their own ſafety, and the welfare of their king. But if they ſlighted theſe his admonitions, and would do wickedly, he told them, that they, together with their king, ſhould be grievouſly afflicted, and conſumed. After *Samuel* had ſaid thus to the *Hebrews*, he diſmiſſed them every man to go to his own home, having now again confirmed the kingdom upon *Saul*.

CHAP. VI.

How the Paleſtines *warred again with the* Hebrews, *and were diſcomfited.*

SAUL, with three thouſand choſen men out of the people, abode in *Michmaſh*, and in mount *Bethel*, two thouſand of whom he appointed for his own guards, but the third he had given to his ſon *Jonathan*, as a body-guard, and ſent him with them to *Gibeah*. At this time *Jonathan* was buſied in beſieging a certain fortreſs of the *Paleſtines*, not far diſtant from *Gilgal*; for thoſe who dwelt in *Gibeah*, having overcome the *Jews* there, not only took their arms from them, but put garriſons into the ſtrongeſt places of defence in their country, prohibiting alſo their wearing ſwords, or uſing any kind of iron among them; ſo that the husbandmen, by reaſon of this prohibition, could neither have a plow-ſhare, ſpade, or any thing elſe that belonged to agriculture, of their own making, but were forced from time to time, to go down to the *Paleſtines* and procure them, or have thoſe they had ſecretly kept by them ſharpned. As ſoon as the *Paleſtines* underſtood that their fortreſs was demoliſhed, they were wroth, and reſenting the affront committed by the *Hebrews*, they declar'd war againſt them; bringing into the field three hundred thouſand foot, thirty thouſand chariots, and ſixty thouſand horſe, and incamped at *Michmaſh*. When *Saul* king of the *Hebrews* heard of this, he went to *Gilgal*, and diſpatched poſts through all the country, to aſſemble the people, to defend their liberties, and undertake the war againſt the *Paleſtines*, and to acquaint them with their power; but to ſpeak as if they were to be deſpiſed, and not any way to fear fighting with them. But thoſe about *Saul* having taken a ſurvey of their forces, were greatly aſtoniſhed, ſome of them hiding themſelves in caves and holes, and others flying into the country over *Jordan*. This belonged to the tribes of *Gad* and *Ruben*.

Saul hereupon ſent meſſengers to fetch *Samuel*, that they two might adviſe about the war, and preſent poſture of affairs. *Samuel* deſired *Saul* to ſtay where he was, and prepare a victim, for that in ſeven days he would come to him, that on the ſeventh they might offer ſacrifices, and then engage the enemy. *Saul* tarried there for *Samuel*'s coming, as was enjoined him; but he did not throughly fulfil his command; for imagining that the *Prophet* lingred too long, and ſeeing his ſoldiers deſerting him, he took the victim and laid it upon the altar himſelf; and when he heard that *Samuel* was drawing near, he went forth to meet him; but was told by him, that he had not done juſtly, in not paying obedience to thoſe things he had been commanded to perform, and in not waiting till he came: For God had ſo ordered it, that the prayers and ſacrifices he had now offered up for the people, were done inauſpiciouſly, and was an action very precipitate and raſh. *Saul* hereupon began to excuſe himſelf, by ſaying, that he had tarried the number of days limited by him; and that neceſſity, and the deſertion of his ſoldiers, through fear of the enemies great number of forces at *Michmaſh*, and his hearing of their ſudden marching to *Gilgal* againſt him, had forced him to offer the ſacrifice.

To this *Samuel* replied and ſaid, ‘ *Saul*, if ‘ thou hadſt been juſt, and obeyed my voice, ‘ thy kingdom had continued for a long time ‘ to thee and thy poſterity; but thou haſt ‘ deſpiſed thoſe things which God had reveal‘ed to me, by an over eager haſte of thine, ‘ and this has proved very prejudicial to thy ‘ affairs.’ So *Samuel* was very much troubled at what had happened, and departed. *Saul* now having only ſix hundred men with him, went with his ſon *Jonathan* to *Gibeah*. Many of theſe wanted arms, the country affording no iron, nor any perſons that knew how to forge weapons of war; for we have above intimated, that the *Paleſtines* had laid a prohibition upon theſe things. They having divided their army into three companies, and made inroads into the country many ways, and laid it waſte, *Saul* and his ſon *Jonathan* looking on as melancholy ſpectators, not being able to defend the land, becauſe of the ſmallneſs of the number of the forces that were with them. Now as *Saul* and *Jonathan*, and *Achiah*, of the lineage of *Eli* the high prieſt, were ſitting on an high hill, beholding the devaſtation made by the *Paleſtines*, they were overwhelmed with ſorrow. At length the ſon of *Saul* propoſing to his armour-bearer, to try and ſee whether they could enter privily the enemies camp, and ſo put it into diſorder; the armour-bearer promiſed to follow him where ever he ſhould lead, though it were to certain death. Whereupon, taking the young man along with him, they deſcended down a ſmall hill, and directed their courſe towards the enemy, that were incamped within a place which had three promontories, high and ſharp, that the tops appeared very ſmall, with rocks alſo, which in a long chain almoſt ſurrounded the tents, that they ſeemed as ſo many batteries againſt thoſe that ſhould attack them. But it happened that at this time the camp was not ſo well guarded as it ought to have been, becauſe of the ſtrong ſituation of the ground wherein they had pitched their tents, being made impregnable almoſt by nature, and the enemy thinking it an impoſſibility for any perſon to come near the promontories, and much more ſo to aſcend them. When they were come near the camp, *Jonathan*

than bid his armour-bearer to take heart, ſaying, 'Now come, let us attack the enemy; and when they ſhall eſpie us, if it happen that they ſhall aſk us to go to them, we will receive ſuch an overture as a ſure token of victory; but if they ſhall ſay nothing, and not invite us to them, then we will retire back.' As they drew ſtill nearer towards the camp of the enemy, at juſt break of day, the *Paleſtines* perceived them; whereupon they ſaid to one another, *The* Hebrews *creep towards us out of their holes and dens.* After this, they ſpoke to *Jonathan* and the armour-bearer, ſaying, *Come, and aſcend to us, that we may puniſh you, as your boldneſs does deſerve.* *Jonathan* rejoycing at this ſpeech, as preſaging certain victory to him, removed immediately out of the place where he had been ſeen by the enemy, and got to the rock, which was left unguarded, becauſe of its ſtrong ſituation; where creeping with much difficulty up, and overcoming the ſummit of it, they gradually deſcended on the other ſide, and came ſecretly upon the enemy; and finding them aſleep, they ſlew about twenty of their men. This bold action ſtruck ſuch a pannick, and cauſed ſo great a diſorder in the camp, that many of them throwing away their arms, betook themſelves to flight; and many more, being ignorant of their own confederates, who were made up of foreign nations, and believing them to be enemies, (for they did not imagine that two *Hebrews* only had pierced among them,) began a fierce encounter. Some of them were ſlain by the hands of their own men, and others being puſhed along by them, were caſt down headlong from the rock.

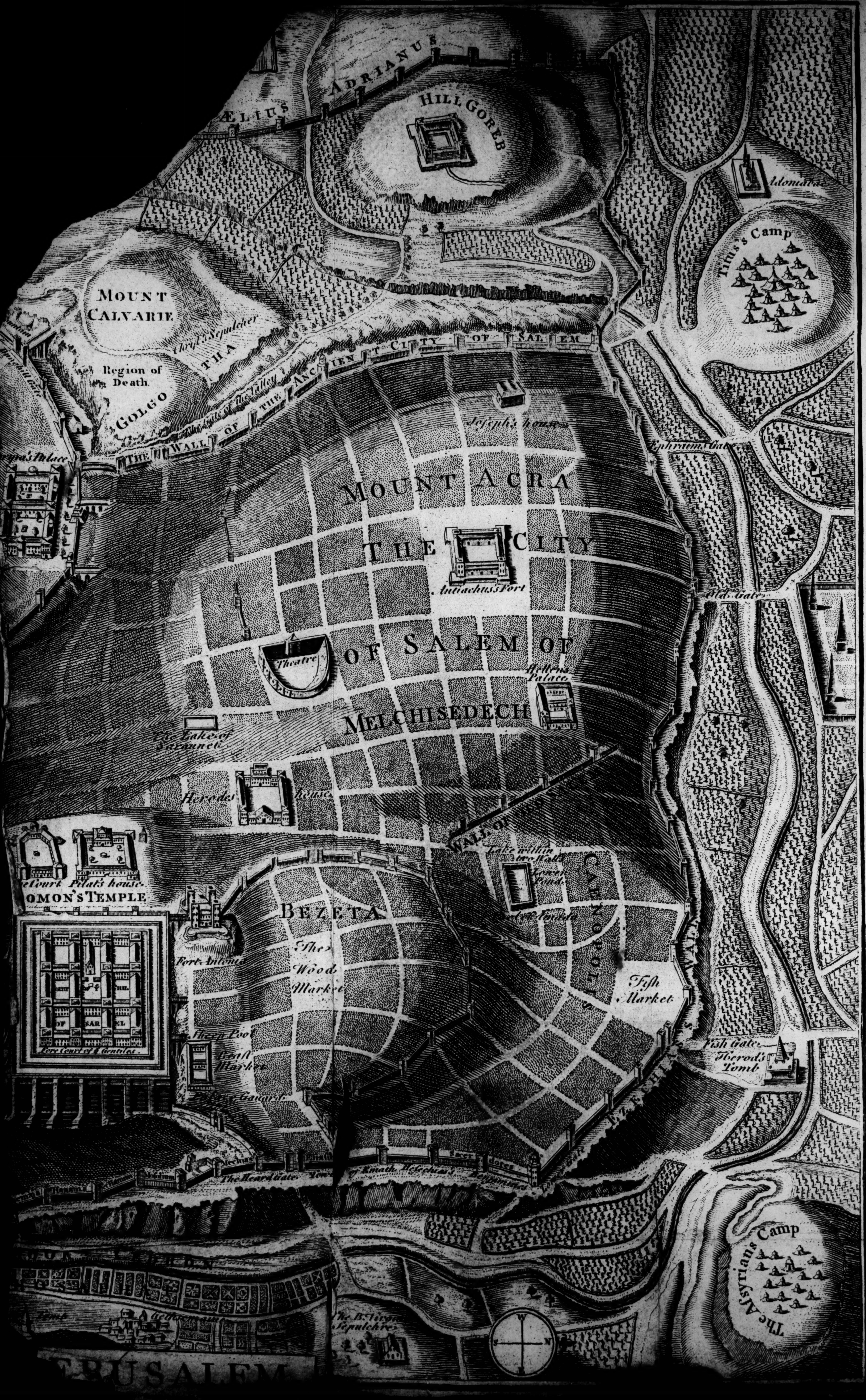
The ſpies of *Saul* having acquainted him that the camp of the *Paleſtines* were in the utmoſt confuſion, he inquir'd if any men were gone away from him; whereupon he found that his ſon and his armour-bearer were miſſing: He then commanded the high-prieſt to take up his ſacerdotal veſtment, and propheſy of what was to come. *Saul* received an anſwer, *That he ſhould prove victorious, and overcome his enemies*; whereupon he marched againſt the *Paleſtines*, and attacked them, being all in diſorder, and turning their ſwords upon one another. Thoſe who had hid themſelves in holes and dens, having heard of the victory, ſtraight came out and joined *Saul.* When the forces of the *Hebrews* were increaſed to ten thouſand men, *Saul* purſued the *Paleſtines* ſcattered throughout all the country. But whether through the joy at ſo ſpeedy and unexpected a victory, (for men receiving on the ſudden a large ſhare of proſperous ſucceſs, can ſeldom comport themſelves according to reaſon and judgment,) or through perfect ignorance, committed a very great miſtake, liable to much blame and cenſure. For *Saul*, reſolving to revenge himſelf, and puniſh the *Paleſtines*, laid a heavy imprecation upon the *Hebrews*, if any of them ſhould ceaſe from the ſlaughter, and eat before the night put a period thereto.

When *Saul* had ſwore thus, it happened that the army came into a certain wood abounding with bees and honey: *Jonathan*, who knew nothing of his father's raſh curſe, or that the people had conſented to it, took ſome honey out of a comb and eat it: But underſtanding ſoon after that his father had forbid eating before the ſun-ſet, upon pain of being curſed for it, he abſtained then from farther eating; but ſaid, That *Saul* had committed a great indiſcretion, in prohibiting ſuch a thing; for the men being refreſhed with eating, would have purſued the enemy with more vigour and courage, and took captive, or put to the ſword, a much greater number of them.

After they had ſlain ſeveral thouſands of the *Paleſtines*, they turned back in the evening to ſeize their camp, wherein they found abundance of ſpoil, and withal many ſheep, which they ſlew, and eat together with the blood. *Saul* underſtood from the *Scribes*, that the common ſoldiers had ſinned greatly againſt God in ſacrificing, becauſe they had eaten before the blood was quite waſhed away, and the fleſh well cleanſed: Hereupon he commanded a large ſtone to be rolled into the midſt of them, upon which they ſhould offer ſacrifices, and not feed upon fleſh with the blood in it, being a thing contradictory to the expreſs Command of God. This command of his was obeyed by all; upon which he raiſed an altar, and thereupon made an offering to God of a burnt-ſacrifice. This was the firſt altar raiſed by *Saul*.

He being deſirous of leading his army into the enemies camp before the morning light appear'd, with deſign to ſeize upon it, eſpecially ſince he perceiv'd his ſoldiers not to be very much fatigued, but that they ſhewed great ſigns of a chearful reſolution to follow him, and obey his commands, ſent for *Achitob* the high-prieſt, and bid him to enquire of God, whether he would permit him to enter their camp, and put to the ſword all thoſe he ſhould find alive in it. The high-prieſt anſwer'd him, *That God was unwilling to ſatisfy his deſire at that time*; but ſaid, *There is ſome cauſe why he doth not reveal his Oracle to us when we aſk it of him, who before was uſed to foretel all things to us, without our enquiring after them: There is doubtleſs ſome ſecret ſin againſt him, that occaſions this ſilence. Now I ſwear by the Supreme Majeſty of Heaven, that if my ſon* Jonathan *does prove the tranſgreſſor, he ſhall die; and by that means I hope, and will endeavour to appeaſe the wrath of the Almighty. And if it ſhall be found that any other perſon no way allied to me, has committed the notorious crime, I will aſſuredly give him his juſt puniſhment.* The multitude having heard him ſpeak thus, and conſented that he ſhould do what he had threatned, gathered together into one place. *Saul* and his ſon ſtood by themſelves. Immediately lots were drawn, with an intent to find out the author of this wickedneſs. The lot fell upon *Jonathan*, who was thereupon declared guilty. *Saul* ſeeing this, aſked his ſon, *What he had done; wherein he had offended; or in what part of his life he was guilty of any wickedneſs or impiety?* To this *Jonathan* anſwered, *Father*, ſaid he, *I have been guilty of no other crime, than only taſting yeſterday,* (*as I purſued the enemy,*) *a little of an honey-comb;*

but


ÆLIUS ADRIANUS
HILL GOREB
Adonias
Titus's Camp
MOUNT CALVARIE
Chriſt's Sepulcher
GOLGO THA
Region of Death
The Gate of the Valley
THE WALL OF THE ANCIENT CITY OF SALEM
Joseph's house
Ephraim's Gate
MOUNT ACRA
THE CITY OF SALEM OF MELCHISEDECH
Antiochus's Fort
Theatre
Helena's Palace
Fish Gate
The Lake of Saraunel
Herodes house
WALL OF
Lake within two Walls
Lower Pond
CAENOPOLIS
The Court
Pilat's house
SOLOMON'S TEMPLE
BEZETA
Fort Antonia
The Wood Market
Fiſh Market
Fiſh Gate
Herod's Tomb
EZECHIAS'S WALL
Sheep Pool
Beast Market
Fore Court of ye Gentiles
OF SAREL
The Heard Gate
Tower of Emath
Hezechias's
Sacerdotes
Benjamin
CEDRON
JOSAPHAT
Gethsemane
The B. Virgin Sepulchre
The Aſsyrians Camp
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but I did it unknowing of thy curſe or oath. *Saul* hereupon replied, *That he preferred the obligation of his oath to any ties of kindred, or motives of natural affection, and that therefore he ſhould ſurely be put to death.* *Jonathan*, at this menace of his father, was not in the leaſt terrified, but ſtepping into the midſt of the multitude with an unſhaken intrepidity of ſoul, ſaid thus: *I beſeech thee, do not ſpare me; for the death I ſhall ſuffer to atone for thy piety, and crown ſo good a victory as has been obtained, will be the moſt pleaſurable thing to me; for I ſhall leave the* Hebrews *conquerors over the* Paleſtines. All the people, when they heard him ſay this, were moved with tender concern and compaſſion for him, and ſwore that they would not ſuffer him to die, who was the principal cauſe of the late ſo glorious a victory. Purſuant to this oath of theirs, they preſerved him from the penalty of his father's execration, and offering their vows to God for him, they earneſtly beſought the Almighty to pardon his offence.

Saul having ſlain ſixty thouſand of the enemies, returned to his capital, and reigned afterwards very peaceably; the *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, *Paleſtines*, *Idumæans*, *Amalekites*, and the king of *Soba*, being ſubdued by him. He had three ſons, *Jonathan*, *Iſhui* (or *Jeſus*) and *Melchiſhua* (or *Melchiſus*) and two daughters, *Merab* and *Michal*. The captain of his hoſt was named *Abner*, the ſon of *Ner*, uncle of *Saul*. *Ner*, and *Kiſh* his father, were brothers, and ſons of *Abiel*. *Saul* had a great number of chariots, and abounded in horſes, and with whomſoever he engaged, he always came off a conqueror. He brought the affairs of the *Hebrews* into a proſperous condition, and kept them in much peace and quiet, extending the power of his nation over the neighbouring kingdoms; and taking into his body-guard all young men, who were remarkable for their tallneſs and ſtoutneſs of body.

CHAP. VII.

Saul *waging War with the* Amalekites, *becomes victorious.*

SAMUEL coming to *Saul*, informs him that he was ſent by the command of God, to admoniſh him, that ſince he had made him king, in preference to all others, it was his incumbent duty to obey him, who was the Lord, and had the empire of all nations under his power; being not only lord over his, but all other kingdoms. *Samuel* further ſaid, that God had thus ſpoke to him, *Becauſe the* Amalekites *had inflicted many calamities upon the* Hebrews *in the wilderneſs, when they were come out of* Ægypt, *and travelled into that country wherein they now dwell; I therefore command* Saul *to declare war againſt them, and when he has overcome them, not to leave one remaining live among them, but put all to the ſword, f what age ſoever, both women and children, aking vengeance upon them for the calamities hey had brought upon our forefathers: And oreover, not to ſpare the aſſes, or the ſheep, t of greedy covetouſneſs, or to enlarge our poſ ſſions, but to ſacrifice all to God, and entirely blot out the name of the* Amalekites, *accord g to the commandment of* Moyſes.

Saul having heard *Samuel* declare himſelf ter this manner, promiſed to perform all theſe ommands; for he now thought that his obe ience to God did not conſiſt chiefly in his ading the army againſt the *Paleſtines*, but in s diſcovering a readineſs and diligence ſo to . Whereupon he muſtered all his forces, d reviewed them at *Gilgal*, when he found army of four hundred thouſand men, exclu e of the tribe of *Judah*, which alone con d of thirty thouſand. *Saul* having made inroad into the country of the *Amalekites*, ed ſeveral of his companies in ambuſcade t the river of *Jordan*, deſigning not only ngage them in open battle, but to fall them by ſurprize, and ſo ſurrounding in the narrow paſſes, to put them to the ſword. When the encounter began, the enemy retreated, and *Sanl* purſuing them, ſlew them all to a man.

After this attempt had ſucceeded ſo proſperouſly, according to the Divine Prediction, he then invaded the cities of the *Amalekites*, taking ſome by ſtratagem, ſome by minings, others by ſtorm, and reducing ſeveral others after various ways. Moreover, he ſlew all the women and children, and ſuppoſed that in this action he committed no cruelty, or any thing repugnant to human nature. For firſt he judged them his open enemies, and next he was enjoined by God to the enterprize, in the obeying and performing of which, he imagined no danger would enſue. Beſides, he took *Agag* their king captive, whoſe beauty and ſtately preſence he ſo admired, that he thought him worthy to be preſerved; in this action not obeying the command of God, but giving way to his own tender pity and affection, which in this caſe proved fatal to him: For God hated the nation of the *Amalekites* to that degree, that he had expreſly commanded the very infants (towards whom we are generally moſt compaſſionate) to be put to the ſword. However *Saul* ſpared *Agag*, the author of all the calamities that had befallen the *Hebrews*. In like manner alſo the people tranſgreſſed: For they not only preſerved the aſſes and the ſheep, but took them away, contrary to the expreſs Word of the Almighty, not to ſave any of them; but they deſtroyed all thoſe things which they reckoned not worth keeping.

After *Saul* had thus put to the ſword all the *Amalekites*, as far as from *Peluſium* in *Ægypt*, to the *Red-ſea*, he then laid waſte all the country, ſparing only the nation of the *Sicimites* (or *Kenites*) who dwelt in the midſt of the land of *Midian*. *Saul*, before he began this war, ſent meſſengers to theſe people, with orders to retire, leaſt the calamity of the *Amalekites* ſhould fall upon them. The reaſon why *Saul* did not meddle with them, was, becauſe *Raguel*, father-in-law of *Moyſes*, was their countryman.

Saul, a while after this, returned home triumphing and rejoicing at the ſucceſſes he had met with; as if he had omitted nothing of all thoſe things which *Samuel* had enjoined him to perform, when he ſhould wage the war againſt the *Amalekites*; and as if the obtaining this victory had put an end to all that he was commanded to do upon his enemies. But God was angry that *Agag* was ſpared, and that the ſheep were carried away by the people contrary to his expreſs order; for he looked upon it as a high indignity againſt him, that when he had beſtowed upon *Saul* courage, by which means he had overcome his enemies, he ſhould now contemn him, and not pay him that obedience which a temporal king would require and expect. Wherefore he ſpoke to the prophet *Samuel*, and told him, that it repented him that he had made *Saul* king; ſince he had not only diſobeyed his commands, but had done ſeveral things according to his own will and pleaſure. *Samuel* having heard God ſpeak thus, was ſorely troubled, and reſolved to beſeech him all the night, to reſtore *Saul* to his favour, and turn away the anger he had conceived againſt him. But the Almighty, though the prophet made ſtrong interceſſions, would by no means pardon *Saul*; for he thought it unjuſt to forgive ſuch an offence, as the king had been guilty of through others perſuaſions; and too much indulgence, eſpecially of thoſe againſt whom the ſin was acted, giving encouragement for the commiſſion of greater offences. *Samuel* therefore, finding that his prayers were uneffectual, and that God would not alter his purpoſe, went betimes in the morning to *Saul* at *Gilgal*, who ſeeing him, ran to meet him, and having ſaluted him, ſaid, ‘I return thanks to God for having given me the victory. Moreover, I have performed all that he hath enjoined me to do.’ To this the prophet replied, ‘How comes it to paſs then that I hear the bleatings of ſheep, and the braying of aſſes in the tents.’ *Saul* anſwered, That the people had reſerved them for ſacrifices; but the whole nation of the *Amalekites*, in obedience to the command of God, was entirely conquered and routed out, not one remaining alive, except *Agag* their king, whom he had took captive, and was willing to preſerve him; ‘But, added *Saul*, I am content to adviſe with thee what we ſhall do with him.’ *Samuel* again replied, ‘That God was not ſo much delighted in ſacrifice or burnt-offerings, but with righteouſneſs and juſtice, and the actions of good men: For theſe are they who yield obedience to his will, and perform his commands; believing that they can do nothing right, but what God enjoins them. For let me acquaint thee, that the Almighty is not contemned, in delaying to ſacrifice, but when his word is diſobeyed and ſlighted: Thoſe who reject him, and do not give him the worſhip due to his Majeſty, are diſpleaſing to him, let them offer up to him ever ſo many, and the deareſt ſacrifices, or make preſents to him, the moſt exquiſite in gold and ſilver. From theſe men he turns away his countenance, and makes their offerings an argument of their wickedneſs, and not of their piety. That perſon, who alone minds and purſues what he has once commanded, and had rather ſuffer death, than in the leaſt violate his injunction, is God’s great delight, and at his hands he requires no ſacrifice. For let the offering be what it will, if it be done with a pure heart unfeignedly, it is accepted, a poor man being admitted oftner than the moſt rich and wealthy. Therefore know, that God is greatly incenſed againſt thee, for having deſpiſed and rejected his poſitive command. Now, how canſt thou imagine that he will regard thy ſacrifice, which is made of thoſe things that he had deſtined for deſtruction; unleſs thou thinkeſt that he will have the ſame thing become a ſacrifice, which at the ſame time he would have deſtroyed: I tell thee therefore, that he will take away both thy kingdom and power from thee.’ Upon ſaying this, *Saul* made an open declaration of his ſin, and confeſſed he had done wrongfully, and that the prophet’s command had been diſregarded by him. That his not prohibiting, and reſtraining his ſoldiers from carrying away the ſpoil, was done through a certain fear which his men ſtruck into him. ‘But, ſaid he, *Samuel*, I pray thee to pardon me, and ſhow thyſelf merciful towards me, and for the future, I will be cautious how I ſin again: Therefore, I beſeech thee, not to turn back again, but ſtay a little, till I have made a peace-offering to God.’ Notwithſtanding this declaration which *Saul* made to him, *Samuel* reſolved to go, for he perceived no hopes that God would any more have favour for him.

Saul, being very earneſt to detain *Samuel*, took hold of the ſkirt of his mantle, and pulling it with more force than uſual, as the prophet made haſte to depart, rent it: Whereupon *Samuel* told him, ‘That in like manner his kingdom ſhould be rent from him, and a greater and juſter man poſſeſs it. That God had ſo decreed it, who was immutable, and could not change his reſolutions, as was cuſtomary with the frailty of man.’ *Saul* again ſaid, ‘He had ſinned, and what he had committed could not now be remedied: Wherefore he prayed him to honour him before the elders of the people, and accompany him to worſhip God.’ *Samuel* yielded to this importunate deſire of *Saul*, and went with him to ſacrifice. A while after *Agag*, the king of the *Amalekites*, was brought before *Samuel*, who ſaying, ‘That the bitterneſs of death was ſurely paſt,’ the prophet ſpoke to him thus; ‘As thy ſword has made women childleſs, ſo ſhall thy mother be childleſs among women.’ Whereupon he hewed him in pieces before the Lord in *Gilgal*; after which he returned back to *Ramah*.

CHAP. VIII.

How Saul *after he had diſobeyed the Commands of the Prophet,* Samuel *made Choice of another Perſon to be King, named* David, *by the immediate Appointment of* God.

SAUL being at length ſenſible of the many calamities he ſhould undergo, becauſe he had now made God his enemy, went up to his palace at *Gibeah*, (which by interpretation, ſignifieth a *Hill*,) and from that time never more came into the preſence of the prophet. *Samuel* was exceedingly ſorrowful for *Saul*; whereupon God commanded him to grieve no longer, but to fill his horn with oil, and go to *Bethlehem*, unto *Jeſſe* the ſon of *Obed*, and anoint one of his ſons there, whom he had provided, and would diſcover to him, to be king. Having ſpoke to this effect *Samuel* acquainted the Almighty that he was very much afraid, when *Saul* ſhould come to hear of it, that he would either clandeſtinely, or by open violent means, kill him. Hereupon God promiſing him that he ſhould be kept in ſafety, he went to the place above-mentioned. * *At his arrival every one paid him great reſpects, and enquired the cauſe of his coming.* Samuel told them, *That he was come thither to perform ſacrifice*; which when he had finiſhed, he called *Jeſſe* and his ſons to partake of the feaſt, and eat. Now when they were come, he looked upon the eldeſt, who was tall and very comely, ſo that from his beautiful appearance, he imagined that he was to be the king. But in this he miſtook the purpoſe of God: For a little time after enquiring of him, whether this young man whom he had admired was not the perſon he was to anoint with the ſacred oil, as judging him worthy of the kingdom; he was anſwered, ‘The Lord ſeeth not ‘as man ſeeth; for thou looking on the outward ‘appearance of the youth, fancieſt him worthy to ‘be king on that account. But I do not beſtow a ‘kingdom as due to the merit of a perſon's ‘handſome figure or ſhape, but as a reward of the ‘virtuous qualifications of the mind. Wherefore I ‘look unto that man, who is perfect in piety and ‘juſtice, and courage and meekneſs, virtues which ‘truly conſtitute the beauties of the mind.’ God having ſpoke thus, *Samuel* commanded *Jeſſe* to bring his ſons before him, upon which he made ſeven of them to paſs before him, the eldeſt of whom was called *Eliab*, the ſecond, *Aminadab*, the third *Shammah*, the fourth, *Nathaneel*, the fifth, *Rael*, and the ſixth *Aſam*. *Samuel* beholding theſe likewiſe, but ſeeing them not in the leaſt to yield to the eldeſt in beauty, asked God, if he would chuſe any one of theſe to be king, to which anſwer was made, *None of them.* Whereupon *Samuel* asked *Jeſſe*, if he had any more children? To which having replied, that there was one more remaining, the youngeſt of all, who was called *David*, but he was a ſhepherd, and now looking after the ſheep. Upon this *Samuel* ſaid, ſend and fetch him, for we will not ſit down till he come hither. When *David*, who was ſent for by his father, was come, (the youth *was ruddy, and withal of a beautiful countenance, and goodly to look to,*) *Samuel* ſpoke ſoftly to himſelf, and ſaid, this is he whom the lord hath appointed to be king: Whereupon he ſat down, placing the youth next to himſelf, and after him *Jeſſe*, and his other ſons. When he had ſo done, *Samuel* took immediately the horn of oil and anointed *David*, ſaying thus: ‘This is the ſign, whereby thou ‘ſhalt know that God hath choſen thee king. ‘Now I pray thee purſue juſtice, and obey the ‘commandments of the Almighty, ſo ſhall thy ‘kingdom remain to thee for a long time, and ‘thy houſe become famous and honourable: ‘Thou ſhalt moreover vanquiſh in battle the ‘*Paleſtines*, and with whatſoever nation thou ‘ſhalt wage war, thou ſhalt always become ‘victorious, renowned, procuring to thy ſelf ‘in thy life time great glory and honour, and ‘leaving to poſterity a name famous for piety ‘and high atchievments.’

Samuel having ſpoken thus, roſe up, and went to *Ramah*. Now the ſpirit of the Lord departed from *Saul*, and paſſed over to *David*; upon which he began to propheſy. *Saul* was troubled with an evil ſpirit, and a great perturbation in his ſoul tormented him in ſo cruel a manner, that his phyſicians were at a loſs what medicines to preſcribe to him for eaſe in his preſent malady; but they adviſed him to ſeek out ſome man, skilled in decantations, and who was a cunning player on an harp, That *when the evil ſpirit from God was come upon him*, the muſician might ſtand cloſe to his head, and repeat verſes to his harp that might do him good, and in ſome meaſure revive him. This advice being approved of by *Saul*, he immediately ordered his ſervants to provide him ſuch a perſon. Upon this one of the ſervants in waiting ſaid, I have ſeen a ſon of *Jeſſe* the *Bethleemite*, that is *cunning in playing, and a mighty valiant man, and a man of war, and prudent in matters, and a comely perſon, and the Lord is with him. Saul* upon this, ſent meſſengers unto *Jeſſe*, and ſaid, Send me *David* thy ſon, who is with the ſheep, that I may look upon him, for I have heard great things of him and his comelineſs. Hereupon *Jeſſe*, giving preſents to *David* his ſon for *Saul*, ſent him to him, who when he was come ſtanding before him, he loved him greatly, and he became his armour-bearer which was a poſt of mighty honour. Now it came to paſs, when *the evil ſpirit of God was upon* Saul, *that* David *took his harp, and played* upon it, and repeated verſes, by means of which he proved the beſt phyſician *Saul* had, ſo that *he was refreſhed, and was well, and the evil ſpirit departed from him.*

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* The Elders of the Town upon this trembled at his coming, and ſaid *Comeſt thou Peaceably*? And he anſwered *Peaceably. I am come to Sacrifice unto the Lord.* [Thus the Scripture.]

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

How the Paleſtines *undertook another Expedition againſt the* Hebrews, *while* Saul *was yet reigning: And how, after* David *had slain* Goliath, *they departed with a great Overthrow.*

IN a few days after this, the *Paleſtines* gathered themſelves together, and muſtered a large army, declaring war againſt the *Iſraelites*, and pitched between *Shochoh* and *Azekah*, in *Ephes-Dammim*. And *Saul* led his army out againſt them, and ſat down with his men upon a certain mountain, cauſing the *Paleſtines* to remove from their firſt incampment, and to take another mountain over againſt him. The army ſet it ſelf in a battle array, in a valley between them. Now there came down from the camp of the *Paleſtines*, a certain champion, named *Goliath* of the city of *Gath*, (or *Gitta*,) whoſe vaſt heighth was four cubits and a ſpan. (Six, the Text ſays.) The arms he wore were every way proportionable to the magnitude of his body; for he was armed with a coat of mail, weighing five thouſand ſhekels of braſs, he had an helmet of braſs upon his head, and greaves of braſs upon his legs of a huge circumference, and fit to cover his large limbs; the ſtaff of his ſpear was like a weavers beam, the head whereof weighed ſix hundred ſhekels of iron, * *And many bearing his ſhield followed him.* When this *Goliath* was come between the two armies, he ſtood, and making a vaſt ſhout, cried aloud to *Saul*, and to the *Hebrews*, ſaying, 'I am he who will deliver you from 'danger, and the hazard of a battle. What 'neceſſity hath obliged us to ſet our men in 'battle array, and to undergo the chance of 'war? Chooſe you a man, that he and I may 'fight together, and the agreement ſhall be, 'that who of us two ſhall overcome, the vanquiſhed with his people ſhall be ſervants to 'the conquerour and his people. For it is 'much better, and more adviſable to do this 'which will hazard only the life of one, than 'to engage in a battle, which may bring all 'into ruin.' Having thus ſpoke, he returned to his camp. But the next day he came down again, and made the ſame confident challenge, and continued to proclaim it for the ſpace of forty days ſucceſſively. Theſe daring bluſtrings of *Goliath*, ſtruck a pannick into *Saul* and the army. Now both the hoſts were put in battle array, but came not as yet to any open engagement.

This war breaking out between the *Hebrews* and the *Paleſtines*, *Saul* ſent *David* back to his father *Jeſſe*, and contended himſelf with his three other ſons, whom he made his companions in the war. But *David* went to *Bethlehem* to feed his father's ſheep. Yet in a little time after he ſent him back again to the camp of the *Hebrews*, with proviſion for his brothers, and to know how they fared. Now *Goliath* continued (as I ſaid before) his coming out of the camp, and giving the ſame deſying challenge to the *Hebrews*, and upbraiding them with cowardice, ſaying, That none of them had heart or courage enough to fight with him. *David* (as he was a talking with his brethern about what his father had commanded him,) heard how the *Paleſtine* inſolently carried himſelf towards the *Hebrews*, and impudently provoked any one of them to fight with him, was highly incenſed at the giant's blaſphemous audaciouſneſs, and told his brothers that he himſelf was ready to fight *Goliath* in ſingle combat. *Eliab*, the eldeſt brother of *David*, hearing him ſpeak thus, upbraided him, and told him that he was too adventurous and daring for one of his years, and little underſtood what it was he was going to undertake, but bid him to return to his flocks, or go to his father. *David* fearing his brother's anger, left him, and made his deſire of fighting with the *Paleſtine* known to ſome ſoldiers: It ſoon reached the ears of *Saul*, who ordered him to be brought before him, and enquiring of him what he had to ſay, *David* anſwered, 'Do not 'be caſt down, O king! For I will bring down 'the pride of this inſulting enemy. I will fight 'with him, and though he appears of ſo monſtrous 'a heighth, and ſuch emboldened courage, I do 'not fear but I ſhall be able to ſubdue him, by 'which means he ſhall become a ſcorn and ridicule amongſt all, but thy army ſhall obtain 'much glory therefrom. For one that is no way 'ſkilled in war, ſtrength to cope with this 'champion, but is a meer boy, ſhall overcome him.

Saul admiring the intrepidity and ſtoutneſs of that Spirit, which *David* ſhewed on this occaſion, could hardly give credit to his boaſting words, but concluded him too young, and therefore altogether unable to engage with ſo formidable an adverſary.

Wereupon, *David* ſaid thus, 'I promiſe myſelf, who put my only truſt in God, that I 'ſhall overcome this deſying champion, having 'already had experienced the Divine Aſſiſtance. 'For once, as a lion ſet upon my flocks, and 'ſnatched away a lamb, I purſued, and caught 'him, and reſcued the lamb out of his jaws; and 'when he aroſe againſt me, I laid hold of his 'tail, and ſmote him, and ſlew him, and the 'ſame revenge I took upon a Bear. Now I doubt 'not but to do with this uncircumiſed Philiſtine 'as I have done with the lion and the bear. 'That no more he ſhall defie the armies of the 'Iſraelites, or reproach the living God, but 'that he will give him up into my hands.'

Hereupon, *Saul* beſeeching God that all things might ſucceed according to the promiſing hopes of *David*, ſaid, *Go, and the Lord be with thee.* After which, *Saul* put an helmet of braſs upon his head, and girded him with his own ſword, and put a coat of mail upon him, and with theſe he aſſayed to go. But *David* being burthened with the armour, for as yet he had not been trained up to military diſcipline, nor learned to wear armour, ſaid, ‘O king, theſe accoutrements become thee, who art able to wear them; but let me, who am thy ſervant, undertake the fight as I think beſt.’ Upon this he put off the armour, and taking his ſtaff in his hand, he choſe five ſmooth ſtones out of the brook, and put them into a ſhepherd's bag which he had, even in a ſcrip, and took his ſling in his right hand, he drew near to the *Philiſtine*. But when *Goliath* ſaw him coming towards him in this manner, he diſdained him, and jeered him, ſaying, ‘Thou comes to fight with me, not with arms ſuch as are cuſtomary to engage men with, but with ſtones which are thrown at dogs. Doſt thou take me to be a dog, and not a man?’ To this *David* anſwer'd, ‘That he thought him very unlike to a man, and much worſe than a dog.’ This ſaying exaſperated *Goliath* to that degree, that his rage boiled within him, and made him ſwear by his gods, and to ſay, ‘Come to me, and I will give thy fleſh to the fowls of the air, and to the beaſts of the field.’ To this *David* replied, ‘Thou comeſt to me with a ſword, and with a ſpear, and with a ſhield, but I come to thee in the name of the Lord of Hoſts, the God of the armies of *Iſrael*, whom thou haſt defied; this day will the Lord deliver thee into mine hand, and I will ſmite thee, and take thine head from thee, and I will give the carcaſſes of the hoſt of the *Paleſtines* this day unto the fowls of the air, and to the wild beaſts of the earth, that all the earth may know that there is a GOD in *Iſrael*: And all this aſſembly ſhall know, that the Lord ſaveth not with ſword and ſpear, (for the battle is the Lord's,) and he will give you into our hands.’ *Goliath* being hindred with the maſſy and heavy armour about him, drew ſlowly towards *David*, reproaching and diſdaining him, and relying on his own ſtrength, that with the utmoſt eaſe he ſhould kill him, who was not only unarmed, but in age a meer boy.

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* In *S. L.* And one bearing his Shield went before him.

But *David* putting his truſt in his ſure helper, GOD, ran to meet his antagoniſt, and putting his hand into his bag, and taking from thence one of the ſtones, he ſlang it, and ſmote the Paleſtine *in the forehead, that the ſtone ſunk into his forehead, and he fell upon his face to the earth.* *David* ſeeing this, ran to *Goliath*, and ſtood upon him as he lay on the ground, and drawing his ſword out of the ſheath, as having none of his own, he ſlew him, and cut off his head therewith. The *Paleſtines* beholding their champion proſtrate on the ground, fled; for now the man upon whom all their hopes relied, being vanquiſhed, they, ſtruck with the deepeſt conſternation, durſt not hazard themſelves in a battle, but endeavour'd to avoid all danger, by caſting themſelves into a cowardly and ignominious flight. Hereupon *Saul*, and all the men of *Iſrael* aroſe, ſhouting, and purſued them, ſlaying a great number of them, till they came as far as *Gath*, and the gates of *Ekron*. Of the *Paleſtines*, in this engagement, about thirty thouſand, and twice that number was wounded. *Saul* going to their camp, utterly ſpoiled it, and burnt down their places of defence. But *David* carried the head of *Goliath* into his tent, and conſecrated his ſword to God.

CHAP. X.

Saul *envies* David'*s late Succeſſes and great Exploits; and ſeeking an Opportunity of entrapping him, promiſes to give him his Daughter in Marriage, on Condition he would bring him ſix hundred Heads of the* Paleſtines.

THE envy of *Saul* began now to appear, and this was the cauſe: The women ran out to meet king *Saul* and the army returning triumphant from the ſlaughter, with ſinging and dancing, with tabrets, with joy, and with inſtruments of muſick, ſaying, *Saul has ſlain his thouſands*; but the virgins anſwered, *David hath put to the ſword his ten thouſands.* Theſe things coming to the ears of *Saul*, it vexed him, to think that ſo many thouſands ſhould be aſcribed to him, who was but a youth, and ſo few to him himſelf their king, imagining in his breaſt, that after ſuch large acclamations beſtowed upon *David*, nothing leſs than the kingdom would ſuffice to recompence his actions. Whereupon he grew fearful and jealous, and removing him from his poſt of being armour-bearer, (which by its nearneſs to his perſon made him very uneaſy,) he made him his captain over a thouſand, which indeed was a better place, and what *Sau l*eſteemed ſafer for him; for he had fixed a reſolution of ſending him upon the moſt dangerous enterprizes, that ſo he might at one time or other be ſlain.

David managed his affairs with a conſtant run of ſucceſs, for he found that *God was with him in whatſoever he undertook.* The people beholding this, and admiring the greatneſs of his courage, extremely loved him, his deeds and actions: At the ſame time prevailing ſo far over the affections of the daughter of *Saul*, that ſhe diſcover'd manifeſt marks of her love towards him. Her father early became acquainted with the affair, and ſeem'd no way averſe to his daughter's inclination for *David*; whereupon he declared himſelf very ready to give her to him in marriage, as ſuppoſing that this would prove the happy means of his ruin. ‘For (ſaid he,) I will promiſe to marry my daughter to him, on condition that he bring me an hundred * heads of the *Paleſtines*; for *David* will be very deſirous to undertake ſo hardy an enter-

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* In *S. L.* Foreskins.

enterprize, as concluding that he ſhall purchaſe great glory thereby; but I hope the *Paleſtines* will deſtroy him, then all my fears about him will be over, for I want to be rid of him. By this means he will fall, not by my own hand, but by the hand of the *Philiſtines*.' Having ſpoken thus, he commanded his ſervants to ſound the inclinations of *David*, and try how he ſtood affected towards marriage with his daughter. In obedience hereunto, they went and communed with him, ſaying, 'That the king, and all the people loved him; and that *Saul* was deſirous to make him his ſon-in-law.' To which *David* made this anſwer. 'Seemeth it to you a light thing to be a king's ſon-in-law? For my part I do not; ſeeing I am a poor man, and lightly eſteem'd.' *Saul* having received this anſwer from *David*, by his ſervants, ſaid, 'Tell him, I deſire no money, or any dowry; for that would be rather a ſelling of my daughter, than a placing her out; but to wed her to a ſon-in-law, in whom appear the moſt evident ſigns of courage, and all other virtuous accompliſhments; that my earneſt deſire is, that this marriage may not be bought with ſilver or gold, but with ſix hundred heads of the *Paleſtines*, as a revenge upon them; for he cannot do any thing more noble, or acceptable to me than this; and to wed my daughter to ſuch a perſon, will prove a more deſirable ſervice than the greateſt dowry he can bring her; beſide, the teſtimony he will demonſtrate of his victory over my enemies, will add to his high and exalted character.'

Theſe words of *Saul* being reported to *David*, he ſeem'd greatly delighted with them, and not ſuſpecting but that *Saul*'s intention was honeſt, and only calculated to confirm a ſtricter tye of kindred between them, little conſidering the difficulty of the action he was to perform, or whether it was practicable or not; whereupon he with his men went out to meet the enemy, in order to execute what was deſir'd, and to obtain the marriage. God, who made every thing eaſy and glorious to him, cauſed him to kill a great number, and having under his aſſiſtance taken * ſix hundred heads of the *Paleſtines*, he returned to the king, and demanded him to perform the marriage as covenanted between them. *Saul* having nothing now whereby to evade and break his promiſe with him, (for he eſteem'd it a baſe thing, either to ſeem guilty of a falſhood to him, or now, that he had promiſed the marriage, he ſhould at laſt deceive him, who had expoſed himſelf even to the hazard of his life, by undertaking an exploit the moſt difficult and dangerous,) gave him his daughter *Michal* to wife.

CHAP. III.

How David, *by the Care of* Jonathan, *and the Contrivance of his Wife* Michal, *was deliver'd from the Snares of* Saul, *and got to the Prophet* Samuel.

NOtwithſtanding this marriage, the actions of *David* did not long ſit eaſy in the mind of *Saul*; who perceiving, that not only God was with him, but that the whole people bore him great reſpect, he began afreſh to fear him. And being unable to conceal his uneaſineſs, (for he ſuppoſed, that both his kingdom and life were in danger, the loſs of either being a great hardſhip to part with) he reſolved to have him diſpatched ſome way or other: Upon which he commanded his ſon *Jonathan*, and ſome of his moſt truſty ſervants, to cut him off. *Jonathan* was ſurprized at hearing this ſudden alteration in his father's mind, with reſpect to *David*, that, when he had but a little before ſhown himſelf ſo benevolent and great a friend to him, he ſhould now ſtrive to put him to death; out of a motive of love to *David*, and an admiration of his virtue and courage, went and diſcloſed to him the ſecret purpoſe of his father, adviſing him to take care of himſelf, keep out of the way, and abide in ſome ſecret place until the morning. That, as for himſelf, he would go in pretence of a viſit to his father, and taking an opportunity of diſcourſing with him, he would learn the reaſon of his anger againſt him, and endeavour to ſweeten him by all the expoſtulations he was maſter of; namely, That it was very unjuſt for ſuch an offence as his to put him to death, who had done the people ſo many good offices and benefits. And as for his father's part, he would acquaint him, that himſelf was the moſt indebted to him of all men, ſo that if his tranſgreſſion was of the moſt flagrant nature, yet it was but juſtice to pardon him. But of theſe things, I will more fully certify thee, when I ſee thee. *David*, upon *Jonathan*'s ſpeaking thus, followed his good advice, and departed, and did not ſee *Saul*.

Jonathan the next day went to his father, and finding him in a good pleaſant humour, began to diſcourſe him in the following manner: 'Is there any offence either great or ſmall, my father, that *David* hath committed againſt thee, for which thou thinkeſt he deſerves to die? Hath not thy life in a great meaſure been owing to him? And have not the *Paleſtines* in a more ſenſible manner felt his avenging arm? Beſides, hath he not freed the *Hebrews* from the opprobrious ſcorns and contumelies they ſuſtain'd for forty days, when he alone, of all thy ſervants, adventur'd to engage with the moſt daring of thy enemies, and afterwards brought to thee ſo many heads of the *Paleſtines*, which were enjoyn'd him by thee, and whom thou rewardeſt with giving my ſiſter in marriage to him? Wherefore, if he muſt ſuffer death by thy command, the loſs of him will prove the more lamented, both upon the account of his magnanimity, and great virtues, and that tie of kindred which has now made him ſo united between us. If he muſt die, thy daughter certainly will follow him, who then, before ſhe has experienced the comforts and bleſſings of a wedded life, will be made an afflicted and deſolate widow. I expoſtulate thus freely with thee, that ſo I perſuade thee to ſhew a more tender regard towards him, and not to hurt a perſon, who in the firſt place, has given thee ſuch evident marks of his affection as well as duty, in driving away that diſturbance from thy mind, and reſtoring peace to it, when the *evil ſpirit* was upon thee; and in the next place, in taking revenge upon thine enemies; the forgetfulneſs of which benefits would be very prejudicial to thee.' Theſe words wrought ſo much upon *Saul*, and touched his heart, that he became another man. Hearkening therefore unto the voice of *Jonathan*, he ſwore, *As the Lord liveth he ſhall not be ſlain*, nor any hurt by his means ſhould fall upon *David*. When *Jonathan* ſaw he had thus overcome his father's apprehenſions, he ſent for *David*, and acquainted him that he need not fear any thing ill now from his father, for he had appeaſed him; upon which, he went with him to *Saul*, *And he was in his preſence as in times paſt.*

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* In *S. L.* Two Hundred Foreskins.

Immediately after this, the *Paleſtines* brought another army into the field againſt the *Hebrews*; upon which *David*, by the command of *Saul*, march'd with a mighty hoſt reſolving to give them battle, and ſtraightway falling on, made a terrible ſlaughter of them, and afterwards return'd victorious. But *Saul* did not receive the news of this ſucceſs with that chearfulneſs as *David* expected from him, but rather ſhowed himſelf very melancholy and dejected at it, thinking that theſe great exploits of his would prove prejudicial to his quiet and repoſe. It happened, that when the *evil ſpirit* from the Lord was upon *Saul*, he ſent for *David* to be brought into his bed-chamber, where holding a javelin in his hand, he commanded him to play and repeat verſes to his muſick*. *David* hereupon began to play; but when the king reaching out the javelin to throw it, and he perceiving the aim to be at himſelf, he ſlipt away, and avoided the ſtroke, and fled into his houſe, wherein he continued all that day.

Hereupon *Saul* in the night ſent ſome perſons to keep cloſe watch upon him, till the morning, leſt he ſhould ſo conceal himſelf as to make his eſcape; giving them orders at the ſame time to bring him to juſtice where he might receive ſentence of death. *Michal*, the wife of *David* and daughter of *Saul*, underſtanding this fatal reſolution of her father, went to him, and being much diſtracted between hope and fear, and very ſollicitous about her own life, as thinking it an impoſſibility for her to live, if ſhe were deprived of him, ſaid, 'Take care, leſt the ſun beholds thee in this place to morrow, for it will prove the laſt time if it does. Fly therefore, whither the darkneſs of the night will permit, and God be thy conductor. For know, if thou be catch'd, my father will certainly ſlay thee.' After ſaying this, ſhe let him down through the caſement of the window in his chamber, by means whereof he that night preſerved himſelf. But a little while after, his wife made the bed as if he lay ſick in it; and when her father early in the morning had ſent meſſengers for *David*, ſhe put a goat's liver therein, and acquainted them that her huſband was very ill, and all the night had been very uneaſy and reſtleſs. And to confirm her words, ſhe ſhowed them the bed, which gained credit with them; for the liver being warm, and heaving up the bedcloaths, made them imagine that it was *David*, who in that manner moved. As ſoon as the king came to hear by the meſſengers that *David* had been ill all that night, he commanded them to go back and bring him as ill as he was to him, for he reſolved to put him to death. Upon this they went again to the chamber, where opening the bed, they found out the artifice of *Michal*, and immediately returned and told *Saul*. Whereupon he reproved his daughter for preſerving his enemy and deceiving him. *Michal* very cunningly excuſed herſelf, and ſaid, 'That being put in fear of her own life from *David* her huſband, and ſeeing ſhe was oblig'd to afford him this to ſave his, for which reaſon he ought to forgive her, for helping him to make his eſcape, not voluntarily but by compulſion.' And ſaid ſhe further, 'I cannot imagine, father, why thou art ſo deſirous of the death of thine enemy, and of my preſent peace and repoſe.' *Saul* hearing his daughter declare herſelf thus, pardoned her. But *David* having made his eſcape, went to the prophet *Samuel* at *Ramah*, to whom he laid open all the ſnares *Saul* had prepar'd for him. How he was very near being killed by a javelin thrown at him. That he had not been guilty of any crime againſt his perſon, nor had behaved himſelf unworthily when he fought his enemies, over whom God had bleſſed him, in making him victorious, and that this was the only cauſe of his hatred towards him.

Samuel underſtanding by this remonſtrance of *David*, how wickedly *Saul* acted towards him, took and carried him to a place called *Galbaath* †, where they dwelt for ſome time. But *Saul* coming to hear that *David* was with the prophet, ſtraightway ſent meſſengers with orders to take him, and bring him before him. The meſſengers going to *Samuel*, and falling into the company of the *prophets*, began to *propheſy* with them, the *Spirit of God* overſhadowing them. *Saul* being made acquainted with this, diſpatched other meſſengers to apprehend him, and they propheſied alſo as the former had done: Upon this he ſent meſſengers the third time, who likewiſe propheſying, he became very wroth, and haſtened thither himſelf; but coming near to *Galbaath*, *Samuel*, before he ſaw him, cauſed him in like manner to propheſy. *Saul* upon this was ſo extremely diſordered in his ſpirit, that he ſeemed not to be himſelf; for pulling off his cloaths, he lay all that day and night naked before *Samuel* and *David*.

Some time after this, *David* went to *Jonathan* the ſon of *Saul*, and complained of the many ſnares that were laid by his father to kill him, when he had committed no manner of injury or injuſtice againſt him. *Jonathan* hereupon deſired *David* not to be too credulous, or prone to give ear to ſuſpicions about his father, or the calumnies of other men, if there were any ſuch as durſt vent reproachful language, but to make himſelf eaſy and cheerful, for that *Saul* had no intention of doing him any hurt; for if he had, he was ſure he would acquaint him with it, and then he would give him his beſt advice, and direct him how to demean himſelf in the ſafeſt manner to recover his father's kindneſs. *Jonathan* having ſaid this, ſwore that his intentions were ſincere, and deſired him, that he would be perſuaded rather to have a regard to his own ſafety, than miſtruſt what he ſaid; and laſtly he told him, that he would be made ſenſible of his fidelity towards him, when he ſhould either behold him dead, or hear that he was ſo by his means; *Saying farther*, My father will not diſcourſe with me about any thing concerning thee, becauſe he knoweth now, as I may ſay, the great friendſhip and affection that is cemented between us.

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* This Paſſage in ſome Matters diſagrees with the Holy Writ.

† In *S. L.* it is called *Naioth*.

Jonathan was very ſorrowful at his making this diſcourſe of his father *Saul*, and therefore he asked *David*, if he wanted, or thought he could do any farther ſervice for him? To this he anſwered, 'I am very ſenſible that thy 'deſire is to favour me with all things in thy 'power: Now to morrow there is a *New* '*Moon*, and at ſuch a time you know my 'cuſtom is to ſit at meat with the king; where'fore if thou thinkeſt it convenient, I will go 'and hide myſelf in the field; if thy father 'doth miſs me, then ſay, *David* earneſtly 'asked leave of me, that he might run to '*Bethlehem*, his city, for there is a yearly 'ſacrifice there for all the family. If he ſay 'thus, It is well, thy ſervant ſhall have peace: 'But if he be very wroth, then be ſure that 'evil is determined by him. Therefore thou 'ſhalt deal kindly with thy ſervant, for thou 'haſt brought thy ſervant unto a covenant of 'the Lord with thee; notwithſtanding, if there 'be iniquity in me, ſlay me thyſelf; for why 'ſhouldeſt thou bring me to thy father?'

Jonathan, at the cloſe of theſe words, was greatly moved, and promiſed *David* to perform all thoſe things he had requir'd, and that he would certainly acquaint him, if his father appeared of a rough diſpoſition, or diſcovered any marks of hatred towards him. After this, he led him into a * pure and open air, where he confirmed by an oath, his former proteſtation of doing every thing that might conduce to the ſafety of *David*; 'For, *ſaid he*, look'ing up to Heaven, that † God who ſees all 'things, and is Omnipreſent, knows my in'tention before I declare it; and I here call 'him to witneſs of the covenant I make with 'thee, that I will not ceaſe to ſound the incli'nations of my father towards thee; ſo when I 'have found that the diſturbance ſtill lies latent 'in his breaſt, I will not conceal it from thee, 'but make thee acquainted with it, whether it 'be friendly or not; for the ſame God knows, 'That my continual prayer is, that he would 'prove propitious to thee, as at preſent he is 'with thee, and will not forſake thee, but '(whether my father *Saul*, or myſelf ſhould 'prove thy enemy) he would keep thee ſafe 'and unhurt. Bear only in remembrance theſe 'things I have now told thee, and if it happen 'that I ſhall ſuffer death for pleading in thy 'behalf, preſerve my houſe and children, and 'reward them ſuitably for my ſervice to'wards thee.' *Jonathan* having thus ſworn, diſmiſſed *David*, and commanded him to retire into a certain place of the field, where he was wont before to take pleaſure in his company; and further, aſſured him, that as ſoon as he had thoroughly underſtood his father's temper and reſolution, he would come to him, and bring only one lad with him. 'Now, (ſaid he) 'If I command the lad to go and ſeek three 'arrows, which I ſhall ſhoot, as at a mark, '(namely, *The ſtone* Ezel,) take it for 'granted, that my father intends thee no 'harm: But if I ſay otherwiſe, then con'clude that the king's ſentiments are ſtrong 'againſt thee. In the mean time, I will do all 'that lies in my power to preſerve thy 'ſafety; and be ſatisfied that no harm ſhall 'befal thee, if I can any ways prevent it. 'Therefore, ſee thou forgetteſt not my kind'neſs for thee, when the day of proſperity 'ſhines upon thee, but have a ſpecial care of 'my children.' *David* having received this freſh teſtimony of *Jonathan*'s faithfulneſs to him, departed, and the prince his brother went into the city.

The next day, which was the *New Moon*, and *Saul* purified himſelf according to cuſtom, and ſat down to meat, *Jonathan* his ſon ſat on his right hand, and *Abner* the captain-general of his hoſt on the left. Whereupon *Saul*, ſeeing the ſeat of *David* empty, ſaid not a word that day, for he thought ſomething had befallen him, he is not clean, ſurely he is not clean. And it came to paſs on the morrow, which was the ſecond day of the month, that *David*'s place was empty, and *Saul* ſaid unto *Jonathan* his ſon, Wherefore cometh not the ſon of *Jeſſe* to meat, neither yeſterday nor to day. 'And *Jonathan* an'ſwer'd him, *David* eagerly asked leave of me 'to go to *Bethlehem*, where his tribe was to per'form a ſacrifice, and he invited me to accom'pany him thither. Now, my father, if thou 'wilt give me leave to go after him, I will; for 'thou art ſenſible of the great kindneſs I have 'for him.' *Jonathan*, by declaring himſelf in this manner, plainly found out how violently his father was ſet againſt *David*, and how deſtructive his paſſion thus kindled might prove againſt him; for he found there was no reſtraining of his anger. But caſting reproachful words at him, he called *Jonathan* a renegade and his enemy, and a companion and accomplice of the treaſon of *David*; that he neither reverenced him nor his mother, while he continued to entertain favourable ſentiments for *David*; and that he would never be perſuaded, but that ſo long as he was living, his kingdom and his affairs would be in a precarious condition. Wherefore he told *Jonathan*, that he was reſolved to give him the puniſhment he deſerv'd. To this *Jonathan* replied, *What enormous offence hath* David *committed, that thy wrath proves ſo great as nothing can appeaſe but his death?* *Saul* to this anſwered nothing, but ſnatching up a javelin, he leaped upon him, with a deſign to ſmite and kill him; but being hindered from his purpoſe by ſome perſons then preſent, he miſſed his aim. This occurrence put *Jonathan* now out of all doubt, that his hatred was inveterate againſt *David*, and that he reſolved to have him diſpatched, eſpecially ſeeing himſelf had ſo narrowly eſcaped being killed by the hand of *Saul*, only for expoſtulating with him in *David*'s defence.

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* In *S. L.* Into the Field.

† My Opinion is, that *Joſephus* accommodated this Sentence to the *Gentiles*, who ſuppoſed Heaven to be a God, according to that Verſe in ***Lucan***, Lib. XII. ver. 580.
Jupiter eſt, quodcunque vides, quocunque moveris.

For whereſoe'er thy wandering Eyes ſurvey,
Or Body moves, there Jove *the God bears Sway.*

Jonathan upon this aroſe from the table, and through ſadneſs refuſed to eat meat the night following, and ſpent it in tears, and without any reſt, was ſo mightily concerned for *David*, who was condemned to death, and for himſelf whoſe life was in ſuch imminent danger. Early next morning he went into the field, under a pretence of ſhooting, but in truth to diſcover to his friend the diſpoſition and reſolution of his father, as was before agreed between them. *Jonathan* having performed all things he had promiſed, ſent back the lad to the city, and then went to the place in which *David* had hid himſelf, to diſcourſe with him. But as ſoon as *David* had perceived *Jonathan* to be near, he fell proſtrate at his feet, and called him his mighty preſerver. Upon which *Jonathan* lifted him up from the ground, and embracing one another, they wept for ſome time, and reciprocally kiſſed each other; deploring their mutual hard fates, and lamenting their ages; and the envy of *Saul* at the inviolable friendſhip that was betwixt them. Having a pretty while bemoaned their unhappy circumſtances, and begun to recollect how to be relieved from their ſorrows, they interchangeably promiſed to remember their former engagements, and departed to their reſpective habitations.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Flight of David *to* Achimelech, *and afterwards to the Kings of the* Paleſtines *and* Moabites; *and how* Saul *Slew* Achimelech, *with all his Kindred.*

DAVID, fearing *Saul* and his threatnings, fled, and went to *Nob* to *Achimelech* the high prieſt, who ſeeing him alone, without either friends or ſervants, was ſtruck with wonder, ſo that he asked him what great occaſion had brought him thither ſo unattended. To which *David* anſwered, *The king hath commanded me a buſineſs, and hath ſaid,* '*Let no man know any thing of the buſineſs whereabouts I ſend thee, and what I have commanded thee,*' *and I have appointed my ſervants to ſuch and ſuch a place.* *David* moreover deſired him to give him ſome proviſion, that he might be enabled to perform his buſineſs: Having gained this requeſt, he asked, *Is there not here under thine hand a ſpear or ſword? For I have neither brought my ſword, nor my weapons with me, becauſe the king's buſineſs requir'd haſte.* Now it happen'd, that one of *Saul*'s ſervants (a *Syrian*) named *Doeg*, who was chiefeſt of the herdſmen belonging to *Saul*, was there that day. The high-prieſt anſwer'd *David*, *I have neither ſpear nor ſword, except the ſword of* Goliath, *with which thou killeſt him, and then conſecrated it to God.*

David having received this from the hands of *Achimelech*, fled into the territories of *Achiſh*, (or *Anchus*,) king of the *Paleſtines*, which country was out of the juriſdiction of the *Hebrews*. Some time after he got into a cave, nigh the city of *Adullam*, wherein he dwelt, and ſent to his brethren to acquaint them where he was. Not only they with all their kindred came to him, but a great number of other perſons, about four hundred men, (ſuch as were in diſtreſs, or) whoſe fortunes were reduced by debt, otherwiſe were afraid of *Saul*, gathered together and went over to him. This number coming to his aſſiſtance emboldened *David*; whereupon he removed from the cave, and went to the king of the *Moabites*, whom he intreated to take his aged parents into his country and protection, until his fortunes might become better, or he knew what otherwiſe God would do for him. This deſire of *David* proved ſucceſsful. The king received him and his parents, and uſed them during their abode with all manner of civility and eſteem.

David being commanded by the prophet *Gad* not to abide in the hold, but to depart and go into the land of *Judah*, and dwell there, he obeyed, and went * into the city of *Surin*, (or *Hareth*.) But this removal of his happening to come to the knowledge of *Saul*, and that he had collected together a great multitude in company with him, put him into no ſmall conſternation; for he was not ignorant of *David*'s valiant ſpirit, and intrepidity, therefore he imagined ſome diſturbance might ariſe, to the prejudice of his peace and tranquility. In order to be ſatisfied herein, he called together his friends, captains, and the tribe to which he belonged, and aſſembled them on a hill where his palace ſtood, named *Arrua*, and there in a full audience he ſpoke thus: *Men of* Benjamin, *you cannot be inſenſible of my*

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* In *S. L.* In the Foreſt.

favours to you, how ſome of you I have made lords of vaſt poſſeſſions; and others through my means have arrived to great poſts of honour and dignity among the people. Wherefore I now aſk you, whether ye expect more and greater favours from the hands of the ſon of Jeſſe, *than I have beſtowed upon you. For I am informed, that all of you are ready to revolt to him; and that my ſon* Jonathan *not only is an abettor of his practices againſt me, but that he perſuades you to this your rebellion. I muſt likewiſe tell you I know of the oath* David *hath taken, and the covenant he hath enter'd into with my ſon, who through his advice and aſſiſtance has promoted, and effected this revolt, in oppoſition to my peaceable and quiet government. But let none of his perſuaſions work upon you, to throw off your duty in not obeying my commands. Saul* having thus deliver'd himſelf, held his peace, and not one, among the great multitude gathered together upon this occaſion, offer'd to ſpeak any thing, except *Doeg* the *Syrian*, *Saul*'s chiefeſt herdſman, as abovementioned, who ſaid, that he ſaw *David* when he went to *Nob*, to *Achimelech* the high-prieſt, who propheſied to him of all things that ſhould happen to him. Beſides, he gave him victuals and the ſword of *Goliath*. *Saul* having heard this, commanded the high-prieſt and all his family to be brought before him. Whereupon he ſaid, *What evil or bad uſage haſt thou received at my hands, that thou ſhouldſt entertain the ſon of* Jeſſe, *to whom thou not only gaveſt victuals but armour, to lie in wait for my kingdom? It is well known unto thee, how he hath ſecretly withdrawn himſelf from me, and how mortally I hate him. When* Saul *had done ſpeaking, the high-prieſt did not in the leaſt offer to excuſe himſelf, but frankly confeſſed that he had ſupplied* David *with what* Saul *had charged him. Yet it was (as he thought) to promote his ſervice, and not to gain* David's *favour; for, ſaid he, I am ſo ignorant of his being thine enemy, that I firmly believe him to be thy moſt faithful ſervant; and what is ſtill more, he is thy ſon-in-law, and nearly allied by kindred to thee. Beſides, it is not uſual for perſons to diſcloſe matters of higheſt importance, to thoſe who are enemies, but to thoſe who have done them ſome ſignal ſervices, or gratified them with ſome office or poſt of truſt.* And further yet, *That this was not the firſt time of his propheſying for* David, *for he had done that often, and in other places, eſpecially when he acquainted him that he came from thee, who employedſt him in a buſineſs of that conſequence, which requir'd the utmoſt ſecrecy, as well as expedition. Wherefore, ſaid the high-prieſt, if I had refuſed to do for* David *what I have done, I ſhould have thought myſelf worthy of thy ſevereſt diſpleaſure, and therefore my aſſiſting him, was to do thee honour. Wherefore, I ſee no reaſon why thou ſhouldeſt think ill of me, or harbour in thy heart any ſuſpicions of my fidelity to thee, for thoſe things thou haſt heard I have done; ſeeing I did them for* David, *thy friend, thy ſon-in-law, and thy captain over a thouſand, and not unto thine enemy.*

This juſtification of the high-prieſt was ſo far from ſatisfying *Saul*, that he would not believe a word he ſaid; but it ſtruck ſuch a terror into him, that he commanded his armed guards to come and ſmite him with the edge of the ſword, together with all his kindred; the guards were afraid to lay hands upon the high-prieſt, and ſo much the more becauſe they believed they ſhould offend God in committing ſuch an horrid action; wherefore they refuſed *Saul*'s command; upon this *Doeg*, the *Syrian*, was ordered to fall upon him. This wicked man aſſociating with certain fellows like himſelf, ſlew *Achimelech* with all his kindred, who were about * three hundred and eighty-five perſons; beſides they went to *Nob*, the city of the prieſts, and put to the ſword all the inhabitants therein, not ſparing women, children, or ſucklings; and to compleat their barbarity, they reduced the city to aſhes; nevertheleſs one of the ſons of *Achimelech* ſaved himſelf from the general ſlaughter; theſe diſmal misfortunes happened according to what God had predicted to *Eli* the high prieſt, who denounced deſtruction to his poſterity, for the abominable impieties of his two ſons.

This enormous cruelty of *Saul* (by which all the ſacerdotal race were extinguiſhed, neither young nor old being ſpared, and likewiſe the † city *Nob* totally burnt, a place deſigned by God himſelf for the nurſery of the prieſts and prophets, and the education of youth for that office) fully diſplayed the ſavage diſpoſition of his nature; for when he was converſant only with his herds and flocks, his temper appear'd affable and eaſy, becauſe the means of following the innate bent of his genius was deny'd him, and he was conſtrained (as it were) through neceſſity to make all his actions appear very honeſt and upright; that he believ'd God to be Omnipreſent, not only to behold what he did, but alſo knew what were the inward thoughts of his heart; however, this artificial carriage of his, whilſt under his rural condition, was ſoon thrown aſide, when he was advanced to the regal ſeat of power and dominion; for then, like an actor in a play, he put off all his former ſeeming good qualities, his modeſt and temperate behaviour, and aſſumed an haughty, ill-mannered arrogance over his people, diſregarding at the ſame time all laws, both human and divine, and carryed himſelf with a tyrannical air towards thoſe placed near his royal perſon, whom he greatly envy'd, becauſe their ſituation gave their actions a clearer luſtre to appear in; and thus he went on, as imagining now that the Almighty did not behold his ways, or rather that he took no great notice of them; if it chanced that he was afraid of any reports, becauſe he had ſo eaſily given into them himſelf; or if he hated or loved any perſon, becauſe his humour puſhed him on to it, he thought he did well; and that his actions, how various and changeable ſoever, were unaccountable both to God and man: He ſeldom or never entertained any notion of futurity, only thoſe who had performed him any difficult and ſignal ſervices, he would reward with ſome poſt or degree of honour; and afterwards, through fickleneſs, or a motive of envy, when they had arrived to a greater heighth of grandeur than ordinary, he would not only deprive them of their places, but raiſe up crimes and accuſations againſt them, and thoſe ſo heinous as exceeded all belief; and further, would inflict puniſhments upon *Delinquents* (as he termed them) who by no means deſerved them, and proſecute ſome men for calumnies and aſperſions againſt his government, without hearing any evidence in their behalf; neither did he value whom he committed his cruelties upon, but put all perſons (as the fit took him) to death without diſtinction. Now that *Saul*, after the *Iſraelites* had left off being govern'd by *Judges*, exerciſed the regal power in the manner above declared, is very manifeſt; ſince, upon a bare ſuſpicion of ſome injury committed by *Achimelech* againſt his perſon, he not only cauſed three hundred prieſts and prophets to be put to death, but alſo their city to be reduced to aſhes, and the tabernacle of God to be rendred a deſolate place.

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* The *Baſil* and *Geneva* Editions of *Joſephus*, add Three Hundred to the Number mentioned in *Holy Writ*; *Epiphanius*, *Zonarius* and the *Septuagint* ſay 305; *Theodoret* the ſame Number; *Henricus Stoph.* 530; *Euſb.* that all who periſhed were 85; but *Joſephus*, in a Place hereafter, mentions that 300 were ſlain through means of *Achimelech*.

† Any Perſon will infer from hence that *Joſephus* believed this city to be one of thoſe which God had aſſigned to the Prieſts, but *Nob* is not mentioned amongſt thoſe recited in *Holy Writ*; now becauſe our Author writes that it was deſigned as well for the Prieſts as the Prophets, it may be made to appear that there were no cities beſtowed upon the Prophets, as were upon the *Levites* and Prieſts, wherefore it ought to be conſtrued here, that the Divine Providence was pleaſed that *Nob* at this Time ſhould be the Seat of many Prieſts and Prophets. *Relandus.*

Notwithſtanding this inhuman barbarity of *Saul*, *Abiathar*, the only perſon now remaining, of the ſacerdotal order, ſav'd himſelf from that dreadful ſlaughter, and fled to *David*, whom he acquainted with the unjuſt death of his father, and total deſtruction of his kindred: Upon hearing of this *David* told him, that he knew, when he ſaw *Doeg* there, what would happen to them, and was at that time apprehenſive that *Achimelech* would be calumniated before *Saul*; *wherefore* (added he) *I am very ſorry that I have occaſioned the death of all thy father's houſe, but abide thou with me, fear not; for he that ſeeketh my life, ſeeketh thy life, but with me thou ſhalt be in ſafe-guard.*

CHAP. XIII.

David *having the Opportunity twice of killing* Saul, *yet both Times ſpared him. Of the Death of* Samuel, *and of* Nabal.

ABOUT this time *David* hearing that the *Paleſtines* had made an incurſion into the country of *Keilah*, (or *Cilla*,) and waſted it, offered to conduct an army againſt them; for God had ſpoke by the mouth of his prophet, and ſaid, *Go and ſmite them and ſave* Keilah, *for thou ſhalt prove victorious. David*, I ſay, upon this, in conjunction with his men, made a furious aſſault upon the *Paleſtines*, who, not able to ſuſtain the ſhock, were repulſed, and ſmitten with a moſt terrible ſlaughter; beſides, there was great ſtore of plunder obtained by the *Hebrews*, who abode at *Keilah* till all the corn and fruit was gather'd in and houſed; this tranſaction of *David* and his followers ſoon came to the ears of *Saul*, who was acquainted with the proſperous ſucceſs they had met with at *Keilah*. But the report of this victory was not confined to that place only wherein it was obtained; for the fame of it ſpread through all the neighbouring countries; however, notwithſtanding this, *Saul* coming to the certain knowledge that *David* abode in that city, greatly rejoiced within himſelf, imagining that now he was brought providentially into his hands, becauſe, ſaid he, he is ſhut in, by entring into a town that hath gates and bars; whereupon he commanded his men to beſiege *Keilah*, and endeavour to ſlay *David*; but ſoon hearing of *Saul*'s deſign againſt him, and being forewarned by God, that the inhabitants of the place would certainly deliver him into the king's hand, if he ſtayed there among them; he, in company with * four hundred men, partakers of his fortunes, departed thence, and went to a certain cave at † *Engedain*. This removal of *David* being likewiſe told to king *Saul*, made him deſiſt from his intended expedition againſt him.

David withdrawing himſelf from this place, retired to another in the wilderneſs of *Ziph*, (which is called *Cæna*.) In a word, *Jonathan* the ſon of *Saul* came hither to him, who having ſaluted *David*, prayed him to be of good heart, and not fear, but entertain favourable ſentiments of what is to come, and not to be caſt down with his preſent condition; *For*, ſaid he, *thou ſhalt be king over* Iſrael, *and all the forces of the* Hebrews *ſhall be under thy command; but the acquiſition of ſuch great things are not to be purchaſed without much labour and difficulty.* Having thus ſpoke, he ſwore to *David* a ſecond time, that he ſhould live; and as for his part, he would inviolably maintain and preſerve the covenant made between them; calling at the ſame time (to give a ſanction to his words) the Almighty God to bear witneſs of his truth, whom he prayed to ſend down his heavy vengeance upon him, if in any manner of ways he infringed it. After this he return'd to his houſe, leaving *David* ſomewhat comforted from his apprehenſions and fears, and the ſolitude he lived in.

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* The *Septuagint* mentions 400; but according to the *Hebrew* Text it ought to be written 600.

† *Engedain. Baſ. G. Samb. Engalain. Big. Engedo. Vat.* and *Epiph.* The Letters *Alpha* and *Delta* are often changed, however we have written it *Engedain.*

The inhabitants of *Ziph* being at this time deſirous of gaining the favour of *Saul*, acquainted him, that *David* reſided now among them; and added, that if his majeſty would vouchſafe to come down to them, they would deliver him into his hands; for if they once ſeized upon the narrow paſſes, it would prove almoſt impoſſible for him to eſcape. *Saul* hereupon highly commended their faithful duty towards him, in diſcovering where his enemy had concealed himſelf; after which he promiſed to repay this act of their fidelity in a ſhort time with a ſuitable recompence; and when he had ſaid this he diſpatched ſome of them to go and view the wood, in which *David* abode. The *Ziphites* diſcovered not only their great readineſs to find him out, but to apprehend and bring him to *Saul*; however, they failed in their wicked and malicious deſign; though they had effectually done it, if in their too eager officiouſneſs in obeying the king's commands, and their greedy deſires of receiving the promiſed reward at his hands, they had not diſcovered themſelves to be the real perſons that had engaged to deliver *David* up. But when he was acquainted with this their wickedneſs, as alſo with the coming of *Saul* immediately after them, he then departed from thence and fled to a certain rock in the wilderneſs of *Maon*.

To this place *Saul* made all imaginable haſte after him, in hopes to take *David* there; but being told in his journey of his being gone from thence, he went to the other ſide of the * rock. But it happen'd at this time that *Saul* was diverted from purſuing *David*; for a report was ſpread abroad, that the *Paleſtines* (the ſworn enemies of the *Iſraelites*) invaded the territories of the *Hebrews*; wherefore he return'd back, thinking it much more preferable to endeavour the revenging the injury they had committed, than (whilſt he was buſying himſelf in ſeeking after *David*,) to neglect the freeing his country from the evils that oppreſſed it.

David by this means being delivered, even beyond his expectation, from the danger that ſurrounded him, fled into the wilderneſs of † *Engedi*. But when *Saul* was returned from following the *Paleſtines*, certain men came and informed him that *David* was got to the ſtrong holds at *En-gedi*. Upon this news *Saul* took three thouſand choſen men out of all the tribes of *Iſrael*, and marched with them againſt *David*; but drawing near to the place, he eſpied a cave in the ſide of the way, very deep and wide, and in length and breadth extending a great way; within this cave *David* with his four hundred men had concealed themſelves. Now *Saul* wanting to diſcharge nature, went alone into it, who being perceived by one of *David*'s followers, was ſtraightway made known unto him; this perſon added, that then was the time offered to him of revenging himſelf upon his enemy, by cutting off the head of *Saul*, which would prove the only means of delivering him from his preſent troubles, and the wandering life he then purſued. Upon this remonſtrance *David* aroſe, and cut off the ſkirt of *Saul*'s garment, which he carried away with him; but in a little time after the commiſſion of this fact, he became very ſorrowful for what he had done, and ſaid that it was an unjuſt thing to offer to kill his Lord, *For*, added he, *although he doth evil to me, God forbid that I ſhould do ſo to him.* But when *Saul* was gone out of the cave, *David* roſe up, and cryed after him, praying that he would be pleaſed to ſtay and hear him; upon this *Saul* turned himſelf about and looked back; whereat *David*, as was then the cuſtom, fell proſtrate upon his face, and thus ſpoke: 'It behoveth thee not, my king, to credit or give ear to vain and malicious reports, induſtriouſly ſpread about with deſign to bring under condemnation perſons no way guilty. By ſuffering thyſelf to do this, thy beſt friends may hourly lie under ſuſpicions, and thereupon be called into queſtion by thee. Rather have a regard to fact and the truth, for reporters of calumnies prove very often liars, and deceive thee. Reports, whether true or falſe, afford great doubts, but actions diſplay the mind naked, and in its true colour. Thou mayeſt, my king, believe, from my ſpeaking in this manner to thee, that I am a well-wiſher to thee and thy houſe; and not like to thee, who endeavoureſt to perſecute me, and whoſe thoughts are buſied day and night to deſtroy me, after the moſt unjuſt methods. Whence comes it, that thus wrongfully thou goeſt about to kill me, as if I deſigned to take away thy life? Say, How wilt thou excuſe thyſelf from committing a moſt enormous wickedneſs, in eagerly deſiring the death of a perſon, (thy enemy as thou ſuppoſeſt,) who this very day had it in his power to revenge himſelf, by taking due puniſhment upon thee, yet waved the opportunity, and let the time ſlip, which, if it had fallen into thy hands, to my deſtruction, thou wouldſt not have ſuffered to have eſcaped thee? I mean, when I cut the ſkirt of thy garment off, then could I have cut off thine head. Having thus ſpoken, he ſtretched out the piece of cloth, in confirmation of what he had advanced. But I (reſumed he) deſiſted from taking a juſt revenge, nevertheleſs thou makeſt no conſcience to purſue me with the moſt unjuſt hatred; let God be judge between thee and me, and reprove my actions, if I have done any thing in thought or deed, to thy detriment.' When he had done ſpeaking, *Saul* ſeemed in a great aſtoniſhment, and wondered within himſelf how *David* had ſaved himſelf ſo long from him. The modeſty and frankneſs which was diſcovered in this declaration of his made *Saul* to weep, who with a ſigh, ſaid, 'Thou art more righteous than I, for thou haſt been the author of many good things to me, but I of many calamities

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* In *S. L.* Mountain.

† We have rendred *Engedi*, from the *Hebrew* Word *En-gedi*, in this Paſſage.

‘ to thee; to-day thou haſt practiſed the moderation of our anceſtors, who are reported to have ſpared their enemies when they took them in the wilderneſs. Wherefore, (1) I am firmly perſuaded, that the kingdom of *Iſrael* will prove thine by the gift of God, and that the empire over all the *Hebrews* will be granted thee by him. Swear then to me by the name of the Lord, that thou wilt not cut off my ſeed after me; nor, bearing in remembrance the injuries I have committed againſt thee, deſtroy my name out of my father's houſe.’ *David*, partly upon this ample acknowledgment of *Saul*, and partly on account of the neceſſity of the time, ſware unto him. Whereupon the former got up to the hold of *Maſtheron*, and the latter returned home.

About this time *Samuel* the prophet departed this life, a perſon of great honour and fame amongſt the *Hebrews*. The long time the people wept and lamented his death, was an open teſtimony of his worth, and the great eſteem they bore for him; add to this, his pompous funeral rites, which every one with a ſtrong emulation endeavoured to celebrate; he was buried at his houſe at *Ramath*. While he lived, his actions declared him born for executing juſtice, which he performed in every circumſtance of life, with an impartial hand; and was on that account beloved of the Deity. He retained the ſupreme juriſdiction over the people, for the ſpace of twelve years, ſingly by himſelf, and in conjunction with *Saul* eighteen years. Thus is a period put to the occurrences that relate to *Samuel*.

At this time alſo there lived a certain man, a *Ziphite* of the city (2) *Emma*, who was very great, having three thouſand ſheep, and one thouſand goats. *David* commanded his men to have a particular regard for this perſon, and not in any kind to injure him, or commit any violence upon his flocks, but in the beſt manner they were able, to guard and protect them. For he taught this good leſſon amongſt all his followers, not to do any wrong to any perſon, but to deem it a wickedneſs very diſpleaſing to God, to purloin the goods, or rob the poſſeſſions of a ſtranger. This he endeavoured to perſuade them to, as thinking it would prove the ready means of procuring him the friendſhip of ſo wealthy a perſon, who was worthy of this extraordinary care ſhown by him. But, contrary to the expectations of *David*, *Nabal* (ſo was the man named) ſhowed himſelf to be of a rough and churliſh diſpoſition, his life having been converſant in no other exerciſes than thoſe of ſheering ſheep, and hard labour. Notwithſtanding theſe bad qualities, he had a wife very prudent, of a good underſtanding, and endowed with an excellent beauty. Now the time of ſheering of ſheep being come, *David* ſent out ten young men to *Nabal*, who ſaluted him in his name, and told him, that it was their maſter's wiſh and deſire, that he might live many years to ſheer his ſheep, in the manner they then beheld him. Having ſpoken thus, they prayed *Nabal* to beſtow ſomething upon them, out of that abundance of things he poſſeſſed, withal acquainting him, how that for a long time they had lived in the wilderneſs near neighbours to him, and in all that ſpace had done him no injurious act, but on the contrary had endeavoured to watch and guard his flocks. Wherefore, added they, thy kindneſs will not be undeſerved in thy beſtowing ſomething upon *David*. When they had done ſpeaking, *Nabal* anſwered them in a rough and churliſh manner, ſaying, *Who is* David, *and who is the ſon of* Jeſſe? There be many ſervants now-a-days, that break away every man from his own maſter. *David*, upon the report of this behaviour of *Nabal*, was greatly vexed within himſelf; upon which he commanded four hundred men to arm themſelves and follow him, and two hundred to ſtay behind, and guard the narrow paſſes and ſtrong holds; (for at this time ſix hundred perſons were gathered to him.) With the four hundred he went againſt *Nabal*; but before he attacked him, he ſwore that his houſe, and all he enjoyed, ſhould that night be reduced to aſhes; being vehemently incenſed, not only upon account of his ungrateful and ſordid temper, in beſtowing nothing upon him and his men, who had behaved themſelves towards him with a great deal of humanity; but alſo becauſe he had evil treated, and given reproachful language to them, without their offering or giving any juſt cauſe of offence to him.

One of the ſervants of *Nabal*, underſtanding this deſign of *David*, went and acquainted his miſtreſs with it; telling her how *David* having ſent men out of the wilderneſs to ſalute his maſter, he, in return, railed at them. The ſervant hereupon added, ‘ The men were very good unto us, and we were not hurt, neither miſſed we any thing, as long as we were converſant with them, when we were in the fields. Now therefore know and conſider what thou wilt do, for evil is determined againſt our maſter, and againſt all his houſehold, for he is ſuch a ſon of *Belial*, that a man cannot ſpeak unto him.’ Having thus ſaid, (3) *Abigæa* (or *Abigail*) for ſo was *Nabal*'s wife called, commanded the aſſes to be harneſſed, and loaded with preſents; which being done, without making the leaſt mention of it to her huſband (who, as we have hinted above, was very moroſe and ruſtick) ſhe marched directly with them to meet *David*, whom ſhe lighted upon, as he was coming down the (4) narrow paſſes of the mountain, with his four hundred men, to aſſail her huſband. *Abigail*, had no ſooner eſpied *David*, than ſhe diſmounted from the aſs whereon ſhe rode, and fell before him upon her face, and bowed herſelf to the ground, beſeeching him at the ſame time not to remember the words of her husband *Nabal*, for that he well knew how his (1) name and his actions agree; *Nabal* in the *Hebrew* language ſignifying *Fooliſhneſs*. Moreover ſhe endeavoured to excuſe herſelf by ſpeaking in this manner. *Thine handmaid ſaw not thy young men, whom thou didſt ſend. Now therefore my lord, I beſeech thee to pardon me, and to return thanks to God, who hath made me the means of reſtraining thy hands from ſhedding blood. Let thine enemies, and they who deviſe evil againſt thee, become as* Nabal; *but I pray thee forgive the treſpaſs of thine handmaid, and be pleaſed to accept the preſents I have brought thee. Put away from thee the anger and indignation thou has conceived within thy breaſt againſt my husband; and let thy kindneſs in that reſpect be ſhown for my ſake. It behoveth thee, ſince thou art to be king over* Iſrael, *to exerciſe clemency and mercy.* This ſpeech had its influence upon *David*, who, receiving the preſents, ſpoke thus to *Abigæa*. *God, who hath been propitious to thee, certainly ſent thee to me this day, otherwiſe to-morrow's light had not ſhone upon thee; for I had ſworn this very night utterly to have deſtroyed the houſe of thy husband* Nabal, *and to have left none remaining of ſo malicious a perſon, ungrateful in the laſt degree to me and my men. But by the mercy and good Providence of God, thou art come very opportunately to ſtop my avenging arm. However, let me acquaint thee, that although thy husband, at this time through thy interceſſion hath eſcaped puniſhment, yet, be aſſured, his ſurly behaviour will one time or other hereafter prove the cauſe of his deſtruction.*

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(1) In *Holy Writ*, I know well that thou ſhalt ſurely be King, and that the Kingdom of *Iſrael* ſhall be eſtabliſhed in thine Hand. (2) [*Emma*, Gr.] Thus *Samb.* Emma, *Baſ. G. Big.* Aman, *Vat.* Aman according to *Epiph.* Maan, *Zonar.* So write the Seventy. *Macon*, in other *Editions*, and that of *Hierome.* *Joſephus* perhaps wrote it *Aman*, or *Emmaum*. (3) So the *Greek* Books of *Joſephus* have it, alſo the Seventy; but *Epiph.* writes *Abiguale*, from the original Word *Abigail.* (4) In *H. W.* by the Covert of the Hill.

David, having declared himſelf in this manner, diſmiſſed *Abigæa*, whereupon ſhe returned home; where finding her husband feaſting with a great number of perſons, and very drunken, ſhe acquainted him with nothing that had happened between *David* and her, until the next morning; when perceiving the wine gone out of him, ſhe diſcloſed to him the whole affair. Upon this, his heart died within him, and he became as a ſtone, from the relation he had heard, and the grief and trouble he had conceived at hearing it. In ten days time after this, the Lord ſmote him, and he died. When *David* heard that *Nabal* was dead, he thus ſaid; ‘ Bleſſed be the Lord that hath ‘ pleaded the cauſe of my reproach from the ‘ hand of *Nabal*, and hath kept his ſervant from evil; for the Lord hath re‘ turned the wickedneſs of *Nabal* upon his ‘ own head, and hath dealt with the good and ‘ wicked according to his wiſdom, preſer‘ ving with life the one, and puniſhing with ‘ death the other.’ After this, *David* ſent and communed with *Abigæa* to take her to wife, who ſpoke to the meſſengers diſpatched for that purpoſe in this manner; ‘ I my Lord's hand‘ maid am not worthy of ſo great honour, let ‘ me be a ſervant to waſh the feet of my ‘ Lord's ſervants.’ Having ſaid thus, ſhe aroſe and went to *David*, who took her to wife, beſtowing this favour upon her, in gratitude to her modeſty and kindneſs for him, and as a reward due to her beauty; notwithſtanding, that *David* had before married another wife of the city (2) *Abiſarus*; after *Saul* had given his daughter *Michal*, who had been *David*'s wife, unto *Phalti*, the ſon of *Laiſh*, who was of the city (3) *Gethla*.

A little time after this, certain of the *Ziphites* came and acquainted *Saul*, that *David* was again reſident among them; moreover they ſaid, that they could be able to apprehend him, provided he would lend them his aſſiſtance. *Saul*, upon this advertiſement, went with three thouſand choſen men of *Iſrael*, with deſign to ſeek him out; but the night approaching he pitched his camp in a certain place named (4) *Secela* (or *Hachilah*.) *David*, underſtanding that *Saul* was going in ſearch of him, ſent out *Spies* to learn into what part of the country he was coming, and to report it to him; who ſhortly after returning, acquainted him that *Saul* deſigned his march to *Secela*; upon which *David* privately in the night took with him (5) *Abiſæus*, the ſon of (6) *Sarvia*, and *Abimelech* the *Hittite*, and went to the place where he had pitched; and finding him aſleep, and that *Abner*, the captain of his hoſt, with the reſt of his men, had pitched about him, he entered into his tent, where he knew the bed whereon he lay, by his ſpear which ſtuck in the ground near it; but yet he neither offered to kill him himſelf, nor ſuffered *Abiſæus* to do ſo, whoſe inclinations were very eager for it; he contented himſelf only with ſaying, that it was a wicked action to preſume, or offer to kill his king, though a very flagitious prince, who had been (7) created by God, and that he who had given to him the kingdom, would take a due revenge upon him at ſome proper time. Now to make it appear that he with-held his hand from ſlaying him when the opportunity was put into his power, he took his ſpear, and the cruſe of water that ſtood by him as he ſlept, and departed out of the tent unperceived by any, for the Lord had ſent a deep ſleep upon them. Immediately after this he went to the other ſide of the camp, and aſcending to the top of an hill, which ſtood at ſome diſtance from the place where *Saul* had pitched, but from whence he could be heard, he lifted up his voice, and cried aloud to the ſoldiers, and to *Abner* the captain of the hoſt, who awaking at the ſound, aſked, who it was that called him by his name; to which *David* anſwered, ‘ It was I, the ſon of *Jeſſe*, who am baniſhed from you. But ſay, how comes it to paſs, that thou, who art a valiant man, and honoured ſo much by *Saul*, has ſo negligently guarded his perſon? Doſt thou take more pleaſure in ſleeping than in doing thy duty to him? Verily the thing thou haſt done is not good; as the Lord liveth, thou art worthy to die, becauſe thou haſt not kept the Lord's anointed, thy maſter, and haſt not hindered me, and others with me, to come unperceived, and to go into his tent; behold now the ſpear of the king, and the cruſe of water that ſtood at his bed-ſide; and then think with thy ſelf what puniſhment thou deſerveſt.’ *Saul*, upon *David*'s thus ſpeaking, knew his voice; and coming to underſtand how he had entered his tent when faſt aſleep, and that he had ſpared his life, when the opportunity was thrown into his hands of putting him to death, He told him how infinitely he was obliged to him for ſo ſignal a favour, and deſired him to be of good chear, and return with him to his houſe, and not to apprehend any more miſchief to be deſigned by him againſt him; ‘ For, *added he*, I am now firmly perſuaded, that thy love and eſteem for me is very great, when, notwithſtanding I have purſued thee with the moſt unjuſt hatred, and rendered thy life bitter, and many times expoſed thee to the danger of death, haſt nevertheleſs preſerved me and ſaved my life from ruin, when thou couldſt with all the ſecreſy and eaſe imaginable have cut me off.’ *Saul* having done ſpeaking, *David* deſired him to ſend over ſome perſon for his ſpear, and the cruſe of water; adding, *May the moſt righteous God of heaven be judge between thee and me, who knows, how this very day the power was in my hands to have ſlain thee, yet I reſtrained myſelf therefrom.*

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(1) In Sacred Writ, as his Name is, ſo is he. (2) This Word differs very much from Scripture, which writes *Jezreel*. *Big. Samb. & Vat.* in their Editions have it *Abiſarus*; but *Epiphanius*, *Ebiſar* and *Biſar*. (3) We would write this Word *Gellas* according to *Sobolanus*, from the *Hebrew* Word *Gallin*, which is Extant in the Books of *Epiphanius*. But *Gethla*, as we have put it, being a *Chaldee* Word, and of the ſame Import is as much to our Purpoſe. (4) In the Sacred Books this is termed *Hachilah*, but in the *Greek*, *Akela*, *Echila*, *Echilath* and *Secelu*; it is a Mountain, diſtant about ſeven Miles from the City *Eleutheropolis*, and famous for the Monument of the Prophet *Hebakkuk*, (5) *A iſhai* in *H. W.* (6) *Zorviah.* (7) In *S. L.* He is called *God's anointed*, and that Phraſe is juſt; for to be anointed means no otherwiſe than to be conſtrued, wherefore thoſe Perſons are in an Errour, who conſtrue *Oyl* in this Paſſage. *Relandus*.

Saul, having now a ſecond time been ſpared by *David* when in his power, returned to his habitation. But *David* having ſtill apprehenſions, that if he continued to abide any longer in the land of *Iſrael*, he ſhould ſome time or other be circumvented and taken by *Saul*, thought it more ſafe for him to withdraw into the country of the *Paleſtines*, and remain within it's territories: Upon this he removed and went with the four hundred men, who were with him to * *Anchus*, king of *Gitta*, one of the five cities belonging to the *Paleſtines*, who received and entertained him and his men, with a great deal of freedom and hoſpitality, and aſſigned them a convenient place for their habitation: Here *David* dwelt with his two wives, *Achinaa* and *Abigæa*; of which when *Saul* was informed, he, from that time forth, neither went himſelf, nor ſent any of his ſoldiers to ſeek after him; being moreover unable to baniſh from his remembrance how he had twice been in danger of his life, from his over eagerneſs to apprehend him. *David*, in the mean time, did not care to remain any longer in the city of *Gitta*; whereupon he deſired *Anchus*, that, *Since he had already extended his liberality towards him, he would be pleaſed to grant a further favour to him, namely, that he might have a place in ſome town in the country to dwell in*: Adding, *That he was afraid his reſiding in the royal city with him, would prove a trouble and burthen to him.* To this requeſt *Anchus* gave ear, and allotted to him a certain village called *Sikella* (or *Ziklag*,) which, after his advancement to the kingdom, and for the great liking he had to it, he made his *Villa*, or country ſeat; his poſterity in like manner doing the ſame after him. But of this in another place. The whole ſpace of time he abode at *Sikella* was † four months and twenty days, during which time he made incurſions among the people of the neighbouring country, to wit, the (1) *Serrites* and the *Amalekites*, whom *David* many times diſtreſſed, by ravaging their country, and carrying off with him a great prey of camels and aſſes; however he always refrained from taking along with him as ſlaves any of the people, through an apprehenſion of their acquainting *Anchus* with it; to whom he always preſented one half of the ſpoil; and made him believe, upon his enquiry to know whoſe goods they were that he drove away as plunder, that they belonged to the *Jews* inhabiting the ſouth of *Judah* and the plains. This gave much ſatisfaction to *Anchus*, and filled him with hopes, that ſince *David*, whilſt he abode in his territories, coutinued to commit hoſtilities againſt his own nation, he would become his faithful ſervant for ever.

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* In the Sacred Books it it is written *Achiſh*, the Son of *Maoch*, King of Gath.

† In the Sacred Writings it is ſaid to be *One full Year and four Months.*

(1) So called by ſome Authors; but others ſay *Sarrites*, taking it from the entire Word *Geſerrites*, or *Geſurrites*. But the *Greek* Interpreters write it *Geſeri*, *Geſerei* and *Geſurri*. In 1 *Samuel* chap. xxvii. and xxviii. it is *Geſhurites*, and it is probably that *Joſephus* wrote it *Garſiti* or *Garſates*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

How Saul, *after the Oracle of* God *had ceaſed to anſwer him about his intented Expedition againſt the* Paleſtines, *went to a Witch, and beſought her to raiſe up the Ghoſt of* Samuel: *And of the Death of him, and of his Sons, after the* Hebrews *were vanquiſhed in Battle by the* Paleſtines.

ABOUT this time the *Paleſtines* had determined to lead an army againſt the *Iſraelites*; upon which they diſpatched couriers to all their allies and auxiliaries, to prepare themſelves for battle forthwith, and gather together at (1) *Renga*, the place deſigned by them for the general meeting of their army. Upon this reſolution *Anchus* acquainted *David* with his intent of taking him and his men along with him, who ſhould aſſiſt him in the engagement againſt the *Hebrews*. This declaration of *Anchus* was no way diſpleaſing to *David*, who anſwered, That he was very ready to perform the duty he owed him, and upon that account ſaid, the time was at laſt come, when he hoped he ſhould be able to repay, in ſome meaſure, the kindneſſes and favours he had conferred upon him. The king was not a little ſatisfied with what *David* had ſaid unto him, and thereupon he likewiſe ſaid, *And the time will come, when I ſhall advance thee to be keeper of my perſon, if victory attends our arms, and thou behaveſt thyſelf according to my liking in the engagement.* Now *Saul* at this time had put away all witches and wizards, and ſuch as had familiar ſpirits, out of the land, and the army of the *Paleſtines* being aſſembled had marched nearer to him, and had incamped themſelves not far from the city *Suna*: Upon which he drew out his army and marched with all expedition to come up with them; when arriving at a mountain, called *Gelboë*, he ſat down there overagainſt the enemy; whom having attentively viewed, he began to be troubled, and to perſuade himſelf that they were too powerful, both in number and courage. Hereupon he enquired of God by his prophets concerning the battle and the event of it: But he received no anſwer, and thereupon was ſtruck with a deeper ſenſe of ſorrow, which made his heart fail within him; and the more ſo becauſe he thereby perceived that the Almighty had forſaken him, and would not vouchſafe him his aſſiſtance. In this perplexity he commanded his ſervants to ſeek him a woman that had a familiar ſpirit, and who was ſkilled in raiſing up the ſouls of the dead: For he imagined that by this means he ſhould come to know whether this affair were to ſucceed according to his own deſire or no. Theſe women, or witches, are a kind of perſons, who calling up by charms and ſpells the ghoſts which once inhabited human bodies, by their information pretend to foretel the future events of things to thoſe who enquire ſecrets, of that nature, of them. One of the ſervants to be ſent upon this errand, preſently informed him that there dwelt ſuch a woman, as he had deſired them to ſearch for, at *Endor*; upon which, diſguiſing himſelf, and putting on other raiment, without taking the leaſt notice of his deſign to any in the camp, he went in the night-time, with two of his moſt faithful friends, to the woman at *Endor*, whom he prayed to divine to him, and to call up the ſpirit of that perſon, whom he would name to her. The woman hereupon ſeemed very unwilling, and ſaid that the king was not to be diſobeyed, who had cut off from the land all perſons that had practiſed in the way of divining; and that it was great injuſtice in him, ſince ſhe had done him no injury, to lay ſnares for her, and to entice her to act a thing forbidden by *Saul*, the commiſſion of which, if diſcovered, would certainly render her obnoxious to death. The king hearing her ſpeak thus, ſwore that he would diſcloſe the affair to no body; neither would he betray to any what ſhe divined to him, but that all ſhe ſaid ſhould be preſerved in the utmoſt ſecrecy, and herſelf made liable to no manner of puniſhment. *Saul*, having by ſwearing thus, removed the fears and apprehenſions ſhe had entertained, commanded her to raiſe up the ghoſt of *Samuel*. She, not knowing who *Samuel* was, called him up, who ſuddenly appearing, ſhe earneſtly looked upon him, and beholding him to be of a grave and majeſtic aſpect, and to reſemble ſome God, ſhe was ſtruck with confuſion at the appearance; whereupon ſhe ſaid, *Art not thou king Saul?* for *Samuel* had diſcovered him to her. The king upon this made himſelf known, and aſked her the cauſe of the great diſorder he perceived ſhe was in? To which ſhe anſwered, *That ſhe ſaw a certain perſon, of a divine aſpect, aſcending out of the earth.* Then ſaid *Saul*, *Whom doth he who appears to thee reſemble? What form is he of? How is he clad? and how old doth he ſeem to be?* To this the woman anſwered, *He is an old man, of a reverend appearance, and cloathed in a prieſt's habit.* This deſcription made *Saul* very ſenſible that it was *Samuel*; whereupon he ſtoopped with his face to the ground, and bowed himſelf. Then the ghoſt of *Samuel* aſked him, *What reaſon had induced him to diſquiet him and bring him up?* To which he replied, *That neceſſity had obliged him to it; for obſerving his enemies very hot and eager againſt him, and himſelf reduced to great extremities and forſaken of God, who neither by prophets, nor by dreams, was pleaſed to anſwer him, he had therefore applied to him, who had always ſhewn a tender regard to his affairs.* *Samuel* now perceiving the ſhort time *Saul* had to live, acquainted him, that it was to no purpoſe for him to enquire what was to befal him, ſince he was ſenſible that God was diſpleaſed with him, and become his irreconcileable enemy: *But I will ſignify to thee thus much, That Providence has ordained that* David *ſhall be king, and ſhall prove victorious in battle. As for thee, according to what I propheſied to thee, when I remained amongſt the living, Thou ſhalt loſe thy kingdom and life at one time, becauſe thou didſt not obey God in his commands unto thee, when thou warredſt againſt the* Amalekites; *and I now tell thee further, that the* Paleſtines *ſhall ſubdue thy people in battle, and thou and thy ſons falling in the encounter ſhall to-morrow be with me.*

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(1) 1 *Samuel* c. xxviii. v. 4. ſays *Shunem*.

Saul having heard theſe words of *Samuel*, fell ſtraightway all along upon the earth, either by reaſon of the exceſs of grief, which had ſeized him, or by his long faſting (having taken no ſuſtenance all the foregoing day and night.) In a little time he began to come ſlowly to himſelf; which the woman perceiving, ſhe ſollicited him to eat ſomething, and begged him to do it in favour to her who had, to oblige him, incurred the danger of loſing her life, in divining for him even when ſhe knew not that he was *Saul*; though at firſt, through fear, ſhe had refuſed to perform it: Wherefore ſhe deſired him to ſuffer her to ſpread the table, and ſet ſome proviſions thereon, with which he might refreſh himſelf, and thoſe with him, and thereby recover ſtrength to return to the camp. *Saul*, overcome with an exceſſive ſorrow, rejected all her perſuaſions, and ſeem'd inconſolable, which made her ſtill more urgent upon him, till in the end ſhe induced him to take ſome meat. She had at this time a young calf, and very fat, in the houſe, which ſhe had brought up with her own hand, and was the only companion of her ſolitary life; this ſhe immediately killed, and prepared the fleſh, which ſhe ſet before *Saul* and his attendants; who having eaten thereof, returned to the camp that night.

It is a piece of juſtice due to this woman, that we ſpeak ſomething in commendation of her generous liberality towards *Saul* and thoſe with him: For whereas not only the exerciſe of her art, by which ſhe could have increaſed her fortune, had been prohibited by him, and himſelf never before this conjuncture had been ſeen by her; nevertheleſs, unmindful of the injury ſhe received by the prohibition of the exerciſe of her ſkill, ſhe entertained him, not as one that had done her an injury, and was an utter ſtranger to her; as it might be expected a woman of her profeſſion would have done; but on the contrary, ſhe pitied his condition, when once ſhe had heard it, and endeavour'd to adminiſter comfort to him; at the ſame time adviſing and perſuading him to receive ſome ſuſtenance, which, for a long time, he abſolutely refuſed to do; and when ſhe had overcome his obſtinacy, in the moſt friendly and liberal manner that could be, beſtow'd upon him the only living creature that comforted her in her poor way of life. And all this ſhe did without being induced thereto by any motive of gratitude for kindneſs received, being done to one ſhe had never ſeen before; or expectation of any future benefit, that might induce her to ſuch a generous action, knowing that *Saul* was upon the point of loſing both his kingdom and life: Which manner of dealing is but little ſuitable to the uſual way of men, who expect to be acknowledged and gratified for favours beſtowed; and only upon account of thoſe receiv'd, think themſelves obliged to the performance of good offices. On all theſe accounts therefore, ſhe demands our regard and eſteem; and we ought to account it the moſt pious act, and moſt agreeable to the dignity of human nature, without any hope of recompence, to relieve thoſe that are in diſtreſs, not only as it is a reſemblance of the divine goodneſs, but a means of making the Almighty beſtow his favours upon us. Thus much we have thought fit to ſpeak concerning this woman of *Endor*. We will here add ſomething that may be of great uſe and advantage, not only to cities, people, and nations, but to all good men; ſomething that may inſpire all with a deſire of following virtue, and purchaſing renown, and making their names immortal; that may excite kings, princes, and governors of cities, to the performance of valiant and magnanimous atchievements, and to die bravely in defence of their country, and to ſuſtain and bear with an intrepidity of ſoul, all the misfortunes and accidents of human life: And we ſhall take occaſion to obſerve, what we are about to ſay, from this hiſtory of *Saul*, the king of the *Hebrews*. This prince, though he was well acquainted with whatſoever ſhould befal him, and that he was to die according to what the prophet had predicted to him; yet he never once endeavoured to avoid the ſtroke of death denounced againſt him, or to throw a blemiſh upon his high reputation in the world, by betraying his army into the hands of his enemy, through any motive of prolonging his life. On the contrary, caſting himſelf, with his whole family and children, into the moſt imminent dangers, he eſteemed it a brave action, in company with them, to die in battle for the people his ſubjects; and thought it more glorious for his ſons, who were all ſtrong and ſtout men, to fall with him in the field of action, than ſurvive him, who ſhould be ignorant of their future behaviour in the world. Beſides, he judged that acting in ſuch manner would prove the means of perpetuating his and their memory to all ages, and was preferable, even to a race of ſucceſſors; and therefore (in our opinion) he is deſervedly to be held in eſteem; and any perſon that may reſemble him in ſuch commendable qualifications deſerves to be celebrated for the excellency of his virtue. For we think thoſe hiſtorians to be in the wrong, who ſtile thoſe perſons great and valiant, in the ſeveral paſſages of their books wherein they have occaſion to mention them, who march out to battle with a certain hope of victory, and ſafe return therefrom: But thoſe can alone be term'd ſtout and enterprizing, and men undaunted at the appearance of dangers, who have demean'd themſelves in like manner as *Saul* is here related to have done. For though ſome, who are ignorant of what is to be the event, and hoping the beſt, my march to battle, with an intrepidity and vehemence of ſoul, and perform all the moſt difficult enterprizes in it; I ſay, though they perform thus, yet they cannot in juſtice be called men of ſo gallant and brave a ſpirit as thoſe whoſe thoughts are quite free, as well from the hopes of proſperous, as fears of adverſe fortune; but are firmly perſuaded, and know of a certain, that they ſhall die in the engagement, notwithſtanding which they are in no ſort dejected, but go on with a reſolution to encounter death: Such perſons as theſe diſcover the moſt approved, and moſt unerring ſigns of true magnanimity and valour. In this manner was it that *Saul* behaved himſelf; thereby ſhewing an example to all who are deſirous of an extenſive renown after death, to follow his ſteps, who hath left this leſſon to ſucceeding kings, teaching them not to appear too mean and deſpicable in their adverſity, nor over arrogant and haughty in their proſperity. Many more things might be added in commendation of *Saul's* excellent courage; but, leſt we ſhould be thought too prolix, and too partial, in our encomiums of him, we will now return back to the matter from which we made this digreſſion.

The *Paleſtines* being encamped as is above related, and having muſtered their people, each under their ſeveral leaders and governors, at laſt came *Anchus* with his company, attended by *David*, together with his ſix hundred men. The other princes of the *Paleſtines* having taken notice of the *Hebrews* that accompanied the king of *Gitta*, asked him, *How, and from whence they came hither?* To this his anſwer was, 'That it was *David*, the ſervant of *Saul* 'the king of *Iſrael*, whom, having eſcaped the 'death intended by his maſter, *I, ſaid* Anchus, *have entertain'd; and who, in conſideration of what I have done for him, and to be revenged of his maſter* Saul, *is willing to aſſiſt us againſt him; in whom I have not found any thing to blame ſince he hath been with me.* But this anſwer did not at all ſatisfy the other princes, who were much diſpleaſed with *Anchus*, for having choſen an enemy for his aſſiſtant: *For,* ſaid they, *What fitter opportunity can he ever have to reconcile himſelf to his maſter, than by falling off to him in the time of battle, and turning his arms againſt us? And it is probable in the higheſt degree, that there is a ſecret underſtanding between them: Wherefore make this fellow to return unto the place which thou haſt allotted him. Is not this,* added they, *that* David *of whom the damſels ſang, that many thouſands of the* Paleſtines *were ſlain by him?*

Anchus having heard the princes after this manner declare themſelves, he agreed to what they had demanded, and ordered *David* to be ſent for, who coming into his preſence, he thus ſpoke to him: 'I, for my part, approve of 'thy fidelity, and of thy readineſs to ſerve 'me, which induced me to take thee along 'with me in this expedition; but the reſt of 'the princes entertain not the like ſentiments 'with me, in reſpect of thee, for which reaſon I 'deſire thee this day to return to the place I have 'aſſigned thee, and not to harbour any doubts 'of my good-will towards thee, but remain 'there a ſafeguard to my kingdom, repelling 'the incurſions of any enemies that may happen; for to ſuch purpoſe I entertain thee.' *David* hereupon, in obedience to the command of *Anchus*, march'd back to *Sikella*. Now it came to paſs, whilſt *David* was abſent, accompanying *Anchus* to the camp of the *Paleſtines*, that the *Amalekites* made an inroad into the country about *Sikella*, and marching up to it's walls, ſtormed, and at laſt burnt it; and having taken a very great ſpoil, not only from thence, but out of the neighbouring fields, they marched off, carrying it along with them.

David, after he had found *Sikella* burnt, and all things in it plundered, and that not only his two wives, but all the citizens with their wives and children, were led into captivity, he rent his cloaths. The ſorrow which he and his men had conceived at this melancholy ſight, was ſo exceſſive, and they weeped ſo abundantly, that they had no more tears wherewithal to expreſs the bitterneſs of their anguiſh: As for *David*, he met with a double misfortune; for he was apprehenſive of being ſtoned to death by his men, who, vehemently lamenting the captivity of their wives and children, blamed him as the ſole cauſe of the misfortunes that had happened. However, in a little time, he began to have reſpite from his grief, and to put his confidence in God; upon which he deſired *Abiathar*, the high prieſt, to put on the ephod and enquire of God, if he ſhould purſue the *Amalekites*, and if he ſhould overtake them, and regain in ſafety the women and children they had taken, and have an opportunity of revenging the hoſtilities they had committed. The high prieſt having returned him for anſwer, That he might purſue them, and ſhould overtake them, and recover all; he ſtraightway went after them with his ſix hundred men, and coming to a certain torrent, called * *Baſelus*, he lighted upon a perſon, an *Ægyptian* by birth, in a hungry and ſtarved condition, who had received no manner of ſuſtenance for the ſpace of three days, and as many nights, but had wandered all that time forlorn in the wilderneſs, whom he relieved with ſome proviſions and drink, and asked him, Who he was, and to whom he belong'd? The man upon this told him, 'He was an *Ægyptian*, but that his 'maſter had left him there, becauſe he had 'fallen ill in his journey, and was on that account unable to perform it; moreover, he 'confeſſed that his maſter was one of thoſe 'who had aſſiſted, not only in burning and 'laying waſte *Sikella*, but ſeveral other places 'in the country of *Judea*.'

David, having received this intelligence from the man, made him conduct him to the place where the *Amalekites* were marched, when coming up with them, he found them in a negligent manner ſcattered over all the ground; ſome eating, ſome drinking, and others rejoicing and dancing, becauſe of the great ſpoil they had taken. *David* obſerving this, made a ſudden attack upon them, who were ill prepared to defend themſelves, as expecting no ſuch encounter: And not having their arms in a readineſs to repel the aſſault, they had entirely devoted themſelves to jollity and mirth, which made their overthrow the more eaſy, and was therefore attended with a great and terrible ſlaughter. Some, as they ſat at their tables, had their heads cut off, upon which the blood, with what they had juſt before eaten and drunken, guſhed out like a torrent. Some were killed as they were raiſing their wine to their mouths; and others, awaking from their debauch, were in a moment cut off, being half aſleep. Thoſe who had armed themſelves with deſign to repel the fury of *David*, were vanquiſhed with the ſame eaſe as thoſe who had no weapons of war in their hands. The ſlaughter continued from * one of the clock in the morning, till the evening, whereby all the *Amalekites* were cut off, except four hundred of them, who riding upon (†) *Dromedaries* eſcaped and fled. Moreover, *David* not only regained all the ſpoil they had taken, but alſo reſcued his two wives, together with thoſe of the reſt of his men. After this, he marched back, and being come to the place where two hundred of his men had been left, becauſe of their faintneſs and inability to follow him, the four hundred who had been aſſiſtants in recovering the plunder, refuſed to divide the ſpoil with them, or ſuffer them to receive any part thereof; ſaying, 'They had not accompanied them to the fight; but through ſloth and lazineſs had refuſed to purſue the enemy;' *adding*, 'They ought to be content with receiving back in ſafety their wives and children.' This behaviour and reſolution of theirs diſpleaſed *David*, who ſaid, they acted unreaſonably and unjuſtly. For it was very fit, and a thing conſiſtent with equity, that, ſince, under the favour and protection of God, they had not only revenged themſelves upon their enemies, but recovered all the ſpoil taken from them, they ſhould make an equal partition of the ſame amongſt all the ſoldiers. Eſpecially, conſidering the neceſſity of leaving theſe two hundred men, to guard the camp and baggage. Wherefore, from this time forth, *David* eſtabliſhed it for a law, which has been in force ever ſince his days, That whatever plunder ſhould happen to be obtained in war, an equal diviſion thereof ſhould be made, as well amongſt thoſe who were preſent in the engagement, as thoſe who were ordered to guard the camp. *David* after this, return'd to *Sikella*, and ſent preſents of the ſpoil to all his friends and acquaintance of the tribe of *Judah*. And this is all the account that relates to the plundering of this city, and the ſlaughter of the *Amalekites*.

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* *Baſ.* G. and *Samb.* have it *Baſelus*; *Epiph.* *Boſorus*; and our Opinion is, that *Flavius* made it *Baſorus*, or *Baſor*, for *Beſor* or *Boſor* is the *Hebrew* Word.

The *Paleſtines*, as well as *Hebrews*, having now ſet their armies in array, a fierce battle enſued, which was obſtinately fought by both ſides; but the former proved too ſtrong for the latter, a great number of whom were ſlain in the fight. *Saul* and his ſons behaved themſelves valiantly in this engagement, eſpecially the ſons, who with an inexpreſſible intrepidity of ſoul, ruſhed amongſt the enemy, and ſeem'd to be firmly reſolved bravely and valiantly to die, having abandoned all hopes of obtaining the victory. This made the whole forces of the enemy turn againſt them, by which on a ſudden, being ſurrounded, they were overpowered by numbers, and ſo ſlain, having firſt made a great ſlaughter of thoſe that oppoſed them. The names of theſe ſons of *Saul*, were *Jonathan*, *Aminadab*, and *Melchiſus*, whoſe deaths occaſion'd the *Hebrews* to fly, upon which the *Paleſtines* followed them at their heels, and a terrible confuſion and diſorder enſued. *Saul* alſo fled, together with thoſe of his men that had ſtood by him and remained about him, the greateſt part of whom fell by the archers of the *Paleſtines*. As for himſelf, after he had for a long time fought valiantly, and received ſo many wounds, that he was rendered unable to hold out any longer, or even to ſupport himſelf; nay, ſo weak, as not to have power to kill himſelf; he commanded his armour-bearer to draw his ſword and ſtab him, that he might not fall alive into the hands of the enemy. The armour-bearer had not courage enough to perform ſo melancholy a command upon his maſter. Wherefore *Saul* drew out his own ſword, and putting the naked point to his breaſt, leaned upon it; but being unable to thruſt it in, he turned himſelf ſlowly about, and ſeeing a young man ſtanding by his ſide, he asked him who he was? When receiving for anſwer, that he was an *Amalekite*, he prayed him to thruſt the ſword through his body, which his weakneſs would not permit him to do, and to finiſh his deſired death. Upon this, the *Amalekite* perform'd the fatal command; and having done it, he took the golden bracelets from his arms, and the royal crown from his head, and fled away. The armour-bearer ſeeing now his maſter ſlain, threw himſelf upon his own ſword and died; and not one of the king's guards ſaved himſelf, but all, without diſtinction, were put to the ſword in the mountain called *Gilboë*. The *Hebrews* who dwelt in the valley beyond *Jordan*, and they who inhabited the cities in the plain, when they had heard of the death of *Saul* and his ſons, and the great army that had marched after him to battle, forſook their cities, and withdrew themſelves into their places of defence; upon which the *Paleſtines* entered into the towns they had thus left and dwelt in them.

The next day, as the *Paleſtines* were buſy in plundering the enemy that had been killed in battle, amongſt the ſlain, found the bodies of *Saul* and his ſons, which they firſt ſtript of their cloaths and armour, and then cut off their heads which, they ſent by meſſengers throughout all their country, to make known amongſt their people how they had ſlain the *Hebrews* in battle. They placed the armour of *Saul* and his ſons, in the houſe of *Aſhtaroth*, and nailed their dead bodies to crucifixes, placed upon the walls of *Beth-ſhan*, a city now called *Scythopolis*. But ſome of the moſt ſtout and valiant men of *Jabeſh-Gilead*, a city productive of men of courage, coming to be acquainted how the heads of the bodies of *Saul* and his ſons had been cut off; they were ſorely troubled, and accounted it an unworthy and diſhonourable thing to let them remain any longer without burial. Wherefore, they march'd out of their city, and purſued their journey all the night, until they were arriv'd at *Beth-ſhan:* Being come thither, they aſcended the walls, and taking thence the bodies, carried them to *Jabeſh-Gilead*, maugre all the oppoſition of the *Paleſtines*, who were not able to hinder them. A little while after, the inhabitants of *Jabeſh-Gilead* took the bodies, and buried them in a moſt pleaſant place of their country, called (*a*) *Arura*, and mourned with their wives and children ſeven ſucceſſive days; in which ſpace of time they neither eat nor drank, but continued their lamentations, by weeping, and beating their breaſts.

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* In the Sacred Book it is written, *From twilight, until the evening of the next day.*

† Camels.

This was the cataſtrophe of *Saul*, according to the prophecy of *Samuel*, becauſe he had diſobeyed God, in not wholly deſtroying the race of the *Amalekites*, and becauſe he had ſlain *Achimelech* with the edge of the ſword, together with his whole houſe. The time that *Saul* reigned over *Iſrael*, was, whilſt *Samuel* was yet alive, eighteen years, and (*b*) two and twenty years after his deceaſe.

(*a*) The Septuagint call it thus, and ſo do the *Jews*, and our Author; others term it a *Grove*, and the Scripture ſays, *Under a Tree.*

(*b*) This Account is mentioned in the *Baſil* and *Geneva* Editions, and in all other *Greek* Books of *Joſephus* which we have peruſed. *Epiphanius* has inſerted *two*, with the Addition of *Twenty Years*; which we preſume is right, and more analogous to the Chronology of this Book. *Peter Comeſtor*, (citing it from *Epiphanius*) ſpeaks thus: *And* Saul *reigned in the Life-time of* Samuel *Eighteen Years, and after his Death Two Years; which Two Years are not mentioned in any Paſſage of Scripture.* But *Zonaras* adds the Twenty. Notwithſtanding theſe Authorities, *Clemens* and *Eutychius* of *Alexandria*, both Followers, as we have Reaſon to believe, of *Joſephus*, include theſe *Twenty Years* in the Reign of *Saul.*

The END *of the* Sixth BOOK.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
OF THE
ANTIQUITIES of the *JEWS*.
BOOK THE SEVENTH.

CHAP. I.

How David *ruled over one of the Tribes in the City* Chebron, *and the Son of* Saul *over the reſt; and how, a Civil War breaking out,* Aſael *and* Abner *were Slain.*

THE battle of which we have juſt now given the account, fell out on the ſame day, wherein *David* overcame the *Amalekites*, and returned victorious to *Sikella*. In this city he abode two days, when on the third, the man, who had ſlain *Saul*, having eſcaped out of the battle, in company with ſome *Paleſtines*, came with his cloaths rent, and earth upon his head. And appearing before *David*, he fell proſtrate upon the ground, doing him obeyſance. This man being asked by *David*, whence, and why he came in that mournful condition, he told him, ‘That he was come from the engagement between the *Hebrews* and *Paleſtines*,’ and informed him of the unfortunate event of the battle: ‘That the *Hebrews* were diſcomfited, and many thouſands of them were fallen by the ſword;’ And moreover, he added the diſmal account of the death of *Saul* and his ſons: ‘That what he ſaid might be depended upon, being himſelf a ſpectator of the flight and ſlaughter made of the *Hebrews*; and that he ſtood by *Saul* when he endeavoured to ſtab himſelf; who, fearing to be taken alive by the enemy, and not having ſtrength enough, becauſe of the many wounds he had received, to force the point of his ſword through his body, after he had thrown himſelf upon it, he begged him to finiſh what himſelf was not able to perform, which, as he frankly confeſſed to him, he then did.’ Laſtly, to confirm all he had related, he produced to *David* the golden bracelets, and crown of *Saul*, ‘Which, he ſaid, he had taken away after he was fallen dead upon the ground, with no other deſign than to make a preſent of them to him.’

David now being put out of all doubt and diſtruſt, after theſe ſure but ſad tokens of the death of *Saul* were ſhewn to him, rent his cloaths, and in company with the men about him, wept and bewailed this hard fortune of the army of the *Hebrews* his countrymen all that day. But the fate of *Jonathan* the ſon of *Saul*, ſtruck his ſoul with a more bitter, and more inſupportable ſorrow. For he conſidered, that he had not only loſt his moſt faithful friend, but one who had evidently approved himſelf the preſerver of his life. Beſides, the unfeigned love and reſpect he had for *Saul*, which appeared on this occaſion, was very great and ſurpriſing; which not only manifeſted itſelf in thoſe floods of tears ſhed by *David* for his unhappy death, who had endeavoured ſeveral times, with his own hand to take away his life, and had often expoſed him to the danger of death, by the hands of others; but did alſo further diſcover itſelf, in his putting to death the perſon who ſlew him. For *David*, having told the man that himſelf was his own accuſer, being alſo an *Amalekite* by his birth, he commanded him to be ſlain. Moreover, *David* compoſed lamentations, and elegies, in praiſe of *Saul* and *Jonathan*, part of which are ſtill extant.

When *David* had performed theſe rites in memory of *Saul*, and the time of lamentation was over; he conſulted God by his prophet, which of the cities belonging to the tribe of *Judah*, he would be pleaſed that he ſhould abide in. To this requeſt the Almighty anſwered, *That he ſhould live in* Chebron. Upon this, *David*, taking with him his two wives, and his company of men, removed from *Sikella*, and went thither; where all the people of the tribe of *Judah* aſſembling they created him king over them. Soon after this, *David* came to be acquainted, how the inhabitants of *Jabeſh-Gilead* had buried *Saul* and his ſons: Upon which he ſent meſſengers to thank and to commend them for the laudable action they had done, and to aſſure them he would requite it; and laſtly, to ſignify to them that he was choſen king over the tribe of *Judah*.

Now *Abner*, the general of *Saul*'s army, a man of unwearied diligence, brave, valiant, and naturally of a liberal and beneficent diſpoſition, as ſoon as he underſtood that *Saul*, and *Jonathan*, and two other of his ſons, were ſlain in battle, he went back with the utmoſt haſte to the camp, whence taking (*a*) *Jeboſthus*, the only ſon now remaining of *Saul*, he paſſed with him over *Jordan* to the people there, and made him king over all the *Iſraelites*, except the tribe of *Judah*. Beſides, he appointed the place of his reſidence to be at (*b*) *Manalin*, ſo called by the natives in their mother-tongue, but by the *Greeks*, the (*c*) *Tents*. Now *Abner* was very deſirous of engaging with the tribe of *Judah*, who had greatly incenſed him, by their creating *David* their king; wherefore making choice of the ſtouteſt and moſt able ſoldiers in his army, he marched with the utmoſt expedition with them againſt this tribe. To oppoſe *Abner*, *Joab*, the ſon of *Sarvia*, and nephew of *David*, conducted all his army, wherein were his two brothers, *Abeſſæus* and *Aſaël*. When both armies were come up to the pool of *Gabaö*, they put themſelves in battle array; upon which *Abner* ſaying, that he was willing to know whoſe ſoldiers were the braveſt, it was agreed ſtraightways that twelve young men belonging to each ſide ſhould make trial: Theſe perſons ſtepping out into a vacant place, between the two armies, they each threw a ſpear, and then drawing their ſwords, and catching every one his fellow by the head, they thruſt the blades into each others body, and all of them fell down dead upon the ground. After they had thus killed one another, the two armies joined battle, which was maintain'd with equal ardour and reſolution for ſome time on both ſides, till the ſoldiers of *Abner*, having quite ſpent all their ſtrength, gave ground and fled. *Joab* obſerving this, laid hold of the advantage thrown into his hands, and making his men to follow him, he purſued the enemy cloſe at their heels, and did not ceaſe from the chace till he had ſubdued them. His two brothers behaved themſelves gallantly in this engagement, eſpecially *Aſaël*, the youngeſt, who gave a more particular teſtimony of his forwardneſs than the reſt; namely, in purſuing after *Abner* with all his might, and not turning from him in the chace, either to the right hand or to the left. Now *Aſaël* was remarkable for his ſwiftneſs of foot, not only ſurpaſſing other men in running, but able alſo to outſtrip a horſe in the full ſpeed of his race. *Abner* therefore being thus cloſely purſued, looked back, and endeavouring to avoid the ſtroke he made at him, bid him ceaſe from chaſing him, but to turn aſide and take the armour of ſome of the young men. Theſe words had no influence upon *Aſaël*, which made *Abner* then pray and intreat him to ſtop, and not follow him any further, ſaying, *If I kill thee, how can I hold up my face to* Joab *thy brother?* But *Aſaël* ſtill refuſing to hearken unto the words of *Abner*, and perſiſting in the purſuit of him, he ſtruck him with the hinder end of his javelin, which paſſing through his body laid him dead upon the ground; and thus was he deliver'd from his moſt dangerous purſuer. Thoſe who accompanied *Aſaël* in following after *Abner*, being come up to the place where the dead body lay, they ſtood round it, and ceaſed to purſue the enemy any further. But *Joab* and his brother *Abeſſæus*, moved with a vehement indignation at the death of their brother, paſſed on beyond him, and being more eager, and reſolv'd to revenge themſelves on *Abner*, deſiſted not from purſuing him till they came at a place call'd (*d*) *Amala*, when the ſun went down upon them.

Here the men of the tribe of *Benjamin*, together with *Abner*, having aſcended a riſing ground, in the ſight of *Joab*, *Abner*, lifting up his voice, ſaid, *It was not only a mournful but an unjuſt thing for fellow-tribes, and of the ſame ſtock and kindred, to be ſo violently enraged, as to endeavour the deſtruction of one another; that* Aſael, *the brother of* Joab *was only to be blamed, who, after he had intreated him to purſue after him no further, but to ceaſe from following him, would not be perſuaded to it, which obliged him in his own defence to keep him off with his ſpear, whereby he was killed.* Theſe words of *Abner* prevailing at this time upon *Joab*, who ſeemed to be ſatisfied with what he had ſaid, he ordered to ſound a retreat upon the trumpet, thereby recalling, and reſtraining his men from the purſuit. After this was done he encamped upon the hill, and ſtayed there that night. But *Abner* continuing his march until the morning, and paſſing with his men over *Jordan*, went to (*e*) *the Tents*, to *Jeboſthus* the ſon of *Saul*. The next day *Joab* having ſurveyed the ſlain, he ordered them to be buried. Of the party of *Abner*, about three hundred and threeſcore were killed; but of the men of *David* only nineteen, beſides *Aſaël*, whoſe body his brothers, *Joab* and *Abeſſæus*, carried to *Bethlehem*, and buried it in his father's ſepulchre; after which they went to *David* at *Chebron*. From this time forth there was a civil war amongſt the *Hebrews* betwixt the families of *Saul* and of *David*, which continued for a long time, wherein the affairs of *David* received a daily increaſe of ſtrength, but thoſe of the ſon of *Saul* a conſtant diminution.

Whilſt *David* reigned at *Chebron*, he had ſix ſons born unto him, of ſo many wives; the eldeſt was named *Ammon*, whoſe mother's name was (*f*) *Achnia*; the ſecond, born of *Abigæa*, was

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(*a*) *Isboſthus* according to the *Hebrew*; and in the Records of the Temple, *Isbaalus* or *Esbaalus*. But *Joſephus* wrote it *Jeboſthus*.

(*b*) *Bochart* ſuppoſes this Word ſhould be written *Manaim*, but *Hudſon*, *Manalin*.

(*c*) 1 *Reg*. 11. 8. It is ſaid, *And he lead him about by the Tents*.

(*d*) So the beſt Editions have it.

(*e*) Here it is ſo termed.

(*f*) In a Paſſage before *Joſephus* writes this Word *Achinia*, the *Hebrew* ſays *Achinoam*.

was called (*a*) *Daniel*; the third, of (*b*) *Machama*, the daughter of (*c*) *Tholomeus* king of the *Geſſirites*, (*d*) *Abeſalom*; the fourth, of (*e*) *Agitha*, (*f*) *Adonia*; the fifth, of (*g*) *Abitaala*, (*h*) *Saphatia*; and the ſixth, of (*i*) *Egla*, was called (*k*) *Gethraama*. The civil diſſentions now ſtill more increaſing, many skirmiſhes and encounters being every day carried on, by the parties of both kings, *Abner*, the general over the forces of *Jeboſthus*, a prudent man, and whom the whole army under his command entirely loved, brought it about, that the ſoldiery revolted from the king his maſter, and went over to *David*, of which the occaſion is to be ſeen in the ſequel.

This general, ſome time after this, was accuſed and reprehended by *Jeboſthus*, for having had criminal correſpondence with *Ræſpha*, the daughter of *Sibathus*, and the concubine of *Saul*. By this charge *Abner* was nettled very much, who thought he was ill requited by the king, whoſe affairs and intereſt he had conſtantly, with the greateſt chearfulneſs, promoted; inſomuch that he threatened to tranſlate the kingdom to *David*, whereby it would appear that the people beyond *Jordan*, were not reduced, and kept, under the government of *Jeboſthus*, by his own capacity or skillfulneſs, but by the good diſcipline and order he himſelf maintained in the army, whereby the people were kept in ſubjection. After this he diſpatched ambaſſadors to *David*, with orders to obtain an oath of him, that after he had perſuaded the people to revolt from *Jeboſthus*, and made him king over all the *Iſraelites*, he would from that time forth account him his undoubted friend and ally. This embaſſy of *Abner* was very acceptable to *David*, who immediately entered into a league with him, but upon condition that he ſhould firſt give him a proof of the friendſhip he offer'd, by reſtoring to him *Michal* his wife, whom he had purchaſed with great hazard and danger of his life; namely, in bringing ſix hundred heads of the *Paleſtines* to *Saul* her father, before he could obtain her in marriage. *Abner* upon this took *Michal* from *Phalti*, and ſent her to *David*. *Jeboſthus* himſelf was not backward in this affair, for to him alſo *David* had written to reſtore her to him, who was his legitimate wife. After this, *Abner* aſſembling the elders of the people, and the centurions and tribunes, ſpake unto them in the manner following: 'Foraſmuch as formerly you did, voluntarily, and of your own accord, incline to forſake *Jeboſthus*, and to put yourſelves under the government of *David*, from which I then diſſuaded you; I will now, if ye are willing, comply with that your deſire; for I am perſuaded that, as God, by the prophet *Samuel*, hath anointed and conſtituted him king over all the *Hebrews*, and hath foretold that he ſhall be the ſcourge of the *Paleſtines*, and ſhall ſubdue and bring them under his obedience, ſo he ſhall actually obtain the ſovereignty over all *Iſrael*.' When the elders and the officers of the army had attentively heard theſe words, and found, that the ſentiments of *Abner* were agreeable to what themſelves had before entertained, they were induced at laſt to ſubmit themſelves to *David*. The general having gained his point with theſe, aſſembled next the tribe of *Benjamin*, which included the guards of *Jeboſthus*, to whom he ſpoke as he had done to the elders and officers: Theſe likewiſe he found condeſcending, and ready to favour his deſign; upon which, he, with twenty of them, went to *David*, that he might in perſon receive a confirmation of his oath, (for thoſe leagues we account more firm and ſure, which perſonally are enter'd into, than thoſe perform'd by proxy,) and acquaint him with the ſpeech he had made to the officers and the tribe of *Benjamin*. *Abner* coming to *David* was received with all the marks of friendſhip, and with ſplendid and magnificent entertainments for many days, which were prepared for him; after which he deſired to return and bring the people, that he might give the kingdom to him in their preſence and ſight.

Scarcely was *Abner* diſmiſſed and departed from *Chebron*, but *Joab*, the general over the army of *David*, came. He ſoon was inform'd that *Abner* had been with his maſter, and was but a little time gone, having firſt entered into a league with him, and concerted all matters relating to the transferring the kingdom to him. The report of theſe things ſtruck a damp into *Joab*, who concluded that *Abner* would now certainly obtain the higheſt poſt of truſt and honour, and be eſteemed by *David* the perſon who had beſtow'd the kingdom upon him: Beſides, he conſider'd *Abner*'s great ability in civil as well as in military affairs, and his dexterity in managing and in ſuiting every thing to it's proper time and ſeaſon: Wherefore he reſolv'd, if poſſible, to break the meaſures of *Abner*, and fruſtrate his intent. In order thereto, he firſt began to calumniate him before *David*, and to inſinuate, That it was imprudence in him to admit him into his preſence, and that he ought to guard himſelf both againſt his words and the promiſes he had made him, and to take care how he credited either of them; that all that he had ſaid and done was with no other deſign than to eſtabliſh the kingdom in the perſon of the ſon of *Saul*; for that all his pretenſions of friendſhip were fraudulent and colluſive, and done with the view of proſecuting his own wicked project, and to further his intent againſt him. But *Joab* perceiving that this diſcourſe of his had no force upon the mind of *David*, who ſeemed not in the leaſt moved by it, had recourſe to ſomething of a more daring nature; for now he reſolved within himſelf to put *Abner* to death; upon which he ſent meſſengers to follow after him, to whom he gave in charge to ſay to him, that they were come by the order of *David* to recal him, who wanted to learn ſomething of him, in relation to his own affairs, which he forgot to ſpeak of whilſt

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(*a*) *Hebr. Chileab*, of *Abigail.* (*b*) *Maacah.* (*c*) *Talmai.* (*d*) *Abſolom.* (*e*) *Haggith.* (*f*) *Adonijah.* (*g*) *Abitai*, (*h*) *Shephatiah.* (*i*) *Eglah.* (*k*) *Ithream.*

whilſt he communed with him. *Abner*, after he had heard their meſſage, which they brought him in a place called *Beſna*, diſtant from *Chebron* about twenty furlongs, returned again to the city no way apprehenſive of any deſign againſt him: But when *Joab* met him at the gate, he received him with marks of kindneſs and friendſhip, (this is a conſtant practice with thoſe men whoſe minds are bent upon miſchief, to colour their treacherous intentions with an appearance of ſincerity and affection,) and as if he would have ſpoken with him privately, he took him aſide from his attendants, and conducted him to a private place near the gate, his brother *Abeſſæus* only being preſent, when drawing his ſword, he ſtabbed him with it beneath his ribs: Thus did *Abner* die by the treachery of *Joab*, who, as himſelf gave out, ſaid, he did it to revenge the death of his brother *Aſaël*, ſlain by him as he purſued after him to *Chebron*, at the battle of *Gelboe*. But *Joab*, as is moſt probable, committed this baſe and cowardly murther, through his ſuſpicion and fear of loſing the command of the army, and leſt *Abner* ſhould procure to himſelf the principal poſt of honour under *David*. From this preceeding account may be obſerved, what things ſome men will attempt, that they may obtain a ſuperiority over others, and places of truſt and honour; in acquiſition of which they endeavour to ſurmount all obſtacles in their way; committing numberleſs crimes and impieties, to accompliſh their deſires, and not ceaſing to perpetrate actions ſtill worſe and worſe, provided they can hope for the eſtabliſhment of their ill acquir'd authority: Theſe men account it more eligible never to have arrived at a heighth of grandeur and power, than to fall from it after they have once attained it; and therefore to preſerve themſelves in that eminence of ſituation, wherein they are placed, and to which they have got by wicked and indirect means, they ſtick at no villainy, nor boggle at the moſt criminal actions, provided they can give any falſe colour to what they do, and ſhroud themſelves from the puniſhment of the laws. And let it ſuffice to have ſaid thus much here, by way of reflection.

David having heard of the death of *Abner* was greatly troubled in mind; upon which, ſtretching out his hands, and lifting up his voice to God, he ſolemnly declared before all about him, that he neither was acceſſary to the murther, nor had any knowledge of it before it was perpetrated. Upon *Joab*, the author of the murther, and all his family, he pronounced moſt heavy curſes, wiſhing that vengeance to purſue him, that uſes to overtake thoſe guilty of that grievous crime; being unwilling he ſhould be ſuſpected to have had any hand in it, contrary to what he had ſworn to *Abner*: Moreover he (*a*) enjoyned all the army to march before the bier of *Abner*, and with tears and lamentations, with their cloaths rent, and putting on of ſackcloth, to bewail his loſs, and to perform all funeral rites to him in the moſt ſolemn manner: The king, accompanied by the elders and princes of the people, followed after, who, by the ſighs and tears they ſhed on this occaſion, demonſtrated the love and kindneſs they bore *Abner* whilſt alive, and their ſorrow for his mournful death, contrary to their earneſt wiſhes and deſires. After he had been magnificently buried in *Chebron*, his funeral elegy being written by *David*, he ſtood upon his monument, and made an oration, which (*b*) cauſed the reſt to renew their ſorrows for him; and ſuch was *David*'s trouble for the death of *Abner*, that he refuſed, maugre all the perſuaſions of his friends, to take any ſuſtenance; but ſwore that he would not taſte any thing, until the ſun was gone down. This behaviour in the king procured him great reſpect from the people, who always had entertained a moſt tender affection for *Abner* in his life time; and now were exceedingly pleaſed to perceive how much he honoured him at his death, and that fidelity and friendſhip he ſhew'd in cauſing to be performed all due ſolemnities over him, as a friend and relation, and not diſhonouring him with an indecent interment. (*c*) This candid and generous treatment gave univerſal ſatisfaction to the people, who imagin'd *David* in the like occaſions would reſpect them in the ſame manner, now they had had ocular demonſtration of his regard to *Abner* when dead. Moreover, the king, having an eye to his fame and character, uſed all requiſite diligence to remove all ſuſpicions of his being the murtherer of *Abner*, or that he had been any ways acceſſary to his death. Wherefore he harangued the people thus: ‘My grief and concern for the death of ſo excellent a perſon, is very great, and the affairs of the *Hebrews* have received by his loſs no ſmall detriment; becauſe, on the breaking out of a war, he was able to protect them by the beſt counſel, and a ſtrenuous and ſtout arm; notwithſtanding, God, who hath the ſuper-intendancy over all things, will not ſuffer him to lie dead unavenged; and let me acquaint you, that, although I am too weak to do with *Joab* and *Abeſſæus* as they deſerve, he certainly will repay their wickedneſs with a fit puniſhment.’ Thus was a period put to the life of *Abner*.

(*a*) *Epiphanius* turns this Paſſage thus: He commanded the People to weep and lament over the *Man*, and to honour his Body with funeral Rites, when they beheld him with his Cloaths rent, and covered with Sackcloth. (*b*) He influenced by his Example, the reſt to do the like. *Gelen.* (*c*) All the People, on Account of the ſweet and compaſſionate Temper of the King, were glad. *Cocc.*

CHAP. II.

How, after Jeboſthus *was treacherouſly ſlain by his Friends,* David *obtained the Kingdom over all the* Iſraelites.

AS ſoon as *Jeboſthus* had received the news of the death of *Abner*, he was ſorely troubled on account of his being deprived, both of a perſon related to him by kindred, and alſo of one who had procured the kingdom for him. But *Jeboſthus* himſelf did not long ſurvive *Abner*; for in a little while after he was ſlain by treachery, by (1) *Banaoth*, and (2) *Thamnus*, the ſons of (3) *Hieremmon*: Theſe perſons being *Benjamites*, and of the firſt rank, thought, if they put *Jeboſthus* to death, they ſhould be well rewarded by *David* for their pains; believing that ſuch an action would deſerve ſome high poſt in the army, or other honourable employment. With this view they went and found *Jeboſthus* ſleeping alone in his bed-chamber at noon; and perceiving neither the guards nor the porter of the houſe on duty, they ſlew him; after which they cut off his head, and travelling all that day and the following night, as if they had fled from thoſe they had injured, arrived with it at *Chebron*; where coming before *David*, from whom they expected a grateful recompence, they ſhewed it to him, and expected to have been commended for the readineſs they had ſhewn to ſerve him in cutting off his enemy, and the rival of his kingdom. But *David* was ſo far from approving what they had done, that he thus expreſſed the horrour and deteſtation he conceived of ſo barbarous and impious a crime as they had committed. 'You moſt wicked and moſt deſerving of puniſhment, What! are you thus ſoon become forgetful of the juſt death I inflicted upon him who brought me the crown of gold after he had ſlain *Saul*, at his own deſire, for fear of falling into the hands of his enemy! Do you ſuppoſe me to be changed from myſelf, or that I am no more the ſame perſon, to be delighted with wicked actions, or to countenance the murther you have committed upon your maſter, by taking his head off in his own bed-chamber; the head of *Jeboſthus*, a righteous perſon, and one who never did injury to any man, but heaped his favours upon you in an eſpecial manner? Wherefore I will avenge his death, by taking your lives away, and revenge myſelf upon you for cutting him off, under an opinion of my favouring you for the murder. Your entertaining ſuch baſe ſentiments of me, is the greateſt injury you could have done my reputation and honour.' Having thus ſpoken, he commanded them to be put to death; after which he honourably buried the head of *Jeboſthus* in the ſepulchre of *Abner*.

After theſe things were performed, all the princes of the *Hebrews*, with the tribunes and captains, came to *David* at *Chebron*, and ſubmitted themſelves to him. They related to him what kindneſs they had for him whilſt *Saul* was living, and the reſpect they had always entertained for him, when he commanded the thouſands of *Iſrael*. Moreover, they took notice to him, how God, by his prophet *Samuel*, had appointed him to be their king, and his poſterity after him; but that to him alone it was given to conquer the *Paleſtines*, and preſerve their country. *David* hearing this frank teſtimony of their duty, commended their zeal for his ſervice, and remonſtrated to them the advantage they ſhould have in continuing to perſevere therein; adding, that he ſhould always take an entire ſatisfaction in beholding them of the temper they then expreſſed. Upon this he made an handſome entertainment for them, and having given them marks of his ſincere friendſhip and eſteem, he diſmiſſed them to go and bring back to him the whole people.

Now there came to him of the tribe of *Judah* ſix thouſand eight hundred men, bearing ſhields and ſpears. Theſe had followed the fortunes of *Jeboſthus*, ſon of *Saul*. For theſe were none of thoſe of this tribe, who had before choſen *David* for their king. Of the tribe of *Simeon* came ſeven thouſand and one hundred. Of *Levi*, four thouſand and ſeven hundred, conducted by (4) *Jodamus* their captain; after theſe followed *Sadoc* the high prieſt, accompanied with two and twenty of his kindred, all captains. Of the tribe of *Benjamin*, four thouſand men fit for war. This tribe, for the moſt part, held itſelf in ſuſpence, expecting ſome perſon of the houſe of *Saul* would ſtill reign. Of the tribe of *Ephraim*, came twenty thouſand and eight hundred men, of valour and might. Of the half tribe of *Manaſſes*, eighteen thouſand ſtout men. Of the tribe of *Iſſachar*, (5) two hundred ſkilled in foretelling events, and (6) twenty thouſand armed men. Of the tribe of *Zabulon*, fifty thouſand men of might. This whole tribe came over to *David*, and bore the ſame arms as thoſe of *Gad*. Of the tribe of *Nephthalim* came a thouſand captains, men of proweſs, bearing ſhields and ſpears; theſe conducted the tribe itſelf, being a vaſt multitude. Of the tribe of *Dan*, twenty-ſeven thouſand and ſix hundred choice men. Of the tribe of *Aſer*, forty thouſand. Of the two tribes beyond *Jordan*, and the other half tribe of *Manaſſes*, were numbered one hundred and twenty thouſand, having ſhields, ſpears, helmets, and ſwords. The other tribes uſed only ſwords.

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(1) *H. W. Baanah.* (2) *Rechab.* (3) *Rimmon.* (4) LXXII. *Joadan.* (5) LXXII. Underſtanding Wiſdom in the Times. *Vulg.* who knew all Times. (6) Whence *Joſephus* had the Twenty thouſand is a Queſtion, the Sacred Books mention no ſuch Number.

All this multitude of men went over to *David* in *Chebron*, carrying with them great ſtore of corn and wine, beſides a large quantity of other ſorts of proviſions; and they unanimouſly agreed to make him king over them. After they had feaſted three days in *Chebron*, *David* removed with all his forces, and marched to *Hieroſolyma*.

CHAP. III.

How David, *after he had beſieged* Hieroſolyma, *and taken the City, drove the* Canaanites *out of it, and gave it to the* Jews *to inhabit.*

THE *Jebuſites*, a nation of the *Canaanites*, at this time lived in *Hieroſolyma*. They had not only ſhut up the gates of their city, but in defiance, and to make a mock of *David*, had placed upon their walls their blind and lame men. They told him he ſhould find no entrance, until he had firſt removed thoſe perſons. This they did in contempt of their enemies, truſting to their fortifications, and believing that their walls were ſufficient to withſtand all the force of the king. *David*, obſerving this, was highly incenſed, and immediately gave orders to begin the ſiege; which being done with all diligence and reſolution, he in a little time became maſter of the *lower city*. The vigour he ſhewed on this occaſion gave ample proof of his courage and ſtrength, and was diſplayed with a deſign of ſtriking a terror into others, whoſe arrogance ſhould prove like that of the *Jebuſites*. The ark now remained behind. This made *David* endeavour to inſpire his men with freſh courage, and to carry on the ſiege with more warmth, by promiſing large rewards and honours; and in particular, that he who firſt got over the high rampart, and made himſelf maſter of the tower, ſhould obtain the poſt of general of the whole army. All of them immediately began to ſhow their courage, the deſire of getting the reward puſhing them on. A ſtrong emulation to outdo one another appeared among them. But notwithſtanding all the endeavours of others, *Joab* the ſon of *Sarvia* got before them all; and having aſcended the tower, he called aloud to *David*, requiring him to perform his promiſe in giving him the chief command of his forces.

Having driven the *Jebuſites* out of the tower, and (1) peopled *Hieroſolyma* with thoſe of his own nation, he called it the city of *David*, and dwelt therein all the time he was king of *Iſrael*. Now he reigned over the tribe of *Judah* in *Chebron* ſeven years and ſix months. But when he removed from thence, and fixed his regal ſeat at *Hieroſolyma*, his affairs were changed daily for the better, and he went on increaſing in riches and honour, through the bleſſing and favour of God. Moreover, *Hiram* king of *Tyre*, having ſent ambaſſadors to enter into a league of amity and friendſhip with him, they brought with them preſents of *Cedar-trees*, and artificers, both carpenters and maſons, to build him an houſe at *Hieroſolyma*. Now *David* having taken the *lower city*, and the tower, joined them together; after which having ſurrounded them with walls, he made *Joab* the governor thereof. (2) When he had expelled the *Jebuſites* out of *Hieroſolyma*, he called it after his own name: For in the days of our forefather *Abraham* it was named (3) *Solyma*. Some there are who think that it was mentioned by *Homer* under the appellation of *Solyma*, that word in the language of the *Hebrews* ſignifying a *Defence*; for, from the time that *Jeſus* waged war with the inhabitants of *Canaan*, and after ſubduing them, divided their country amongſt the *Hebrews*, the *Jebuſites* ſtill kept poſſeſſion of this city, neither could they be driven out, until this ſiege of *David*, which is an interval of time no leſs than five hundred and fifteen years.

We ſhall in this place juſt take notice of *Oronna*, a wealthy man among the *Jebuſites*, whom *David* did not put to death when he beſieged *Hieroſolyma*, becauſe of the kindneſs he ſhewed to the *Hebrews*, and the ſervice he did to himſelf. But of theſe matters in a more proper place hereafter. *David*, beſides the wives he already had, took others, and alſo many concubines. From theſe were born to him eleven ſons, the names of whom are (4) *Amnos*, *Emnos*, *Eban*, *Nathan*, *Solomon*, *Jeban*, *Elien*, *Phalna*, *Ennaphen*, *Jenaë*, *Eliphale*; beſides a daughter named *Thamara*. Nine of theſe were by his lawful wives, and the two we have named laſt by his concubines. *Thamara* and *Abeſolom* had the ſame mother.

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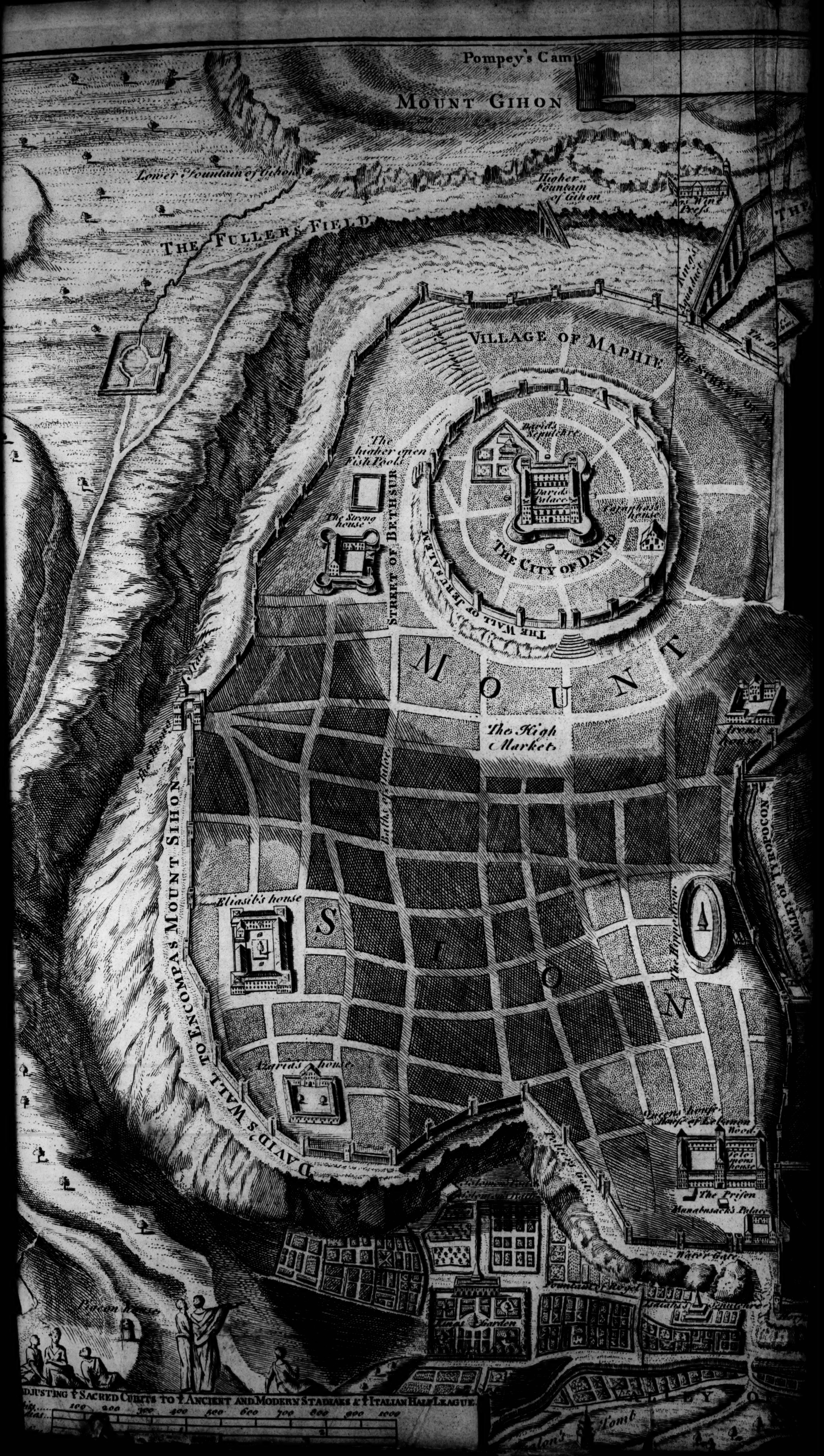
(1) *Epiphanius* gives this Paſſage another Turn; he ſays, '*David* having rebuilt the City, called it *Hieroſolyma*.' And thereby makes *Joſephus* to contradict himſelf; who ſays, in his ſeventh Book of the Wars of the *Jews*, Chap. XVIII. That the Name above was given to the City by *Melchiſedech*, being before called *Solyma*.

(2) We meet with Repetitions often in the Original, which we would not inſert, if it was not on account of giving a juſt Tranſlation.

(3) *Conf. L.* 1. Chap. II. Sect. I. Τὴν μέντοι Σόλυμα [illegible] ἐκάλεσαν Ἱεροσόλυμα. It was firſt called *Solyma*, and afterwards *Hieroſolyma*. See the ſame Paſſage in *Bell. Jud. L. 6.* Chap. IV. Sect. I. as if the Name *Hieroſolyma* had been impoſed by *Melchiſedech*, [illegible] the firſt Book of the Antiquities, Chap. II. Sect. I. wherein it is ſaid, That the Name *Hieroſolyma* was not given by *Melchiſedech*, but in ſucceeding Ages long after him. This Paſſage hath abundantly exerciſed the Wits of all the learned Men who have handled it, the greateſt Part of whom have collected nothing more from it than that *Joſephus* did not underſtand the *Hebrew* Tongue, and his great miſtaking the *Etymology* of the Word *Hieroſolyma*, which he deduces partly from the *Greek*, and partly from the *Hebrew* Language. But theſe Gentlemen *Iſaac Voſſius* hath ſufficiently anſwered in his Epiſtle to *Colonis*, p, 395. wherein he ſays, It is an Impoſſibility that *Joſephus* ſhould have done ſo, who, in his Book againſt *Apion*, amply ridicules ſuch kind of Words, and expoſes the Vanity of the *Greek*, endeavouring to derive the Word *Hieroſolyma* from their Language.

(4) *Holy Writ* mentions them with great Difference.


Pompey's Camp
MOUNT GIHON
Lower Fountain of Gihon
Higher Fountain of Gihon
The King's Wine Press
King's Aqueduct
THE FULLERS FIELD
VILLAGE OF MAPHIE
THE STREET OF
The D
David's Sepulchre
The higher open Fish Pools
The Strong house
David's Palace
Caiaphas's house
THE CITY OF DAVID
STREET OF BETHSUR
THE WALL OF JERUSALEM
MOUNT
The High Market
Arena house
Baths of
The Horse Gate
DAVID'S WALL TO ENCOMPASS MOUNT SIHON
Eliasib's house
SION
Azaria's house
VALLEY OF TYROPOCON
Queen's house
House of Lebanon Wood
Solomon's house
The Prison
Manabusack's Palace
Water Gate
Fountain of Royel
Isaiah's Sepulchre
Kings Garden
Pigeon house
Absalon's Tomb
VALLEY O
ADJUSTING Ye SACRED CUBITS TO Ye ANCIENT AND MODERN STADIAES & Ye ITALIAN HALF LEAGUE.
100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 900 1000

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CHAP. IV.

How David, *having overcome the* Paleſtines *in Battle, carried the Ark of God to* Hieroſolyma, *and afterwards deliberated about building the Temple.*

THE *Paleſtines*, after they had received intelligence how the *Hebrews* had made *David*, their king marched with an army to *Hieroſolyma* againſt him. Not far diſtant from the city, there is a place called, *The Valley of the Giants*; upon this they, having ſeized, incamped themſelves therein. *David*, on the other hand having been informed thereof, and not being accuſtomed to enterprize or tranſact any thing, without the expreſs warrant of God, by prophecy or otherwiſe for that purpoſe, commanded the high-prieſt to ſignify to him the good pleaſure of the Almighty, and what iſſue he would vouchſafe to give to the war. Having received an anſwer, aſſuring him he ſhould obtain the victory, he marched out with his forces againſt the *Paleſtines*; whom attacking ſuddenly and unawares in their rear, he put them in confuſion, killing ſome, and forcing the reſt to fly. Some poſſibly may be apt to think, that this army of the *Paleſtines* was but ſmall and inconſiderable, being ſo ſoon, and ſo eaſily vanquiſhed by the *Hebrews*, without having performed any thing deſerving here to be commemorated. But whoever ſhall thus perſuade himſelf, will readily be convinced of his miſtake, when he has been made to underſtand, that all *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, and many other warlike nations, came as auxiliaries, and made themſelves partners in conjunction with the *Paleſtines* in this war. And this is the cauſe, that, notwithſtanding their having received ſo many defeats, in which they had loſt ſuch multitudes of their men, they were now able to recruit their army, and to unite their forces, with intent to renew the war with the *Hebrews*. And, becauſe ſuch bad ſucceeſs had attended almoſt all their engagements, they now marched againſt *David*, with an army three times larger than they were wont before to bring into the field, and incamped themſelves in the ſame place they had pitched once or twice before. *David*, deſirous of knowing what fortune was to follow his arms, enquired of God the iſſue of the battle. Upon this, the high-prieſt (1) told him, to ſtay his army in the place called *The Wood of Lamentation*, not far from the camp of the enemy; that there he ſhould ſit down, and not give the ſignal of battle, until he ſaw the trees move, without the blowing of any wind. When he ſaw the trees begin to ſhake, then he well knew the hour was come God had predicted to be the time of encountering the *Paleſtines*. Upon which with the utmoſt expedition he marched out, ſure of the ſucceſs and victory. The ranks of the enemy were not able to ſuſtain his force, and the ſhock he made; but, at the firſt onſet he forced them to fly, and killed a great number. Thoſe who fled he purſued as far as *Gaza*, the fartheſt city that bounded their country. After which he took their camp, wherein he found much ſpoil of value, and their idol-gods, which he broke in pieces.

David, having proved thus ſucceſsful in this expedition, commanded, with the general advice and conſent of the elders, leaders, and captains of the army, that all the men of the tribes, who were of full age, and after them the prieſts and *Levites*, ſhould be aſſembled, that they might go to *Cariathiarima*, and bring thence the ark of God, and carry it to *Hieroſolyma*, where fixing it, they might there perform the ſervice of God, by offering ſacrifices, and doing ſuch other worſhip to the Deity, as he had commanded, and was pleaſed with. If this had been done under the reign of *Saul*, they had not felt the misfortunes they ſuffered under the government of that prince. The people being aſſembled according to what had been appointed, *David* went with them to bring away the Ark. The prieſts took it out of the houſe of *Aminadab*, and placed it upon a new carr; after which they harneſſed two oxen and yoked them thereto, and ſet the brothers and ſons of *Aminadab* to drive them. In going to *Hieroſolyma*, *David* went before the Ark, followed by the whole people, ſinging praiſes to God, and pronouncing all manner of ſongs and verſes, and dancing to various tunes of many inſtruments of muſick, ſuch as harps, pſalteries, timbrels, cornets and cymbals. But coming in their proceſſion to the threſhing-floor of (2) *Chido* (a place ſo called), it happened that *Ozas* having incurred the wrath of God, died there. For the oxen chancing to ſhake the Ark, this perſon put forth his hand and laid hold on it, in order to prevent its being overturned. But God being diſpleaſed hereat, becauſe not being a prieſt he had preſumed to touch the Ark, contrary to the divine command, ſtruck him with ſudden death. The king and all the people were very much troubled at the diſaſter of *Ozas*; wherefore they called the place, where he gave up the ghoſt, the (3) *Smitting of Ozas*. *David* having beheld the ſudden death of *Ozas*, which the Almighty had inflicted upon him for only laying his hand upon the ark, was afraid of meeting the ſame fate, if he preſumed to bring it to him into the city of *David*. This reflection made him uneaſy, upon which he would not remove it into the city, but, turning aſide into the field of a certain righteous perſon,

(1) *Holy Writ.* Fetch a Compaſs behind them, and come upon them over againſt the Mulberry Trees. nd let it be when thou heareſt the Sound of a going in the Tops of the Mulberry Trees, that then thou halt beſtir thyſelf.

(2) *Holy Writ*, *Nabon.*

(3) In *Holy Writ*, *Perez-uzzah.*

perſon, named (1) *Obedam*, he committed the charge of it to him. Three months it remained at this man's houſe, in which time his houſhold flouriſhed, and he waxed great, and increaſed in ſubſtance. This ſudden and unexpected proſperity of *Obedam* came to the ears of *David*, who, underſtanding how that from a poor and low condition of life he was raiſed to great riches, and that all, who had either ſeen his wealthy houſhold, or heard the report of it, called him bleſſed, was delivered from the fear he had conceived of the preſence of the ark, and being thereby incouraged, he removed the ark from the houſe of *Obedam*, into his own city. It was borne by the prieſts; and ſeven companies of ſingers went before, followed by the king himſelf, playing upon the harp, and dancing. *Michal* his wife, the daughter of *Saul*, when ſhe ſaw him thus exercifed, laughed at him, deſpiſing him in her own mind. After the ark was brought into the city, and placed in the tabernacle which *David* had pitched for it; he offered burnt and peace-offerings of great value, and in great numbers; and made a feaſt for all the people, giving not only to the men, but the women and children, a cake of bread, a flaggon of wine, and a piece of the ſacrifice. Having thus entertained them, he diſmiſſed them, and returned himſelf to his houſe.

Michal his wife ſtanding before him, after ſhe had wiſhed all good things to him, and that God would beſtow upon him his favours, blamed him for his indecent dancing, and uncovering himſelf in the ſight of his ſervants and handmaids. In anſwer to what *Michal* had ſaid, *David* returned, 'That he was not 'aſhamed of what he had done, which he 'well knew was moſt grateful to God, who 'had preferred him before her own father, and 'all other men: That he would often dance 'and leap in the ſame manner, and diſregard 'any opinion ſhe or her maids entertained on 'that account.' This *Michal*, though married to *David*, had no children by him; but ſhe bore five children to her other huſband, to whom *Saul* her father gave her in marriage after he had taken her from *David*. But of theſe things we will ſpeak in their proper place.

David perceiving his affairs daily to proſper, and that he more and more encreaſed in wealth and power, thought within himſelf, that he was very much to be blamed, in ſuffering the ark of God to remain in a low tabernacle, whilſt himſelf dwelled in an houſe made of *Cedar* wood, raiſed high and beautified with curious art and workmanſhip. This made him reſolve to build a temple to the honour of God, according to what *Moyſes* had foretold. Wherefore he went and adviſed with *Nathan* the prophet; who perſuading him to perform all that his mind ſuggeſted to him, and aſſuring him, that God would be with him, and would afford him his aſſiſtance, he was the more encouraged to the performance of his reſolution. But that very night God appeared to *Nathan*, and commanded him to acquaint *David*, 'That 'he approved of his inclination and deſign of 'building him a temple, which no one had hitherto even ſo much as thought of. But that, 'notwithſtanding this his pious reſolution, he 'would not permit him to build him an houſe, 'foraſmuch as he had been engaged in ſo many 'wars; and had ſo much embrewed his hands 'in the blood of his enemies: That after he 'had arrived to a good old age, and performed 'his debt to natute in departing to his anceſtors, he would raiſe up his ſon *Solomon* 'to ſit upon the throne of his kingdom, who 'ſhould build him a temple, whom he would 'aſſiſt, and over whom he would exerciſe a 'paternal care, and whoſe poſterity ſhould 'enjoy the kingdom after him; (2) who, if 'he tranſgreſſed his ordinances, ſhould be puniſhed with famine and peſtilence.' *David* having received theſe tidings from the mouth of the prophet, was greatly rejoiced with the aſſurance of his offspring's being to be eſtabliſhed in the kingdom, and his poſterity's becoming famous and illuſtrious. Wherefore, he went to the ark, and falling upon his face, worſhipped; giving thanks to God, as well for all the favours he had conferred upon him, ſince he had brought him from his rural and mean condition of life, to that high degree of glory and empire he then poſſeſſed; as alſo for the things he had promiſed his race, and the care he had extended over the *Hebrews*, in preſerving their freedom and liberty. After this, having ſung an hymn, he went out of the tabernacle.

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(1) *Obededom* a *Levite*.

(2) 2 *Reg*. vii. 14. If he commit iniquity, I will chaſtiſe him with the rod of men, and with the ſtripes of the children of men.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

How David *ſubdued in Battle the* Paleſtines *and* Moabites; *the King of* Sophene *and of* Damaſcus *and* Syria; *and laſtly the* Idumæans. *Of the League of Friendſhip entered into by him, with the King of* Amathe; *and how he remembred the Friendſhip which* Jonathan *the Son of* Saul *bore him.*

DAVID, not long after this, began to conſider, that it was neceſſary to carry on the war againſt the *Paleſtines*, and not to permit his affairs to ſuffer prejudice, through ſloth and inaction; but, that according to what the Almighty had predicted, it was requiſite he ſhould ſubdue his enemies, and leave to the kings who were to proceed from him and his poſterity, his kingdom ſettled in full tranquillity and peace. Wherefore, he again muſter'd his army, and order'd them to prepare and arm themſelves for battle. When he ſaw his forces in a readineſs, he left *Hieroſolyma*, and marched with them againſt the *Paleſtines*, whom he diſcomfited in battle, and took from them a great part of their country, which he added to the poſſeſſions of the *Hebrews*. After which he carried the war againſt the *Moabites*; two parts of whoſe army he conquered and put to the ſword; the reſt ſubmitted and ſurrendred themſelves. Having put a period to this expedition, and impoſed an annual tribute upon the *Moabites*, he marched againſt (1) *Adrazar*, ſon of (2) *Arai* king of (3) *Sophene*, whom encountering near the *Euphrates*, he ſlew twenty thouſand of his infantry, and (4) ſeven thouſand of his cavalry. And moreover, he took a thouſand of his chariots, the greateſt part of which he ordered to be burnt, and only reſerved an hundred for himſelf.

Adad the king of *Damaſcus* and *Syria*, having heard how *David* warred againſt *Adrazar*, who was his friend and ally, marched with a ſtrong body of auxiliaries to his aſſiſtance, (5) not doubting in the leaſt, but that he ſhould deliver him from his enemy. The engagement was near unto the river *Euphrates*, in which, contrary to the hopes of victory he had entertained, he loſt a great part of his army; for the *Hebrews* killed (6) twenty thouſand in the fight, and forced the reſt to fly. (7) *Nicholas* of *Damaſcus*, in the fifth book of his hiſtory, takes notice of this king in the following words: 'A long time after this, a certain man of the *Gentiles* named *Adad*, one very much renowned, reign'd over *Damaſcus* and all *Syria*, except *Phœnicia*. He having declared war againſt *David*, king of *Judæa*, had ſeveral engagements with him; but at laſt was overcome in a ſet battle at *Euphrates*. For this valour and courage he may be termed one of the moſt excellent kings.' The ſame author ſubjoins to the above relation concerning *Adad*, the following account of his ſons, ſhewing, that after the death of their father, they had in a long ſucceſſion not only obtained the kingdom, but took upon them his name, as the *Ptolomies* practiſed in *Ægypt*. His words are theſe: 'After his death (ſays he) his poſterity for ten ſucceeding generations poſſeſſed the kingdom; each at the time he became king, taking upon him the name of *Adad*. As the king's of *Ægypt* did that of *Ptolomey*. The third of theſe becoming very powerful, reſolved to renew the war his grandfather had begun. Upon which, he made an inroad into *Judæa*, and ſacked the country now called *Samaritis*.' This account of *Nicholas* is authentick; for this is that *Adad*, who invaded *Samaria*, when *Achab* reigned over *Iſrael*. But of this in its proper place.

David, after this, making an expedition againſt *Damaſcus*, and the reſt of *Syria*, reduced them under his obedience; after which, placing garriſons in the country, and impoſing a certain tribute upon the inhabitants, he returned home. In this war he took the golden quivers and armour which the guards of *Adad* wore, and dedicated them to God at *Hieroſolyma*. Theſe, and a great number of other riches and valuable things, *Suſac* king of the *Ægyptians*, carried away after he had beſieged and taken that city with a great army, *Reboam* nephew of *David* then reigning. But we will more amply ſpeak of theſe matters, when they occur to us in their proper places. *David* now plainly perceiving, that the favour of God protected him, and that through his indulgence all his undertakings and expeditions received a proſperous iſſue, marched his army againſt (8) *Bettæa*, and (9) *Machon*, two of the faireſt cities of *Adrazar*; which having beſieged and taken, he carried away a vaſt booty of gold and ſilver, beſides, a kind of braſs, in the opinion of the inhabitants better than gold. Of this *Solomon* made that great veſſel called the *Brazen-Sea*, which he placed as an ornament in the temple.

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(1) *Hadadezer*. (2) *Rehob*. (3) *Zobah* as mentioned in *Holy Writ*. But in this Paſſage *Joſephus* writes it *Sophone*, as we ſuppoſe, through a miſtake; for *Ptolomeus* places *Sophene* beyond *Euphrates*. But if we conſult the Sacred Hiſtory, 2 *Sam*. viii. and 1 *Chron*. xviii. we find *Zobah* placed near *Damaſcus*, and ſituate between the *Holy Land* and *Euphrates*. *Grotius* magnifies *Zobah* to be the *Saba* of *Ptolomeus*. But of the golden Arrows which *David* received from the King of *Sophene*, and of the Defeat given him by this ſame King *David* at the River *Euphrates*; we ſhall ſpeak more at large in the following Book. (4) *Holy Writ* ſays 700 Footmen. (5) *Epiphanius* turns this Paſſage thus: 'As he entertain'd ſtrong Hopes of raiſing the Siege, and delivering him out of the Hands of *David*, ſo he attacked him at *Euphrates*. But in the Encounter he loſt, *&c*.' (6) *Holy Writ* 22000. (7) This Author was a Friend of *Cæſar*'s and *Herod*. (8) *Holy Writ*, Betah. (9) *Berothai*.

The king of *Amathe*, after he had heard of the defeat of *Adrazar*, and the ruined condition into which his affairs were plunged, began to be afraid for his own kingdom. Wherefore, before *David* could have an opportunity of invading him, he reſolved to procure his friendſhip. To this end he ſent his ſon (1) *Adoram* to congratulate him upon his victory over *Adrazar*, who was alſo his enemy, and to enter into a league of amity with him. The young prince carried with him rich preſents, and veſſels of gold, ſilver and braſs, very coſtly, and of antient workmanſhip. *David* not only entered into the league and received the preſents which (2) *Thœnus* had ſent him, (for ſo was the king of *Amathe* named,) but he entertained his ſon in a very honourable manner, and diſmiſſed him with all the marks of reſpect ſuitable to his dignity. The gifts of *Thœnus*, and the other gold and ſilver, part of the ſpoils which he had taken from the cities of the *Paleſtines*, he dedicated to God, who made his arms every where ſucceſsful: For not only did the Almighty make him to proſper, when he warred in his own perſon, but granted likewiſe to *Abeſſæus*, (brother of *Joab*, the general of his army) who had been diſpatched with a body of forces into *Idumæa*, to obtain a ſignal victory over the inhabitants of that country, eighteen thouſand of them falling in the engagement. After which *David* planted garriſons throughout all *Idumæa*, and received a tribute for their lands and their perſons. He was formed naturally for executing juſtice, which he loved, and exerciſing judgment with equity. Of his whole army *Joab* was general. (3) *Joſaphat* the ſon of (4) *Achilus*, was his recorder. He made *Sadoc*, of the houſe of *Phinees*, and *Abiathar*, the prieſts. (5) *Siſa* was his ſcribe. (6) *Banaja* the ſon of (7) *Joada*, was captain over his guards; and his elder ſons were his body-guard and watchers over his perſon.

Now *David* remembered the covenant he had made with *Jonathan*, ſon of *Saul*, and the faith and inviolable friendſhip he had ſworn to him; (this was an addition to all his other good qualifications, that he always bore in remembrance the kindneſſes he received from any perſon:) Wherefore he commanded a diligent enquiry to be made, if any of the houſe of *Saul* remained alive, to whom he might ſhew his favour, for the ſincere friendſhip he had formerly found in *Jonathan*; whereupon there was brought to him one of the houſe of *Saul*, and his freed man, by name (8) *Sibas*, whom he asked, if he could find him out a perſon alive, and a-kin to *Jonathan*, whom he might reward according to the kindneſſes he had formerly met with from him? *Sibas* anſwered, 'That a ſon of his, named (9) *Memphiboſthus*, was alive, but very lame in his feet; for his nurſe, when ſhe heard that his father and grandfather were killed in battle, taking him up in haſte upon her ſhoulders, with deſign to get away with him, in her eagerneſs let him fall, whereby he got an hurt in his feet.' After he had been told where he lived, and who educated him, he ſent meſſengers to the city (10) *Labathan*, to one *Machir*, with whom *Memphiboſtus* lived, to fetch him to him. When he was come into the preſence of the king he fell on his face doing reverence. But *David* looking upon him, ſpoke comfortably to him, bidding him not to fear, but for the future to reſt aſſured of a more comfortable condition. Moreover he gave him the houſe and all the lands of his grandfather *Saul*, and told him he ſhould ſit at meat with him, and every day might uſe his table as his own. After *Memphiboſtus* had returned thanks for theſe extraordinary marks of favour and kindneſs, *David* ordered *Sibas* to be called, to whom he ſaid, 'That he had reſtored to *Memphiboſthus* the houſe and all the poſſeſſions of *Saul* his grandfather, and therefore he ordered him to till and take care of the land, and bring the fruits it yielded unto *Hieroſolyma*.' *David* every day entertain'd this only ſon of *Jonathan* at his own table, and gave him *Sibas*, and his ſons (in number fifteen) with his ſervants, being in all twenty. The king having thus ſpoken, and given ſuch orders to him, *Sibas* did him reverence; and having anſwered that he would do all he had enjoined, departed. From this time forth *Memphiboſtus* dwelt at *Hieroſolyma*, under the conſtant care of king *David*, who entertained him at his own table, and uſed him in all reſpects as if he had been his own ſon. *Memphiboſthus* had one ſon, whoſe name was *Micha*.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Beginning and Ending of the War againſt the Ammanites.

THUS did *David* honour the remains of the houſe of *Saul*. About this time died (11) *Naaſes*, the king of the (12) *Ammanites*, (who was a friend of *David*) and his ſon ſucceeded in the kingdom. Whereupon *David* ſent his ſervants to him, to give him conſolation, and adviſe him to bear patiently the death of his father; for the ſame league of friendſhip which ſubſiſted between *Naaſes* in his life-time and him, ſhould ſtill be inviolably preſerved. This meſſage was otherwiſe conſtrued and entertained by the princes of the *Ammanites*, than it was meant and intended by *David*; believing it not the effect of good-will, or deſigned to do honour to their king. Wherefore they repreſented to him that the king of the *Hebrews*, under a pretence of friendſhip, and doing him honour, had ſent men to ſpy out the country, and diſcover it's ſtrength. But their advice to him was, that he ſhould beware of him, and not readily give credit to his words, leſt he ſhould involve himſelf in ſome difficulty, which no counſel could rectify. The king of the *Ammanites*, after he had heard this remonſtrance of his princes, to which he gave more credit than was prudent in him, was at laſt induced to believe it. Upon which he treated with great indignity the ambaſſadors of *David*; for having ſhaved off one half of their beards, and cut off their garments in the middle, he diſmiſſed them without further anſwer.

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(1) In the *Hebrew*, *Joram*. (2) *Toi*. (3) *Jehoſhaphat*. (4) *Ahilud*. (5) *Seraiah*. (6) *Benaiah*. (7) *Johoiada*. (8) *Ziba*. (9) *Mephiboſheth*. (10) *Lodebar*. (11) *Holy Writ*, Nahaſh. (12) *Ammonites*.

When the king of the *Hebrews* beheld the ignominy put upon his ambaſſadors, he was greatly diſpleaſed, and deem'd it an injury too flagrant to be forgiven; wherefore he reſolved to avenge himſelf upon the king of the *Ammanites*, who had committed it. The officers and friends of *Naaſes*, having thus violated the league of friendſhip with *David*, by the outrage done upon the perſons of *David*'s ambaſſadors, and not doubting but he would certainly endeavour to revenge it, they judged it requiſite to make all neceſſary preparations for war; in order to which they ſent a thouſand talents to *Syrus* king of *Meſopotamia*, and deſired him to allow his forces to come to their aſſiſtance, and be under his pay. The like meſſage they ſent to *Souba*. Theſe two kings had twenty thouſand footmen under their command. They drew alſo into their alliance the king of (1) *Micha*; and a fourth king called (2) *Iſtobus*. Theſe marched at the head of twelve thouſand men in arms.

David was not in the leaſt terrified at this great alliance, and numerous army of the *Ammanites*. He put his truſt in God, that the war he was going to undertake for the injuries he had received was very juſt. Wherefore, with the greateſt expedition he ſent *Joab* againſt them, with the whole army. This general incamped near their capital city (3) *Rabatha*. The enemy perceiving this, marched out and put themſelves in order of battle, not in one cloſe body, but divided into two parts. The auxiliary forces poſſeſſed the open plain, and the army of the *Ammanites* poſted themſelves before the gates of the city, over againſt the *Hebrews*. *Joab* beholding this poſture of the enemies army, betook himſelf to an expedient, whereby he might oppoſe them with the better advantage. He choſe out of the whole army the moſt valiant men he had under him, whoſe ſtation he appointed againſt *Syrus*, and the other kings with him. The reſt he put under the conduct of his brother *Abeſſæus*, and ordered them to make head againſt the *Ammanites*. This done, he gave his brother this charge; 'That if 'he ſaw the *Syrians* like to prove too hard 'for him, he ſhould then bring up his forces 'to relieve him. That himſelf would do the 'like for him, if he perceived him to be in 'danger of being oppreſſed by the *Ammanites*.' After he had exhorted his brother, to a chearful and valiant performance of his part, and had ſhewn him the neceſſity of exerting himſelf to the utmoſt, if he deſigned to wipe off their diſgrace, he ſent him to encounter the *Ammanites*, while he engaged the *Syrians*. The battle for ſome time was fought with great obſtinacy and reſolution; but not long after, *Joab*, having killed many of the *Syrians*, forced the reſt to give way, and to betake themſelves to flight. The *Ammanites* ſeeing this, and terrified at the view of *Abeſſæus* and his company, who had not as yet engaged, followed the example of their confederates, and locked themſelves up in the city. *Joab*, after this overthrow of the enemy, returned unto *David* at *Hieroſolyma*.

The *Ammanites*, though they had received this defeat, and many times experienced the victorious arms of the *Hebrews*, would not be induced to ſit ſtill, or ſue for peace. They ſent their ambaſſadors to *Chalama*, king of the *Syrians*, living beyond the *Euphrates*, to draw him into their alliance, under promiſe of a ſum of money.

This prince had a general of his army named (4) *Sabecus*, having eighty thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe under him. *David*, when he had heard the *Ammanites* had again raiſed ſuch a numerous and formidable army againſt him, did not proclaim war by his ambaſſadors; but paſſing all his forces over *Jordan*, met them, and engaging them, obtained a ſignal victory; about forty thouſand of the enemies infantry, and ſeven thouſand of their cavalry being killed in the fight; and *Sabecus* the general having received a mortal wound in the battle, of which he after died. The people of *Meſopotamia*, when they came to know the event of this engagement, yielded themſelves, and ſent preſents to *David*: Who toward the latter end of *Autumn*, returned to *Hieroſolyma*. In the beginning of the ſpring, he ſent *Joab* the general of his army to war againſt the *Ammanites*. Which officer making an incurſion into their country, laid all their lands waſte; and blocking them up in *Rabatha*, their *Metropolis*, ſat down before it.

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(1) The *Greek* and *Latin* Manuſcripts ſay *Micah*, as do the Books of *Epiphanius*. In *Holy Writ* it is *Maacha*. *Bochart* takes this Place to be the *Epicæros* of *Ptolomy*, a city of *Paleſtine*, to the Eaſt of *Jordan*. Becauſe in the *Hebrew* it is ſaid *Maacha*, and in the *Chaldean* Paraphraſe, *Epicæros*. *Hud. Mahachah*, 2 *Sam*. x. 6. On the Coins of *Antonius*, and *Severus* *MOKA* is engraved. (2) In *Holy Writ*, Iſhtob. (3) *Holy Writ*, Rabbah. (4) *Shobaeh*.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

How David *fell in Love with* Beethſebe, *and of the Reprehenſion* Nathan *gave him, for putting to Death* Uriah *her Husband.*

ABOUT this time *David*, though a perſon of great piety towards God, juſtice with reſpect to man, and a ſtrict obſerver of the laws and cuſtoms delivered to his forefathers, became guilty of a great ſin and offence againſt God. It happened one evening as he was walking, as uſual, on the roof of his palace, he turned himſelf about and eſpied a woman whoſe name was *Beethſebe*, waſhing herſelf. He looked upon her with much attention, and ſeeing the gracefulneſs of her perſon, and charmed with her excellent beauty, he was tranſported with a paſſion for her to ſuch a degree, that it became impoſſible for him to keep it within bounds. Wherefore, he ordered her to be brought unto him; and having lain with her, ſhe afterwards proved with child. After ſhe had found herſelf in this condition, ſhe ſent to *David* to acquaint him with it, deſiring him withal to take care to prevent her infamy, and to preſerve her life: For an adulterer according to the *Jewiſh* laws ought to ſuffer death. The king finding this, ſent for *Uriah*, her husband, one of *Joab*'s officers, from the ſiege of *Rabatha*, where *Joab* then was. When he was come, he asked him ſeveral queſtions about the army, and how the ſiege went on. *Uriah* anſwering that all things ſucceeded as well as could be wiſh'd, *David* gave him meat from his own table, and bid him go home to his wife, and remain with her that night. *Uriah* did not obey this command of the king, but that night lodged with the king's other ſoldiers that attended on him before the palace. *David* being hereof informed, asked him, why he did not go down to his houſe, nor had been with his wife, when he had ſo long been abſent from her. *Uriah* made this anſwer: 'It is not fit, (my Lord) when thy general and army ſleep in tents, and in the open field, that I ſhould lodge and ſport with my wife.' When he had thus ſaid, *David* bid him tarry with him that day, and on the morrow he would ſend him back to *Joab*. After this, the king gave him an invitation to ſupper, at which he cauſed him to drink ſo plentifully, that he ſoon became intoxicated with the liquor. Notwithſtanding which he ſlept that night alſo before the gate of the palace, without any thought or deſire of going home to his wife. This unconcerned behaviour of *Uriah*, whereby the expectations of the king were diſappointed, vexed him much. Wherefore he forthwith diſpatch'd a letter to *Joab*, in which he commanded him to puniſh *Uriah*; (for he ſignified, he had committed an heinous crime againſt him;) but to conceal his being acceſſary to his death, he ſuggeſted to him a method of doing it. Which was to expoſe *Uriah* in that place where the enemy preſſed hardeſt, and when he ſaw him engaged in the heat of the battle, that *Joab* might ſo order it, that the other men ſhould retreat and leave him in the danger.

After *David* had written this epiſtle, and put his own ſeal upon it, he gave it *Uriah* to carry to *Joab*. The general, after he had received it, and read the contents, poſted *Uriah* in the very place where he knew the enemy would make the moſt vigorous defence. He placed ſome of the braveſt men with him, and told them he would come up to their aſſiſtance, as ſoon as he perceived a breach made in the wall, and that they were able to enter the city. He deſired alſo *Uriah*, as he was a man of courage, and on that account in great repute not only with the king, but with all others, to take it as a mark of his eſteem, and not think amiſs of the dangerous poſt he had put him in. *Uriah* with a great deal of chearfulneſs undertook the charge aſſigned him. *Joab* ſeeing this, ſpoke to the other ſoldiers, when they ſaw the enemy ruſhing out of the gates, and that they had engaged him, to retreat back and leave him. The *Ammanites* perceiving the *Hebrews* draw cloſe up to the city, were ſtruck with a panic, leſt, in that very place where *Uriah* was poſted, they ſhould get upon the walls; wherefore on a ſudden opening one of their gates, they ruſhed upon thoſe placed in the foremoſt rank of the battle, and with an irreſiſtible force bore upon them. The men who fought with *Uriah* ſeeing this, preſently withdrew themſelves, as *Joab* had given orders. *Uriah*, notwithſtanding this, thought it diſhonourable to turn his back and deſert the fight; upon which he ſuſtain'd the ſhock of the enemy for ſome time, till being ſurrounded and hurried into the middle of them, he was ſlain, having firſt killed many of them. With *Uriah* alſo ſome of his companions fell.

Joab, immediately after this, diſpatched meſſengers to the king, to acquaint him that he had endeavour'd to take the city, but as he ſtrove to mount the walls, he had been repulſed with the loſs of many of his men. He gave alſo to the meſſengers in charge, to tell *David*, if they perceiv'd any ſigns of anger in him at the relation, that *Uriah* was killed among them. The king, after he had receiv'd this news by the meſſengers, ſeemed to be much vexed, and ſaid, 'They had ſhewn themſelves very injudicious, in their haſty endeavouring to ſeize the walls; that they ought much rather to have attempted the taking the city by minings, and uſing their engines of war. That *Abimelec* the ſon of *Gedeon* was a plain proof of ſuch ill conduct; who, deſirous of taking the town of *Thebes* by main force, was kill'd by a piece of a milſtone, thrown down by an old woman. That although he was a perſon of undoubted courage, yet, the improbability of ſucceeding in his enterprize rendred the attempt blame-worthy, and the period of his life was diſhonourable, having fallen by the hand of a woman.' *Wherefore*, (added *David*,) '*They ſhould*

ſhould have called to mind this error in the conduct of Abimelech, *and not have gone ſo near the walls of the enemy: For it is great prudence in a ſoldier, whenever he has in view ſuch danger, as he or others have formerly been expoſed to, to conſider what hath been the event, or rather what event could in prudence, or any probability have been expected, that he may learn what he is to avoid, and what to follow.* The meſſengers perceiving the king to appear diſpleaſed with what had happened, told him alſo of the death of *Uriah*; upon which ſeeming to be ſomewhat appeaſed, he bid them tell *Joab* when they went back to him, ‘That what had happen'd was what is common in life, the nature of war being ſuch, that ſometimes the victory ſtands on one ſide, and ſometimes on the other. Nevertheleſs, they ought for the future to uſe ſuch precaution in the ſiege, while it continued, as not inconſiderately to throw themſelves into danger; that to reduce the place to their obedience, the moſt ſure, and the moſt ſafe way, was to raiſe batteries againſt it, and play with their engines; which method he ordered *Joab* to follow, and when he had carried the city, to put the inhabitants to the ſword.' The meſſengers, after having received theſe inſtructions from the king, went ſtraightway to *Joab*, and reported to him what had been given them in charge. In the mean time *Beethſebe*, the wife of *Uriah*, coming to hear of the death of her huſband, lamented him for ſome days: But as ſoon as her mourning was over, the king ſent and took her to wife, and had a ſon born to him by her.

This marriage was diſpleaſing to God, who was therefore greatly offended with *David*; and appearing to *Nathan* in a dream, he ſent him with a meſſage to *David*. The prophet was a man of great prudence and meekneſs of temper, and conſidered within himſelf, that kings, when angry, are prone to hearken more to the dictates of paſſion, than thoſe of reaſon, which, becauſe of their greater power than other men, may be attended with more fatal conſequences: Wherefore, he reſolved not at firſt to denounce againſt *David* the wrath and threatnings of God; but to addreſs him in a manner not ſo harſh, and which in his opinion might more eaſily effect his conviction. When he came before the king, he thus expreſſed himſelf: ‘Two men, *ſaid he*, lived in the ſame city; the one was rich and poſſeſſed many aſſes, and great herds and flocks of oxen and ſheep; the other was poor, and had but one little ewe-lamb, which he had brought up and nouriſhed with his children; it did eat of his own meat, and drank of his own cup, and lay in his boſom, and was unto him as a daughter. It happened that a ſtranger being come to ſee the rich man, he would not kill one of his own ſheep to entertain the man withal, but ſent one to fetch away by force the poor man's ewe-lamb, which he dreſſed and ſet before his gueſt.' By this relation of *Nathan*, the wrath of *David* was ſtirred up againſt the perſon who had committed ſo grievous and ſo horrid a wickedneſs, which made him to award, with an oath, that he ſhould reſtore four-fold what he had ſo unjuſtly taken away, and after be put to death. *Nathan* hearing this, replied, ‘That he was the perſon worthy of puniſhment, and had with his own mouth pronounced ſentence againſt himſelf, for having committed what was of ſo wicked and heinous a nature.' *Nathan* added, that he had greatly deſerved the divine diſpleaſure, who was by God made king over all the *Hebrews*, and lord of the nations round about him. That the Almighty had given him wives whom he had lawfully married, and delivered him formerly out of the hands of *Saul*: Yet for all this he had brought down his wrath upon him, for marrying the wife of another man, and betraying her huſband into the hand of the enemy, by which he was ſlain. That God would chaſtiſe him for his tranſgreſſion, and cauſe his wives to be raviſhed by one of his ſons, who would lay ſnares for his life; and that he, who committed this ſin in private, ſhould be puniſhed for it in publick. Beſides, the prophet told him, That the child *Beethſeebe* had borne to him, ſhould ſurely die. *David* having receiv'd this meſſage from God by the hand of *Nathan*, was put into great confuſion, and being exceedingly afflicted and weeping confeſſed himſelf guilty of having done wickedly, and offended againſt God. *David* till this time had lived in the fear of God, and was a perſon of an upright and ſober life, guilty of no wickedneſs, except in this matter of *Uriah*. Wherefore the Almighty upon his ſincere repentance, had compaſſion upon him; and had commanded *Nathan* to tell him, that foraſmuch, as with an unfeigned ſorrow and contrition of heart he repented of what he had done, God likewiſe had put away his ſin; and that he ſhould not die, neither be deprived of the kingdom: But that notwithſtanding the ſword ſhould not depart from his family. When *Nathan* had declared to him all his meſſage from God, he departed to his houſe.

After this, God, according to the word of the prophet, viſited the child *Beethſebe* bare unto *David* with a ſore diſeaſe. Wherefore the king mourned heavily, and for the ſpace of ſeven days refuſed to take any ſuſtenance, though frequently urged to it by his attendants. He put on black raiment and ſackcloth, and throwing himſelf on the ground, beſeeched the Almighty to preſerve the life of the child. On the ſeventh day the child died. But his ſervants were afraid to acquaint him with it, not doubting but that his ſorrow and concern would prove yet much greater when he came to hear of his death, ſince he mourn'd ſo much for him in his ſickneſs. But perceiving his ſervants to be troubled, as if ſomething had come to their knowledge they did not care to acquaint him with, he concluded the child was dead. Wherefore having aſked one of his attendants, he was told, that the child was dead. Upon this he immediately aroſe from the ground, and waſhing himſelf, and putting on white raiment, he went into the tabernacle of God. After this he commanded proviſions to be ſet before him.

This ſudden and unexpected change ſtruck with admiration all his kindred and ſervants; foraſmuch as while the child was alive he refrain'd from eating, and now he was dead he took ſuſtenance. And now perceiving that they might adventure to aſk him, he being of a more compoſed temper of mind, they intreated him to let them know the reaſon of this ſo ſtrange conduct. Wherefore he told them, 'That 'while the child was alive, and he conceived 'any hope of his ſafety, he had performed 'what he did for his ſake, hoping that God 'might have been prevailed with to ſpare the 'life of the child; but now he was dead, it 'was in vain to torment himſelf any further 'with grief.' After he had thus ſpoken, they with an unanimous voice applauded the wiſdom and prudence of the king. After this, *David* went in again into *Beethſebe*, whereby ſhe became pregnant, and bore him another ſon, whom, by the direction of *Nathan* the prophet, ſhe called *Solomon*.

In the mean time *Joab* carried on the ſiege of the *Ammanites* in *Rabatha*, and reduced them to great extremities, by cutting off their ſupplies of water and proviſions, ſo that a famine and grievous thirſt raged heavily amongſt them. All the relief they had was only from a ſmall well, the water of which they uſed very ſparingly, leſt the fountain ſhould be exhauſted. *Joab* therefore diſpatched a letter to *David*, wherein, after he had made known to him the hardſhips to which the *Ammanites* were reduced, he deſired him to haſten to the camp, that the honour of having taken the city might be aſcrib'd to him. *David* commended the duty and fidelity of *Joab*, and taking preſently all the forces he had about him, marched to the ſiege of *Rabatha*, which he took by force; and having given liberty to his ſoldiers to ſack it, himſelf took the crown of the king of the *Ammanites*, which weighed a talent of gold, and had in the middle of it a ſardonyx ſtone of great value. This (*a*) crown *David* always wore upon his head. Beſides, he found in the city many other rich ſpoils. The inhabitants he put to the ſword, and with the like ſeverity uſed he the other cities of the *Ammanites*, which he beſieged, and carried by force.

CHAP. VIII.

How Abeſalom *put* Amnon *to Death, for raviſhing his Siſter; and of his Baniſhment; and how* David *his Father recalled him.*

THE king being returned to *Hieroſolyma*, after this expedition, a great misfortune beſel his houſe from the following cauſe: He had a daughter as yet a virgin, named *Tamara*, born of the ſame mother with *Abeſalom*. She was of moſt excellent beauty, and in fairneſs exceeded all other women. *Amnon*, the eldeſt ſon of *David*, fell in love with her; but in regard ſhe was a virgin, and a ſtrict watch was kept over her, his deſire was croſſed, ſo that he found no poſſibility of enjoyning her. By the violence of his paſſion his health was impaired, and all the ſigns of indiſpoſition appeared upon him; for he daily pined and waſted away. This was ſoon perceived by a friend and relation of his, whoſe name was (*b*) *Jonathan*, who had obſerved how his ſtrength and beauty decayed every day, being a perſon of ſubtilty and penetration: Wherefore, he went and aſked him the reaſon of this change in his ſtate of health, alledging withal, that the paſſion of love was the cauſe of it. *Amnon*, upon hearing this, confeſſed his being in love with a ſiſter of his by the ſame father. *Jonathan* hereupon preſcribed him the way, by which he might certainly fullfil his wiſhes. He perſuaded him to feign himſelf ſick; and when his father came to ſee him, to intreat him to let his ſiſter come and wait upon him; which, *he ſaid*, would prove the means of curing him of his malady, ſince he would then have an opportunity of accompliſhing his deſire. *Amnon* in compliance with this advice laid himſelf down upon his bed, and feigned himſelf to be ſick. When *David* his father heard of it, he came to viſit him, and inquire of his health, of whom *Amnon* deſired that his ſiſter might be ſent to be with him. Wherefore the king ordered her to go to him. When the young woman was come, *Amnon* intreated her to make him ſome cakes, ſaying, he could eat them with more appetite when he knew they were of her doing. After *Tamara* had kneaded the flour, made the cakes, and baked them in the ſight of her brother, ſhe offered them to him to eat. However, he would not taſte them at that time; but giving orders to the ſervants, who waited before the door of the bed-chamber, to withdraw themſelves, he commanded them to keep ſilence, that he might repoſe himſelf a while. After he had given this command, he bid his ſiſter bring the meat into the chamber. *Tamara* accordingly did ſo, when *Amnon* taking hold of her, endeavour'd to perſuade her to lie with him. The virgin upon this, called out aloud, and ſaid, *Do not, my brother, force me; do not commit ſo heinous a crime, which is a tranſ-*

(*a*) We cannot be induced to believe a Crown of ſo great Weight could be worn by *David* on his Head; but our Opinion is (as *R. Kimchi* conjectures, who is followed in this Matter by *J. Clark*, 2 S. c. 12.) it hung to the End of a Rope, which made it ſeem, as if it reſted upon the Head of the King while he ſat underneath it. This was done for the Sake of Sight, only while *David* was ſeated upon the Throne.

(2) In *Holy Writ*, Jonadab.

greſſion of the laws, and will bring thee under great reproach; forbear, I pray thee, to ſatisfy ſo filthy and wicked a deſire, the fulfilling of which, will involve our family in much diſhonour. After ſhe had thus ſaid, and perceiving he continued inflexible, ſhe bid him aſk her father, who would not withhold her from him. *Tamara* did this to avoid the violence of his luſt at that time. But *Amnon*'s deſire was irreſiſtible; nor would he hearken to any advice, or to any intreaties his ſiſter made to him; but puſhed on by the rage of his paſſion, forced her, notwithſtanding all the reſiſtance ſhe could make. After he had raviſhed her, he began inſtantly to hate her and reproach her, bidding her at the ſame time to ariſe and be gone. Wherefore ſhe told him, that this uſage of his was heavier to her than the infamous act he had committed, and intreated him to let her abide with him till night, and not thruſt her from him in the day time, that all men might be witneſſes of her ſhame and diſhonour. But *Amnon*, notwithſtanding this juſt intreaty, ordered his ſervants to put her out of doors. This laſt outrage grieved her exceedingly, and raiſed in her a moſt bitter ſenſe of ſorrow, ſo that ſhe rent her garment of divers colours, (for ſuch the royal virgins uſed to wear, hanging down to their foot) and put aſhes upon her head, in that mournful condition running through the middle of the city, and deploring the injuſtice ſhe had ſuffered. Her brother *Abeſalom* by chance met her, and aſked her what ill had befallen her that made her act in this manner. *Tamara* hereupon declared to him the injury ſhe had ſuſtained from *Amnon*. *Abeſalom* having heard her complaint, comforted her, and bid her be eaſy, and patiently bear her grief; telling her at the ſame time, that *Amnon*'s act of raviſhing her ought not to reflect any diſhonour upon her. Theſe words appeaſed *Tamara*, who ceaſed from her complaints, and went and abode unmarried with her brother *Abeſalom*.

After *David* her father came to hear of this affair, he was ſorely troubled, and exceedingly diſpleaſed: But as he had an extreme affection for *Amnon* who was his eldeſt ſon, he did not care to puniſh him with acquainting him with it, and making him feel the effects of his reſentment. *Abeſalom* however was ſecretly inſpired with an inveterate hatred againſt him, and ſought for a convenient opportunity to revenge the crime he had committed. Two years were now elapſed ſince this outrage was done to his ſiſter; about which time *Abeſalom* was preparing to go to * *Belſephon*, (a city in the tribe of *Ephraim*) to ſheer his ſheep. Upon this he gave an invitation to his father and brothers to come and ſee him there, and partake of a feaſt he would prepare for them. *David* excuſing himſelf, by ſaying he would not be chargeable to him, *Abeſalom* deſired he would permit his brothers to come; to which he agreed. When they were met together at *Belſephon*, he commanded his ſervants when they perceived *Amnon*'s heart merry with wine, upon a ſign given by him, to fall upon him without fear, and to kill him. As ſoon as the other brothers had beheld this tragical action, they were ſeized with great confuſion of ſpirit, fearing leſt they ſhould be ſo treated themſelves, and immediately mounting their horſes, rode full ſpeed back to their father. But a certain perſon, coming to *David* before them, had reported to him, that *Abeſalom* had put to death all his ſons. The king was overwhelmed with a violent grief, upon hearing that ſo many of his ſons had been ſlain, and the inhumanity of *Abeſalom*; at the mention of whoſe name, as being the author of the wickedneſs, his grief was redoubled: So that he had not power to reſtrain himſelf till he ſhould know, or ſhould hear a further account, or confirmation of it; as might be thought he would have done, upon hearing a report ſo cruel and beyond belief; but preſently rent his garment, and throwing himſelf proſtrate upon the ground, mourned heavily for all his ſons, as well thoſe whom he ſuppoſed to be ſlain, as for him who had been the aſſaſſin. But *Jonathan* the ſon of his brother † *Samas*, intreated him not to lament ſo much, nor give credit to the report that all his ſons were ſlain; for there was no real cauſe of any ſuch melancholy and afflicting ſuſpicion. But as for *Amnon*, it was very reaſonable to believe he was ſlain by the order of *Abeſalom*, for the outrage he had committed in raviſhing his ſiſter *Tamara*. Mean while the noiſe of horſes, and a company of perſons drawing near was heard, and broke off the diſcourſe. They were the ſons of *David* who had fled from the feaſt. Their father with a flood of tears in his eyes ran to them, when he beheld them beyond his expectation alive, who ſo lately were reported to him to be murthered. All of them bitterly wept, the ſons for their ſlain brother, and the king for his killed ſon. But *Abeſalom* fled to *Geſura*, to his grandfather by his mother's ſide, who was the king of that place, with whom he abode three years.

David being now minded to ſend for his ſon *Abeſalom*; not to puniſh him for what he had done, but to keep him about his own perſon; (for by this time his anger was over;) *Joab* his general perceived it, and endeavour'd to further his reſolution, and bring him to accompliſh it by all the means he could. Wherefore he procured a certain woman, who was well ſtricken in years, to put on a mourning garment, and go to the king; to whom ſhe thus ſaid: *My two ſons happened to have a difference between them in the field; who coming at laſt to blows, and no body being preſent to reconcile them, the one ſmote the other and killed him. Now my whole family and friends are ſo violently bent againſt the murtherer, as to require his death. Wherefore I humbly intreat that thou wouldſt preſerve him, and not ſuffer the only remaining ſtaff of my old age to be taken from me.* Hearken, *O king, to my prayer, and reſtrain*

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* The *Hebrew* Text ſays, *Baal-hazor*, beſides *Ephraim*.

† *Shimeah*.

reſtrain thoſe who ſeek his deſtruction, from doing him any injury. For nothing except the fear of thee, will deter them from their cruel purpoſe. When the woman found that ſhe had gained her point with the king, ſhe reſumed her ſtory, and ſaid, ‘I return thee my thanks O king for thy kindneſs to me, who haſt taken compaſſion on my old age, and my widowhood. But that I may reſt aſſured that thou wilt make good what thou haſt been ſo graciouſly pleaſed to promiſe me, let my lord firſt vouchſafe to take into favour his own ſon, and ceaſe to be further angry with him. For otherwiſe, how can I perſuade myſelf, that the kindneſs my lord hath made me hope for, will prove real; ſince his own ſon, on the ſame account as mine, lies at preſent under his indignation. Beſides, (*a*) it would be inconſiſtent with the great wiſdom of the king, when one of his ſons hath been already ſlain, contrary to his deſire, willingly to agree to the deſtruction of another.’ *David* eaſily perceived now, that this whole matter was only an artifice of *Joab*, and done for the ſake of *Abeſalom*; which alſo was confirmed by the acknowledgement of the woman. Wherefore he ſent for *Joab*, and told him, ‘He had conſented to grant him what he deſired, and ordered him to recal *Abeſalom*, his diſpleaſure with whom was now over, and all his anger laid aſide.’ *Joab* hearing this, proſtrated himſelf, and willingly received the command of *David*; after which he haſtened to *Geſura*, from whence taking *Abeſalom*, he brought him with him back to *Hieroſolyma*.

The king hearing of his coming, ſent a meſſenger with an order to bid him go to his own houſe, for he would not admit him ſo ſoon to ſee him. *Abeſalom* to comply with his father's command, did not appear before him, but kept within his own houſe, and contented himſelf with the company of his friends and of his own domeſticks.

The comelineſs of *Abeſalom* was not in the leaſt impaired by all that ſorrow he had conceived becauſe of his baniſhment, or the entertainment he therein met with, different from that of a king's ſon: Nay, his beauty appeared rather to be improved, ſo that in the gracefulneſs of his aſpect, ſtature, and perſon, he ſurpaſſed all others. His (*b*) hair was ſo thick, that in the ſpace of eight days, it could hardly be cut, and weighed two hundred ſicles. He lived in *Hieroſolyma* two years, wherein he became a father of three children, one of which was a daughter of great beauty, whom *Roboam* the ſon of *Solomon* took to wife, and had by her an only ſon named *Abias*. Some time after this, he ſent a meſſage to *Joab*, deſiring him to work a thorough reconciliation with his father, and to intreat him to admit him into his preſence, that he might ſee him, and make his ſubmiſſion to him. This meſſage *Joab* neglected to perform: Upon which, *Abeſalom* ordered ſome of his ſervants to go into a field of *Joab*'s that lay contiguous to his eſtate, and burn it. The general hearing of this action, came, and asked him the reaſon of uſing him in the manner he had done. To which *Abeſalom* anſwered thus: ‘I put this ſtratagem in practice, thinking it would prove the means of bringing thee to me, who hadſt ſo little regarded what I deſired of thee, which was to bring about a reconciliation with my father, that thou didſt not ſo much as return me any anſwer at all; but ſince thou art now come, I earneſtly intreat thee to pacify him. Better had it been for me to have remained ſtill in exile, than to be ſo near him, whilſt he continues his indignation againſt me.’ Theſe words of *Abeſalom* had the deſired influence upon *Joab*, who taking compaſſion upon his condition, and the diſtreſs he appeared in, for being deprived of the favour of his father, went and interceeded for him with the king. And what he ſaid in behalf of *Abeſalom*, had the effect he wiſhed for upon the mind of *David*, who thereupon was pleaſed graciouſly to order, that he ſhould forthwith be brought into his preſence. *Abeſalom* being come, proſtrated himſelf upon the ground, and humbly implored a pardon of his crime. His father took him by the hand and lifted him up, promiſing not to remember any thing that had paſſed.

CHAP. IX.

Of Abeſalom's *Rebellion againſt* David. *Of the Counſels of* Achitophel, *and* Chuſus. *Of* Siba *and* Semei. *How* Achitophel *hanged himſelf.*

ABESALOM having thus obtained his deſire with the king his father, in a ſhort time got him a great number of horſes and chariots, and five hundred men bearing arms: Every day early in the morning he went to the palace, and conferred with thoſe who had controverſies, and came for judgment, and ſuggeſted to them, that his father wanted ſkilful counſellors. And thoſe he had, being corrupted, were frequently guilty of pronouncing a wrong ſentence. Moreover he told them, that if he had the power of determining of their differences, he would adminiſter juſtice with an impartial hand. By this artifice, and ſuch ſuggeſtions

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(*a*) *Epiphanius* turns this Paſſage thus: ‘It would be a baſe Thing, that, after one Son had been put to Death againſt the Inclination of his Father, another ſhould be expoſed to the like Fate.’ (*b*) This Account of *Joſephus* about the cutting of *Abeſalom*'s Hair, is ſomething wonderful. We believe there is ſome Interpolation or Error crept into the Text here: For the Weight of his Hair, conſult *Salmaſiu* in his Letter to *Colvius*, and *Waſerus* in his Book *de Antiq. num. Hebreor.*

ſuggeſtions as theſe he gained the hearts of the people, and prepared them to become ſerviceable to his ambitious deſigns.

Abeſalom now confiding in the favour of the people, about four years after he had been reconciled to his father, went to him, and intreated him to let him go to *Chebron* to ſacrifice to God; telling him, that in his baniſhment he had made a vow to do ſo. *David* having granted his requeſt, he went thither, where he ſoon gathered together a great number of people, amongſt theſe were *Achitophel* the *Gelmonite*, and a counſellor of *David*, beſides two hundred men from *Hieroſolyma*, who, being entirely ignorant of the deſigns of *Abeſalom*, were drawn thither through a pretence of doing ſacrifice.

David having received intelligence of the practices of *Abeſalom*, and the artifices he made uſe of to withdraw the people from their obedience to him, and how ſucceſsful he had been in his endeavours, was much troubled upon account of his ſon's impious and wicked diſpoſition, and could not but wonder at his ingratitude, in ſo ſoon forgetting his pardon he had given him, and involving himſelf in crimes yet more impious, and of a more pernicious nature, endeavouring to overturn the ſtate of a kingdom inſtituted by God himſelf, and imbrue his hands in the blood of his own father and ſovereign. Upon theſe conſiderations, knowing the unbridled fury of his ſon, he reſolved to retire into ſome place beyond *Jordan*. To this end, after he had called together his moſt faithful friends, and adviſed with them about the rebellion of his ſon; leaving all his affairs to the care of God, as he ſhould think fit to order them, he left his palace to be kept by ten concubines, and departed out of *Hieroſolyma*, followed by a great company of perſons, and the ſix hundred men, who, in the life-time of *Saul*, had been companions of his former troubles. *Abiathar* and *Sadoc* the high-prieſts, and the *Levites*, who had reſolved to accompany him with the ark, he perſuaded to ſtay behind, repreſenting to them, that God would bring about his deliverance, though he carried not the ark along with him. He moreover commanded them to give him private, but ſure intelligence of all that ſhould be tranſacted. *Achimas* ſon of *Sadoc*, and *Jonathan* ſon of *Abiathar*, were entirely devoted to his intereſt, and them he left with their fathers. (1) *Ethi* the *Gittite* alſo accompanied *David*, but againſt his inclination, for he had deſired him to ſtay behind; but no perſuaſions could prevail upon him, whereby he demonſtrated the great affection he bore to the king. *David* being now upon the aſcent of mount *Olivet*, walking barefoot, and the company about him (2) weeping, intelligence was brought him, that *Achitophel* was with *Abeſalom*, and had joined with him in the conſpiracy. This news exceedingly aggravated his trouble, and increaſed his ſorrow: Wherefore he earneſtly begged of God to turn away the mind of *Abeſalom* from hearkening to the counſels of *Achitophel*, whom he knew to be a very diſcerning ſtateſmen, of great forecaſt, and one who could ſuit things to their ſeaſons with wonderful dexterity. After he was come to the top of the mountain, he looked back upon the city, and with many tears in his eyes, as if he had loſt his kingdom, poured out his prayers to God. *Chuſus* his faithful friend met him in this mournful condition, whom when the king ſaw with his garment rent, and earth upon his head; he was grieved ſtill the more, and ſtrove to adminiſter comfort to him, by intreating him to ceaſe from his ſorrow; and earneſtly begged him to go to *Abeſalom* his ſon, and under a pretence of ſiding with him, to find out the ſecrets of his mind, and endeavour to defeat the counſels of *Achitophel*; for his abode with him would not prove ſo advantageous, as his going over to *Abeſalom*. Theſe words of *David* prevailed with *Chuſus*, who ſtraightway taking leave of the king, departed for *Hieroſolyma*, whither in a little time after *Abeſalom* alſo came.

David having marched on a little further, *Sibas*, the ſervant of *Memphiboſthus*, ſon of *Jonathan* his beloved friend, met him. He drove before him two aſſes laden with proviſions, of which he intreated him to take as much as himſelf and company had occaſion for. *David* upon this tender, aſked him where *Memphiboſthus* was: To which he anſwered, *At* Hieroſolyma, *full of hope, now affairs were in confuſion, of obtaining the kingdom by the voice of the people, in grateful memory of* Saul, *who had deſerved ſo well of them.* This falſe report incenſed the king to ſuch a degree, that he gave to *Sibas* all he had before beſtowed on *Memphiboſthus*, as more worthy of it than he. So *Sibas* departed well ſatisfied for having obtained his purpoſe.

David being now come nigh unto a place named (3) *Baurim*, a certain kinſman of *Saul*, called *Semei* the ſon of *Gera*, came out, and threw ſtones at the king, curſing and reproaching him as he went along; and the more he perceived his friends to ſtand about and endeavour to protect him, he the more perſiſted in his inſolent abuſe of him, calling him a blood-thirſty and wicked man, and bidding him to depart out of the country as a perſon polluted, and execrable; and ſaying, 'He thanked God for taking the kingdom from him, and making his own ſon the inſtrument to puniſh him for the many crimes he had committed againſt *Saul* his maſter.' Theſe words rouzed up the wrath of all about *David*, eſpecially of *Abeſſæus*, who had reſolved to kill him; but was reſtrained from his intent by the king. 'Far be it from me, ſaid he, to give a freſh occaſion to further troubles. The anger of this dog againſt me, I make no account of. I put my truſt in God, who hath permitted him to utter in this manner his rage and fury againſt us. Why ſhould I think it ſtrange, and take it ill, that I ſuffer theſe indignities from him, when my own ſon is riſen up againſt me, to deprive me of my kingdom and life? It may be that the Lord will have compaſſion upon us, and through his goodneſs make our enemies to fall before us.’ After ſpeaking thus, he marched onwards, and turned from *Semei*, who ran on the other ſide of the hill, calling aloud, and uttering his reviling and reproachful language. When *David* was come to *Jordan*, he refreſhed his men, weary with their journey.

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(1) *Ittai.*

(2) Some Editors turn this Paſſage, 'After he and the company with him had wept, *&c.*'

(3) In *Holy Writ*, Bahurim.

After *Abeſalom*, with *Achitophel* the counſellor, and all the people of *Iſrael* accompanying him, was arrived at *Hieroſolyma*, *Chuſus*, the friend of *David* went to him, and having paid him reverence, wiſhed him (1) a long, laſting, and peaceful reign, over a kingdom which might remain ſure to him. *Abeſalom* hereupon asked him, *How it came that he who was eſteemed by his father one of his beſt friends, and in whom he could put the greateſt confidence, did not remain with him, but was come over to him, relinquiſhing* David*'s intereſt?* *Chuſus* to this very readily and cunningly anſwered, *That he thought himſelf obliged to acknowledge him to be king, whom God and his people had owned for ſuch. For, my Lord, as I plainly ſee both theſe on thy ſide, ſo I cannot, without great folly and perverſeneſs, ſtand out, and refuſe my ſubmiſſion to thee: For at the hands of God thou haſt received the kingdom. Wherefore if thou wilt receive me into the number of thy friends, thou ſhalt find in me the ſame fidelity and kindneſs I always exerciſed towards thy father* David, *and was ever acknowledged by him. Neither ought he to take in evil part what I now do, nor be uneaſy at the preſent poſture of affairs: For the kingdom is not transferred to another houſe, but remains in the ſame family, the ſon ſucceeding to the father.* This ſpeech, and this proffer of ſervice by *Chuſus*, were approved and accepted of by *Abeſalom*, who no more entertained any ſuſpicion of him. After this *Achitophel* was ſent for, to adviſe what was neceſſary to be done. The ſtateſman counſelled him to lie with the concubines of his father, which, ſaid he, ‘Will induce the people to believe that a reconciliation between thee and *David* will be impoſſible; and this will cauſe them with more courage and chearfulneſs to uſe their arms againſt him. For hitherto they have ſhown themſelves fearful of openly eſpouſing thy cauſe in oppoſition to him, being apprehenſive that a reconciliation might be made betwixt the father and ſon, in which caſe they were to be made the victim.’ *Abeſalom* giving ear to this counſel, commanded his ſervants to ſpread him a tent upon the palace, in the (2) ſight of the people; into which he went and lay with the concubines of his father. Herein was the prophecy of *Nathan* fulfilled, who had foretold *David* of this rebellion of his ſon.

Abeſalom, having thus far followed the advice of *Achitophel*, asked him further, What method he thought beſt to be taken, in carrying on the war againſt his father. Upon this, he asked for (3) ten thouſand choſen men, with whom he promiſed to diſpatch his father, and bring them back from the war in ſafety; and that in the end he would ſettle his kingdom on a laſting foundation, and confirm it in peace and tranquility, when *David* was once taken out of the way. This advice greatly pleaſed *Abeſalom*, who, nevertheleſs, was willing to hear the opinion of *Chuſus*; whom therefore he ſent for, having formerly been the friend of *David*, and ſo by him called. Being come, he explained to him the counſel of *Achitophel*, requiring of him his thoughts of it. *Chuſus* finding, if *Achitophel*'s advice was followed, that *David* lay under imminent danger of being taken and put to death, endeavoured to offer ſomething of a quite contrary tendency. ‘My king, ſaid he, thou art not ignorant of the courage of thy father, and thoſe who accompany him; how that he hath waged many wars, and always returned victorious over his enemies. It is not at all to be thought, that he is now to be found with the body of his army incamped in the open field, but that he hath undoubtedly withdrawn himſelf with ſome of his men into ſome valley, or behind ſome rock, there to lie in ambuſcade: For he is excellently well verſed in forming all ſorts of military ſtratagems, wherewithal to circumvent his enemy. Now, when our men ſhall begin the onſet, his will ſeem to be at a ſtand, and by little and little to give way, and retire before us, till they come near unto the place where *David* lies concealed; where making a halt, and turning afreſh to the charge, your father in the mean time ariſing out of ambuſh, they will be inſpired with a courage and vigour not to be withſtood; whilſt ours are thereby ſtruck with fear and conſternation. Wherefore it is not good at this time, in my opinion, what *Achitophel* hath adviſed. But what I judge moſt expedient to be done, is this: Diſpatch meſſengers into all the countries of the *Hebrews*, with a command to muſter all their forces, and at a certain day, to ſend them to a place appointed for all to meet, in order to make an expedition againſt thy father. Put thy ſelf at the head of them, and under thy conduct let the war be managed, without committing it to the care of another. Thou haſt all the reaſon in the world to believe, that thou ſhalt be able to overcome him, if thou attack him in the open fields; he having but few men about him, in compariſon of the many thouſands of thine, whoſe duty and readineſs to obey thy commands appear ſo viſible in their countenances. But if he ſhall ſhut up himſelf within the walls of ſome city, we will lay ſiege to it, and with

(1) *Epiphanius* turns this Paſſage. ‘He wiſhed his Kingdom might at all Times continue in Safety.

(2) *Epiphanius* ſays, ‘In the Sight of the People he went to the Concubines of his Father, and lay with them.’ The Sacred Books have it thus: ‘And *Abeſalom* went in unto his Father's Concubines in the Sight of all *Iſrael*.’

(3) 12000 In the Sacred Books.

‘mines, and other engines of war, ſoon become maſters of it.’ What was now ſpoken by *Chuſus*, was moſt approved of by *Abeſalom*, who preferred this latter advice of his to that of the ſtateſman. This however muſt be attributed to God, that the counſel of *Chuſus* obtained more credit with *Abeſalom* than *Achitophel*'s.

Chuſus having thus prevailed, haſtened to *Sadoc* and *Abiathar* the high-prieſts, and acquainted them with the different counſels *Achitophel* and he had given *Abeſalom*, who had approved that as the beſt and moſt advantagious which he had given; deſiring them to ſend forthwith to *David*, to acquaint him with what had paſſed, and to intreat him to paſs over *Jordan* without delay, leſt *Abeſalom* ſhould ſuddenly alter his reſolution, and make haſte to purſue him, and ſhould come upon him, before he could be able to retreat into any place of ſafety. The high-prieſts had before taken care to have their ſons placed in a private place without the city, whence, upon notice given them, they might go and acquaint *David* with what was tranſacted in it. Wherefore they now ſent to them a ſervant maid in whom they could confide, to inform them of all that *Abeſalom* had decreed againſt him; giving a command to them, to acquaint *David* immediately with the news. In compliance with this order of their fathers, the young men made all poſſible diſpatch, as was required in a buſineſs of the greateſt conſequence; and departing, haſtened to the place were *David* was incamped, to give him intelligence of what had paſſed. Scarce were they got above two furlongs from the city, but certain men on horſeback eſpied them, and brought an account of them to *Abeſalom*, who ſent immediately after them to apprehend them. The ſons of the high-prieſts obſerving this, turned out of the road, and withdrew into a certain village not far from *Hieroſolyma*, called *Bachures*: There they beſought a certain woman to conceal them in ſome ſecure place; who having let them down by a rope into a well, (1) ſhe covered the mouth thereof with wool. When the men who purſued after them came up to her, and enquired if ſhe had ſeen them; ſhe ſaid, *Indeed ſhe had ſeen them, but that they tarried a very little time, and were departed. However, if they were minded to apprehend them, they might overtake them if they made haſte.* Wherefore, after having rode a long way in ſearch of them, without either ſeeing, or hearing any thing of them, they gave over the purſuit. The woman, after ſhe had obſerved them to return, and that the young men had no further cauſe to fear their being taken, drew them up by the rope, and bid them go on in their journey. They made all poſſible haſte unto *David*, whom they faithfully acquainted with the reſolution of *Abeſalom* againſt him. Upon this, he ordered all his forces to paſs over *Jordan*, which they immediately did, without being at all diſcouraged or delayed by the darkneſs of the night.

Achitophel, finding his counſel rejected, immediately mounted an aſs, and marched to *Gelmon*, his city: Where calling together all his houſhold, he declared to them the advice he had given *Abeſalom*, who had not accepted but diſregarded it; which would in a very ſhort time occaſion his inevitable deſtruction. He told them, that *David* would prove victorious, and re-inſtate himſelf in his kingdom. Therefore, *ſaid he, It is better for me that I put a period to my life willingly and courageouſly, than to come under the power of* David, *and be made an example, by an ignominious death, for having conſpired with* Abeſalom. After he had thus ſpoken, he went into an inner chamber of his houſe and hanged himſelf. This was the end of *Achitophel*, who had choſen this manner of death, and was after cut down and buried by his relations. But *David* having paſſed *Jordan*, as we have before mentioned, went to the (2) *Tents*, one of the faireſt and beſt defenced cities in that country. The principal perſons of the places adjacent received him with great marks of diſtinction, and ſympathy, upon account of his preſent troubles; greatly reſpecting him becauſe of the happy life they had enjoyed under his government. The moſt conſiderable of theſe were *Barezlæus* the *Galaadite*, and *Siphar* a prince of the *Ammanites*, and *Machirus* lord of the country of *Galaad*; who gave him in abundance all things neceſſary to ſupport life, ſuch as beds, bread and wine; beſides a large number of ſheep, and other things to refreſh his men, who were weary with their march.

CHAP. X.

How Abeſalom *was caught in a Tree by the Hair of his Head; whereby he hung, and was in that condition Slain.*

IN this ſituation were the affairs of *David*. *Abeſalom* in the mean time having muſtered a great army of the *Hebrews* againſt his father *David*; and paſſed with them over the river *Jordan*, ſat down not far from the *Tents*, in the land of *Galaad*. He made (3) *Ameſſa* his general, in oppoſition to *Joab* his kinſman his father's general. This *Ameſſa* was the ſon of one (4) *Jetharſa*: His mother's name was *Abigaæ*, who together with *Sarvia* the mother of *Joab* were *David*'s ſiſters. *David* having reviewed his army, found it to conſiſt of (a) forty thouſand men, with which he had no thoughts of ſtaying till *Abeſalom* attacked him: But placing tribunes and centurions over them, he divided them into three bodies, one of which he gave the command of to *Joab*, another to his brother *Abeſſæus*, and the third to *Ethi* the *Gittite*, his familiar friend. Theſe officers diſſuaded him from marching in perſon with the army; and they ſupported their advice with good reaſons: *For*, ſaid they, *If thou art preſent with us, and we are defeated, all our hopes are then entirely gone. But if one body of the army is routed, the others may retreat towards the city, from whence thou mayſt recruit them by ſending freſh auxiliary forces.* This remonſtrance had its deſired effect with the king, upon which he reſolv'd to remain in the city. When he was ſending his officers, together with the forces they commanded, forth to engage the enemy, he exhorted them to behave valiantly and faithfully, and to retain a ſenſe of his favours, and the benefits he had beſtowed upon them. But more eſpecially, and with the greateſt earneſtneſs, he gave a charge concerning his ſon *Abeſalom*, that if they obtained the victory they would not, for his ſake, deal roughly with the young man, leſt by his death his ſorrow ſhould be increaſed. Having thus ſaid, and prayed God to give them ſucceſs, he ſent them away.

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(1) In *Holy Writ* “ She ſpread a covering over the Well's Mouth, and ſpread ground Corn thereon.

(2) The *Septuagint* call it *Manaim*.

(3) *Amaſa*.

(4) *Ithra*.

Joab drew up his army in a large field, having a wood on his rear, and *Abeſalom* confronted him with his. Both parties began the engagement at once, and diſcovered great courage and reſolution. As thoſe on *David*'s ſide fought to regain a loſt kingdom, ſo they demonſtrated an alacrity to encounter every danger. The other on *Abeſalom*'s ſide, were no leſs prepared to perform every thing with the like courage, that they might not loſe what they had obtain'd, and expoſe *Abeſalom* to his father's diſpleaſure and puniſhment for his inſolent attempt. Beſides, as they were more numerous, they eſteemed it very diſhonourable to be overcome by men inferior to them in number, as *Joab*'s were. On the other hand, *David*'s men who were well verſed in martial exerciſes, behaved themſelves valiantly, and oppoſed with all their might the many thouſands of *Abeſalom*'s party; whom in the end they entirely routed, and forced to fly; purſuing ſome over rocks and ſteep places, and taking others priſoners; killing more in the chace than in the fight, twenty thouſand men falling by the edge of the ſword on that day. Bur *Joab* with his victorious troops purſued the flying party wherein *Abeſalom* was, he being very remarkable, both on account of his beauty and ſtature: Who, fearing to be taken alive by the enemy, mounted upon a ſwift mule, and rode full ſpeed away. But in his career happening to come under a tree with wide ſpreading branches, one of them took hold of him by the hair of his head, flying diſhevelled in the wind becauſe of the velocity of his motion, ſo that he remained hanging in the air between earth and heaven; the mule in the mean time continuing her rapid courſe, as if her rider had been upon her back. Thus *Abeſalom* fell into the hands of *Joab*'s ſoldiers, one of whom went and acquainted that general with it: Upon which he ſaid to the man, *Why didſt thou not ſmite him? I would have given thee* (b) *fifty ſhekels of ſilver, if thou hadſt ſlain him.* The man anſwered, *If thou hadſt offered me two thouſand, I would not have done this thing to the ſon of my ſovereign, who in all our hearings intreated us to ſpare the young man.* The general commanded the man to ſhow him were he ſaw *Abeſalom* thus hanging; who conducting him to the place, *Joab* with a javelin ſtruck him to the heart; after which the attendants of *Joab* ſurrounding the deceaſed took him down from the tree, and threw him into a deep pit, after which they raiſed over him a mighty heap of ſtones, in ſome ſort repreſenting a monument or tomb: This being done, *Joab* ſounded a retreat, to recal his ſoldiers from the purſuit, and to put a ſtop to any further effuſion of blood.

Now *Abeſalom* in his life-time had erected for himſelf a pillar of marble in the place called the *King's Dale*, diſtant from *Hieroſolyma* about two furlongs. This pillar he ſtiled *his Hand*; and was wont to ſay, 'If all his children ſhould periſh, that column would preſerve the remembrance of his name;' for (as above related) he had three children born to him; *to wit*, two ſons and one daughter, named *Tamara*, who was after married to *Roboam* the nephew of *David*, by whom ſhe bore a ſon called *Abias*, who afterwards ſucceeded to the kingdom. But of theſe in a more proper place. After the death of *Abeſalom*, the people diſperſed themſelves, and returned each to his own habitation.

But *Achimas* ſon of *Sadoc* the high-prieſt went and deſir'd of *Joab*, that he might go and carry to *David* the news of the victory, and relate to him, how, by the aſſiſtance of God, every thing had proſperouſly ſucceeded. The general anſwered him, ſaying, 'What wilt thou, who always was a meſſenger of glad tidings, go now to *David* and acquaint him with the ſorrowful account of his ſon's death?' Having thus ſaid, he ordered him to ſtay; and after called to him *Chuſus*, whom he commanded to go and acquaint *David* with what he had ſeen. But *Achimas* asked him the ſecond time to permit him to go; for he would only tell him of the victory, and not ſay one word of the death of his ſon. So *Joab* at length ſuffered him alſo to go. *Achimas* was well acquainted with the ſhorteſt way, and by that means got to *David* before *Chuſus*.

David was at this time ſitting between the two gates, and waiting for the coming of ſome perſon from the battle, to tell him how things had gone. When one of the watchmen eſpying *Achimas* at a pretty good diſtance running, but not knowing certainly who he was; called to *David* and ſaid, *He ſaw a meſſenger coming*. The king upon this ſaid, *He was bringing good tidings*. A while after he called again, ſaying, *He ſaw another man approaching*. Upon this again the king ſaid, *He alſo was the bringer of good news*; the watchman, perceiving by this time it was *Achimas* that drew near, ſignified to *David* that the ſon of *Sadoc* run towards him. The king at this was glad, and ſpake thus; ‘That man is a meſſenger of joyful news, and brings with him an account of the battle that will anſwer my wiſhes.’

(a) *Holy Writ* mentions nothing of any Number.

(b) *Holy Writ* ſays ten Shekels of Silver and a Girdle.

While the king was uttering theſe words, *Achimas* appeared, and did him reverence; after which he told him the ſucceſsful event of the battle. *David* after this aſk'd him what news he had brought him of his ſon? To which he anſwer'd, ‘That as ſoon as the enemy was put to flight, the ſoldiers eagerly purſued *Abeſalom*: That this was all the tidings he had to report, having been diſpatched by *Joab* to acquaint him with the news of the victory, as ſoon as the enemy was put to the rout.’

When *Chuſus* arriv'd and had paid his reſpects to the king, he alſo told him the news of the victory; upon which he made another enquiry about his ſon: *Chuſus* anſwered, *The ſame fate be to all thine enemies, O king, as has befallen thy ſon.* This ſpeech, though the victory obtain'd at this time was very great, deprived the king of the joy the victory had before given him, and gave a melancholy caſt to all that were about him; for he immediately went up to the higheſt place of the city, and there bewailed his ſon, beating his breaſt, tearing the hair from his head, and ſhewing other ſigns of his exceſſive grief, and crying out aloud, *Ah my ſon* Abeſalom, *my ſon, Oh that I had ſhared thy fate and died with thee.* *David* was of a moſt tender diſpoſition to all his children, but for *Abeſalom* he had an affection greater than for any of the reſt. *Joab* and the army having heard how *David* lamented his ſon, thought it unbecoming to enter the city in a triumphant manner, but with countenances dejected, and eyes full of tears, they marched into the city in ſo ſorrowful a manner, that any, who had ſeen them, would rather have thought them captives than conquerors. As the king with a veil over his face continued ſitting, and heavily lamenting his ſon, *Joab* came to him, intending to diſſuade him from ſhowing ſuch publick ſigns of his ſorrow. ‘My Lord, *ſaid he*, You diſhonour yourſelf by this effeminate carriage of yours. You ſeem to hate thoſe who love and have expoſed themſelves to all manner of dangers for you; nay even to diſregard yourſelf and your own houſe, and to reſpect thoſe your mortal enemies, who have ſuffer'd a death which they have moſt juſtly deſerv'd. If *Abeſalom* had overcome us, and by his ſucceſs, poſſeſſed himſelf of the kingdom, he would not have left one remaining of us; but beginning his vengeance upon you, and your houſe, we ſhould all have periſhed in an undiſtinguiſh'd ruin. Our enemies then would not have bewailed us, but rejoiced and made merry with our fall, and they would have puniſhed with death thoſe who ſhould have offer'd to compaſſionate us. Does not ſhame forbid your behaving thus upon the account of one, who, though your ſon, was your implacable enemy, and the worſt of all villains? Wherefore baniſh this ſorrow, ſhow yourſelf before the face of your ſoldiers; and return them your thanks for the victory they have obtained, and the chearfulneſs they diſcovered in the battle. For otherwiſe, if you perſiſt in your lamentations, this very day (a) I will cauſe your people to revolt, and give your kingdom to another, and ſo give you a juſt and real occaſion for weeping.’ This ſpeech of *Joab*, made the king to lay aſide the outward expreſſions of his ſorrow, and to reſume his wonted care of the government. Wherefore willing to gratify the people with his preſence, he came and ſat down at the gate, cloathed in his royal robes. All the people, after they had heard this, ran to ſalute him. And in this manner were affairs carried on.

CHAP. XI.

Of David's *Reconciliation with* Semei *and* Sibas, *after he had regained the Kingdom. Of his great Reſpect to* Barzeleus. *How, on the Riſing of a Sedition, he appointed* Ameſſa *the General to purſue* Sobæus, *whom* Joab *ſtabbed.*

THOSE *Hebrews*, who had followed the fortunes of *Abeſalom*, and got home, ſent meſſengers into every city, to expoſtulate with the inhabitants thereof, and ſet before them the benefits they had received at the hands of *David*, and eſpecially how he had procured their liberty, and ſecured it to them by many great and ſucceſsful wars: As alſo to put them in mind, how they had driven him out of his kingdom unjuſtly, and given the chief authority to another: That he, whom they had conſtituted their chief, being now dead, they ought to ſubmit themſelves to *David*, begging him to lay aſide his anger and take them into his favour; and to take upon him the adminiſtration of the government as before, his enemies and the diſturbers of his peace being now deſtroyed. Theſe

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(a) *Epiphanius* turns this Paſſage thus, ‘For I know for certain, that if you continue to do thus, all the People will this Day forſake you, and give your kingdom to another. Then you will have, *&c.* p. 2.

things coming to the ears of *David*, he ſent for *Sadoc* and *Abiathar* the chief prieſts, and having communicated to them what he heard, gave them in charge to the princes of the tribe of *Judah*; to tell them, *That it was a reproach for them who were his kindred, and of his own Tribe, to appear leſs forward than the other Tribes, in making* David *again king*. He commanded them alſo to expoſtulate with *Ameſſa* the general. *That, though* David*'s nephew by his ſiſter, he had not uſed his intereſt with the people, to induce them to reſtore him to the kingdom. However, that he might certainly depend upon the king's favour, and that what was paſt was buried in oblivion. Moreover that he ſhould retain the ſame poſt in the army as he had under* Abeſalom. Wherefore the high-prieſts ſpoke to the tribe of *Judah* as they were ordered. After which they went to *Ameſſa*, and delivered to him the meſſage from *David*. The General was ſoon brought over to adviſe about his reſtauration. Nay, he uſed his intereſt ſo far with his own tribe, that they immediately ſent ambaſſadors to *David*, intreating him to return to his kingdom. This example was ſoon followed by all the *Iſraelites*, who were exhorted thereunto by *Ameſſa*.

After the ambaſſadors were come (*a*) to him, he began his march towards *Hieroſolyma*. Now the tribe of *Judah* ſhowed themſelves the foremoſt to demonſtrate their duty to him. They went before all the other tribes to the river *Jordan* to meet him, *Semei* the ſon of *Gera*, in conjunction with them, went with a thouſand men, which he had brought out of the tribe of *Benjamin*. *Sibas*, *Saul*'s freedman, came alſo with his fifteen ſons, and twenty ſervants. Theſe, with the tribe of *Judah*, laid a bridge over *Jordan*, for the king's more ſafe and ready paſſage. When he was come to the river, the tribe of *Judah* ſaluted him. *Semei*, having got upon the bridge, proſtrated himſelf at the feet of the king, 'begging that he would pardon him 'for the indignities he had put upon him; and 'not uſe any violence againſt him: That now 'he was (*b*) reſtored to his government he 'hoped he would not make him the firſt example of his reſentment, but conſider, that 'as he was the firſt that ran to ſhow his 'duty, it was repentance for his crimes that 'had induced him to it.' While he thus was endeavouring to move the compaſſion of *David* in the moſt pathetick terms, *Abeſſæus* the brother of *Joab* thus ſpoke to him: 'What, 'ſhould not you now ſuffer death, who had 'the boldneſs to revile and curſe him whom 'God had placed in the regal ſeat?' *David* hearing this, turned himſelf about and ſaid, 'Ye ſons of *Sarvia*, will ye not be quiet? 'Do not raiſe new commotions before (*c*) 'the former are quite laid aſleep. This day is 'the firſt of my reign; wherefore I ſwear, 'That all who committed crimes againſt me, I 'will pardon them, and will not inflict puniſhment upon any one for outrages againſt 'my perſon. Thou, O *Semei* (added he) 'be of good courage, and not in the leaſt apprehenſive of the death you have deſerved.' *Semei*, after he had again thrown himſelf at the feet of the king, in acknowledgment of his gracious pardon, aroſe and went away.

After this, *Memphiboſtus* the nephew of *Saul* came to meet him; he was dreſt in a mean and ſordid habit, and his hair was uncombed and neglected: For after *David*'s retreat from the city, in token of his concern, he neither had his hair cut, nor his clothes cleaned, (*d*) eſteeming the alteration of the king's condition to be his own calamity; beſides, that *Sibas* had moſt unjuſtly and groſly belied him. After he had proſtrated himſelf, and done him reverence, the king asked him the reaſon, 'Why he 'did not follow him, and make himſelf a 'companion of his flight and troubles?' He anſwer'd, '*Sibas* was the only cauſe, my 'Lord, that I went not along with you; 'for when I had given him orders to get all 'things in readineſs for my journey, he minded me not, but neglected my commands, as 'if he had been nothing concerned with me: 'But if I had had the uſe of my feet, my 'Lord ſhould not have gone without me; for 'then I ſhould have been able to have accompanied his flight. But, not content with 'obſtructing my good intent towards my 'Lord, he has alſo raiſed calumnies, and 'forged lies to provoke my Lord againſt 'me. But my Lord is wiſe and diſcerning, and will not give credit to ſuch unjuſt detractions: Foraſmuch as my Lord 'is a lover of God and truth. And ſo 'far is my Lord from hearkening to wicked and malicious calumnies, that he is 'compaſſionate, even ready and willing to 'overlook the real injuries that have been 'committed againſt him. For whereas, my 'Lord was by my grandfather perſecuted, 'and reduced to the greateſt ſtraits, for 'which cauſe it might have been expected, that when my Lord came to have 'power in his hands, our whole family would 'have been extirpated; as he did more than 'once ſpare the life of my grandfather, when 'in his power to have taken it, ſo he 'hath ſince had compaſſion upon his family,

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(*a*) παρεγένοντο. *Scholanus* follows this Reading, but the Interpretation he puts upon this Paſſage, we preſume, is very indifferent, *He ſays thus*: 'In the mean while, after the Ambaſſadors of the Tribes 'had been with *Ameſſa* at *Hiereſolyma*, the Tribes themſelves, (or their Chiefs) went to the King, 'to bring him over *Jordan*, but that they of *Judah* got to him before them, *&c.*' (*b*) *Galenius* interprets this Place; 'That having obtained the Government again, he would not fix his Thoughts 'upon him firſt.' (*c*) *Epiphanius* turns it thus, 'Ceaſe, ye Sons of *Sarvia* to renew thoſe Troubles and Broils, which, if revived, will prove of more dangerous Conſequence to us.' (*d*) He had ſworn to remain in this melancholy State, till he ſaw the King's Misfortunes take another Turn. *Epiphanius*. Bearing the King's Troubles with as ſorrowful an Heart as if they had been his own. *Galenius*.

'forgetting the evils done to him; and my Lord hath treated even me as one of his friends, having honoured me with a place at his table.'

After he had thus ſpoken, *David* being reſolved, neither to puniſh *Memphiboſtus*, whom he found to be innocent, nor yet to deal rigorouſly with *Sibas*, in regard of the ſeaſonable relief he had afforded him, in the time of his great neceſſity; ſaid to *Memphiboſtus*: 'As I was ignorant of the true cauſe of your ſtaying behind me, and judged it to be as *Sibas* repreſented it, who brought me ſo ſeaſonable a relief; I gave him all your goods: But being now come to a right underſtanding in the matter, I have pardoned *Sibas*, and ordered him to reſtore you half of your lands.' To this *Memphiboſtus* replied; 'Let *Sibas* poſſeſs the whole, it is enough for me that my Lord hath received again his kingdom.'

Berzeleus the *Galaadite*, a great and good man, who had many ways aſſiſted *David* with neceſſaries whilſt he remained in the ſtrong city, having brought him on his way as far as *Jordan*, was by the king invited to go with him to *Hieroſolyma*, profering to uſe him now in his old age with all poſſible reſpect and honour, and take care and provide for him as if he were his own father. But *Berzeleus* being deſirous rather to live in his own country, at home in private, deſired to be excuſed, and told the king; 'He was come to an age in which mankind is paſt the reliſh of pleaſure, being eighty years old; and that now death ought to be the principal ſubject of his thoughts. That therefore his earneſt deſire was, that the king would favour him ſo much as to permit him to return to his own houſe. That he could no more now, by reaſon of his age, partake of the recreations and delights of thoſe who live with kings, and frequent palaces.' The king obſerving his earneſt intreaty, *ſaid*, 'I give thee leave to go back, but let thy ſon *Achimanus* go with me.'

Berzeleus having left his ſon, and done reverence to the king, wiſhed him all imaginable ſucceſs and proſperity, and departed to his own home. In the mean time *David* came to *Galgal*, where he had one half of the whole people, and the tribe of *Judah* entire.

The chief men of the country of *Iſrael* came to him at *Galgal*, accompanied by a great multitude of people, and complained to him of the tribe of *Judah*, which they ſaid, had withdrawn itſelf privately to him, when all of them ought unanimouſly to have come and met him. The princes of the tribe of *Judah* begged them not to vex themſelves, becauſe they had been anticipated in their deſires: 'For as they were his kindred, and had a reſpect for him, they had on that conſideration haſtened to him before the others; but not through any view of obtaining a reward for ſo doing, which might give occaſion of offence to thoſe who came later.' When the heads of the tribe of *Judah* had ſpoken thus, thoſe of the other tribes ſeemed not ſatisfied. 'But we (*anſwered they*) brothers, are amazed you ſhould call the king the kinſman of you alone: For ſince he has received from God the government over us all, he is to be eſteemed a relation of us all. Upon which account, as the whole nation conſiſts of (*a*) eleven parts; (one of which we are, being alſo elder than you;) You have committed an injuſtice, in going ſecretly and without our privity to the king.'

While the heads of the tribes were debating in this manner, a certain man named *Sobeus*, the ſon of *Bochorias*, and a *Benjamite*, one of a wicked and ſeditious diſpoſition, ſtood up in the midſt of the multitude, and in a loud voice ſaid; 'None of us hath any part in *David*, or lot in the ſon of *Jeſſe*.' After which he blew a trumpet, and declared war againſt the king. Upon this all of them followed him, and revolted from *David*. Only the tribe of *Judah* remained, who reſtored him to his palace at *Hieroſolyma*. His concubines, with whom *Abeſalom* his ſon had lain, he put in another houſe, and commanded all things neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence to be given them, and never after converſed with them. He conſtituted *Ameſſa* general of his army, by conferring upon him the poſt *Joab* held under him, and commanding him to raiſe as large an army out of the tribe of *Judah* as he could, and to bring them before him in three days, that he might give him the ſole command of it, with orders to march againſt the ſon of *Bochorias*. *Ameſſa* immediately obey'd the king's commands, but delaying the levying of the army too long, to return within the limited time: The king on the third day ſaid to *Joab*, 'That it would be diſadvantageous to him to give *Sobeus* any time, leſt he ſhould gain ſtrength, and become the author of greater calamities than ever *Abeſalom* had been. Make not the leaſt delay then, but take with you the forces at hand, and my company of ſix hundred men, and with your brother *Abeſſæus* purſue the enemy: Oblige him to engage whereſoever you meet with him: Haſten to overtake him, leſt he gain poſſeſſion of ſome fortified city, and give us a great deal of trouble to drive him out.'

Joab reſolved to proceed with the utmoſt expedition, upon which taking his brother *Abeſſæus* and the ſix hundred men, he commanded the other ſoldiers left in *Hieroſolyma* to follow him. With theſe forces he marched againſt *Sobæus*. When he came to *Gabaon*, which is a village diſtant from *Hieroſolyma*, about twenty furlongs, he met there *Ameſſa* at the head of a numerous army: *Joab* had a ſword girded to his ſide, and a

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(*a*) *Holy Writ* ſays Ten.

breaſt-plate upon his body. As *Ameſſa* (*a*) drew near to ſalute him, he deſignedly cauſed his ſword to fall out of the ſcabbard, as if it had been by chance; which immediately taking up with one hand, and with the other catching hold of *Ameſſa*'s beard, as he approached nearer to him, through a pretence of kiſſing him, he thruſt the point at unawares into his belly, and ſo ſlew him on the ſpot. In this he committed a wicked and cruel act; envying a youth of a hopeful diſpoſition, his relation, and no way deſerving of the injuſtice he had done him. For the king had given him the command in the army, and by his favour he had obtained an equality of condition with him. Upon the ſame account he killed *Abner*: But he concealed the injury he did him, under the plauſible pretence of revenging his brother *Aſael*'s death. However, for the death of *Ameſſa* he had no excuſe of that kind. After he had ſlain him, he left one with the dead body whom he commanded to proclaim among the army, that *Ameſſa* died juſtly, being puniſhed for a lawful reaſon; and that they who favoured the king's ſide ought to follow *Joab* the general, and his brother *Abeſſæus*. As the body lay in the road, the whole multitude flocked (*b*) about it; as is cuſtomary with them on ſuch occaſions, when ſtanding round it, they expreſſed a great aſtoniſhment. The man left to watch it took it from thence, and carried it to a place at ſome diſtance from the road; where he laid it down, and covered it with his clothes. After which, all the people followed *Joab* in his purſuit after *Sobæus* through the whole land of *Iſrael*; who in his march received intelligence from a certain perſon, that *Sobæus* had retreated into a garriſon'd city, named (*c*) *Abelmacheos*. Thither he marched, and inveſted the city with his army, throwing up a trench round it, and giving orders to his ſoldiers to ſcale and batter the walls: For he was vaſtly incenſed at the citizens for not receiving him into the town.

There was a certain prudent woman, who, ſeeing to what extremity her country was reduced, got upon the wall, and called aloud to *Joab* through the army. He came towards her; when ſhe began thus to ſpeak: 'God, 'ſaid ſhe, hath appointed kings and generals 'to expel the enemies of the *Iſraelites* out of 'their territories, and to make them live 'peaceably one with another. Thou, not'withſtanding this, endeavoureſt to ſubvert 'and deſtroy a city, guilty of no crime, 'and the metropolis of *Iſrael*.' *Joab* hereupon prayed God to help her, and anſwered, 'He had no deſign of putting any one of them 'to death, or of demoliſhing ſo great a city 'as theirs was; but if they would ſurren'der the ſon of *Bochorias*, who had rebel'led againſt the king, he would raiſe the 'ſiege and draw off his army.' The woman hearing theſe words from *Joab*, deſired him to deſiſt a while from committing any violence; for ſhe would go directly and throw to him the head of his enemy from the wall; this ſaid, ſhe went back to the citizens. 'And 'will ye, *ſaid ſhe*, like traitors, ſuffer your 'wives and children to periſh for the ſake 'of a villain whom none of you knows? 'Will ye have him for your king inſtead 'of *David*, who deſerves ſo well at your 'hands, with one city only to reſiſt the 'force of ſo powerful an army?' In fine, ſhe cauſed the head of *Sobæus* to be cut off, and thrown amongſt the ſoldiers of *Joab*. After which, the general ſounded a retreat, and raiſed the ſiege. Upon his arrival at *Hieroſolyma*, he was again made general of the whole army. *Banaja* was appointed captain of the body-guards, and the ſix hundred men; *Adoram* was created tribute-gatherer; *Sobithas* and *Achilaus*, recorders; *Suſac* ſcribe; and *Sadoc* and *Abiathar* high-prieſts.

CHAP. XII.

How the Hebrews *were delivered from a Famine, brought upon them for the Slaughter of the* Gabaonites. *Of the great Actions done by* David *and his Chiefs againſt the* Paleſtines.

SOME time after this, the country was reduced with a famine, which *David* beſeeched God to diſcover to him the cauſe of, and how the calamity might be removed. The prophets anſwered, 'That God demanded juſtice for the '*Gabaonites*, whom king *Saul* had perfidiouſly 'and unjuſtly put to the ſword; having vio'lated the oaths *Jeſus* the general and the 'elders had ſworn to them. However, if he 'would undergo ſuch a puniſhment as the *Ga*'*baonites* would inflict for their murthered 'citizens, the Almighty promiſed to reconcile 'himſelf to him, and avert the calamity.' When he had underſtood from the prophets that God requir'd this, he ſent for the *Gabaonites* and asked them, what ſatisfaction would content them. Upon this, they demanded ſeven ſons, the offspring of *Saul*, to be delivered up to puniſhment to them. The king upon this ſought them, and gave them up to him, only ſparing and reſerving *Memphiboſtus*, the ſon of *Jonathan*. When the *Gabaonites* had

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(*a*) *Epiphanius* has it thus, 'He ran to ſalute him. . Having muſtered but an inconſiderable Number 'of Men.' (*b*) *Epiphanius* ſeems to add ſomething to this Account of our Author; he turns this Paſſage thus. 'The People thronged about him, and expreſſing their ſorrows for the deceaſed, ſtopt, and 'hindered *Joab* from his Purſuit. (*c*) *Abel* was a City of *Paleſtine*, but now it was called *Abela*, ſays *Theodoret*.

got them within their power, they inflicted what death they thought fit upon them; God ſent down rain to nouriſh the earth; the ground was no longer parch'd; and the country of the *Hebrews*, being moiſten'd with the rain, flouriſhed and grew fruitful.

Some time after this he waged war with the *Paleſtines*, and put them to flight; but happening to purſue them too eagerly, he got into a ſolitary place, and being weary with the battle, he was ſeen by one of the enemy, named *Acmon*, the ſon of *Araphus*, a deſcendant of the giants, who had a ſpear, the handle of which weighed three hundred ſhekels. Beſides he wore a vaſt breaſt plate and a ſword by his ſide. He turned himſelf about, and ruſhed with fury upon *David*, with a reſolution to kill him. When the king was very much fatigued with the engagement, *Abeſſæus*, the brother of *Joab*, ſhewing himſelf on a ſudden came to his reſcue, at the ſame time protecting him and killing his adverſary. The multitude took it ill that the king had thrown himſelf into ſo imminent a danger, and the captains of the army bound him by an oath never from that time perſonally to engage in battle any more, leſt his forward courage ſhould involve him in the like or worſe misfortunes, by means of which the people would not only be deprived of the enjoyment of the many bleſſings they had received from him, but alſo of the fruits of thoſe they ſhould obtain by the prolonging of his life.

The king having heard the *Paleſtines* were gathered together at the city *Gazara*, inſtantly ſent an army againſt them. In this expedition *Sobacchis* the *Chettean* behav'd himſelf valiantly, and purchaſed great honour, being one of the braveſt men *David* had; for he ſlew many of thoſe who boaſted of being deſcended from the giants, and glory'd in their great ſtrength. The ſucceſs of the *Hebrews* in this battle was in a great meaſure owing to him.

After this defeat the *Paleſtines* renewed the war again; upon which *David* ſent another army againſt them. In this expedition *Nephanus*, his kinſman, ſhewed great courage, engaging in ſingle combat with the ſtouteſt man of all the *Paleſtines*, whom he ſlew, and put the reſt to flight; beſides many fell by the edge of the ſword in the battle.

A little while after this they encamped at a city not far diſtant from the frontiers of the *Hebrews*. There was a man among them whoſe heighth was ſix cubits. He had on both his feet and both his hands, a larger number of fingers and toes than what nature uſually beſtows on men. *Jonathan* the ſon of *Samas*, marching out at the head of *David*'s army, met him in ſingle combat, and ſlew him; which act gained him the character of having contributed moſt to the gaining of victory in this engagement, and of being a valiant and courageous man. This *Paleſtine* gloried in his being deſcended from a race of giants. After this battle the *Paleſtines* ceaſed to commit any more acts of hoſtility againſt the *Iſraelites*.

David having thus freed himſelf by ſo many battles from ſo many dangers, at length enjoyed a profound tranquillity; in which he compoſed odes and hymns, of various meaſures, in honour of God, ſome (*a*) *Trimeters*, and others *Pentameters*. Beſides, he prepared inſtruments of muſick, to the ſound of which he taught the *Levites* to celebrate the praiſes of God on their ſabbaths, (as they are called) and on their other feſtivals. The kinds of theſe muſical inſtruments were theſe, a ten-ſtring'd harp, which was touched with a quill; a pſaltery of twelve cords, and played upon with the fingers; beſides large cymbals of braſs. Thus much is ſufficient to ſay of the nature of theſe inſtruments, that we may not be wholly ignorant of them.

Thoſe about the perſon of the king were men of approved courage. Of theſe there were eight and thirty, the moſt illuſtrious and famous for their military ſervices. But we ſhall only take notice of the actions of five of them, by which we may form a tolerable idea of thoſe of the others. Theſe heroes (ſo remarkable were they for ſtrength of body and undaunted reſolution of mind) ſeemed formed to conquer and to enſlave mankind to themſelves. The firſt of them was *Iſſemus*, the ſon of *Achimeus*, who throwing himſelf ſeveral times into the ranks of the enemy, never quitted the fight till he had laid nine hundred dead upon the ſpot. Next to him was *Eleazar*, the ſon of *Dodeias*, who was with *David* at *Araſamum*. This chief, when the *Iſraelites* were ſtruck with a panic at the multitude of the *Paleſtines*, and fled before them, alone maintained his ground, and encountering the enemy, made ſuch a terrible ſlaughter of them, that his ſword was in a manner glewed to his right hand with their blood. The *Iſraelites*, when they perceived the *Paleſtines* turn their backs, deſcended from the mountains, chaced them, and obtained a victory as wonderful as it is famous. *Eleazar* ſcattering death where'er he went, while the multitude followed behind him and ſtript the ſlain. The third was the ſon of *Ilus*, named *Sebas*. This chief, in a certain engagement with the *Paleſtines*, at a place call'd *Siagon*, or the *Jaw-bone*, where they had ranged their army in ſuch an order as ſtruck terror again into the *Iſraelites*, and made them give way, maintained his poſt as if himſelf had been an army, making great havock among ſome, while others, unable to ſuſtain the force of his conquering arm, fled before him. Now theſe three performed the actions above-mentioned, with the force of their own hands, and in the open field of battle.

At the time when the king was at *Hieroſolyma*, an army of the *Paleſtines* marched unexpectedly to engage him. Upon this he went up to the tower before-mentioned, and enquired of God the fortune of the war. The enemy had incamped themſelves in the valley, which almoſt reaches to the city (*b*) *Bethle-em*, being diſtant from *Hieroſolyma* about twenty furlongs. *David*, as he was on the tower, ſaid

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(*a*) Verſes of ſix and ten Syllables.

(*b*) *Bethlehem* was farther diſtant, *viz.* 6 *Roman* Miles from *eroſolyma.*

to his companions, ‘ We have pleaſant water ‘ in my country, eſpecially that in the well ‘ next the gate. Oh that I had ſome of it ‘ to quench my thirſt! At what price would ‘ I not buy it?’ He ſaid this, not in the leaſt ſuſpecting that any of them was bold enough to go and bring him ſome of it to drink. But the three men hearing theſe words immediately ran, and paſſing through the midſt of the enemies army gat to *Bethle-em*, where having drawn ſome water they returned back again through the camp to the king. The (a) *Paleſtines*, though they deſpiſed their ſmall number, yet being terrify'd at their boldneſs and intrepidity, let them go unmoleſted, and without offering them any violence. When the water was brought to the king he would not drink it; for (b) ſaying it was procured him with the danger and blood of men, he would not on that account ſuffer himſelf to drink it; but making an oblation of it to God, he gave him thanks for the ſafety of the men. The next in renown to theſe worthies was *Abeſſæus*, the brother of *Joab*, who in one day ſlew ſix hundred of the enemy. The fifth was *Banaias*, of a prieſt's family, who being challenged by two brothers, famous in the land of the *Moabites*, by his own ſtrength and courage killed them. At another time a man of *Ægyptian* extraction, of monſtrous bigneſs, and cover'd all over in armour, challenged him; but he, notwithſtanding he was naked and defenceleſs, went, wreſted his ſword from him and ſlew him with it; for having forced the weapon out of his hands, he ſtript him, yet alive, and fighting with him. After theſe great actions the following at leaſt deſerves a place, which, if we conſider the remarkable boldneſs it gives us an inſtance of, may be accounted equal, if not ſuperior to all the reſt.

God ſending upon the earth a deep ſnow, it happened a lion fell into a pit, the mouth of which being very narrow, the ſnow in a manner covered him; and ſeeing no way to eſcape or preſerve himſelf, he ſet up a horrid roaring. *Banaias* hearing the noiſe he made, (for he was travelling that way at that time) went to the place from whence it iſſued, and immediately deſcending into the pit, ſtruck him with a club he bore in his hand, by the force of which he killed him. The other thirty-three were men endowed with the ſame valiant and heroic ſouls.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Puniſhment the People ſuffered, upon David*'s numbering them; and how the* Divine Mercy *put a Stop to it.*

KING *David*, deſiring to know how many thouſands of the people there were, forgetting the commands of *Moyſes*, who had foretold, that upon numbring the people, for every head of them, an half ſicle ſhould be offered to God, ordered *Joab* to make a calculation of the number of people in the nation. He ſaying there was no neceſſity to do it, the king could not be diſſuaded, but commanded him to go without the leaſt delay, and number the *Hebrews*. *Joab* upon this took with him the chiefs of the tribes and the ſcribes, and having ſurveyed the country of the *Iſraelites*, and made a calculation of the people, returned to *Hieroſolyma* to the king, after a ſtay of nine months and twenty days, to whom he gave an account of the number of the people, except of the tribe of *Benjamin*, which, and the tribe of the *Levites*, he ſaid, he had not numbered. But the king (c) repented of his offence againſt God. The number of the other *Iſraelites* included nine hundred thouſand men able to bear arms: The tribe of *Judah*, as diſtinct and ſeparate from the reſt, forty thouſand.

The prophets acquainting *David*, that God was angry with him, he began humbly to beſeech him, he would be merciful to him, and pardon his offence. God upon this, ſent *Gad* to him, with an offer of three things, one of which he was to chuſe, as he liked beſt: Either a famine inflicted on his country for ſeven years; or to ſuffer that his enemies ſhould gain a continued courſe of victories for three months; or that a peſtilence ſhould rage among the *Hebrews* for three days. The choice of ſo great evils exceedingly perplexed and confounded him. The prophet told him he muſt neceſſarily do it, and bid him quickly determine, that he might give his anſwer to God. The king reflected within himſelf, if he asked for the famine, he ſhould be thought to have done it for others; as having no occaſion to fear any thing from it himſelf, being well ſtored with proviſions; or if he choſe a courſe of unſucceſsful battles for three months, he would likewiſe be thought to have conſulted private intereſt in it; as having nothing to apprehend on that ſcore, being provided with men of courage at hand, and having many ſtrong holds for his defence. Wherefore, he fixed on a peſtilence, as a calamity common to kings and their ſubjects; and which rages and ſtrikes terror on all without diſtinction: Saying, ‘ He had

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(a) So that the *Paleſtines*, being ſurprized at their Boldneſs and great Courage, refuſed to fight them; ſays *Epiph*. *Galenius* turns it thus: ‘ The *Barbarians* being aſtoniſhed at ſo much Reſolution, durſt not, though ‘ they were ſo few, ſeem to deſpiſe them.’

(b) The *Sacred Writings* ſay, ‘ Be it far from ‘ me, O Lord, that I ſhould do this: Is not this the Blood of the Men that went in *Jeopardy* of their ‘ Lives?’

(c) *Epiphanius* has either more Words in his Book, or what is unuſual with him, he has added ſome of his own, he turns this Paſſage thus: ‘ *David* repented he had numbered the People, ‘ in that he had offended God.’

'rather fall into the hands of God than thoſe of his enemies.'

The prophet having heard this, acquainted God therewith; upon which he ſent among the *Hebrews* a peſtilential diſeaſe, which raged with as unaccountable a variety, as it did with an irreſiſtable fury. The calamity was indeed one and the ſame; but it ſnatched the people away after a thouſand different ways. One died upon the neck of another, and an hidden pain ſeizing them inwardly brought ſudden death with it. Others immediately gave up the ghoſt with cruel tortures. Some pined away with their diſtemper, and ſcarce left a carcaſe to be buried; being worn by their diſeaſes to mere ſhadows. Others again died with a ſudden dimneſs in their eyes, while ſome, in the act of burying their friends, died before the funeral rites were performed. There periſhed by this peſtilence which began to rage in the morning, and continued till dinner-time, ſeven thouſand perſons. The angel ſtretched his hand over *Hieroſolyma*, ſending thither the calamity. Hereupon the king put on ſackcloth, and laid himſelf down upon the ground, beſeeching and intreating God he would now lay aſide his anger; and, contenting himſelf with thoſe already deſtroyed, be appeaſed. He lifted up his eyes to heaven, and beholding the angel moving aloft towards *Hieroſolyma*, addreſſing himſelf to God, he ſaid, 'That he being the ſhepherd, alone deſerved puniſhment; but the flocks, noways guilty, ought to be preſerved.' After which, he prayed his wrath might be extended upon him and all his family, but the people ſpared.

God hearkened to his prayer, and ſtopped the peſtilence; and ſending the prophet *Gad* to him, he commanded him to go up quickly to the threſhing floor of *Oronnas*, the *Jebuſite*, where, having raiſed an altar, he ſhould perform ſacrifice thereon. *David* hearing this, made no delay, but immediately went to the place directed: *Oronnas* was threſhing his corn; but when he ſaw the king, and all his ſons, coming towards him, he ran and did him reverence; he was a *Jebuſite* by nation, and a great friend of *David*'s; who, in ſacking the city, offer'd no manner of injury to him. This we have intimated a little before. *Oronnas* aſked why his Lord came to his ſervant, He anſwered, 'To buy of him his threſhing-floor, that he might build an altar on it to God, and offer ſacrifice to him.' Upon this, he told him his threſhing-floor, plows and oxen, were at his ſervice for that purpoſe, and that he would with pleaſure implore of God the acceptance of his ſacrifice. The king ſaid, 'He was pleaſed with his candour and greatneſs of mind, and promiſed, that it ſhould not go unrewarded, bidding him take a moderate price for all thoſe things; for it was not juſt he ſhould perform a ſacrifice that coſt him nothing.' *Oronnas* ſaying, 'He would do any thing as he pleaſed:' He purchaſed the threſhing-floor of him for fifty ſicles, and having raiſed an altar, he offered ſacrifice, and burnt-offerings, and peace-offerings upon it. The Divinity was appeaſed with theſe, and became merciful again. This was the very place where *Abraham* brought his ſon *Iſaac* to ſacrifice him, but, on his going to ſlay him, a ram ſuddenly appeared ſtanding by the altar, which he took and ſacrificed inſtead of his ſon; as we have remarked before. *David* perceiving God had liſten'd to his vow, and that his ſacrifice was kindly received, reſolved to call the whole place the *altar of the people*, and to build a temple there to God. This he did agreeable to what was foretold to him. For God ſent his prophet to him, ſaying, 'That a temple ſhould be built in that place by his ſon, who was to ſucceed in the kingdom.

CHAP. XIV.

Of David*'s great Preparations for the Houſe of God; and how,* Adonias *endeavouring to reign, he declared* Solomon *King.*

AFTER this prophecy the king commands an account to be taken of the foreigners; and there were found one hundred and eighty thouſand perſons. Of theſe he appointed eighty thouſand to be hewers of ſtone; and the reſt to be labourers. Beſides, he ſet over the workmen three thouſand five hundred overſeers. He had got together a great deal of iron and braſs for the work, and a large quantity of cedar wood, which the *Tyrians* and *Sidonians* had ſent him; from whom he had aſked ſuch a ſupply. He acquainted his friends he made thoſe preparations then, that he might leave to his ſon, who was to reign after him, ſufficient materials for building the temple, that he, being by reaſon of his tender age, unexperienced in ſuch things, might not be at any trouble in ſupplying himſelf with them; but having every thing prepared he might finiſh the work with more eaſe.

A while after this he called his ſon *Solomon* to him, whom he commanded, upon his obtaining the kingdom, to build a temple to God, ſaying, 'That it was his deſire to have done ſo, but God had forbid him, being polluted with blood and war; yet he had foretold, that his youngeſt ſon (who ſhould be called *Solomon*) ſhould build a temple to him, and have the ſame care extended over him as had been promiſed to his father. Beſides, that the country of the *Hebrews* under him ſhould enjoy an happy ſtate, and be bleſſed with many good things; but, what was the chief of all, a perfect reſt, not only from all foreign wars, but alſo all home-bred ſeditions. Do you therefore, ſince God, before you were born, deſign'd you to be king, endeavour to behave yourſelf in all things worthy of his providence, by ſtrictly obſerving piety, juſtice, and fortitude; keep his commandments and laws, as *Moyſes* has taught us, and ſuffer not others to tranſgreſs them. The temple, he is pleaſed you ſhall build in your reign, by all means dedicate to his name, and never be dejected at the greatneſs of the undertaking, for I will cauſe all things to be in readineſs for you before I die. Know then I have already laid up ten thouſand talents of gold, and one hundred thouſand of ſilver; but of braſs and iron a quantity not to be numbered; and of wood and ſtone an immenſe ſtore. You have alſo many thouſands of maſons and carpenters, whom you will eaſily ſupply with all neceſſaries. After the finiſhing of the temple you will be acceptable to God, and have him for your patron and protector.' After this he exhorted the chiefs of the people, to aſſiſt his ſon in carrying on the building, and being now under perfect ſecurity, attend the worſhip of God; in exchange of which they would receive the fruits of peace, and an happy adminiſtration, with which God rewarded holy and juſt men. When the temple ſhould be built, he ordered the ark to be placed within it, and the ſacred veſſels; for the reception of which they ought to have built a temple long ago; if their forefathers had not neglected the commands of God, who ordered a temple to be built to him, as ſoon as they got poſſeſſion of that country. Theſe things *David* ſpoke to the princes of the people, and his ſon.

Growing now in years, and his body through age being quite exhauſted; he became ſo very cold, that the thickeſt clothes could not keep him warm. His phyſicians hereupon met, and adviſed, that a beautiful virgin ſhould be ſought for throughout all the country, who would lie with the king: For the careſſes of the young woman, would be a relief to his coldneſs. And accordingly a woman, exceeding all others of that age for beauty, was found in the city, her name was *Abeſace*; and her buſineſs was only to lie with the king, and keep him warm; for his age had made him unfit for love embraces, or the knowledge of woman. But of this virgin we ſhall have occaſion to ſay more hereafter.

The fourth ſon of *David*, a youth of ſingular beauty, and graceful ſtature, born to him of his wife *Ægyſtha*, much reſembling *Abeſalom* in his ambitious temper, and called *Adonias*, had a great longing for the crown; upon which he made intereſt among his friends, to confer the adminiſtration of the government upon him. He procured many chariots and horſes, and five hundred men, who ran before him. His father ſaw theſe things, without either reprimanding or obſtructing him; or ſo much as aſking him what he deſigned by all theſe grand preparations. His accomplices were *Joab* the general, and *Abiathar* the high-prieſt. *Sadoc* the high-prieſt, and *Nathan* the prophet; and *Benaias* captain of the body-guards, and *Semeis David*'s friend, and a band of ſelect ſoldiers, were the perſons who oppoſed the deſigns of *Adonias*. Having prepared an entertainment near the fountain, which is in the king's garden, he invited to it all his brothers except *Solomon*: Beſides, he took with him *Joab* the general and *Abiathar* the high-prieſt, and the princes of the tribe of *Judah*. But he gave no invitation to *Sadoc* the high-prieſt, or *Nathan* the prophet, or *Benaias* captain of the body-guards, or any others of the oppoſite party. *Nathan* the prophet went to *Beethſebe*, the mother of *Solomon*, and acquainted her with the affair, that *Adonias* had made himſelf king, without *David*'s knowledge; he adviſed her to take care of her own and ſon's ſafety, and go by herſelf to *David*, and put him in mind; 'How he had ſworn *Solomon* ſhould ſucceed him in the kingdom; but in the interim *Adonias* had poſſeſt himſelf of the government.' The prophet told her, he would ſtep in while ſhe was diſcourſing the king upon the matter, and confirm her words; *Beethſebe* followed *Nathan*'s direction, and went to the king: After ſhe had done him reverence and petitioned for leave to ſpeak, ſhe communicated to him all as the prophet had adviſed her; that *Adonias* had prepared an entertainment; after which ſhe diſcovered the perſons who were invited, *to wit*, *Joab* the general, and *Abiathar* the high-prieſt, and all the king's ſons (except *Solomon* and his friends;) ſhe told him all the people were in ſuſpence whom he deſigned to declare king, and therefore exhorted him to conſider it well, if *Adonias* became king after his deceaſe, he would put to death her and her ſon *Solomon*.

While the woman was yet talking with the king, the lords of the bed-chamber told him *Nathan* deſired to ſee him. The king ordering them to introduce him; he came in, and aſked, if that day he had declared *Adonias* king, and inveſted him in the government, for he had made a ſplendid entertainment to which he had invited all his ſons (except *Solomon*,) and *Joab* the general, who were feaſting with a great deal of mirth, and wiſhing him an endleſs empire. However, (*ſaid he*) he neither gave any invitation to me, or to *Sadoc* the high-prieſt, or to *Benaias* captain of the body-guards. It would be but juſtice to let it be known, whether theſe things are done with your conſent. When *Nathan* had done thus ſpeaking, the king commanded *Beethſebe* to be called to him: For ſhe had gone out of the bed-chamber, at the prophet's coming in. When ſhe approached, 'I ſwear to you, *ſaid he*, by the great God, *Solomon* your ſon ſhall be king, as I have before ſworn; and ſit upon my throne, and that this ſhall come to paſs this very day.' The woman upon this did him reverence, and wiſhed him a long life: After which, ſhe ſent for *Sadoc* the high-prieſt, and *Banaias* the captain of the body-guards; when they were come, he ordered them to take *Nathan* the prophet, and all the ſoldiers about the palace with them; and ſet his ſon *Solomon* upon the king's mule, and carry him out of the city, to the fountain call'd *Gihon*, where, anointing him with the ſacred oil, they ſhould proclaim him king. He commanded *Sadoc* the high-prieſt, and *Nathan* the prophet, to perform this ſolemnity, and enjoined them, as they accompanied him through the midſt of the city to ſound their horns, and cry aloud, *May king* Solomon *ſit upon the royal throne for ever*, That the whole people might know he was conſtituted king by his father. He gave *Solomon* this leſſon about the government, to rule religiouſly and juſtly over the whole nation of the *Hebrews*, and the tribe of *Judah*. *Benaias* having wiſhed God's mercy upon *Solomon*, they immediately mounted him upon the mule, and carried him to the fountain without the city, where they anointed him with oil, after which they returned back into the city, and wiſhing him a long reign, they carried him into the king's palace, and ſeated him upon the throne. The whole people a while after turned themſelves to feaſting and celebrating the day with ſo much dancing and muſic, that earth and air reſounded with the noiſe of the great number of inſtruments.

As ſoon as *Adonias* and the gueſts he had at his entertainment, heard the acclamations, they were greatly diſturbed. *Joab* the general, ſaid, he neither liked the noiſe nor the trumpets. The proviſions of the feaſt remained untaſted, and every one ſeem'd loſt in thought. While they continued in this poſture, *Jonathan* the ſon of *Abiathar* the high-prieſt, ran in unto them. *Adonias* looked pleaſantly upon him, and called him a good meſſenger, after which he recounted to them every thing that reſpected *Solomon* and the order of *David*. Upon this, *Adonias* and his gueſts aroſe immediately from the entertainment; and fled each to his home. *Adonias* reflecting on the crime he had been guilty of, was afraid of the king, and (*a*) implored pardon of God, taking hold of the horns of the altar: This action of his was told to *Solomon*, and how he deſired a promiſe from him, confirmed by an oath, not to remember, or inflict any puniſhment upon him for what was paſt. The king with much clemency and prudence granted him a pardon; but added, if at any time for the future he was found projecting new ſchemes, he ſhould certainly meet with a deſerved puniſhment. After this, he ſent to fetch him from his place of refuge: When he was come and had paid his reverence, he commanded him to go to his own houſe, baniſh his rebellious thoughts, and behave himſelf as became his condition of life.

David was willing his ſon ſhould be declared king of the whole nation; to which end he aſſembled all the princes together, with the prieſts and *Levites* to *Hieroſolyma*. He firſt of all numbered them, and found thirty eight thouſand perſons from thirty to (*b*) fifty years of age; out of theſe, he appointed twenty three thouſand to attend the building of the temple: Six thouſand judges of the people and their ſcribes, four thouſand porters belonging to the houſe of God, and as many choiriſters to celebrate divine ſervice on the inſtruments of muſic *David* had prepared, which we have a little above mentioned. He divided them according to their families, and ſeparated the prieſts from the reſt of the tribe, of whom he found twenty four families; ſixteen deſcended from the houſe of *Eleazar*, and eight from that of *Ithamar*. He appointed, that each family ſhould attend the ſervice of the temple for eight days, that is, from ſabbath to ſabbath: Thus were the lots of all the tribes caſt in the preſence of *David*, *Sadoc* and *Abiathar* the high-prieſts, and of all the princes. That family whoſe lot came out firſt, was wrote down firſt; and in like manner the ſecond, to the twenty fourth; this way of diviſion remains (*c*) even to this day. He ſeparated alſo the tribe of *Levi*, into twenty four claſſes or parts, which determined by lot their turns of officiating for eight days, as the prieſts did. But he conferred the greateſt honour upon the poſterity of *Moyſes*, whom he conſtituted the keepers of the treaſures of God, and the donations of kings; laſtly, he ordain'd all the *Levites* and prieſts to attend the ſervice of God day and night, according to the preſcription of *Moyſes*.

After this, he diſtributed the whole army into twelve diviſions, with their captains, centurions and tribunes. Each diviſion conſiſted of twenty four thouſand men, who were in their turns commanded to guard king *Solomon* thirty days together, with their centurions and tribunes; he placed over them officers, whom he knew to be men of integrity and juſtice, he appointed overſeers of the treaſury, of villages, fields and herds, the names of whom we think unneceſſary to mention here.

When he had put matters into this poſture he called an aſſembly of the *Hebrew* magiſtrates, the princes of the tribes, the officers of each company, and thoſe who had under their care the adminiſtration of the king's affairs, or inſpection of his revenues; when getting upon an high place, he harangued the people thus: ‘ Brothers and countrymen, I ‘ am willing you ſhould know, how ardent my

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(*a*) *Epiphanius* ſays, ‘ He became ſuppliant before God; and while he held the Horns of the Altar, ‘ King *Solomon* was acquainted with it. (*b*) ἐτῶν ἕως πεντήκοντα are inſerted from the Edition of *Samblicus*. (*c*) Ἄχει τῆς σήμερον.] From theſe Words, ſome gather *Joſephus* wrote theſe Books of the *Antiquities* before the Deſtruction of the Temple, becauſe the Method of fixing the High-prieſt's Office by Lots, ceaſed after it. But *Joſephus* has another Paſſage, in which it appears he firſt wrote the *Jewiſh* Wars, and after them theſe Books; and it is very certain (μερισμὸς) or the diſtribution of the Prieſts, into twenty four Families, was in Uſe in the Life-time of *Joſephus*, although they did not officiate in the Temple. For he notes from what Family himſelf was deſcended. The *Jews* at this Day, after a Series of ſo many Ages, can tell who are the Deſcendants of the ſacerdotal Line, though they cannot diſtinguiſh the twenty four Families. Now, he who underſtands the Age of *Joſephus*, may find out who were of the Family of the Prieſts; when they lived, and who, and whoſe Fathers adminiſtred in the Temple. If *Joſephus* knew thus much, and was able to acquaint us from what Claſs or Family himſelf was deſcended, which no Perſon we ſuppoſe will object againſt, he certainly with a great deal of Juſtice, ſays, that the μερισμὸς, or Diſtribution of the Prieſts into twenty four Families, remained even to his Days. *Reland*.

deſire is of having a temple built to God; for which purpoſe I have laid up great ſtores of gold, and ten thouſand talents of ſilver. But God, by *Nathan* his prophet, has forbidden my deſign, on account of my many wars for you, and my hands being imbrued in the ſlaughter of your enemies. However, my ſon, the ſucceſſor to my kingdom, is appointed to raiſe a temple to him. Now, ſince you know our forefather *Jacob* had twelve ſons, and that *Judah* was appointed king over them, and how I myſelf, having ſix brothers, was, notwithſtanding preferred to them, and received the kingdom at the hands of God, without any ill-will of theirs: I therefore intreat my ſons, not to be concerned in any rebellion againſt *Solcmon*, who now hath received the government; but to believe God choſen him to be king, and on that account with pleaſure yield obedience to his authority. If God had been pleaſed a ſtranger ſhould have enjoyed the chief command, every one ought chearfully to have owned their allegiance to him. But now a brother has roſe to ſo high a pinnacle of honour, how much reaſon have they to rejoice at his good fortune, who in a great meaſure are partakers of it. My prayer is, that the promiſes God has vouchſafed to make, may have the deſired effect, and that the peaceful adminiſtration under the reign of *Solomon* my ſon, may ſhed its happy influence over the whole land, and remain for ever. Theſe bleſſings, my ſon, (*concluded* David,) will be confirm'd to you, and made laſting joys, if you ſhow your ſelf holy, juſt, and a preſerver of your country's laws. But if you run counter to them, every thing will meet with ill ſucceſs.'

After *David* had made an end of this ſpeech, he delivered to *Solomon*, in the ſight of all the people, a plan and directions for building the temple; he ſhowed him the foundation, and ſuperſtructure with their rooms; how many there were to be in number, their dimenſions, how many veſſels of gold and ſilver, and their weight; after which, he exhorted him to undertake the building with the utmoſt chearfulneſs; and deſired the princes of the tribe of *Levi* to aſſiſt the weakneſs of his age, ſince God had made choice of him, not only to be the inſtrument of building the temple, but to exerciſe the ſovereign authority. Beſides, he ſhewed them how eaſy it was to carry on the work. As he had already provided many talents of gold, but more of ſilver; great ſtores of wood; a vaſt number of carpenters and maſons; and emeralds, and all other kinds of precious ſtones. He told them he had ſaved two hundred talents of gold out of his own revenues, and three thouſand more of pure gold to adorn the *Adyt* or *Holy-place*, and the (*a*) chariot of God, *to wit*, the *Cherubims*, which with wings expanded were to cover the ark. As ſoon as *David* had done ſpeaking, the princes, prieſts, and the tribe of the *Levites*, ſhewed great chearfulneſs to promote the undertaking, and added to it by their liberality. They promiſed to ſupply ten thouſand talents of gold, ten thouſand ſhekels, ten thouſand talents of ſilver, and many myriads of talents of iron. If any perſon had in his poſſeſſion a precious ſtone, he brought it to *David* to be put into the treaſury; the care of which was intruſted to *Jalus*, the (*b*) nephew of *Moyſes*.

The whole multitude were extremely pleaſed, but above the reſt, *David*, when he ſaw the earneſt deſire and readineſs of the princes, prieſts, and the reſt of the people to forward the work, he raiſed his voice aloud, and began to praiſe God, calling him the father and creator of the univerſe; the maker of all things, both divine and human, the preſerver of the *Hebrew* nation, and the fountain of that happy and peaceful government they received from him. This done, he wiſhed happineſs to all the people; and a ſound and upright conſcience, ſtrengthened with virtue to his ſon, and laſtly commanded the people to offer up their praiſes to God. Upon this, they fell upon the ground and worſhipped; at the ſame time returning *David* their thanks for all the good things they had enjoyed under his government. The day following they brought ſacrifices to God; a thouſand calves, as many rams, and a thouſand lambs, for a burnt-offering; they alſo offered peace-offerings, and ſlew many thouſands of other victims; the king and the whole people dedicated all the day to feaſting. They anointed *Solomon* again with oil, and declared him king. *Sadoc* was conſtituted high-prieſt of all the people; they conducted *Solomon* into the palace, and placed him upon his father's throne; from that day beginning to pay him their due obedience.

(*a*) Ἅρμα Θεοῦ. 2 *Sam. c.* xxii. *v.* 11. *And he rode upon a Cherub, and did fly, and he was ſeen upon the Wings of the Wind.* So *Pſal.* xviii. 11. *He rode upon a Cherub and did fly, yea he did fly upon the Wings of the Wind.* (2) ἔκγονος.] We have rendered this Word *Nephew*, agreeable to *Politianus*, in the 5th Book of *Herodian*. *Galenius* calls him one of the Race of *Moyſes*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

David's *Speech to* Solomon, *before he died, and how much he left him towards building the* Temple.

SHortly after this *David*, through age, growing very weak, and perceiving the hour of his death to draw on apace, called his ſon *Solomon*, to whom he thus ſpoke: ‘My ſon, I am now upon the brink of fate, and ready to depart to reſt with my fathers. I am juſt upon going a journey common to all, who now are, or hereafter ſhall be; from which no traveller returns to know how affairs ſtand in this life. Wherefore, while I am yet among the living, let me put you in mind again of thoſe things I have before ſaid to you; that you exerciſe your authority with juſtice over your ſubjects, humbly obey God, who hath beſtowed the government upon you, and carefully obſerve his commandments and laws, which he has tranſmitted to you from *Moyſes*. Be watchful that you are not induced to deviate in the leaſt from them, either by the flatteries of others, your own corrupt deſires, or by any paſſion; for when ever you leave them, God, his providence and protection will deſert you; but if you behave yourſelf towards him as you ought to do, and as I wiſh you; then you will confirm the kingdom to your poſterity, and no other houſe but ours will ſway the ſceptre of the *Hebrews*, but it will be continued to you and yours for ever. Remember the crimes of *Joab* the general, who through jealouſy put to death two juſt and faithful generals, to wit, *Abener* the ſon of *Ner*, and *Ameſſa* the ſon of *Jethrau*; puniſh him for their deaths as you ſhall think fit; for being more powerful and popular than me, he has hitherto eſcaped the threats of juſtice. I recommend to you the ſons of *Berzeleus*, the *Galaadite*, whom, for my ſake, I intreat you to take care of, and confer your friendly offices upon them. In this you will but return an obligation, and requite them for the great ſervices their father did me in my baniſhment: Laſtly, there is *Semei* the ſon of *Geras*, a *Benjamite*, who in my flight to the tents threw many curſes at me; but afterwards meeting me at *Jordan*, he obtain'd my word not to puniſh him then: Let him not eſcape juſtice, when you find a juſt occaſion to exerciſe it upon him.’

When he had given his ſon theſe commands about the government, his friends, and thoſe whoſe crimes he deſir'd ſhould be puniſhed, he gave up the ghoſt, after he had lived ſeventy years, reigned over the tribe of *Judah* in *Chebron* ſeven years and ſix months, and over the whole land at *Hieroſolyma* thirty and three years. He was a perſon of exceeding goodneſs, and had all the virtues in him requiſite for the forming of a great king, and for the preſervation of ſo many nations as were committed to his care. None exceeded him in perſonal courage; for in the expeditions he made for his ſubjects he always was the firſt to meet danger, and always by his own example took care to excite his ſoldiers to great actions, not like a tyrant, to drive ſlaves to their duty. He had an excellent genius in forming deſigns, and making the beſt advantages of things: Add to theſe, he was temperate, meek, bountiful to thoſe in adverſity, juſt and humane: Theſe were all princely virtues. He never ſtained the greatneſs of his authority, except in the caſe of *Uriah*'s wife. He left ſo vaſt a treaſure, as no other king, either of the *Hebrews* or any other nation, could boaſt of.

He was bury'd by his ſon *Solomon* in *Hieroſolyma*, with great magnificence; but beſides the pompous rites generally perform'd at the funerals of kings, vaſt riches were depoſited with him; the great value whereof any one may form to himſelf an idea of, from what we are going to relate. When *Hyrcanus* the high-prieſt was beſieg'd by *Antiochus*, ſurnamed the *Pions*, and the ſon of *Demetrius*, he was willing, that the ſiege might be raiſed, and the army drawn off, to give a ſum of money; but having no way to raiſe it, he opened one of the cells belonging to *David*'s ſepulchre, and took out of it three thouſand talents of gold; part whereof he gave to *Antiochus*, and by that means delivered himſelf from the ſiege; as we ſhall ſhow in another place. King *Herod* many ages after him open'd another cell, and took thence treaſures of a great value: Notwithſtanding this, neither of them got to the place where the aſhes of the king lay; for they were buried with ſo much art under ground, that thoſe who entered the ſepulchre could not find out where they were laid. But of this enough.’

The END *of the* Seventh BOOK.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
OF THE
ANTIQUITIES of the JEWS.

BOOK THE EIGHTH.

Containing the Space of One Hundred and Eighty Years.

CHAP. I.

How Solomon, *on receiving the Kingdom, put his Enemies to Death.*

IN the foregoing book we have treated of *David*, and of his courage; how he became the author of many bleſſings to his countrymen; of his many ſucceſsful wars and expeditions, and how, being arrived to a good old age, he died. *Solomon* his ſon was young, when he received the government, and was in the life-time of his father declared by him lord of the people, with the approbation of God. When he was ſeated upon the throne, the whole multitude, as is cuſtomary in the beginning of a new king's reign, with loud acclamations wiſhed that all his undertakings might ſucceed proſperouſly; and his government continue happy and flouriſhing to his death.

Adonias, who, while his father was alive, had endeavoured to ſeize upon the government, went at this time to *Beethſebe* the king's mother, and courteouſly ſaluted her: She asked him, if there was any thing within her power he came to demand, if ſo, ſhe bid him diſcloſe his mind to her, for ſhe would very willingly grant it. Upon this he began to ſay, 'That ſhe well knew the kingdom ought to be his, not only on account of his ſeniority of age, but of the good-will of the people towards him; but ſince it was the divine pleaſure, that the government ſhould devolve to her ſon *Solomon*, he would willingly ſubmit to him, and be content under his preſent condition: He intreated her to uſe her intereſt with her ſon, and perſuade him to give him *Arſace* (who had only ſlept by his father's ſide,) in marriage; for that his father by reaſon of his old age, had not lain with her, and ſhe was ſtill a virgin.' *Beethſebe* promiſed ſhe would uſe all her intereſt, and endeavour to bring about the marriage, which, ſhe ſaid, would ſucceed on two accounts, *to wit*, on the king's readineſs, firſt to gratify him in his requeſt; and next her, in her earneſt ſollicitations to have it done. Full of hopes of this marriage he left her. *Beethſebe* went directly to her ſon, to ſpeak with him about what ſhe had promiſed *Adonias*; he came out to meet her, and embracing her, led her to his bedchamber, in which at that time was a royal throne, whereon he ſeated himſelf, and then commanded another to be placed on his right hand for his mother. As ſoon as ſhe was ſeated, 'My ſon, ſaid ſhe, grant me one requeſt I ſhall ask of you; and do not diſappoint me by a denial.' *Solomon* upon this bid her command him, for it was juſtice a mother ſhould require any thing ſhe wanted; he reprimanded her a little for the diffidence ſhe had ſhowed in asking, and her fear of being refuſed. After this ſhe intreated him to give his brother *Adonias Arſace* the virgin in marriage.

The king was not very well pleaſed with her requeſt, and diſmiſſed her. He ſaid *Adonias* was bent upon higher matters, and wondered he did not demand the kingdom of him, as being his elder brother, ſince he asked for *Arſace* to be given him in marriage; by which he would ſtrengthen himſelf with powerful friends, *to wit*, *Joab* the general, and *Abiathar* the high-prieſt. Immediately after this, he ſent for *Benaias* the captain of the body-guards, and ordered him to go and kill his brother *Adonias*; then he called for *Abiathar*, to whom he ſaid, 'The troubles you have ſuffered in conjunction with my father and your pious labour in carrying back the ark with him, reprieve you from death. I have however, for your following the ſide of *Adonias*, and entring into his deſigns, reſolved upon this puniſhment for you, that you leave my court, and never more ſhow yourſelf in my ſight, but go into your country, and live upon your own eſtate, and remain in that private ſtation till

‘ death. For it is not fit, after having committed ſo heinous a crime, you ſhould any ‘ longer enjoy the prieſthood.’ The houſe of *Ithamar* loſt the ſacerdotal dignity for the above-mentioned cauſe, as God had foretold to *Eli* the grandfather of *Abiathar*, who tranſlated it to the race of *Phineeſes*, to *Sadoc*. Thoſe of the houſe of *Phineeſes*, who lived in a (1) private condition, from the time the *Pontificate* was transferred to the houſe of *Ithamar*, till it was taken away, (*Eli* being the firſt of that line who enjoyed it) were theſe; *Boccias* the ſon of *Joſephus* the high-prieſt; *Joathamus* his ſon; *Mereothus* ſon of *Joathamus*; *Aropheus* ſon of *Mereothus*; *Achitob*, ſon of *Aropheus*; and *Sadoc* ſon of *Achitob*, who was the firſt high-prieſt, created under the reign of *David*.

When *Joab* the general came to hear of the death of *Adonias*, he was exceedingly terrified; having ſhewn himſelf a greater friend to him than to *Solomon*, he reaſonably ſuſpected a puniſhment for the ſervice and favour he had done him, and therefore fled to the altar for ſanctuary; where, reflecting on the veneration the king had for God, he ſuppoſed himſelf in ſafety. *Solomon* hearing of *Joab*'s conduct by certain perſons, ſent and commanded *Benaias* to force him from the altar, and bring him before the judgment ſeat to anſwer for what he had done. *Joab* told him, that he would by no means leave the holy ſanctuary, but had rather die there than in any other place; *Benaias* having told king *Solomon* what anſwer he made, he ordered him to cut off his head there, for his deſire was to have it ſo, that juſtice might be done him for the two generals whom he had moſt villainouſly murdered. But he commanded him to bury his body, that the remembrance of his crimes might be left to his poſterity, and he and his father ſeem innocent of the death of *Joab*. After *Benaias* had performed his orders, he was made general of the whole army, and *Sadoc* was conſtituted ſole high-prieſt in the room of *Abiathar*, who was removed from the pontificate.

After this he called *Semei*, and commanded him to build himſelf an houſe at *Hieroſolyma*, and keep himſelf cloſely within it, and not preſume to paſs the river *Cedron*; which if he did, he ſhould ſuffer death for it. But not content with this terrible threatning, he forced him to ſwear to the true performance of it. *Semei* told *Solomon* he was well ſatisfied with his command, and ſwore faithfully to obſerve it, after which he left his native country, and lived at *Hieroſolyma*. Three years after this, he heard that two of his ſervants had run away from him, and were gone to *Gitta*, upon which he purſued them. When the king came to know that he was returned with them, and that he had diſobeyed his command given him, and what was worſe, violated his oath to God; being much incenſed at him, he ſent for him, and ſaid, *Did not you ſwear to me, not to leave me, or to go out of this city into another? Your perjury ſhall now be deſervedly puniſhed; beſides, I will take this opportunity of revenging the affronts put upon my father by you in his baniſhment, that you may know, villains, like you, gain nothing in eſcaping for a while the puniſhment due to their crimes, but rather that all the time they think they live ſecure, the juſt vengeance of heaven increaſes and becomes more heavy, than if they had undergone it at the time their crimes were committed.* After this, *Benaias*, by the command of the king, put him to death.

CHAP. II.

Of Solomon*'s Wife; his Wiſdom, and Riches, and the Things* Hiramus *ſent him towards building the Temple.*

SOLOMON having thus puniſhed his enemies, and eſtabliſhed his kingdom, married the daughter of *Pharaothus*, king of the *Egyptians*. He rebuilt the walls of *Hieroſolyma*, which he made larger and ſtronger than they were before, and reigned in the profoundeſt peace, his youth not in the leaſt hindring him from ſtrictly obſerving juſtice, preſerving the laws, and bearing in memory the commands his father had left him. On the contrary, he went through the fatigues of publick buſineſs with ſo much prudence and diſcretion, as ſhewed he was mature in judgment, tho' not in years. He reſolved to go to (2) *Chebron*, and upon the brazen altar, which *Moyſes* had (3) erected there, ſacrifice to God a thouſand animals as a burnt-offering, an action that procur'd him the favour of God; for that very night he appeared to him in a dream, and commanded him to aſk for any thing, and he would give it him as a reward of his piety. *Solomon* aſked of God the greateſt and moſt valuable thing, that which he eſteemed the moſt acceptable to the Almighty to beſtow, and moſt profitable for man to receive. It was neither gold nor ſilver, nor any riches, which both old and young are too apt to covet, and commonly conſider as the greateſt and beſt gifts, of all thoſe which the Divinity ſhowers down; ‘ But give me, ‘ Lord, *ſaid he*, a ſound judgment and right ‘ underſtanding, that I may judge and govern ‘ this people with juſtice and truth.’ This petition was ſo pleaſing to God, that he promiſed to give him all other things which he had forget to put in his requeſt, to wit, riches, honour, victory over his enemies, and, above all, more wiſdom and underſtanding than any perſon, either in a publick or private capacity, before him was ever bleſt with: He likewiſe promiſed to preſerve the kingdom in his poſterity for many ages, on condition he continued ſtrictly to obſerve juſtice, and obey his commands, and copied his father in thoſe virtues he moſt excelled in. *Solomon* having heard theſe words leaped out of his bed, and worſhipped him; after which he returned to *Hieroſolyma*, where he ſacrificed a great number of victims before the tabernacle, and feaſted all the people.

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(1) *Selden* interprets it, they who did not enjoy the Prieſthood. (2) *Gabaona* according to *Holy Writ*. In the *French* Editions it is wrote *Gibrona*, *Hudſon*. It ſhould be written *Gabaona*; for this Altar was not at *Chebron*. *Reland*. (3) The *Jews* mention this Altar as built by *Bezaleel*. *Reland*.

About this time there was a cauſe brought before him, of much intricacy, the determination of which ſeemed difficult. We have thought it proper to relate all the circumſtances of the diſpute, that thoſe, into whoſe hands our writings may fall, may learn from thence, how difficult a taſk it is to determine controverſies, and from the wiſdom of the king be inſtructed what judgment to give in ſuch a cauſe, ſhould ever any ſuch be left to their deciſion.

Two women, proſtitutes, came to him. She who ſeemed to have received the injury, began thus: 'I, O king, *ſaid ſhe*, lodge in the 'ſame houſe with this woman. It happened 'both of us on the ſame day, and about the 'ſame hour, were delivered each of a male 'child. Three days after this ſhe overlaid her 'ſon in her ſleep, and killed him, and then 'taking away mine ſoftly out of my arms, 'carried it away to her bed, and put her 'dead child in its room. In the morning, 'when I wanted to give mine the breaſt, I 'could not find it, but ſaw her dead one 'lying by my ſide. I have narrowly looked 'into this affair, and am very ſenſible I am in 'the right. Upon this I demanded my child 'of her, but meeting with a refuſal, I fled, 'my Lord, to you to implore your aſſiſtance. 'As we were alone, ſhe ſuppoſed herſelf ſecure from conviction, as there were no witneſſes of the action, and therefore obſtinately perſiſts in denying the fact.' When ſhe had done ſpeaking, the king asked the other, if ſhe had any thing to object againſt what was charged upon her? She denied that ſhe had done any ſuch thing, and ſaid, the living child was her's, and the dead one her adverſary's. Every one were confounded to know what judgment would be paſſed upon ſo odd a cauſe, and as if it had been ſome riddle, they laboured in the dark to ſolve it. At length the king bethought himſelf of this expedient; he commanded the living as well as the dead child to be brought to him, when ſending for one of his guards, he ordered him to draw his ſword, and cut both the infants into two equal parts, that each of the women might take half of the living and half of the dead child; upon this all the people laughed at the king, as thinking it a childiſh decree; immediately the (1) right mother with a loud voice deſired him not to execute it, but give her child to the other woman as her own, for ſhe ſhould be ſatisfied if it lived, and ſhe had the happineſs to ſee it, although in the poſſeſſion of another. The other woman ſeemed ready to ſee the child divided, only to torment its mother. The king conſidered the words of the firſt as real and unfeigned, decreed the infant to be given to her who had cried out to have its life ſpared (for ſhe was the right mother) and condemned the other of malice, who had firſt murdered her own, and next deſired to ſee the death of her friend's child. The people conſidered this as a great example of the wiſdom and underſtanding of the king; and from that day forward obeyed him as one bleſt with a divine wiſdom.

The officers of his army, and the governors of the provinces of his kingdom were theſe, *Ures* lieutenant of the tribe of *Ephraim*; *Dioclerus* of *Bethle-em*; (2) *Aminadab*, who had married *Solomon*'s daughter, had under his juriſdiction the country of the *Dorenſes*, and the ſea-coaſts; *Benaias* the ſon of *Achilus* ruled the great plain, and all the land reaching as far as *Jordan*. *Gabaris* governed the provinces of *Galaad* and *Gaulonia*, in which were ſixty large and well fortified cities. (3) *Achinadab*, who married *Solomon*'s daughter, named *Baſima*, had under him all *Galilee*, as far as *Sidon*. *Banacates* obtained the ſea-coaſts about (4) *Arce*. *Saphates* the hill *Itubyrius*, *Carmel*, and the land of *Galilee*, as far as the river *Jordan*. Over all theſe there was one who had the ſuperintendency. *Semei* had the tribe of *Benjamin*, and *Gabares* all the land lying on the other ſide of *Jordan*, under him. Over theſe again there was conſtituted a chief. After the people had applied themſelves to huſbandry and the cultivation of the earth, the ſtate of the *Hebrews*, eſpecially that of the tribe of *Judah*, received an amazing increaſe. For being in a profound peace, and at laſt diſengaged from wars abroad, and civil diſtractions at home, (add to theſe liberty, the choiceſt of all bleſſings, which they enjoyed in the greateſt perfection;) they entirely devoted themſelves to raiſe their fortunes, and augment their domeſtic concerns.

The king had beſides theſe other governors, who exerciſed juriſdiction over the *Syrians*, and other nations, from the river *Euphrates*, to *Ægypt*: Theſe gathered the tributes of the nations ſubject to him. They furniſhed for the king's table and entertainment every day thirty meaſures of flour, ſixty of meal, ten fatted oxen, twenty oxen out of the paſture, and an hundred fatted lambs; beſides all theſe he had daily deers, wild bulls, fiſhes and birds brought him from foreign nations. *Solomon* had ſo vaſt a number of chariots, that there were forty thouſand ſtalls for the harneſs-horſes: Beſides theſe he had twelve thouſand horſemen, the one half whereof remained at *Hieroſolyma* about his perſon, and the other were quartered up and down in the king's villages without. The ſame officer, who provided for the king's table, found alſo neceſſaries for his horſes, and carried them with him whitherſoever he went.

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(1) *Epiphanius* has ſomething more than our Author: He ſays, 'She cried out not to kill her Son.'

(2) *Epiphanius* calls him *Abian Aſaph*, and *Abian Adad*.

(3) *Joſephus* confounds *Achinadab* and *Achinaas* together, as appears from the Sacred Writings, which ſay, that the latter of them married *Pharaoh's* Daughter.

(4) This *Arce* is not that in *Libanus*, Lib. I. c. 7. Sect. 2. where *Severus* the Emperor was born. There was another of this Name in *Arabia*, afterwards called *Petra*.

The wiſdom and underſtanding which God bleſſed *Solomon* with, exceeded that of the antients. The *Ægyptians*, who were eſteemed to excel all others in knowledge, came infinitely ſhort of him. Thoſe *Hebrews*, who in his time were reckoned men of penetration, and had purchaſed renown for their deep underſtanding, were not to be compared with him; the names of the moſt famous of them were *Ethamus*, and *Hemanus*, and *Chalceus*, and *Dardanus*, the ſons of *Hemaon*. *Solomon* compoſed fifteen hundred books of odes and poems, three thouſand of proverbs and parables, for he applied a parable to every kind of tree, from the hyſſop to the cedar. In like manner of cattle, and every living creature upon the earth; of fiſhes and birds; for he ſearched into all their natures, philoſophized upon them, and diſcovered himſelf well acquainted with their different properties and diſpoſitions. God alſo gave him a power of driving out devils from poſſeſſed perſons for the good of mankind; he invented incantations, by which diſeaſes were healed, and left behind him a method of exorciſing, whereby devils were ſo effectually caſt out, as never to return again. This method of cure is much in vogue with our nation to this day. I myſelf have ſeen one *Eleazar*, a countryman of mine, diſpoſſeſſing people of devils in the preſence of *Veſpaſian*, his ſons, captains, and army. The form of performing the cure was this; he touched the noſtrils of the *Demoniac*, (or perſon poſſeſt with a devil) with a ring, under the ſeal of which was put a piece of (1) one of thoſe roots which *Solomon* had diſcovered. As the man was ſmelling to it, he drew the devil out of his noſtrils; upon which the *Demoniac* ſuddenly fell down, and *Eleazar* adjured the devil never to return into him again: Repeating at the ſame time the name of *Solomon*, and the incantations compoſed by him. *Eleazar* after this was deſirous of perſuading the people about him, that he had really ſuch a power of caſting out devils. Whereupon he placed a pot or baſon of water at a little diſtance from a *Demoniac*, and commanded the devil to come out of the man, and overturn it; this he did, that the ſpectators round him might know for a truth that the devil had left the perſon. Herein the wiſdom and knowledge of *Solomon* plainly diſcovered itſelf; and for this reaſon we have been induced to relate theſe things, that every one might be acquainted with his vaſt genius, and excellency in all manner of knowledge.

Hiramus king of the *Tyrians*, having heard that *Solomon* had ſucceeded to his father's kingdom, was extremely glad, (for *David* and he had been conſtant friends) and ſent to compliment him by his ambaſſadors, on his acceſſion to the throne, and congratulate him upon the preſent happy poſture of affairs. *Solomon* in return ſent him the following epiſtle:

(2) *Solomon* to king *Hiramus*.

Know that my father was deſirous to build a temple to God; but at that time he was prevented in his deſign, being engaged in continual wars: For he never ceaſed from conqueſt till he had made all his enemies his tributaries. I give God thanks for the preſent peace I enjoy; and having much leiſure on my hands, I purpoſe to erect an houſe to God: According as God foretold my father that I ſhould build it. Wherefore my requeſt to you is, that you will ſend ſome of your people with my ſervants to mount Libanus, *to hew wood; for the* Sidonians *underſtand that buſineſs much better than my ſubjects. And as for wages, whatſoever you ſhall think reaſonable, I will pay to the workmen.*

When *Hiramus* had peruſed the contents of this letter, he was pleaſed with the requeſt in it; and returned to *Solomon* this anſwer:

King *Hiramus* to king *Solomon*.

Thanks to God that he has given his father's crown to you, a wiſe and virtuous prince. I am extremely pleaſed with it; and will ſupply you with every thing you deſire in your letter. I will order the faireſt and talleſt cedar and cypreſs trees to be cut down, and carried by my ſervants to the ſea-ſide; whom I will further command to prepare a veſſel, and ſail with them to whatſoever port in your kingdom you pleaſe; from whence your men may tranſport them to Hieroſolyma. *In exchange for theſe things, let us have a ſupply of corn; which we, who inhabit an iſland, ſtand in need of.*

Duplicates of theſe two epiſtles are extant to this very day, not only in our, but in the *Tyrian* records. If any perſon deſires to be ſatisfied of the truth of what I here aſſert, let him have recourſe to thoſe who keep the *Tyrian* regiſters, and he will find their accounts and ours exactly agree. We have mentioned theſe things, out of a deſire that our readers may be ſatisfied; our inclination is to advance nothing inconſiſtent with truth, nor to tickle the ears of our readers by a narration calculated only to divert, and then afterwards require from them an implicit belief in all we ſay. We will not indulge ourſelves in an opinion, that when we relate any thing unbecoming the gravity and dignity of an *Hiſtorian*; we are altogether free from error. Our earneſt requeſt is, rather that none of our readers would honour us with their approbation, unleſs we can firſt fully demonſtrate the truth of our relations, by infallible vouchers.

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(1) There are who imagine it to be the Root of the Herb, by our Author in his *Jewiſh* Wars, called *Bara*, which he wonderfully extols.

(2) Theſe Letters of *Solomon* and *Hiramus* are extant in *Euſebius*, and tranſcribed from *Eupolemus*, whom *Joſephus* has copied *verbatim* in this Place. Compare 1 *Kings*, Chap. v.

King *Solomon*, after he had received the *Tyrian* king's letter, greatly commended his frankneſs and kindneſs, and in return thereof gratified him with the following preſents. He ſent yearly (1) two thouſand meaſures of corn, and as many *Badi*, or veſſels of preſſed oil. A *Badus* contained ſeventy two *Sextarii* or quarts. He ſupplied him likewiſe with the ſame quantity of wine. Theſe good beginnings created an inviolable friendſhip, between *Solomon* and *Hiramus*, which they ſwore always to maintain. *Solomon* commanded his whole people to procure him thirty thouſand workmen. Theſe, by a wiſe and artful diſpoſition, he placed ſo as to make their buſineſs ſeem very eaſy to them: He appointed ten thouſand of them for the ſpace of one month, to hew wood in mount *Libanus*; who, after that time, were to return and enjoy two months reſt at home, while another ten thouſand ſupplied their place. By this method it happened, that at the end of every four months, the firſt ten thouſand were to return to the work again. *Adoramus* was made ſuperintendant over them. Beſides theſe, there were ſeventy thouſand foreigners, whom *David* had left, who were deſigned for labourers; there were alſo eighty thouſand ſtone-cutters, over whom preſided three thouſand and three hundred. He commanded them to cut all the largeſt ſtones for the foundation of the temple and to ſquare and prepare them in the mountain, before they tranſported them to *Hieroſolyma*; foreigners, as well as the artificers ſent by *Hiramus*, were employed in theſe matters.

CHAP. III.

Of the Building of the Temple.

SOLOMON began the building of the temple in the fourth year of his reign, in the ſecond month, which by the *Macedonians* is called *Artemiſius*, and by the *Hebrews*, *Jar*; (2) five hundred and ninety two years from the departure of the *Iſraelites* out of *Ægypt*; one thouſand and twenty from *Abraham*'s removing out of *Meſopotamia* into *Canaan*, and one thouſand four hundred and forty from the (3) *Deluge*. From *Adam* the firſt man, till *Solomon* began the erecting of the temple, was an intermediate ſpace of three thouſand one hundred and (4) two years. When the temple began to be built; *Hiramus* had then reigned eleven years in the kingdom of *Tyre*: And from the building of *Tyre* to the erecting of the temple, were four hundred and forty years.

The king laid the foundations of the temple vaſtly deep in the earth; and with ſtones ſo hard, as were able to repel the injuries of all weathers; they were wedged faſt enough into the earth, to ſuſtain the heavy ſuperſtructure to be raiſed upon them, the ſtrength of the foundation was anſwerable to the heighth of the ſuperſtructure both in curioſity of workmanſhip and bulk. The building was all of white ſtone to the very cieling, the heighth thereof was (5) ſixty cubits, the length the ſame, and the breadth twenty. Above this was another building of the ſame dimenſions, ſo that the whole heighth of the temple was one hundred and twenty cubits; and fronted the eaſt. They made a porch at the entrance twenty cubits in length, to anſwer the breadth of the temple, ten in breadth, and was carried up one hundred and twenty cubits in heighth; there were alſo built about the outſide of the temple, three hundred cells or ltitle houſes; which by reaſon of their thick

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(1) The Vulgar ſays, twenty thouſand, *&c.*

(2) *Toſtatus* finds in ſome Editions an Account of 600 Years. But *J. Gerard Voſſius* affirms the *Greek* Books of *Joſephus* in this Paſſage are right; for he has collected from the tenth Book of the Antiquities, Chap. II. that the Temple was burnt in the CCCCLVII. Year after its Foundation; and from the Departure of the People out of *Ægypt*, MLXII. from which if the CCCCLVII. be ſubſtracted, there remains DCV. *Vide Heidegger*, *Uſſerius* and *Voſſius* on this Article.

(3) *Epiphanius* ſays, in the four hundredth Year.

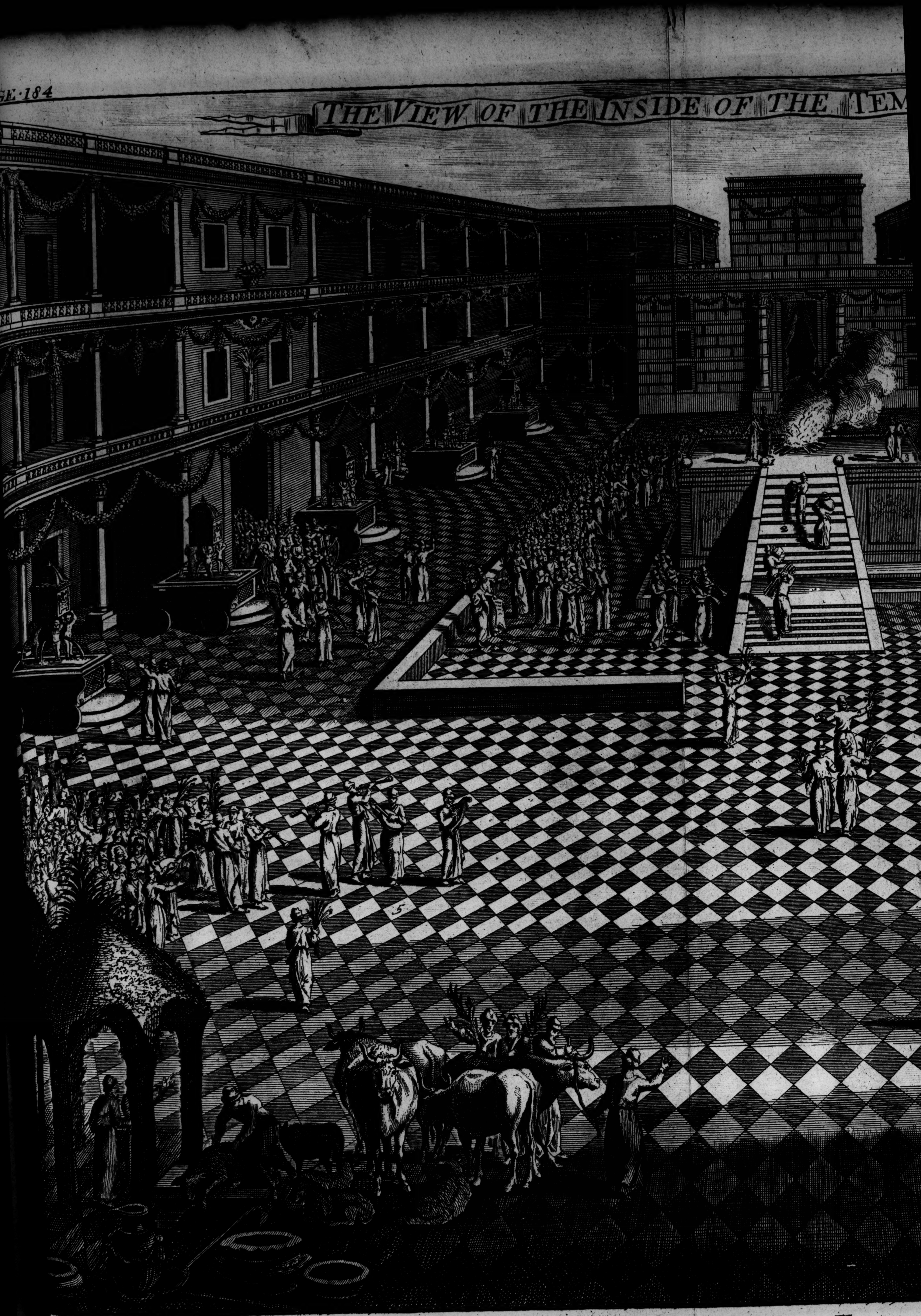
(4) *Schotanus* is of Opinion that *ſeventy* ought to ſtand in the Place of the *one hundred and two*. *Hudſon.* My Sentiments are, it ought to be read ſo, becauſe our Author before numbers 2256 Years from the Creation of the World, to the Deluge; 4102 from the Creation of the World to the building of the Temple, and 1446 from the Deluge. By this we ſhall find the ſmalleſt diſagreement. For 2656

1446

4102

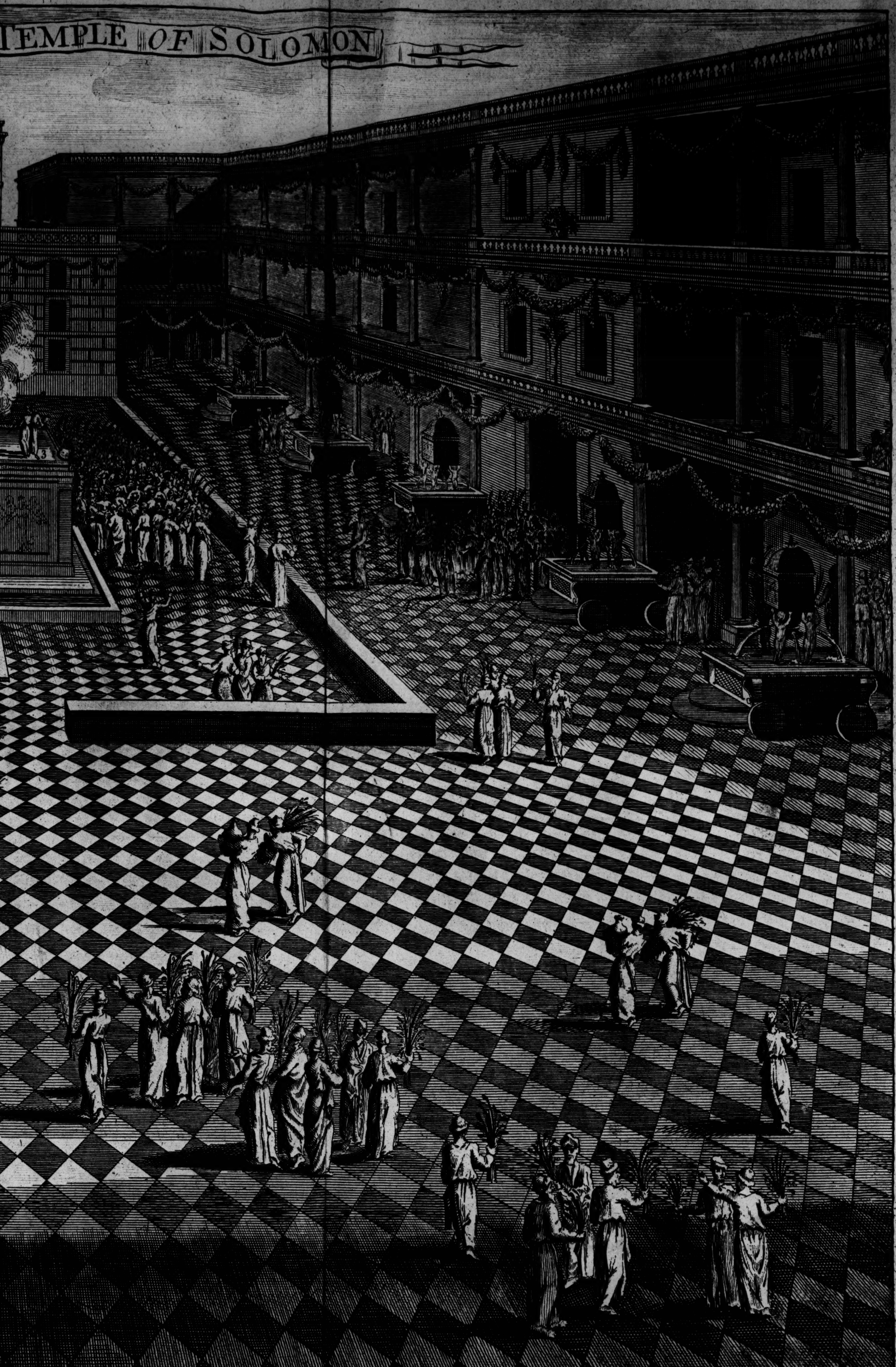
Therefore in the Place of 3000 I put 4000, and after 40 I add 6. For if 1440 be retained, there will neceſſarily raiſe a worſer Diſproportion in more Numbers. *Reland*

(5) "Concerning the Dimenſions of its Heighth and Length, (ſaith *Zonaras*) the third Chapter of the firſt of *Kings*, and 'the eighth Book of *Joſephus's* Antiquities, about the Deſcription of the Temple, in many Paſſages diſ'agree." Why *Joſephus* did ſo, it is to be conſidered (ſays *Villalpandus*) that the Teſtimonies the Scriptures afford us of theſe Matters, are not eaſily to be conceived, or it may be, which we ſhould the leaſt judge, that our Author was altogether unacquainted with Architecture. *Hudſon.* *Joſephus* in this Place follows not the Truth of the Matter, but Traditions, or rather Fictions of the *Jews*; a proof of this, ſee our Examination of *Vitringius's* Temple of *Ezekiel. Cocceius.*


THE VIEW OF THE INSIDE OF THE TEM
2
3
5

THE GREAT HOSANNAH OR CEREMONIES ON THE EIGHT

gh Priest making libations on the fire of the Altar of Burnt Offerings. (2) The Levites carrying wine and water for yͤ libations. (3) The Priests Aſsisting at yͤ Sacrifices. (4) The



I Basire sculp.

TH DAY OF THE FEA T OF TABERNACLES—

The Levites with branches of palm trees in their hands a sing seventimes round the Altar. (5) Singers & Musicians Singing Psalms & Playing on Inſtruments

thick and cloſe ſituation, proved a great ſupport to the walls; they had openings into one another, each being in breadth (*a*) five cubits; in length as many; and in heighth (*b*) twenty. Above theſe were built other rooms, over which was raiſed another ſtory. All theſe were of (*c*) like dimenſions, and number, and anſwer'd in heighth to the lower part of the fabric, for the upper building was not ſurrounded with any cells: Their roofs were all of cedar wood; and every one had its particular cieling, independent of one another, but were joined together by long beams reaching to each ſide, which running through the middle walls, bound them together tighter, and gave them more ſtrength. Under the beams was ſpread a covering of the ſame materials intermixed with gold; the walls were wainſcotted with pannels of cedar, and beautifully edged with gold, ſo that the whole temple glittered; and the eyes of thoſe who went in ſeem'd on fire: So ſtrong was the reflection from every part: The whole fabric was built with poliſhed ſtones, and ſo much art, that not the leaſt ſeam or joining appear'd; nay, thoſe who ſaw them, could not diſcover the leaſt mark of the hammer, or any ſigns of any other inſtruments; but imagined the whole to be of one entire piece, and that they rather naturally and by providence were joined in that cloſe order, than by any force or skill of the artificer. *Solomon* alſo contrived a pair of winding ſtairs to paſs up to the higher part of the temple, through the thickneſs of the wall; there was no large door facing the eaſt, belonging to the higher, as there was to the lower fabric, but a few ſmall doors in the ſides to paſs through. The temple from top to bottom was lined with cedar-wood, and joined together with ſtrong pieces of iron; which contributed very much to the ſupport of the building.

After he had divided the temple into two parts, he appointed the inner one, of twenty cubits ſquare, for the *Adyt* or *holy of holies*, and the outer one, of forty cubits, for the *Sanctuary*. In the partition wall he made large doors of cedar, embelliſhed with gold, and a great deal of curious carved work; over theſe he hung a veil of the ſofteſt and fineſt colour'd ſilk, and interwoven with the moſt beautiful flowers, as *Hyacinth*, purple and ſcarlet. He placed in the *holy of holies*, twenty cubits in breadth, and as many in length, two *Cherubims* of ſolid (*d*) gold, each in heighth (*e*) five cubits. Both had wings which ſtretched five cubits in breadth. Upon which account he placed them cloſe to each other, that one of their wings might reach to the ſouthern, the other to the northern wall of the *holy of holies*. Their other two wings met one another, and cover'd the ark which was placed in the middle of them. But what theſe *Cherubims* were, no man can tell, or never conjecture; the floor of the temple was covered with plates of beaten gold; he made gates to the porch of the temple, which anſwered to the heighth of the wall, twenty cubits broad, and overlaid with gold. In ſhort, there was no part of the temple, either within or without, but what was covered with gold: He ſtretched a veil or curtain over theſe gates, in the ſame manner as he did thoſe within; but the gate of the porch had no ſuch thing.

Solomon ſent to *Tyre* unto *Hiramus* for *Chiramus* the artificer, who by his mother's ſide was a *Nepthalite*, (being of that tribe) and by his father *Uriah*, an *Iſraelite*; he was an eminent architect; but was moſt famous for carving in gold, ſilver and braſs; every thing remarkably curious about the temple *Solomon* entruſted to his care; he made two (*f*) pillars of braſs, four fingers in thickneſs, eighteen cubits in heighth, and eighteen cubits in circumference; he placed chapiters in the form of lillies upon the pillars, five cubits high, which he ſurrounded with net-work adorned with leaves of braſs to cover the lillies. Below theſe hung two hundred punic apples or pomgranates in two rows; one of theſe pillars he placed on the right hand of the entrance of the porch, and called it *Jachin*, the other he ſet on the left-hand and called it *Boaz*.

He made a brazen ſea in the ſhape of an hemiſphere, or ball cut off in the middle. It was called a ſea becauſe of its capaciouſneſs; being ten cubits in diameter, and an hand's breadth in thickneſs. It was ſupported in the middle by a pillar, one cubit in diameter, and twiſted into ten large folds. Twelve bulls or oxen were placed round it, which faced the four quarters of the winds, three to every quarter. Their poſteriors were ſituated inwardly, and made lower under the ſea, that they might the better ſupport it. This ſea contained three thouſand (*g*) *Bati*.

(*a*) By this Means the Circumference of the 300 Cells, with the Frontiſpiece of the Temple, included 870 Cubits, which is abſurd to think of, not only becauſe it is ſaid in the 5th of the Wars, Chap. XIV. to contain in Breadth 100 Cubits, but to be narrow or in the Front and behind 40 Cubits. But the Deſcription of the Cells is contradictory to 1 *Kings*, Chap. vii. ver. 5, 6. *Cocceius*.

(*b*) Every Cell to its Roof was one Rod in Heighth, all together were three Rods, that is, eighteen Cubits, and three fourths of a Cubit, which, after the Manner of an Hiſtorian, *Joſephus* has been pleaſed to call *Twenty*; perhaps he ſpoke of the Heighth of the Temple from the Cieling. For indeed the Roof of the Upper-building was erected 20 Cubits from the Ground, *Villalpandus*.

(*c*) If the Length and Heighth of the Cells be underſtood here, every Story of them was alike, but if their Breadth be meant, then there was a certain Inequality, as appears from the 3d of *Kings*, Chap. vii. ver. 6. *Villalpandus*.

(*d*) Theſe *Cherubims* in 1 *Kings*, Chap. vi. ver. 23. are ſaid to be made of Olive-tree, and overlaid with Gold. The *Septuagint* is ſilent upon this Head, *Spanheim*.

(*e*) Ten, according to the *Septuagint*, and *Holy Writ*.

(*f*) *Epiphanius* turns this Paſſage with ſome Variation thus: He made him two Pillars of Braſs hollow, and two Fingers thick in the Metal.'

(*g*) Each *atus* was near ten *Engliſh* Pottles.

He made alſo ten baſes of braſs, of a quadrangular form. Every one of theſe were five cubits in length, four in breadth, and ſix in heighth: He worked them firſt in ſeparate parts, and then joined them in this manner: There were four little pillars, of a quadrangular form, and placed at the four corners of the baſes, by which the ſides were kept firm to one another. Now theſe were divided into three parts, and diſtinguiſhed from one another by the engraven figures of a lion, a bull and an eagle: The pillars as well as the ſides were adorned with ſculptures. The whole work was ſet upon four wheels, which were of caſt work, both mouldings, naves, and ſpokes, and half a cubit in diameter. It was a ſurpriſing thing to ſee with what exactneſs the wheels were put together, how admirably they were caſt, and how cloſely fitted to the ſides of the baſes. The corners were emboſſed with ſhoulders and arms, over which was fixed to the ledge of the laver a rail; the laver reſted upon the paws of the lion and eagle, which appeared to thoſe who beheld them, as if they had been really alive. There were alſo interſperſed among theſe palm-trees. Such was the form in which *Chiramus* made the ten baſes.

He made alſo ten lavers of braſs, of a roundiſh form, each contained forty (*a*) *Coas*, four cubits in heighth, and the ſides extended to the ſame breadth: He placed theſe lavers upon the ten baſes, which in their dialect they named *Mechonoth*; he ſet five of the lavers on the left-hand ſide of the temple which faces the north, and five on the right-hand ſide towards the ſouth. In the ſame place he fixed the brazen-ſea: He filled the ſea with water, and appointed it for the prieſts, before they approached the altar, to waſh their hands and feet in: But the lavers he ſet apart for cleanſing the intrails and feet of the beaſts, which were to be made burnt-offerings.

He erected alſo an altar of braſs, twenty cubits in length, as many in breadth, and ten in heighth; on this the burnt-offerings or *Holocauſts* were to be laid. He made alſo all the veſſels belonging to it of the ſame metal, as tongs, fleſh-hooks, boilers, and water-pots. All theſe he made of braſs, which for colour and beauty appeared little inferior to gold.

Solomon ordered to be ſet up a great number of tables, but one of extraordinary ſize, of gold, and whereon the (*b*) *bread of God* was placed. He commanded ten thouſand others, almoſt as large, to be made, but of a different ſhape from the foregoing: Theſe held twenty thouſand golden veſſels, phials and diſhes, and forty thouſand ſilver ones; over and above theſe, he made ten thouſand candleſticks as *Moyſes* had commanded, one of which he dedicated to the ſervice of the temple, to have a light burning in it day and night, according to the direction of the law: He placed the table, with the bread upon it, at the northern ſide of the temple, over againſt the candleſtick which was ſet on the ſouthern ſide. Between theſe were fixed the golden altar. All theſe things were contain'd in the inner part of the temple, which was forty cubits long, and ſeparated by a veil from the *holy of holies*, in which the ark was put.

He cauſed alſo eighty thouſand wine-cups to be made, ten thouſand golden phials, and twice the number of ſilver ones: Four ſcore thouſand golden veſſels to carry the kneaded flour to the altar, and double the number of ſilver ones; of cups to mix the flour with the oil ſixty thouſand of gold, and twice the number of ſilver; twenty thouſand golden meaſures, ſuch as the *Moſaical Hin* and *Aſſaron*; and double the number of ſilver; twenty thouſand golden cenſers to carry the incenſe into the temple; and fifty thouſand other cenſers to carry the fire from the great altar to the ſmall one placed within the temple. He prepared alſo a thouſand ſacerdotal habits for the uſe of the prieſts; with the *Ephods* and precious ſtones; there was one crown on which the name of God was inſcribed by *Moyſes*, and it remains to this very day. He prepared alſo ſilk veſts and purple girdles for the prieſts, ten thouſand of each. Beſides theſe, he ordered two hundred thouſand trumpets to be made, as *Moyſes* had preſcribed; alſo two hundred thouſand fine ſilken ſtoles, for the *Levites*, who were to chant the hymns; of muſical inſtruments, ſuch as the harp, and pſaltery, to accompany and bear conſort with the hymns, he laſt of all prepared four hundred thouſand. Theſe were made of a mixed metal between gold and ſilver.

So magnificently did *Solomon* provide for the honour of God, ſparing no expence, but acting always with generoſity, he depoſited them all in the treaſury of God. He encloſed the temple round about with a paliſadoe; in the *Hebrew* tongue termed *Giſon*, but in the *Grecian* language (*Thrinkos*) it was three cubits high, and made to hinder the people entring into the temple, whither the prieſts were only permitted to go. Without this encloſure was erected a ſquare court; with large and beautiful porches, together with broad gates, that fronted the four winds, and ſhut with doors overlaid with gold. This place was common to all the people, (provided they were pure and unſpotted, and obſervers of the laws as was required) and was ſo wonderful a building, that no tongue could declare, or eyes believe their own ſight, when they beheld ſo ſtupendous a ſtructure; ſuch vaſt hollow places he filled up with earth, as for their depth were enough to dazzle the eyes of thoſe who looked down; on theſe he heaped earth to the heighth of four hundred cubits, making them equal with the top of the mountain, on which the tem-

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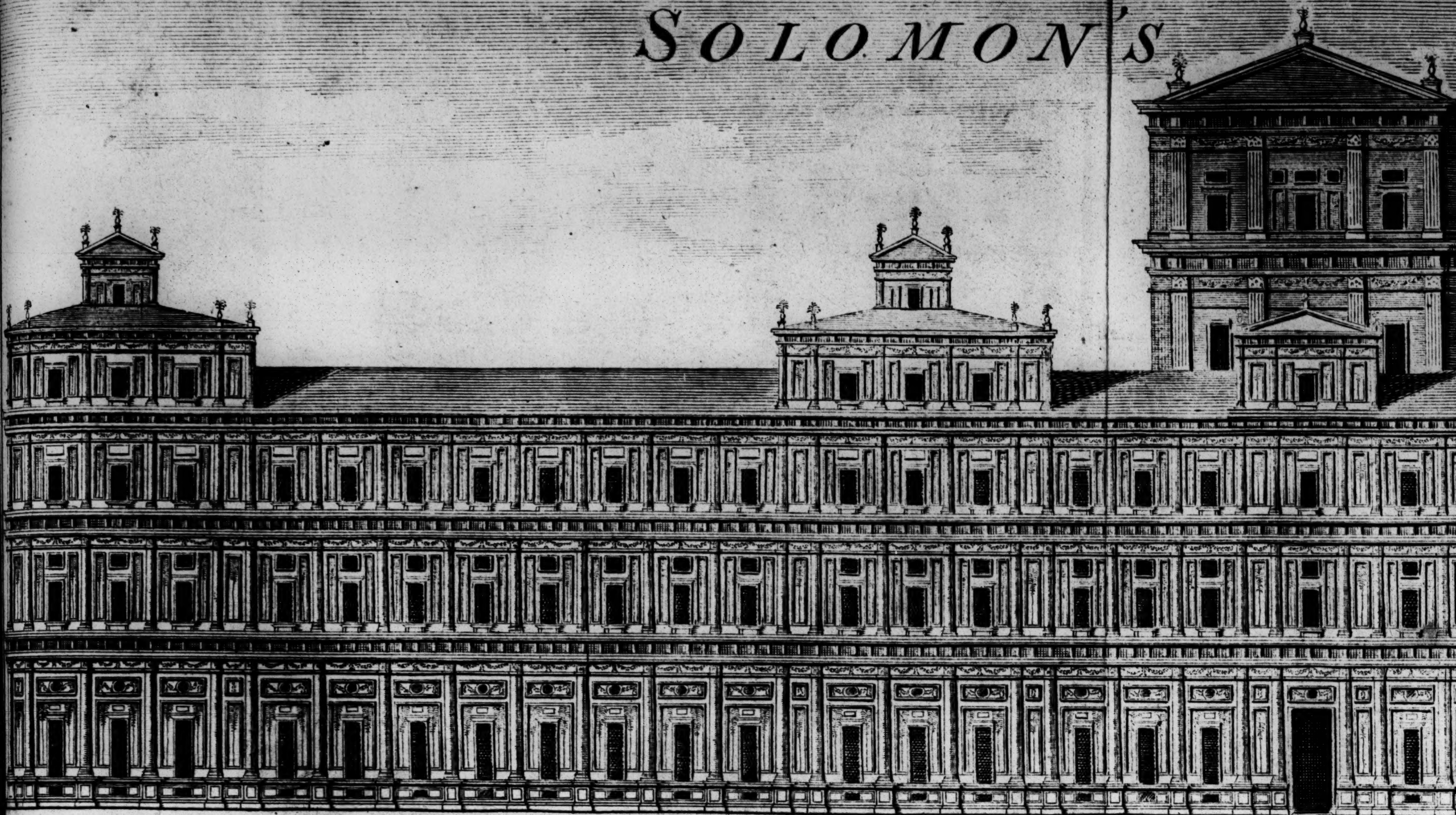
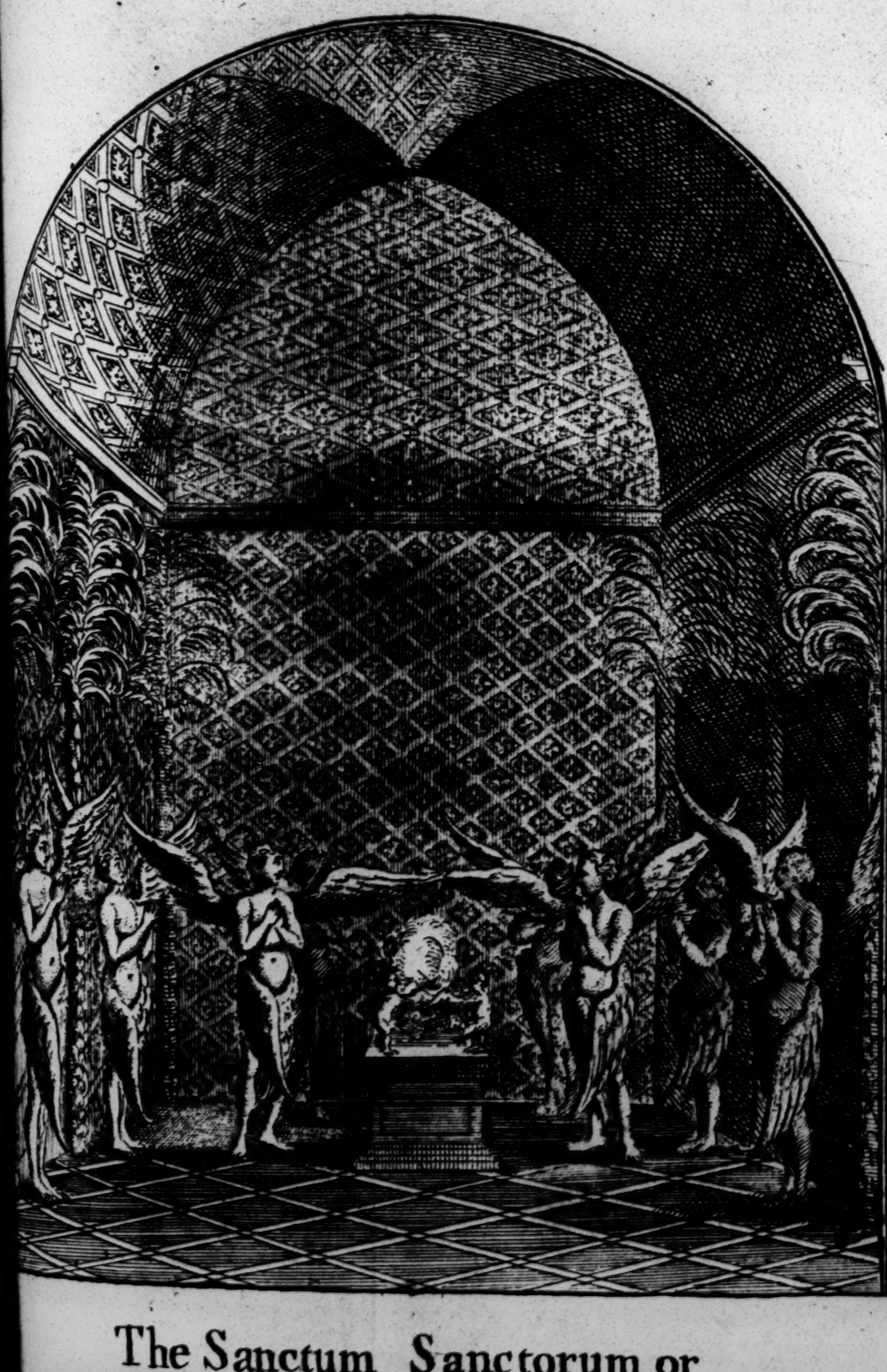
(*a*) Scripture calls them *Baths*.

(*b*) The Shew-bread.

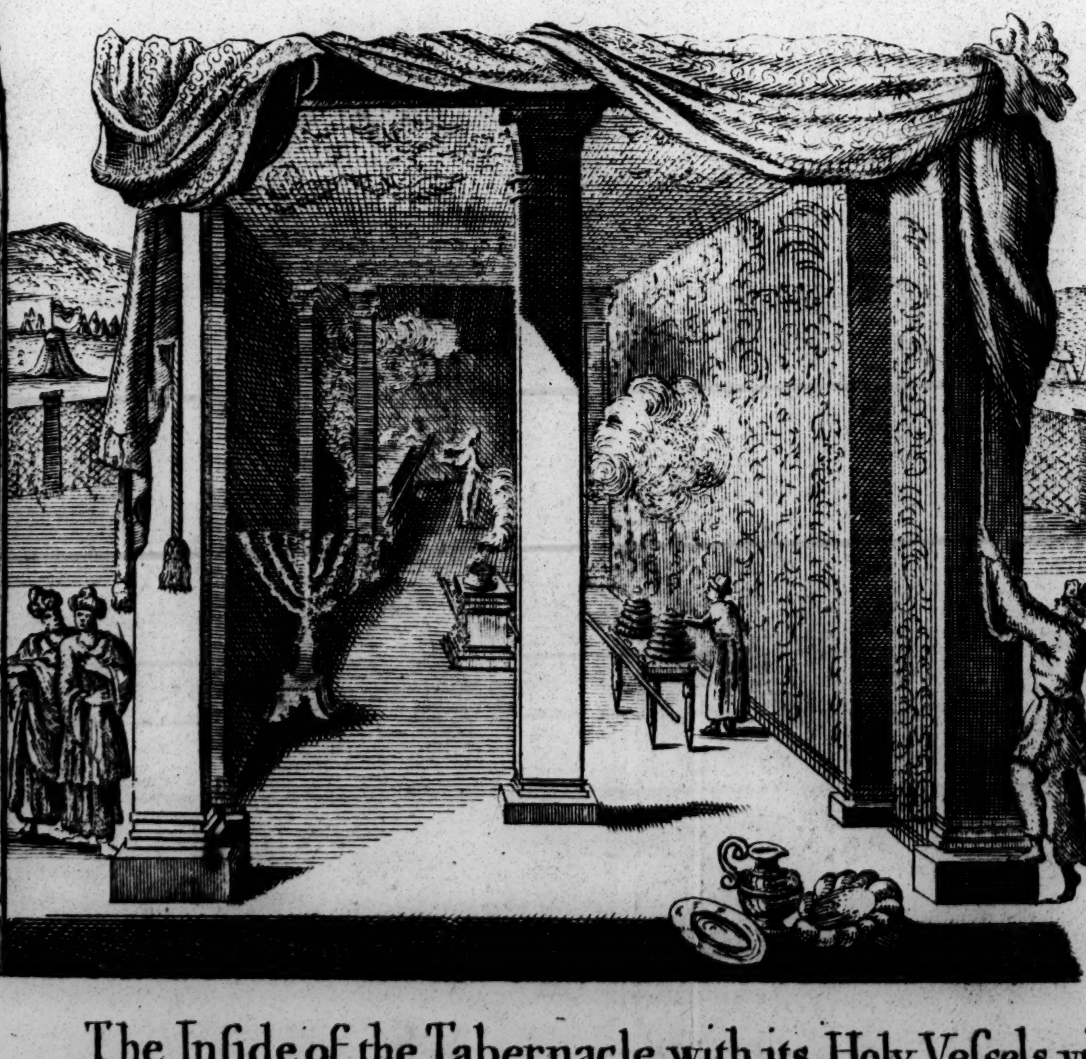
SOLOMON'S



This Structure for Beauty, & Magnificence, excēded all that ever was in the World, being built according to the a
were made of cedar Trees, &c. all covered with Plates of Gold, curiously wrought, as was also ye Roof which when ye Sun Shone thereon, c
a Prodigious value, there were 200 Thousand Trumpets, & 40 Thousand other Musical Instruments made use of in Praising God, it was



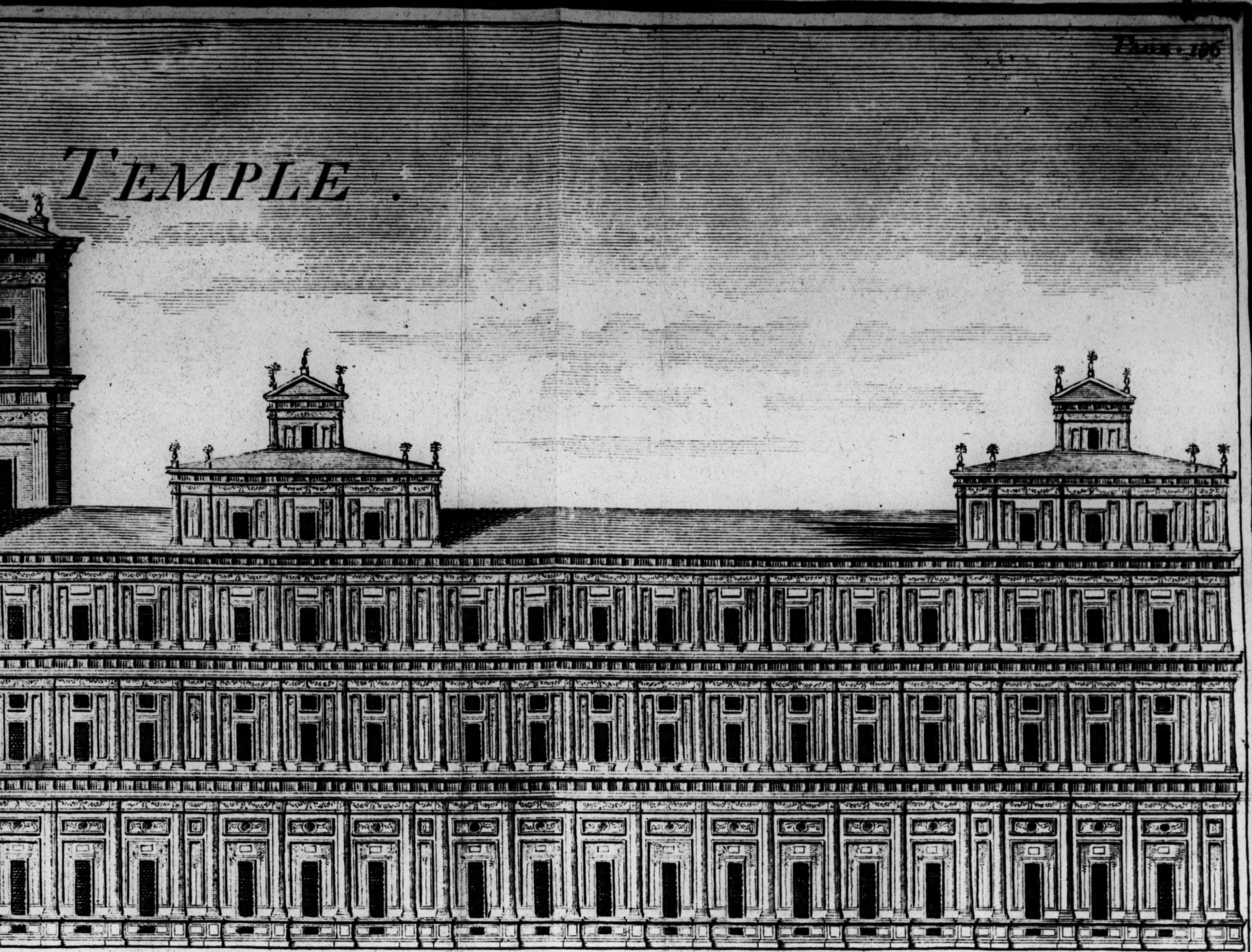
The Sanctum Sanctorum or
oly of Holies with the Ark and the Cherubins
1st Kings. 6th 19. & 23. 2d of Chron. 3. 8. 14.



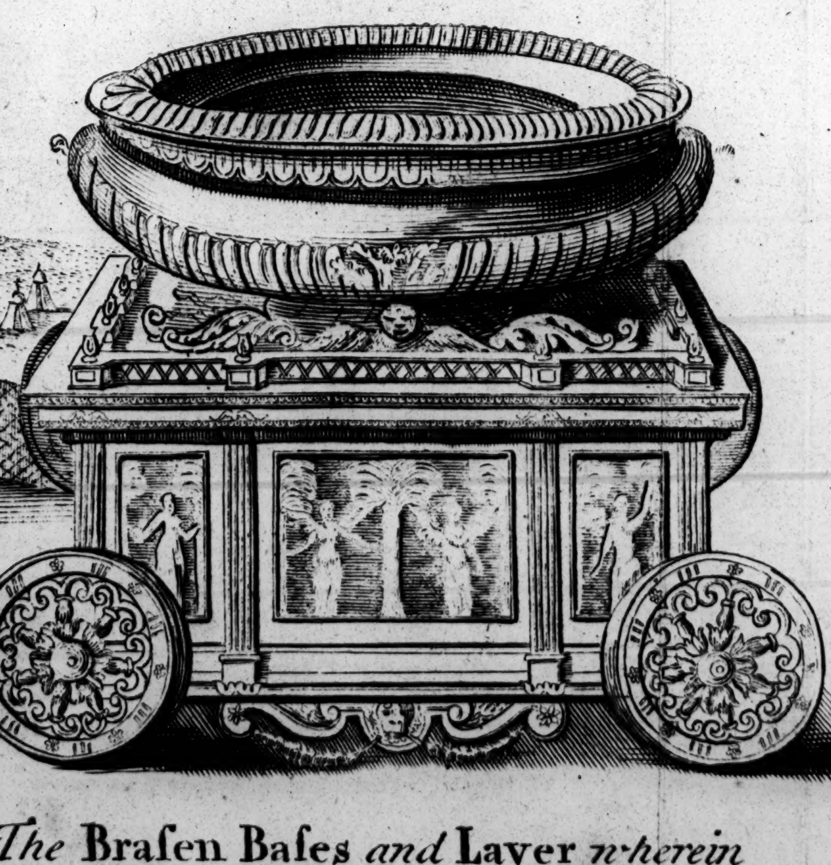
The Inside of the Tabernacle with its Holy Vessels. viz.
The Golden Alter of Incense The Golden Candlestick and the
Table with the Shew Bread.

The

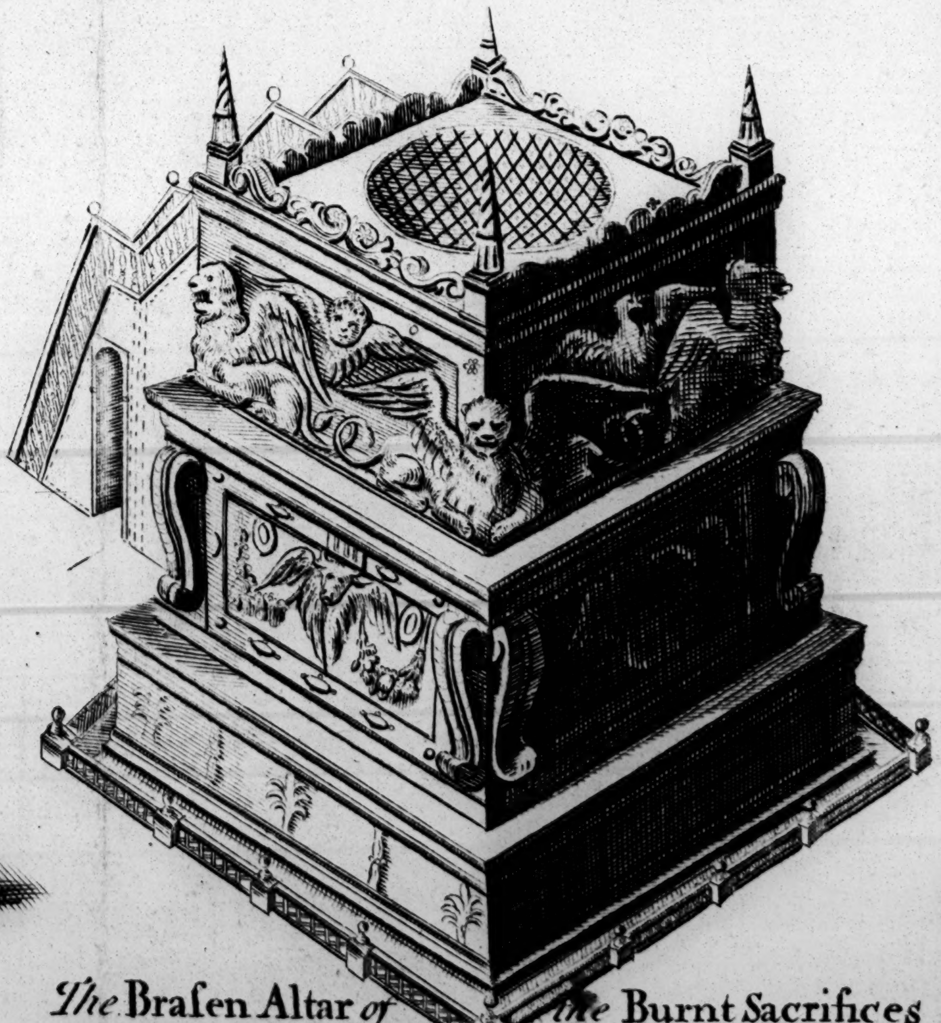
TEMPLE .



the direct Order of God, it had in it 6700 Pillars, & 1500 Chambers, & Windows, it's inner Walls & Beams, &c.
con, caſt ſuch a Glorious Light, that it dazled yͤ eyes of all that beheld it, yͤ Veſſels of Silver & Gold amounted to
was 7 Years in Building, during which Time there were employ'd 160 Thouſand Workmen & 3300 Overſeers.



The **Braſen Baſes** *and* **Laver** *wherein the Sacrifices were waſhed.*



The **Braſen Altar** *of the* **Burnt Sacrifices** *wherein yͤ Fire that came down from Heaven was kept by the care of the Prieſts .*

John Harris Sculp.

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ple was built: By which means the floor of this outward fabrick was on a level with that of the temple. He ſurrounded it with a double portico, ſupported by lofty pillars, cut entire out of the rock. Upon theſe he ſpread a roof of cedar and fret-work: But all the gates belonging to it he made of ſilver.

CHAP. IV.

Of Solomon's *placing the Ark in the Temple; and of his public Sacrifices after he had made his Prayer to God.*

AFTER king *Solomon* had finiſhed theſe vaſt and ſtupendous buildings, he depoſited the utenſils in the temple; in the doing of all which he was no more than ſeven years; by which he gave a large demonſtration of his exceeding great riches and diſpatch. For, what would have been ſuppoſed the work of an age, was finiſhed in ſo ſmall ſpace of time; for very ſmall it was to perform ſo great an undertaking in. He ſent circular letters to the officers and elders of the *Hebrews*, commanding them to meet at *Hieroſolyma*, there to view the temple, and remove the ark of God into it. When every one had received the king's command to aſſemble at *Hieroſolyma*, they, with much ado, got thither in the ſeventh month, by our nation called *Thiſri*, but by the *Macedonians*, *Hyperboretas*. At this time alſo was the feaſt of the tabernacles, accounted by the *Hebrews* the moſt ſolemn and greateſt of their feſtivals; they took up the ark, tabernacle, and all other things belonging to the worſhip and the ſacrifices of God, and carried them into the temple: The king, with the whole people, and the *Levites*, went before with the victims, ſprinkling the way, as they marched in proceſſion, with libations and the blood of many of the ſacrifices; and perfuming it with the ſweet ſmell of many odours; ſo that the air was full of the fragrance, and people at a diſtance received the ſcent of the incenſe, and believed that God was preſent to the proceſſion, and going to take up his abode in the houuſe newly built and conſecrated to him; for thoſe who chanted hymns and danced in their way to the temple, ſeemed not the leaſt wearied. This was the manner of carrying the ark. As it was to be placed in the *holy of holies*, the whole people withdrew, except the prieſts who bore it, who ſet it betweeen the two *Cherumbims*, the points of whoſe wings touching one another, (for they were very ſurpriſingly made in that manner) ſeemed to overſhadow the ark. There was nothing more in it than the two tables of ſtone, on which were engraved the ten commandments, as delivered to *Moyſes* on mount *Sinæus*. They placed the candleſtick, table and golden altar in the temple, before the *holy of holies*, in the very ſame place they had before in the tabernacle when they offered their daily ſacrifices. The brazen altar was placed before the temple over againſt the door, to expoſe it to full view when it was opened and to ſhew the vaſt number and magnificence of the victims to be ſacrificed: After this, all the utenſils were gathered together, and depoſited in the temple.

When the prieſts had performed all things in due manner about the ark, they withdrew out of the *holy of holies*, upon which a cloud ſuddenly gathered together, not ſuch an one as is ſeen in the winter time loaded with rain, but one temperate and ſoft, deſcended into the temple; caſting at the ſame time ſuch a darkneſs round about, that the prieſts could not ſee one another; every one imagined, that God was deſcended into the temple, and had made choice of it to live in; ſuch was the ſuppoſition of the people. King *Solomon* roſe up (for at this time he was ſitting) and addreſſed himſelf to God in words the moſt becoming his divine nature, as he ſuppoſed, *Thou Lord*, ſaid he, *poſſeſſeſt an everlaſting houſe, nor are we ignorant that thou haſt made all things for thy ſelf, heaven, air, earth and ſea; all theſe* (a) *thou filleſt, nor can all theſe contain thee. I have erected this temple to thy name; that in our performing ſacrifices we may ſend our ſupplications to thee; under a conſtant perſuaſion that thou art preſent here, but abſent no where. As thy eyes ſurvey the whole univerſe at once, and thou heareſt all things at once, we know that this temple cannot prevent thy dwelling in every place worthy of thee; a ſtranger to none, but near to all, and more eſpecially preſent and propitious to thoſe, who night and day call on thy name, and long for thee.* After he had made this prayer to God, he turned his diſcourſe to the people, and repreſented to them the power and providence of God; for example, how he had diſcover'd to his father *David* all the things that ſhould befal him; moſt of which had already happen'd, and the reſt were to be accompliſhed: How he had acquainted him with *his own name* before he was born; foretold him what he was to be called, of his building the temple and being king after his father's deceaſe: That ſince all theſe things were fulfilled according to God's prophecy, he exhorted them to praiſe God, and never hereafter diſtruſt any promiſes of future happineſs, upon which they now built their hopes.

When he had done ſpeaking thus to the people, he turned his eyes once more to the temple, at the ſame time ſtretching out his

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(a) *Galenius* turns it thus: 'Thou, O Lord, ſaid he, inhabiteſt an everlaſting Houſe, and we know thou haſt built the whole Structure of this Univerſe for thy ſelf, which conſiſts of Heaven, Earth, Air and Sea; thou filleſt all of it, and yet cannot be contained within it.'

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right-hand to the multitude, and ſaid, *Mankind can never by their works repay to God the benefits they have received from him. The divinity ſtands in need of nothing, as the immenſity of his nature ſecures him from all ſuch neceſſities. But deign, O Lord, to admit us to praiſe thy majeſty, which to do is the privilege and property of our nature above that of beaſts. We return thee our ſincere thanks, for the kindneſſes thou haſt vouchſafed our family, and the nation of the* Hebrews. *Now, ſince we have no other method of appeaſing thy wrath, and pacifying thee, when angry, than by our voices, which we draw from the air, into which they are reſolved back again, be pleaſed to accept our thanks given thee by that faculty thou haſt beſtow'd on us. And firſt, I bleſs thee for my father, whom thou haſt raiſed from an obſcure condition to great honour and renown; next for myſelf to whom thou haſt performed, to this very day, all thoſe things thou haſt promiſed; and I beſeech thee to extend thy bounties to us, as thy choſen people, and increaſe our family from generation to generation, as thou haſt promiſed my father* David, *living and dying, that this kingdom ſhould continue in his poſterity for ever. I beſeech thee to grant me all theſe things, and beſtow upon my children, thoſe graces which are moſt acceptable in thy ſight. Moreover, I humbly intreat thee, to ſuffer thy holy ſpirit to dwell in this temple, that it may appear to us, that thou dwelleſt alſo on earth. The whole heavens are not ſufficient to contain thee; how much leſs than this temple! Nevertheleſs, I intreat thee that thou wouldſt be pleaſed to make it thine own houſe, and protect it from the attacks of its enemies, as thine own poſſeſſion. And if at any time the people commit tranſgreſſion againſt thee, for which thou ſhalt puniſh them with famine, peſtilence, or any other calamity, ſuch as thou art wont to inflict upon thoſe who violate thy commandments; be merciful and hear their prayers, when they come into this thy temple with true repentance; hear them, and have compaſſion on them, be merciful and deliver them. This favour I ask not for the* Hebrews *alone, who ſhall ſin againſt thee; but that thou wouldeſt be pleaſed to grant it to all foreigners and ſtrangers, who ſhall here offer their prayers to thee. So ſhall all people know, that this temple was built at thy command; and that we in our natures are not ſo inhumane, or ſo cruel to ſtrangers, as to envy them partaking with us a ſhare of thy providential care and aſſiſtance.*

When he had done ſpeaking, he threw himſelf on the ground, and laid for ſome time in a poſture of adoration; after which he roſe up, and laid the victims on the altar, which he loaded with them. He perceived that God was pleaſed and accepted his ſacrifice; for a flaſh of fire ſuddenly deſcended from heaven, and in the ſight of all preſent, catched hold of the victims, and totally conſumed them; the people, after they had ſeen this miracle, ſuppoſed God was come to take up his abode in the temple; upon which they in raptures of joy fell upon the ground and worſhipped. The king began to praiſe God, and exhorted the people to do the ſame; for that they had now plain demonſtrations of his favour towards them; he bad them offer up their ſupplications to him, that he would continue his favours in the ſame manner for the future to them, and preſerve their minds free from all ſin, in righteouſneſs and in his true worſhip; whereby they might be enabled to fulfil the commandments which he had given them by *Moyſes*, and purſue them to their lives end. That this would prove the means of drawing down from heaven perpetual bleſſings on the *Hebrews*, and procure them a ſuperior happineſs above other nations; beſides, he deſir'd them to recal to their remembrance that by the method they had firſt obtained their preſent felicity, by the ſame way they were to preſerve and augment it: They were not to ſuppoſe, he told them, that they were eſtabliſhed in their preſent happy circumſtances only on account of their paſt piety and juſtice, for that their perſeverance in thoſe good qualities alone could confirm their happineſs to them: It being eaſier for mankind to obtain what they deſire, than to preſerve what they have once got, and by a right behaviour give no offence, by which they may loſe what they firſt gained by their virtue.

The king, having addreſſed himſelf to the multitude in the foregoing manner, diſmiſſed the aſſembly, having firſt offered up ſacrifices for himſelf and all the *Hebrews*; *to wit*, twenty thouſand calves, and one hundred and twenty thouſand lambs. This was the firſt time the temple was ſprinkled with the blood of ſacrifices, with which all the *Hebrews* with their wives and children were feaſted; beſides, *Solomon*, for the ſpace of fourteen days, celebrated before the temple the feſtival, called (*a*) *Scenopegia*, with vaſt ſplendour and magnificence, during which he entertained the whole people at his own expence, very elegantly and ſumptuouſly.

When every one had ſufficiently feaſted himſelf, and paid all due reverence to God, *Solomon* diſmiſſed the multitude, who returned each to his own home, having firſt given him thanks for the care and bounty he had ſhowed, and intreated the Almighty to bleſs him with a long life and reign. They went back rejoicing, and ſinging hymns to God, and expreſſed ſo much chearfulneſs, that they ſeemed not in the leaſt weary with their journey homewards. Thoſe who had aſſiſted in removing the ark into the temple, having beheld the greatneſs and beauty of the place, and partook of the ſacrifices and ſolemnities performed in it, returned each to his own city. *Solomon* had a dream, in which it was ſignified to him that God had heard his prayers, and would preſerve the temple, and always dwell in it, provided his poſterity and all the nation would practice and follow juſtice. That if he paid a true obſervance to the precepts left by his father, he would take him into his particular protection, and raiſe him to the higheſt

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(*a*) The Feaſt of Tabernacles.

pinnacle of glory, and that there ſhould never be wanting one of his line, and the tribe of *Judah*, to ſit on the throne and extend his dominion round about. But on the other hand, if he departed from, or forgot the inſtitutions of the law, or if he followed the worſhip of ſtrange Gods, his poſterity ſhould then be rooted out from the earth, and not the leaſt remains of them be ſuffered to live. That the people of *Iſrael* ſhould endure all manner of calamities, and be torn to pieces with innumerable wars. That they ſhould be driven out of the land, which he had given their fathers to inherit, and be tranſported into other countries. That he would give the temple, lately built, into the hands of the enemy, to be ſpoiled and burnt, and that the city itſelf ſhould be ſacked by them, while he would ſuffer ſuch terrible hardſhips to afflict them, as ſhould ſeem mere fables, and be too ſtrange to be credited without heſitation. That the nations round them, who ſhould hear of their report, ſhould be aſtoniſhed at the relation, and enquire the reaſon, why God's hatred was ſo great to the *Hebrews*, whom before he had ſo much honoured and enriched, that thoſe who ſhould ſurvive this diſmal calamity, ſhould make an open confeſſion of their ſins, and return this anſwer, *Becauſe they had tranſgreſſed and violated the laws of their fathers*. Theſe things, which are mentioned in *Holy Writ*, did God ſpeak to *Solomon* in a dream.

CHAP. V.

Of the large and ſumptuous Palaces Solomon *built, and of his ſolving the Riddle* Hiramus *ſent him.*

AFTER the building of the temple, which (as we have mentioned in the foregoing,) was finiſh'd in ſeven years; he ſet about the erecting of a royal palace, which he ſcarce finiſh'd in thirteen years. *Solomon* was not ſo ſollicitous about this undertaking, as the temple, which, (though of ſuch vaſt bulk, and of ſo curious and ſurprizing workmanſhip, as was remarkable in it,) was by the aſſiſtance of God, for whoſe honour it was built, finiſh'd in the aboveſaid number of years. The royal palace indeed wanted much of that magnificence which the temple had; for neither the time nor the pains in preparing the materials, as the other had, was allowed it, as being deſigned for the houſe of a king, and not of God; therefore it was longer a finiſhing. Notwithſtanding this, it was built very conveniently, both for the king and people, and is well worth our deſcribing. We ſhall upon that account open to our readers the order and diſpoſition of all its parts, that thoſe who ſhall happen to peruſe theſe our writings, may form a conjecture from thence of its greatneſs.

There was a large and beautiful building ſupported by many pillars, which he erected for the receiving of the people, and hearing and determining of cauſes, for the entertaining an aſſembly of perſons on ſolemn debates, and to adminiſter juſtice. The length was an hundred, the breadth fifty, and the heighth thirty cubits; the pillars ſupporting it were ſquare, and all of cedar, covered after the (*a*) *Corinthian* manner: The porches were of equal dimenſions to one another, and the doors adorned with three curious mouldings, which were both an ornament and a defence to the place: There was another building in the middle of this, pretty near ſquare, the entire breadth of it was thirty cubits; the temple ſtood over againſt it; and it was ſupported by ſtrong and high pillars. A chair of ſtate ſtood in it, in which the king ſat to hear cauſes; adjoining to this was raiſed another pile of building for the queen's ſervice, beſides other houſes for entertainments, ſports and relaxations, after the fatigues of buſineſs, all covered with pannels of cedar; ſome of them were built with plain ſtones, ten cubits ſquare; others with fine wrought ſtone, as the moſt beautiful temples and palaces generally are. Three parts of the walls were lined with hangings beautifully adorn'd. The fourth part of them was remarkably curious for excellent ſculpture and fine workmanſhip, of all manner of trees, the branches whereof were repreſented diffuſing themſelves round about, and ſo artificially contriv'd, that they ſeem'd to move, and hide the ſtones on which they were carved. The reſt of the ſpace up to the cieling was white, and diverſify'd with a beautiful variety of colours and paintings. Beſides theſe, he erected other houſes for pleaſure, and large porticos in the moſt convenient place of the palace; among which he built a moſt ſumptuous and coſtly parlour embelliſhed in every part of it with gold, and erected only for banquets and royal feaſts. Its furniture and other neceſſaries, for the more ſplendid receiving of the company he entertain'd in it, were made of gold. It is next to an impoſſibility, to recount the greatneſs and variety of all the buildings; the vaſt number of great and ſmall rooms; the places under ground and out of ſight, the turrets, delightful groves, ſhades to refreſh and defend the body from the heat of the ſun. In fine, he made his palace of nothing but cedar-wood, marble, gold and ſilver; the roof and walls he beautified with precious ſtones ſet in gold, and interſperſed here and there, as in the temple. He cauſed a prodigious large throne of ivory to be made, in the form of the tribunal, having ſix ſteps, at both ends of every one of which ſtood two lions, the like number being placed above. There were arms about the ſeat of the throne to ſupport the king, and

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(*a*) This Kind of Architecture was not at this Time ſound out by the *Corinthians*.

a bullock covered all over with gold was placed couchant in the middle, whereon he ſat.

Solomon was twenty years in finiſhing theſe buildings; for the erecting of which *Hiramus* the *Tyrian* king aſſiſted him with a great deal of gold, more of ſilver, beſides a large number of cedar and pine trees. *Solomon* in return ſent *Hiramus* yearly a great quantity of corn, wine and oil, which he ſtood in moſt need of, as he inhabited an iſland, as we obſerved before. Beſides theſe preſents, he gave him twenty cities of *Galilee*, that lay neareſt to *Tyre*. *Hiramus* went and viewed them; but they not anſwering his expectations, he ſent word to *Solomon* he had no occaſion for them; from this time they were called the land of *Chabalon*, which word in the *Phenician* language, if rightly interpreted, ſignifies, *It does not ſeem pleaſing*. Moreover, the *Tyrian* king ſent *Solomon* dark and myſterious queſtions, deſiring him to ſolve them. *Solomon*, who had a profound underſtanding, never denied any thing ſent him of that nature, but laid open every difficulty with a maſterly ſtrength of reaſon, and anſwered him in all he wanted to know. (*a*) *Menander*, who tranſlated the *Tyrian* antiquities out of the *Phenician* into the *Greek* tongue, mentions theſe two kings in the following manner: ‘After the death of *Abibalus*, *Hiramus* his ſon ſucceeded in the kingdom, who reigned therein thirty four, and lived fifty three years. He built a rampart of earth round the place called the *Broadfield*, and erected the golden pillar in the temple of *Jupiter*. He went to the mountain called *Libanus*, and hewed down great quantities of wood for the covering of holy places. He demoliſhed antient temples, and erected new ones to *Hercules* and *Aſtarte*. He was the firſt who raiſed a ſtatue to *Hercules*. He undertook an expedition againſt the *Eyceans*, for their non-payment of the tribute he had impoſed upon them; and after he had the ſecond time ſubdued them, he returned home victor. In his days lived the younger ſon of *Abdemon*, who always ſolved the problems and riddles, put to him by king *Solomon*.’ *Dius* the hiſtorian in like manner ſpeaks of them in theſe words: ‘After the death of *Abibalus*, his ſon *Hiramus* reigned, who walled that part of the city facing the eaſt, making it much larger than before; and joining to it the temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, (which he enriched with many preſents of gold, and which ſtood apart from it before,) by filling with earth that vacant ſpot of ground which lay between. After this he went to mount *Libanus*, and cut down wood for the building of temples.’ This hiſtorian further ſays, ‘That *Solomon* who then reigned in *Hieroſolyma*, ſent riddles to *Hiramus*, from whom he deſired queſtions of the like intricate nature, under a condition, that he who could not unfold them, ſhould pay a certain ſum of money to him who did. That *Hiramus* accepted the propoſal, but being unable to anſwer the queſtions ſent him, he paid a large ſum of money for it, according to agreement. That afterwards, one *Abdemon*, a *Tyrian*, anſwered all the riddles propoſed to him, and ſent others back to (*b*) *Solomon*, which he not ſolving, he was obliged to repay the money back to *Hiramus*.’ This is *Dius*'s account.

CHAP. VI.

Of Solomon'*s walling* Hieroſolyma; *building large Cities*; *ſubduing many of the* Canaanites, *and his receiving the Queen of* Ægypt *and* Æthiopia.

KING *Solomon*, perceiving that the walls of *Hieroſolyma* wanted towers and other fortifications for their defence, (for he concluded it was neceſſary they ſhould anſwer the dignity of the city) rebuilt, amplified and raiſed them much higher than before, with many large towers upon them. Beſides, he built cities, which for their ſtrength may claim the firſt place, *to wit*, *Aſor*, *Magedo*, and *Gazar*, ſituated in the country of the *Paleſtines*. (*c*) *Pharaon* attempted this place by ſiege, and at laſt took it by ſtorm, putting all the inhabitants in it to death; afterwards, upon his daughter's marriage with *Solomon*, he gave it him in dowry with her. Upon which account he rebuilt it, as being a place by nature very ſtrong, and ſuch as might prove of great uſe to him, on the breaking out of war, or any other ſudden revolution. Not far from *Gazar* he erected two other cities, one named *Betchora*, the other *Baleth*; beſides theſe, he built others, ſituated in a pleaſant country, a delightful retreat, on account of the clearneſs of the air, the plenty of delicious fruit, and the number of beautiful ſtreams that it is watered with. After this he entered into the deſert above *Syria*, took poſſeſſion of it, and built therein a very large city, two days journey from the *Upper-Syria*, one from *Euphrates*, and ſix from *Great Babylon*. The reaſon why he built this city ſo far from the inhabited parts of *Syria*, was, becauſe the nearer part had no ſprings in it, but in this place a great number of wells were found. After he had erected and ſurrounded it with a ſtrong wall, he called it *Thadomira*, which name is retained by the *Syrians* to this day; but the *Greeks* call it *Palmyra*.

(*a*) Theſe Teſtimonies of *Menander* and *Dius* are recited in the firſt Book againſt *Apion*. (*b*) He propounded others to *Solomon*, who, upon his not anſwering them, was to give *Hiramus* a large Sum of Money. *Epiph.* (*c*) Sometimes by our Author called by this Name, other Times, *Pharaothes*, *Pharaothus*, *Pharaoh*.

Thus did *Solomon* employ himſelf to this time. Now for the ſatisfaction of thoſe perſons, who have been ſolicitous in their inquiries, why all the *Ægyptian* kings, from *Minæus* the founder of *Memphis*, who flouriſhed many years before our father *Abraham*, quite down to *Solomon*'s time, (which includes an interval of one thouſand three hundred years) were called *Pharaons*, we have thought it neceſſary to ſay ſomething to them on this head, and tell them from what king, firſt aſſuming the name of *Pharaon*, in this intermediate ſpace of time, all thoſe ſucceeding him have been ſtiled *Pharaons*; that we may remove ſuch perſons ſcruples in this point, and give a clear reaſon of the name. *Pharaon* in the language of the *Ægyptians*, ſignifies *king*. Our opinion is, they had other names given them from their childhood, but afterwards coming to be kings, they took upon them that name, as an appellation, which in their native tongue denoted *power*. The kings of *Alexandria* had other names given before they obtained the kingdom, but upon their aſcending the throne, were all ſtyled *Ptolomies*, from the firſt king. In like manner alſo the emperors of *Rome* were called *Cæſars*, not taking that name from their birth, or preſerving it as an hereditary title from their fathers; but as a mark of the power and grandeur they were arrived to. And this was the reaſon we ſuppoſe that induced *Herodotus* the *Halicarnaſſæan* to mention three hundred and thirty kings, (in a conſtant ſucceſſion from *Minæus*, the founder of *Memphis*,) who reign'd in *Ægypt*, without taking any notice of their hereditary names, becauſe they were all known by the common appellation of *Pharaon*. For when, after the deceaſe of theſe kings, a woman happened to aſcend the throne, he calls her by the name of *Nicaule*; and the reaſon he gives, is, that the male line was called by one common appellation, which the female was not; the word *Pharaon* being only applicable to the other ſex. We ourſelves have found in the regiſters of our country, that after *Pharaon*, *Solomon*'s father-in-law, no one of the *Ægyptian* kings was diſtinguiſhed by that name; but that *Nicaule*, who at that time was queen of *Ægypt* and *Æthiopia*, was ſhe who came to *Solomon*. Of this we ſhall ſpeak more hereafter: We have made mention of the foregoing circumſtances to ſhow the near agreement in many places between our and the *Ægyptian* records.

King *Solomon* having ſubdued thoſe *Canaanites*, who diſputed his authority, and inhabited between mount *Libanus*, and the city *Amathe*, impoſed a tribute upon them; and demanded of them a certain number of ſlaves and coloneers, to be diſtributed up and down his country. For none of the *Hebrews* were put to ſuch ſervile employments, (nor was it reaſonable, after God had ſubdued ſo many nations for them, that they who had a right to demand theſe ſervices of the *Canaanites*, ſhould undergo the ſame ſlavery with them,) but they were trained up to managing of horſes and chariots, and to perform all the exerciſes of war. Over the *Canaanites* doom'd to theſe labours were five hundred and fifty overſeers appointed, who by the king's orders were to look to their employments, and aſſign every man his taſk.

The king built a fleet of ſhips in the bay of the red-ſea, named *Aſiongaber*, now called *Berenice*, not far from the city *Ælana*, and then under the power of the *Hebrews*. *Hiramus*, the *Tyrian* king, was a conſiderable aſſiſtant to *Solomon* in perfecting this work. He ſent him a great number of pilots, and men ſkilled in ſea affairs: *Solomon* gave orders to theſe to ſail to *India*, (formerly called *Sophira*, and now the *Golden-land*,) to fetch him gold. After they had got him four hundred talents of gold, they ſailed back to him.

A woman at this time ſat upon the throne of *Ægypt*, who was of a wonderful underſtanding, and in all other qualifications very extraordinary; having heard of the virtue and wiſdom of *Solomon*, ſhe was inſpired with an ardent deſire of ſeeing him, and trying whether or no the news ſhe daily received of him was true. She conſider'd it would be injudicious in her to rely on reports, which were often made true or falſe, according to the perſon's humour who told them. Upon this account ſhe reſolved to make trial of his wiſdom, by propoſing ſome difficult queſtions, ſhe little underſtood herſelf, and aſking him to anſwer them: She came to *Hieroſolyma* with a grand attendance, and a vaſt quantity of riches about her; for ſhe was followed by camels loaden with variety of rich perfumes, gold and precious ſtones: Upon her arrival the king received her with all poſſible marks of reſpect, and ſolved all the abſtruſe queſtions put to him by her. She was exceedingly ſurprized at his wiſdom, which ſhe found far greater than fame had reported it. She vaſtly admired the palace, both for its beauty and magnificence, the diſpoſition of its parts, and the excellent contrivance of *Solomon*, which appear'd throughout it: But what encreaſed her wonder to the greateſt heighth, was the houſe called the (*a*) grove of *Libanus*, the ſplendour of his daily entertainments, the œconomy and cloathing of his ſervants, and the regular decorum obſerv'd by them; ſhe no leſs admired the ſacrifices daily offered up to God, and the care the prieſts and *Levites* ſhewed in performing them. By daily viewing theſe wonders her admiration increaſed, nor could ſhe any longer diſſemble it, but frankly confeſſed to the king, what an impreſſion the pomp and grandeur of his palace had made on her. 'Whatever, great king, ſaid ſhe, we hear by common report, we are apt to be more ſlow in giving credit to. But in relating the greatneſs of your virtues, your wiſdom, and your riches, even talkative fame herſelf has proved deficient. Tho' all was true that ſhe ſaid,

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(*a*) This Houſe, ſays *Caſtalio*, was at *Hieroſolyma*, and ſo called from the Grove of *Libanus*, in which it ſtood. *Hudſon*.

yet, how far was all that ſhe ſaid from anſwering to what your happineſs in reality is! Fame indeed ſaid as much as words could expreſs, but never could repreſent your circumſtances with that dignity, as my eyes convince me they deſerve. Happy are the *Hebrews*, your friends and ſervants, who have the opportunity every day to ſee you, and hear your wiſdom. Upon which account God is to be praiſed, who hath ſo loved this country and its inhabitants, as to make you their king.'

But not content to have diſcovered by words the high veneration ſhe had for the king, ſhe ſhewed it yet farther, by the conſiderable preſents ſhe made him. For ſhe gave him twenty talents of gold; a vaſt quantity of aromatic ſpices, and precious ſtones of great value. It is reported, that we are beholden to this woman for the root of a certain balſam, which our country produces. *Solomon* in return for her favours, made her many preſents, and ſuch as he imagin'd would prove the moſt pleaſing to her. For he denied her nothing ſhe asked him, but ſhewed himſelf very ready, and even unasked, to confer any favour upon her, and by his large preſents to diſcover the generoſity of his temper. After this intercourſe of the queen of *Ægypt* and *Æthiopia*, and king *Solomon*, and their mutual receiving and returning of preſents, ſhe travelled back into her own country.

CHAP. VII.

Of Solomon*'s Riches, and his extreme Love for Women; how God, offended with him, raiſed up* Aderus *and* Hieroboamus *againſt him. Of his Death.*

ABOUT this time were brought to the king, from the *Golden-land*, precious ſtones and pine-wood. The latter he uſed for the ſupporters of the temple, and the palace, and to make muſical inſtruments with, as harps, cymbals, pſalteries, and the like, with which the *Levites* were wont to celebrate divine ſervice. This pine-wood brought to him at this time, excelled all other ſorts which he had received before, both for beauty and ſize. Nor let any one ſuppoſe it like to that, as is now a days called pine-wood, ſuch as tradeſmen would put off under that name, that by it they may heighten its worth. For theſe have the look of a fig-tree, only that they appear more white and gloſſy. We judg'd it not amiſs to ſpeak this, that the reader may underſtand the nature of true pine-wood; eſpecially ſince it fell in ſo opportunely with our preſent ſubject.

The quantity of gold brought the king, was ſix hundred and ſixty talents, not reckoning that which was purchaſed of merchants, or that which the kings and governors of *Arabia* ſent him as preſents. Of this gold he made two hundred targets, each of which weighed ſix hundred ſickles. He alſo caſt three hundred ſhields, each of which weighed three pounds of gold. All theſe he placed in the houſe of the grove of *Libanus*. The cups he uſed at his entertainments were made of gold, and embelliſhed very curiouſly with precious ſtones. In fine, all his other utenſils, of which he had a vaſt number, were caſt in gold. There was no merchandizing with money in this caſe. For the king had a large fleet of ſhips in the ſea of *Tarſus*, which he ſtored with all ſorts of commodities, theſe were carried to foreign nations, in return of which he received their gold and ſilver, great quantities of ivory, blacks and apes. This voyage, from its going out to its coming in, was computed at three years.

The fame of *Solomon*'s virtue and wiſdom was by this time ſpread in all the countries round about, inſomuch that ſeveral kings, diſcrediting the extraordinary ſtories told of him, were deſirous of perſonally ſeeing him; to which end, they ſent him large preſents, as teſtimonials of their kindneſs and friendſhip for him: They ſent him golden and ſilver veſſels, purple habits, and various kinds of aromatic ſpices, horſes and chariots, and mules for burthens, whoſe ſtrength and beauty they ſuppoſed would greatly pleaſe the king. Now if a calculation be made of the horſes and chariots he had before, and of thoſe now ſent him, the number will appear increaſed four hundred and more: For he had before one thouſand chariots, and twenty thouſand horſes, which for beauty and ſwiftneſs exceeded all others. Their riders were young men of comely aſpect, tall of ſtature, well made; their hair hung looſe and diſhevelled behind them, and they wore *Tyrian* veſts of purple colour. Add to theſe, the golden (*a*) threads intermixed with their hair; which ſhining againſt the ſun, made their heads ſeem to be irradiated. They were armed with bows, and in this dreſs attended the king (himſelf riding in a chariot, and wearing a white garment) as he marched out of the city to a place not far from *Hieroſolyma*, called *Ethan*, pleaſant for its beautiful gardens and delightful fountains. Hither he uſed to go in a morning for his recreation and pleaſure.

Solomon's extraordinary care, diſcover'd itſelf almoſt in every thing. All the high roads leading to *Hieroſolyma*, (the place of his reſidence) came under his obſervation; theſe he cauſed to be paved with a black kind of ſtone, not only to make the ways eaſier and more commodious for paſſengers and travellers, but to ſhow his exceeding great riches, and the magnificence of his kingdom. He diſperſed a certain number of his chariots into the cities round about, reſerving only to himſelf a few.

(*a*) *Bochart* fancies that our Author deſcribes them according to the Faſhion of his own Times.

Theſe places he called his chariot cities. He made ſilver to be as common at *Hieroſolyma* as ſtones, and cedar-trees were as plentiful in the fields of *Judæa*, where they had never been ſeen before his time, as ſycamores. He commanded the merchants trading from *Egypt*, to provide him chariots with two horſes, at the price of two hundred ſilver drachms each. Theſe he ſent to the kings of *Syria*, and thoſe beyond *Euphrates*.

Solomon was the moſt glorious of all kings, and the moſt beloved of God. He excelled all thoſe before him, who had enjoyed the ſovereign power over the *Hebrews*, both in wiſdom and riches. But in all this happineſs he continued not till his death. He departed from the inſtitutions of his forefathers; and died very far different from what he had lived, and what we have deſcribed him. His intemperate luſt after women, and venereal pleaſures, made him mad. He confined himſelf not to knowledge of women of his own country, but violating the laws of *Moyſes*, (which forbid any one's marrying a foreign woman) he took to wife many foreigners, as *Sidonians*, *Tyrians*, *Ammanites*, and *Idumeans*. He addicted himſelf to the worſhipping of their gods; herein irrationally giving way to his furious love. This the legiſlator himſelf wiſely foreſaw; and upon that account forbid intermarriage with women of a foreign nation, leſt the *Hebrews* ſhould be enticed to depart from the laws of their fathers, and worſhip ſtrange gods. *Solomon* little regarded this precept, being hurried away by a violent inclination for pleaſure. Not ſatisfied with having the daughter of *Pharaon*, the *Ægyptian* king, for his wife, he had beſides ſeven hundred others, and three hundred concubines, to whom he intirely abandoned himſelf, doing every thing conformably to what they adviſed him: Nay, he went ſo far, that, in order to ſhew his affection to them, and give them a demonſtration of his unfeigned love, he wholly devoted himſelf to the cuſtoms of their countries. As he grew more in years, his reaſon grew weak, and he became incapable of diſcerning the falſhood of theſe heatheniſh cuſtoms, and he ſhowed a ſtill greater neglect of the true God, by paying adoration to the gods of his foreign wives; tho' he had before tranſgreſſed the precepts of the law, when he made the images of the brazen bulls, and put them under the ſea, to ſuſtain it. Alſo, in having the lions caſt, and placed about his throne. For even ſuch images as theſe were forbidden by the law; tho' he had for an example the uncommon virtue of his father; for an incitement, the fame that ſame father had gained, as the juſt reward poſterity beſtowed upon him for his piety; yet for all this he ran counter to his ways: And after God had ſeveral times appeared to him in dreams, and commanded him to follow and imitate the good qualifications of his father, at laſt died in diſhonour, and left the world inglorious. God, to warn him of his danger, ſent his prophet to him, who acquainted him, that his crimes could not long be concealed, nor long remain unpuniſhed. However, that he ſhould enjoy the kingdom while he lived, as God had promiſed his father *David*, that no other than *Solomon* ſhould ſucceed him; but that after his death his ſon ſhould ſuffer for his miſmanagement: Not that he would cauſe a defection of the whole people from him, but give ten tribes to his ſervant, and only reſerve two for his ſon and *David*'s grandſon. That he would do this for his ſake, who had loved God; and for the ſake of the city *Hieroſolyma*, where he had choſe to have his temple.

Solomon, having heard theſe things, was exceedingly dejected; he was grieved to the laſt extreme, to behold all thoſe things, which in the opinion of mankind made him happy, changed for the worſe. God quickly after this raiſed up an enemy againſt him, called *Aderus*. The ground of his diſaffection to the king was as follows: *Aderus* was by birth an *Idumean*, and of the royal blood. When *Joab* was general over *David*'s army, and had ſubdued *Idumea*, (at the conqueſt whereof he continued for the ſpace of ſix months to kill all the young men fit to bear arms) *Aderus* fled to *Pharaon* the *Ægyptian* king, who received him with great humanity, and gave him an houſe and lands belonging to it to live upon. As he grew up, he bore ſo great affection to him, that he gave him his wife's ſiſter, named *Thaphine*, in marriage: By her he had a ſon, who was educated with *Pharaon*'s children; a while after this *Aderus* came to hear by ſome *Ægyptians*, that *David* and *Joab* were both dead. Upon this he went to *Pharaon*, and deſired leave from him to return into his own country. *Pharaon* asked him what he wanted, or what injury he had received to make him deſire to leave him; and tho' *Aderus* importuned and intreated him very much and often, to let him go, yet always without ſucceſs. But when *Solomon*'s proſperity began to decline on account of his crimes, and the indignation God had conceived againſt him, *Aderus*, by *Pharaon*'s permiſſion, went into *Idumea*, where he endeavoured to perſuade the people to revolt againſt *Solomon*; but finding the country too well garriſoned, and perceiving he ſhould not be able to work any change in it, without expoſing himſelf to danger, he went thence and retired into *Syria*; where he was met by one *Razarus*, who had run away from his maſter *Adrazarus*, king of *Sophene*; and very much infeſted the country round about with a company of robbers he had under him. *Aderus* ſtruck a league with him, and obtained his gang of **Banditti**, with whom, marching further, he ſubdued that part of *Syria*, and got himſelf proclaimed king. At the ſame time he made frequent inroads into the country of the *Hebrews*, and did a great deal of miſchief therein, even while *Solomon* was living; and, as if it were a ſmall matter for the *Hebrews* to be infeſted by a foreign war, *Solomon* was troubled at the ſame time with a domeſtic enemy, *Hieroboamus* the ſon of *Nabatæus*. This perſon, from an antient oracle a prophet had given him, was excited to thoughts of innovation in the government.

His father died when he was a child, and he was brought up by his mother. *Solomon* obſerving in him a good natural genius, made him overſeer of the building the walls which he was at that time building round *Hieroſolyma*. He happened to behave himſelf in his employment ſo well, that the king, approving of his conduct, made him general over the tribe of *Joſeph*. It fell out about this time, that as *Hieroboamus* was going out of the city, the prophet *Achias*, coming from the city *Siloe*, met him. After he had ſaluted him, he took him a little way out of the road into a certain field, where none but they two were preſent, when, catching hold of his coat, he rent it into twelve parts, bidding him take ten of them. After which he ſaid, *God is pleaſed it ſhould be ſo; who will rend the kingdom in that manner from* Solomon, *and give to his ſon, as he has promiſed his father* David, *the two contiguous tribes, but to you the other ten; becauſe* Solomon *has greatly offended him, in wholly abandoning himſelf to the love of women and their Gods. As you now are made ſenſible of the reaſon why God hath changed his reſolution about* Solomon, *ſee that you be juſt and obſerve the laws: for in following piety and the worſhip of God, the chiefeſt good of all, you will arrive to that pitch of glory, to which you know* David *did.*

Hieroboamus was a youth naturally of an hot diſpoſition, and aſpiring temper. The words of the prophet elevated him, and made him very reſtleſs. When he was returned to his poſt, he began to reflect upon all the prophet had declared to him; upon which he began to ſound the minds of people, and to draw them off from their allegiance to *Solomon*; and even ventured to aſk them to fix the crown on his own head. *Solomon* preſently came to hear of his intentions and ſecret practices; upon which he endeavoured to have him apprehended and put to death: But *Hieroboamus* happening in time to be acquainted with *Solomon*'s reſolution againſt him, fled to *Suſacus* the king of the *Ægyptians*, with whom he continued till *Solomon* was dead; by which means he preſerved himſelf and his pretenſions to the kingdom out of all danger. *Solomon* died in a very advanced age, having reigned (1) fourſcore, and lived ninety four years. He was buried in *Hieroſolyma*; and, excepting thoſe faults which his fondneſs for women brought upon him in his old age, he was the happieſt, richeſt, and wiſeſt of all kings. Of thoſe faults, and their conſequences to the ſtate of the *Hebrews*, we have already ſaid enough.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the People's revolting, after the Death of Solomon, *from* Roboamus *his ſon; and their conſtituting* Hieroboamus *King over Ten Tribes.*

AFTER the death of *Solomon*, his ſon *Roboamus* (whom he had by an *Ammanitiſh* woman, named *Nooma*) ſucceeded him in the kingdom. The princes of the people immediately upon this ſent meſſengers to *Ægypt*, to recall *Hieroboamus*. He came to them unto *Sicem*; to which place alſo *Roboamus* haſtened, deſigning to ſhew (2) himſelf king to the *Iſraelites* aſſembled there. The princes of the people, together with *Hieroboamus*, went to him, and humbly intreated him to make their ſlavery ſomething eaſier, and carry himſelf with leſs rigour than his father before him had done, who had born too hard upon them; that his ſubjects would by mild and gentle methods be much more eaſily induced to do their duties to him, and to pay him a ſtrict allegiance. *Roboamus* told them, he would give an anſwer to what they deſired in three days. However, his not readily complying with their demands, gave the others too much ground for ſuſpicion; for they imagined, as he was a young man, he ought to have ſhewn himſelf frank and obliging in the affair. Yet all their hope was not entirely loſt, becauſe he had not given them a total repulſe, but only kept them in ſuſpence, that he might conſult what anſwer to return them.

Roboamus aſſembled his father's friends, with whom he conſulted what anſwer he ſhould make the people. They, favouring the intereſt of the people, adviſed him to ſpeak mildly, and ſhew himſelf friendly to them; they bid him ſeem to humour them ſomething more than became his royal dignity, for that would prove the effectual means of obtaining the good will of his ſubjects, who would never be better pleaſed, than when they ſaw their king carry himſelf friendly and mildly to them. Notwithſtanding this wholeſome counſel, in all probability might have been bleſſed with a good effect, *Roboamus* utterly rejected it. We are induced to believe, that God was the immediate inſtrument of making him deſpiſe that counſel, which was entirely calculated for his intereſt. After this he ſent for a cabal of young men, who had been educated with him, to whom, having related the advice the old men gave him, he aſked their ſentiments upon the matter, and what they thought beſt to be done. They, either through want of experience, or an infatuation God had blinded them with, perſuaded him to return this anſwer to the people: *That his little finger ſhould be thicker than his father's loins: That if they had experienced hardſhips under his father, they ſhould find him ſtill more untractable and cruel: That if his father had chaſtiſed them with whips, they might expect he would puniſh them with ſcorpions.* The king was extremely delighted with theſe words, and fancied ſuch an anſwer was ſuitable to his dignity. When the third day was come, the people aſſembled together to hear the anſwer. Every one ſeemed in a profound ſuſpence, and very deſirous of knowing the event. They imagined nothing elſe, than that he would declare himſelf in ſome courteous and affectionate ſpeech to them; but, contrary to all expectation, the grave men's counſel was rejected, and the young men's was received, and given in anſwer to them. This without doubt was brought about by the will of God, that the prophecy of *Achias* might be fulfilled.

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(1) All the *Greek* and *Latin* Manuſcripts of *Joſephus* mention 80. So do *Glycas*, *Zonaras*, *Cedrenus*, and others. The Sacred Books however ſay but 40. But *Voſſius*'s Opinion is, that they mention not the latter 40. Becauſe then *Solomon* departed from God, and became a Tranſgreſſor of the Law. (2) ἐδέδοκτο γὰρ τοῖς Ισραηλίταις αὐτῷ συνελθοῦσι ἀποδεῖξαι αὐτὸν βασιλέα. Theſe Words nearly agree with Sacred Writ; which ſays, that all *Iſrael* went to *Sichem* to make *Reboboam* King. *Epiphanius* underſtood the Words almoſt in the ſame Senſe; he ſays, he was willing that the *Iſraelites*, being aſſembled there, might conſtitute him King.

Theſe words ſtuck like a dagger within their minds, and their concern for them was very ſenſible; they preſently were moved with a violent indignation, when, calling out with a loud voice, they ſaid, *That from that day they would have no affinity with* David, *or his poſterity*, adding, *let him take to himſelf the the temple which his father has erected.* They threatened to revolt from him; their paſſion and rage were raiſed to ſuch a height, that on the king's ſending *Adoramus*, his treaſurer, to appeaſe the tumult, and beg pardon for his words, if they had injured them, or were thought too raſh and bold, they would not ſuffer him to ſpeak, but took and ſtoned him to death. *Roboamus* perceiving this, and apprehending he might ſuffer the ſame death as his miniſter had, for fear of the worſt, mounted a chariot, and fled to *Hieroſolyma*, where the tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin* conſtituted him their king. But the reſt of the people, revolting from the houſe of *David*, made *Hieroboamus* their king. *Roboamus* convoked an aſſembly of the two tribes under his command, out of which he took one hundred and eighty thouſand choſen men; with theſe he prepared to go againſt *Hieroboamus* and the people, to compel them by force and arms to their duty. But God by his prophet put a ſtop to his intended expedition, (for he privately acquainted him with the injuſtice and unlawfulneſs of waging war with thoſe of the ſame nation with him; and the more ſo, in that God himſelf was the author of the people's revolt) upon which account he marched not out with his army at this time. We ſhall now firſt relate the tranſactions of *Hieroboamus*, king of the *Iſraelites*; and then thoſe of *Roboamus* king of the two tribes: By this means we ſhall be able to preſerve a regular order in the courſe of our hiſtory.

Hieroboamus built himſelf a palace in the city of *Sicem*, which he made the place of his reſidence; he erected another in the city called *Phanuel*. This was done a little before the feaſt of tabernacles. He bethought himſelf, if the people were allowed to go to *Hieroſolyma* to worſhip God, it might happen that they, being influenced by a motive of repentance, and taken with the ſplendor of the temple, and the grand appearance of the worſhip in it, might revolt from him, and go over to their former king, by means of which his life would be brought into danger; upon which account he thought of the following artifice to hinder them: After he had made two golden calves, and erected a temple for each, one in the city *Bethela*, the other in *Dan*, ſituated at the head of leſſer *Jordan*, he placed them in the temples of theſe cities. This done, he aſſembled the ten tribes under his juriſdiction, whom he harangued thus: *You are not ignorant, my countrymen, I ſuppoſe, that God is in every place, and cannot be reſtrained within any bounds; and that he every where liſtens to the prayers of thoſe who worſhip him. As this is very true, I am unwilling to force you, for religion's ſake, to go to* Hieroſolyma, *which is not only a long and tedious journey, but a city at mortal enmity with you. He was no more than a man that built the temple there, and I myſelf have prepared you two golden calves; the one I have conſecrated in* Bethel, *the other in* Dan; *that all of you who inhabit near either of them, may have an opportunity of going thither to worſhip God: I will create ſome of you prieſts and* Levites, *and take care that neither the tribe of* Levi, *nor the line of* Aaron, *ſhall be wanting in you. Let him, who has a mind to become a prieſt, offer a calf and a ram to God; for ſo we are told* Aaron *the firſt prieſt did.* This ſpeech wholly infatuated the people. *Hieroboamus* by it became the author of their departing from the religion and laws of their country. This was the cauſe of all the calamities of the *Hebrews*; for this were they conquered by foreign nations; for this were they led into a miſerable captivity. But of theſe things in their proper place.

The (1) feſtival of the ſeventh month was now at hand; upon which *Hieroboamus* reſolved to celebrate the ſame at *Bethela*, as the two tribes did at *Hieroſolyma*. He erected an altar before the golden calf, and making himſelf the high-prieſt, went up to it with his other prieſts. As he was laying the ſacrifices upon the altar, in the ſight of all the people, God ſent the prophet *Jadon* from *Hieroſolyma* unto him, who, ſtanding in the midſt of the multitude, and turning his face towards the altar, ſpoke thus in the hearing of the king: 'O Altar, 'God foretels this unto thee, that a perſon 'named *Joſias* ſhall be born of the ſtock of '*David*, who ſhall ſacrifice upon thee the 'falſe prophets of theſe times; and burn upon thee the bones of the impoſtors and deceivers of theſe times. As a ſure ſignal that 'this ſhall happen, I will convince you by a

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(1) The Feaſt of Tabernacles.

‘ ſudden miracle. This altar ſhall immediately ‘ be clove aſunder, and all the fat of the vic‘ tims upon it ſhall be ſpilt upon the ground.’ The prophet having ſpoke thus, *Hieroboamus* ſeemed much incenſed, and ſtretching out his hand from the altar, commanded the prophet to be apprehended. But preſently the hand he ſtretched out dried up, ſo that he could not pull it in again to him, it ſtiffened and hung down as dead. The altar beſides was rent, and all the fat thereon was ſpilt upon the ground, as the prophet had foretold. The king perceiving by this, that *Jadon* was no impoſtor, but one who from a divine impulſe foreknew things to come, beſought him to pray to God, that his hand might be reſtored. *Jadon* upon this, prayed for the king. When *Hieroboamus* ſaw his hand reſtored to its right uſe, he was very much rejoiced at it, and deſired of the prophet the favour to dine with him. *Jadon* told him, *That God had forbidden him to enter into his houſe, or even ſo much as to taſte either bread or water in that city*, adding, *that he was commanded not to return by the ſame road he came, but to depart ſome other way.* The ſobriety which the prophet diſcover'd, very much ſurprized the king; upon which he began to be very ſollicitous and doubtful about his own affairs, and, by reflecting upon what the prophet had foretold, he foreſaw the event of his actions.

CHAP. IX.

Of Jadon*'s believing a falſe Prophet, and on his returning back, how he was killed by a Lion. Of the Speech the wicked Prophet uſed to ſeduce the King's Mind from God.*

THERE lived in *Bethela* a certain wicked man, a falſe prophet, and very old, who was in much eſteem with *Hieroboamus*, and ſpoke every thing in his favour. At this time he kept his bed, by reaſon of his great age; his ſons happen'd to come and tell him, that a prophet had come from *Hieroſolyma*, and done many remarkable wonders; namely, how he had cauſed *Hieroboamus*'s hand to wither, and upon his praying to God, had again reſtored and made it ſound and well. Theſe words made the old man apprehenſive of the ſtrange prophet's getting into greater favour with the king than he then was; upon which he ordered his ſons immediately to ſaddle his aſs, that he might ride after him: The ſons preſently perform'd his command; upon which he mounted and rode after the prophet, whom he found reſting himſelf under an high and ſhady oak. He firſt paid his compliments to him, and then expoſtulated with him why he did not turn back, and partake of his entertainment: *Jadon* excuſed himſelf, by ſaying, God had forwarned him not to take either meat or drink from any one in that city. *But*, anſwered the other, *He did not prohibit you from eating at my table. I am a prophet as well as you; and my religion towards God is the ſame as yours. I am now come by his order to carry you back and make you my gueſt.* *Jadon*, giving credit to his ſeducing words, went back with him: While they were at dinner, and entertaining one another in converſation, God appeared to *Jadon*, and threatened to puniſh his violation of the command given him, and ſignified to him the kind of puniſhment he ſhould undergo for it, namely, that in his return home, he ſhould be met by a lion, which ſhould kill him; by which means he ſhould not be buried in the ſepulchre of his fathers. We are of opinion, that God was the immediate inſtrument of doing this; that *Hieroboamus*'s heart might be harden'd to a disbelief of *Jadon*'s words, upon ſo remarkable a death. As *Jadon* was returning to *Hieroſolyma*, he was met by a lion, which pulled him off of his aſs and killed him. The aſs received no manner of hurt, but the lion ſat down and watched both it and the prophet's body, until ſome paſſengers coming by, and ſeeing what was done, went to the city, and acquainted the falſe prophet therewith. As ſoon as he had heard the relation, he commanded his ſons to go and fetch the body into the city, which he magnificently buried. He ordered his ſons, when he ſhould die, to put him in the ſame ſepulchre with *Jadon*; ſaying, that what he had prophecied againſt that city, the altar, prieſts and falſe prophets, were undoubtedly true; that for his part, if he was buried with him, his body would by that means eſcape any violence, as both their bones being then blended together, could not eaſily be diſtinguiſhed. As ſoon as *Jadon*'s funeral ſolemnities were over, and the ſons inſtructed, their wicked and impious father went to *Hieroboamus*, and ‘ Why are ‘ you, ſaid he, ſo much diſturbed at the words ‘ of a madman?’ After the king had told him the accidents that had befallen the altar and his hand, (calling at the ſame time *Jadon* a man of God, and the beſt prophet) he began to leſſen his opinion of him by cunning and malicious inſinuations, and to weaken the truth of what had been perform'd by him, by advancing plauſible natural reaſons for it. He firſt of all endeavour'd to perſuade him, that his hand through over much fatigue in bearing the victims had been benumbed; but, after taking a little reſt, had come to itſelf again; that as for the altar, being but newly built, and overloaded with the great number of ſacrifices laid upon it, it had cracked with the heavy weight, and fallen down. He laſtly acquainted him with the death of *Jadon*, (who had foretold theſe things;) how he was ſlain by a lion, which made it demonſtrable, he had ſpoke nothing, nor had any inherent quality in him, that declared him a prophet: By ſuch ſpeeches as theſe, he obtained the king's belief; and after he had wholly ſeduced him from God, and all juſt and pious thoughts. He forced him to all manner of iniquity. He became ſo profligate, ſo abandoned, and ſo loſt to all notions of a God, that he made it his conſtant endeavour and practice, to commit ſome new and deteſtable wickedneſs every day. But of this enough at preſent.

CHAP. X.

Of Roboamus, *and God's puniſhing his Impiety by* Suſacus.

ROBOAMUS, *Solomon*'s ſon, reign'd, as we have mentioned in the foregoing, over two tribes. He built ſeveral large and fortified cities, as *Bethleem*, *Etame*, *Thecoe*, *Bethſur*, *Socho*, *Adollam*, *Ipan*, *Mareſa*, *Ziph*, *Adoraim*, *Lachis*, *Azec*, *Sataim*, *Elom*, and *Chebron*. Theſe were erected in the tribe of *Judah*: He built other large cities in the tribe of (a) *Benjamin*, which he likewiſe fortified, putting into every one of them garriſons and governors, and laying up in them a great proviſion of corn, wine, and oil, with all other neceſſaries of life. Beſides, he ſtored them with ſhields and ſpears for many thouſands of men. There repair'd to him unto *Hieroſolyma*, from all quarters of the *Iſraelites*, the prieſts and *Levites*, and the reſt of the people who preſerved a true and unſpotted conſcience. They left their native cities to go and worſhip God at *Hieroſolyma*, after the cuſtom of their country. They were violently enraged to think they ſhould be forced to pay adoration to the calves *Hieroboamus* had ſet up; their diſcontent was very great, by means of which, the intereſt of *Roboamus* encreaſed for three years prodigiouſly. His firſt wife was a kinſwoman of his, and by her he had three children. The ſecond he married was alſo akin to him, her name was *Machana*, ſhe was *Abeſalom*'s grandaughter, by *Thamara* his daughter: *Roboamus* had a ſon by her, whom he called *Abias*. Beſides theſe children, he had more by other wives; but *Machana* he loved above all of them. He married eighteen legitimate wives, and converſed with 30 concubines; by whom were born to him two and thirty ſons, and ſixty daughters. He was deſirous of having *Abias*, *Machana*'s ſon, for his ſucceſſor in the kingdom; for which reaſon he made him his treaſurer, and ſuperintendant over his fortified cities.

We are induced to believe, that proſperity and grandeur very often prove the cauſe why men become wicked, and contemners of God and juſtice, and why their affairs often run to ruin; for *Roboamus*, finding his kingdom vaſtly enriched and increaſed, abandoned himſelf to all manner of ſin and wickedneſs; he not only rejected the worſhip and religion of the true God, but by his bad example, made a thorough change in the morals of his ſubjects: For it is found by experience, that the ill conduct of princes has a ſtrong influence upon the minds of thoſe under their government; nay, that ſubjects often imitate the errors and miſtakes of their princes, as ſo many excellencies; and live under an opinion, that the imitation of the imperfections of their rulers, carry in them the mark of political virtue, and duty to a prince. Thoſe who obeyed *Roboamus*, had this peculiar quality to themſelves, namely, that whilſt he continued to tranſgreſs the laws of his country, and run counter to the expreſs commands of God, they made it their ſole buſineſs to pleaſe him in every unjuſt act he committed, and to offend him in nothing. God ſent *Suſacus*, king of the *Ægyptians*, to revenge this affront offered to his honour upon him. *Herodotus* miſtakes this prince, and (b) attributes his actions to *Seſoſtris*. *Suſacus*, in the 5th year of *Roboamus*'s reign, march'd with an army againſt him, which conſiſted of many thouſands of men. There followed him from *Ægypt*, twelve hundred chariots, ſixty thouſand horſe, and (c) four hundred thouſand foot. The army was for the moſt part made up of *Lybians* and *Æthiopians*. After he had made an inroad into the country of the *Hebrews*, he took, without ſtriking one blow, many of *Roboamus*'s beſt fortified cities; which he firſt garriſon'd, and afterwards march'd up to *Hieroſolyma*.

Roboamus and the people finding themſelves ſhut up in the city, by reaſon of this expedition of *Suſacus*, went and begged of God to give ſucceſs to their arms; but their prayers were fruitleſs, and God was entirely againſt them. *Sameus* the prophet told them, that the almighty had denounced this curſe againſt them; That as they had forſook his worſhip and religion, ſo he would forſake them. As ſoon as they had heard this, their hearts began to fail them, and ſeeing no likelihood of ſafety left them, they betook themſelves to repentance, and confeſſed the juſtice of God, in the doom he had pronounced on them, ſeeing they had behaved themſelves ſo impiouſly againſt him, and violated the commandments of his law. God pitying their deſpondency, and dejection of ſpirit, told his prophet, that he would not totally deſtroy them, but make them ſlaves to the *Æyyptians*, that they might know, whether it was eaſier to obey God than man. After *Suſacus* had taken the city without the hazard of a fight, (*Roboamus* through fear letting him enter the walls,) certain conditions were ſtipulated between them; but *Suſacus* preſently broke through them, and plundered the temple, taking away not only God's, but the king's treaſures, an immenſe quantity of gold and ſilver, without ſo much as leaving the leaſt thing behind him. He carried away the golden helmets and ſhields made by king *Solomon*, not ſparing the golden arrows, which *David* received from the king of *Sophene*, and dedicated to God. When he had committed theſe acts of violence, he marched home. *Herodotus* of *Halicarnaſſus* mentions this expedition, and only errs in the name of the (*a*) king. He ſays, he invaded ſeveral other nations, and brought under his obedience *Syria-paleſtine*, taking all the men in that country priſoners, without ſo much as hazarding a battle. It is plain this author's deſign was to expoſe our nation, as being made ſlaves to the *Ægyptians*: For he tells us, that in the land of thoſe who had ſurrendred themſelves without engaging, there were pillars erected and left by him, upon which were engraved the (*b*) privy parts of women. It is true *Roboamus* our king, ſurrendered to him the city, before he ſtruck a blow. He (*c*) ſays moreover, that the (*d*) *Æthiopians* receiv'd the cuſtom of circumciſing the privy parts from the *Ægyptians*; and adds, that the *Phenicians* and *Syrians*, who dwell in *Paleſtine*, confeſs themſelves that they learned it from the *Ægyptians*. But it is plain, there are no other people in *Syria-paleſtine* who circumciſe themſelves except us. Of theſe things let every one judge as he pleaſes. After the departure of *Suſacus*, *Roboamus* made a like number of brazen helmets and ſhields, in exchange for the golden ones, and committed them to the care of the officers of his palace. His reign was not remarkable for any great actions, or occurrences, but only for its tranquility. Tho' his fear often tormented him, on account of the enmity between him and *Hieroboamus*. He died aged fifty and ſeven years, in the ſeventeenth of his reign. He was a man inſolent and imprudent, and who, by his rejecting the advice of his father's friends, loſt great part of his kingdom: He was buried at *Hieroſolyma*, in the ſepulchre of the kings. *Abias* his ſon ſucceeded him in the kingdom, in the eighteenth year of *Hieroboamus*, king of the ten tribes. This is the period of *Roboamus*; it remains now that we return to *Hieroboamus*, and relate how he ended his life. He did every thing he could invent to diſhonour God. He erected altars upon the mountains, and created prieſts out of the dregs of the common people.

(a) Theſe Cities, which *Joſephus* has mentioned by their ſeveral Names in 2 *Chron.* xi. 10. are ſaid to be ſituated, Part in *Judah*, and Part in *Benjamin*. *Reland.*

(b) It by no Means from hence follows, that *Joſephus* took both of theſe Kings to be the ſame; as ſome very learned Men have imagined, but erroniouſly. On the contrary it is evident he underſtood them as different Princes; tho *Herodotus* hath attributed the Actions of the one unto the other. If *Joſephus*, as theſe Gentlemen will have it, was of Opinion that they really were one and the ſame Perſon, and that he who is called *Seſoſtris* by *Herodotus*, is by the *Hebrews* named *Suſacus*; he has innocently related it ſo, without incurring the Imputation of Error, ſince, between the Words *Suſacus* or *Siſacus*, and *Seſoſtris*, nay, almoſt all theſe Names in the Sacred Books, which we meet with in *Greek* Authors, there is ſo little Variation. *Perizonius*, to whom I refer the Reader for a more particular Account of this Matter in his Book of *Ægyptian Origins*, Chap. viii.

(c) *Epiphanius* ſays Forty Thouſand, but by Miſtake.

CHAP. XI.

Of Hieroboamus's *Son's Death. Of the Overthrow given* Hieroboamus *by* Abias, *and the ſhort Time he lived after it. Of* Aſanus's *Succeſſion to the Kingdom, and how* Baſanes, *after* Hieroboamus's *Death, Slew his Son* Nadabus *and all his Race.*

THE time was haſtening on apace, when God was determined to revenge on *Hieroboamus* and his poſterity, the enormous crimes he had been guilty of. About this time his ſon (*e*) *Obunes* was ſick. *Hieroboamus*, commanded his wife to take off the garment ſhe wore, and put on a private perſon's dreſs, and go to the prophet *Achias*; (who had a wonderful gift in foretelling events to come, and had himſelf diſcover'd to him the method of his obtaining the kingdom,) as ſoon as ſhe came into his preſence, he enjoined her, to enquire as if ſhe was a ſtranger about her ſon, whether or no he ſhould recover from the illneſs he was ſick of. According to the advice of her huſband, ſhe changed her dreſs, and went to the city *Siloe*, where *Achias* liv'd. As ſhe was juſt upon entring his houſe, (*Achias* was now dimſighted through age,) God appeared to him, and acquainted him that *Hieroboamus*'s wife was coming to him: At the ſame time he told him, the manner in which he ſhould anſwer her in the inquiry ſhe came to make. Upon her approaching his houſe, in the habit of a ſtranger and private perſon, he cried out aloud, ‘Come in, O wife of *Hieroboamus*, ‘why do you diſguiſe yourſelf? For you can‘not hide yourſelf from God; who hath ad‘moniſhed me by a viſion of your coming, and ‘and put into my mouth the very words I am ‘to ſpeak unto you. When you are returned ‘to your huſband, I enjoin you to ſay thus ‘unto him. Foraſmuch as I have advanced ‘thee from a poor and low eſtate to great ho‘nour, and have rent the houſe of *David* to ‘put thee in poſſeſſion of a kingdom; yet

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(*a*) *viz.* Of *Suſacus*, as if this Expedition had been made by *Suſacus*, mentioned by *Herodotus*, and not by *Seſoſtris* by the ſame Author mentioned.

(*b*) To ſtigmatize their Effeminacy and Cowardice. *Hud.* This gave riſe to *Antigonus*'s being call'd *Antigona*, for his ſervile Submiſſion. *Soſius*. L. 1. *de bello.*

(*c*) In *Euterpe*, Chap. civ. it is thus ſaid, ‘The *Colchians*, *Ægyptians*, and *Æthiopians*, are the only Nations of all Mankind, who circumciſe their privy Parts; the *Phenicians* and *Syrians* ſay they learnt it from the *Ægyptians*.

(*d*) That the *Æthiopians* and *Syrians* of *Paleſtine* took up the Cuſtom of Circumciſing from the *Ægyptians*; See *Herodotus*, Lib. II. Chap. civ. *Spanheim.*

(*e*) The Seventy call him *Abijah*.

thou haſt forgot my kindneſſes, and rejected my worſhip; and made gods of gold, and adored them: I will now cut thee off, and deſtroy all thy poſterity, and make them a prey to dogs and the fowls of the air. I will raiſe up a king among the *Iſraelites*, who ſhall leave none remaining of the houſe of *Hieroboamus*. The people ſhall be involved in the puniſhment; I will ſend, and they ſhall be driven out of the happy land they now enjoy, and baniſhed beyond *Euphrates*, becauſe they have followed the impieties of their king, and worſhipped, in contempt of my religion, the gods he made. Do you, O woman, haſten back to your huſband, and acquaint him with theſe things. You ſhall find your ſon dead at your return; for the moment you ſet your foot in the city, he ſhall depart this life, and his burial ſhall be attended with an univerſal mourning; becauſe he ſhall be eſteemed the only one of the poſterity of *Hieroboamus* who had any good in him.' When the prophet had thus prophecied, the woman was exceedingly diſpirited, but the mention of the death of her ſon quite overwhelmed her; ſhe threw her ſelf out of the door, and haſtened back; all the way ſhe went, ſhe did nothing but lament and weep for her ſon. The haſte ſhe made was the greateſt diſaſter to her; for by that means ſhe haſtened the death of her ſon. After ſhe was got home, ſhe found, according to the prediction of the prophet, her ſon dead; upon which ſhe acquainted the king with every thing ſhe had been told.

Hieroboamus however, diſregarded theſe threatnings; and was perpetually raiſing ſoldiers. He undertook an expedition againſt *Abias*, *Roboamus*'s ſon, who had ſucceeded him in the government. As this prince was very young, he very little regarded him. *Abias*, having received intelligence of *Hieroboamus*'s march, was not in the leaſt dejected: But, after he had muſtered up an army out of the two tribes, with a prudence and courage much beyond his years, and more than what the enemy expected, he met *Hieroboamus* at a place, called the mountain (*a*) *Semaron*, where he incamped and drew up his army in order of battle. His army conſiſted of four hundred thouſand men; *Hieroboamus*'s of double that number. When both ſides were ready for the battle, *Abias* made a ſignal from an eminence, and deſired *Hieroboamus* and his army, before the engagement began, to come to a parley. Silence preſently was proclaimed, when he began to ſpeak thus: 'I need not acquaint you with God's beſtowing upon *David* and his poſterity for ever this kingdom: I am ſurprized at your revolting from my father, taking the ſide of his ſervant *Hieroboamus*, and your appearing now in arms againſt thoſe whom God hath decreed to reign, with deſign to wreſt the kingdom out of their hands. *Hieroboamus* is already in poſſeſſion of the larger part of it, but very unjuſtly. However, the time of his continuance therein is very ſhort: After God has deſervedly puniſhed him for the crimes he has committed, he will then ceaſe to commit thoſe outrageous affronts to his ſacred authority and majeſty, which he has ever to this time been committing againſt him: He is the ſole author of your many enormities. My father never injured you in any thing, unleſs in a word or two dropt unadviſedly in a ſpeech he made you; and this was occaſioned by the advice of bad counſellors. You abandoned him through a pretence of ill uſage; but in fact, you withdrew yourſelves from God and his laws. It had been but juſtice, as he was young, and unexperienced in governing a nation, and you your ſelves had received ſo many benefits from his father *Solomon*, if you had pardoned him, the words which you thought pronounced in too tyrannical a ſtile; nay, if he had been guilty of ever ſo great injuries againſt you, his youth, and want of knowledge in ſtate affairs, ought to have excuſed him: The good actions of parents ought to attone for the miſcarriages of their ſons. Notwithſtanding this, you never called to mind or reflected upon this at that time, nor do now, but are come out againſt us with a numerous army; tell me, I pray you, on what account you expect victory. Are your hopes of ſucceſs founded on your placing the golden calves in your high places, which are ſo many demonſtrations of your impiety, not religion? Or on the multitude of your hoſt? If an army conſiſted of millions, and the men compoſing it were wicked and impious, it would avail nothing: Juſtice and piety are the only groundworks on which to build a firm hope of gaining victory over an enemy that now oppoſes himſelf to us, that have conſtantly practiſed the commandments of the law, and worſhipped our God, not one built with the workmanſhip of the hand, and made of periſhable matter. No artful and wicked king among us, has endeavour'd to impoſe a falſe religion on the credulity of the people: But we have obeyed that ſupreme Being, who is from himſelf, the beginning and ending of all things. Wherefore I now exhort you to repent, and following better advice for the future, deſiſt from the war you have begun, and pay obedience to your country's inſtitutions, and conſider what it was that raiſed you to the great happineſs you enjoy.'

Abias in this manner harangued the army of *Hieroboamus*; but while he was ſpeaking, a detachment of the enemy was ſent to hemn him in: His ſoldiers ſeeing him ſurrounded on every ſide, were ſtruck with a pannic, and their courage began to fail them. *Abias* endeavoured to encourage them, by exhorting them to place their confidence in God; who was not to be circumvented or ſurrounded by an enemy. Upon this, all of them unanimouſly implored the aſſiſtance of God. The prieſts

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(*a*) In the Books of *Epiphanius*, *Amorreorum mons*. A Mountain of the *Amorites*.

a while after ſounded their trumpets, and the encounter began with a great ſhout: The courage of the enemy was immediately daunted, and their ſpirits failed them; for God made the army of *Abias* victorious. So many of *Hieroboamus*'s ſide were killed in the field of battle, that (*a*) never *Greeks* or *Barbarians* could boaſt of ſuch a ſlaughter. The wonderful and ſurprizing great victory obtained at this time, was entirely owing to the protection God lent them; they ſlew upon the ſpot five hundred thouſand of the enemy, took by ſtorm their beſt fortified cities, and rifled *Bethela*, and *Iſana*, with their dependancies. This defeat ſo effectually broke the power of *Hieroboamus*, that while *Abias* lived, he never was able to make head againſt him. *Abias* did not long ſurvive this victory; but after a ſhort reign of three years died, and was buried at *Hieroſolyma* in the ſepulchre of the kings; he left behind him two and twenty ſons and ſixteen daughters, by fourteen different wives. *Aſanus* his ſon ſucceeded him in the government; whoſe mother's name was *Maacha*. During his reign the land of *Iſrael* enjoyed a ten years tranquility.

The foregoing account is all that is come to our knowledge of *Abias* the ſon of *Roboamus*. *Hieroboamus*, king of the ten tribes, after a two and twenty years reign, died. *Nadabus* his ſon ſucceeded him in the kingdom, when *Aſanus* had held the government one year. He reigned two years; and in acts of impiety and injuſtice every way equalled his father. He led an army againſt the city *Gabatho*, belonging to the *Paleſtines*, which he reſolved to take by ſiege; but during the expedition, was cut off by the treachery of one *Baſanes*, the ſon of *Nelchel*, and his intimate friend. *Baſanes*, immediately after his death, ſeized upon the kingdom, and put to death the whole family of *Hieroboamus*. Beſides, the prediction of God herein was verified. For thoſe of them who were ſlain in the city, fell a prey to the dogs; and thoſe in the fields, to the birds. Such was the period put to the race of *Hieroboamus*; and ſuch was the puniſhment deſervedly inflicted upon him, for his daring impieties and monſtrous injuſtice.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Defeat given Zareus, *King of the* Æthiopians, *by* Aſanus. *How* Aſanus, *upon* Baſanes's *proclaiming War againſt him, implored the Aſſiſtance of the King of* Damaſcus. *Of the whole Family of* Baſanes's *being aſſaſſinated; after which* Zamares *obtained the Kingdom, and was ſucceeded therein, by his Son* Achabus.

ASANUS, king of the *Hieroſolymites*, was a perſon of moſt ſtrict morals, and great piety, one that lived and acted in a conſtant obedience to, and obſervance of all the precepts of the law, and all the duties of religion. His only aim was his country's good; he uſed all poſſible means to ſuppreſs licentiouſneſs and immorality within his kingdom; he had an army of ſelect men, which was compoſed out of the tribe of *Judah*, and conſiſted of three hundred thouſand men, bearing ſhields and ſpears. He had another, of the tribe of *Benjamin*, of two hundred and fifty thouſand, bearing bows and bucklers. In the tenth year of his reign *Zareus*, king of *Æthiopia*, marched againſt him with an army of nine hundred thouſand foot, one hundred thouſand horſe, and three hundred chariots. As he approached the city *Mareſa*, (which is in *Judah*) with his army, *Aſanus* came up with him, and put his men in a poſture of battle, in a valley called *Saphetha*, not far diſtant from the city. When he obſerv'd the vaſt numbers of the enemy, he raiſed his voice aloud, and begged the aſſiſtance of God againſt the power of ſo formidable an hoſt, for he ſaid, *He put his entire confidence in him alone, who was able to give the victory to the few and weak over the numerous and ſtrong; and therefore he ventured to engage* Zareus.' *Aſanus* having thus ſpoke, God gave him a ſign of victory, upon which he began the onſet couragiouſly and chearfully. It was not long before the enemy were put to the rout with an immenſe ſlaughter: Thoſe who eſcaped fled and he purſued them into the country of *Gerarar*. His ſoldiers at length ceaſing to purſue and to ſlay the flying, went to pillaging the enemy and plundering their camp; out of which they took a vaſt booty of gold, ſilver, camels, aſſes, and ſheep. *Aſanus* and his army having, by the immediate aſſiſtance of God, obtained this glorious and advantageous victory, returned to *Hieroſolyma*. When they were come near the city, *Azarias* the prophet met them; who after he had commanded them to make a ſtand, began to ſpeak in the following manner: *That God had beſtowed upon them the victory, for their piety and juſtice, and the ſubmiſſion they had diſcovered to his divine will; that if they,* he told them, *continued to act as they had begun, God would always make them victorious over their enemies, and bleſs them with a continued felicity. But if they performed otherwiſe, and departed from the religion they then profeſſed, then every thing ſhould ſucceed*

(*a*) If he had ſaid that Fifty Thouſand were ſlain, (as ſome will have it) how came he to boaſt ſo much of this ſlaughter, as if neither *Greeks* or *Barbarians* had ſeen the like in any of their Wars. But he was not ſuch a Stranger either in the *Greek* or *Roman* Hiſtories as to be ignorant of many Slaughters much more terrible and greater than this.

to the contrary; the time ſhould come, in which not one true prophet ſhould be found throughout the whole people, nor a prieſt, whoſe piety was equal to the dignity of his ſacred office: Their cities ſhould be overthrown, and the nation of the Jews *diſperſed over the face of the whole world, and doomed to a life of vagabonds and ſtrangers.*' Wherefore he exhorted them, while the opportunity was in their hands, to purſue juſtice, and value the love of God towards them. The king and the army were exceedingly rejoiced at the words they had heard from the mouth of the prophet. They began to make it their entire buſineſs, publick and private, to preſerve juſtice, and keep the worſhip of God uncorrupt and pure. But ſtill, further to put in execution his good deſign, the king commiſſioned perſons in every part of his kingdom, to take care the precepts of the law were exactly obey'd.

In this poſture were the affairs of *Aſanus* king of the two tribes: We ſhall now return to *Baſanes*, king of the *Iſraelites*, who had put to death *Nadabus*, *Hieroboamus*'s ſon, and ſeized upon the kingdom. He dwelt in the city *Tharſa*, where he had a palace, and reigned therein four and twenty years. He was impious and exceedingly tyrannical, behaving himſelf towards his ſubjects with inſolence and haughtineſs, ann diſhonouring the worſhip of God. The prophet *Jehu* came and told him, *That God would totally extirpate his race, and deſtroy it in the ſame dreadful manner he had done that of* Hieroboamus, *becauſe he had not anſwer'd the character of a king with which he was honoured, which was to govern the people under him with piety and juſtice, (two things not only profitable to man, but always pleaſing to God,) but had followed the wicked example of* Hieroboamus; *adding, that as he had made himſelf like him, it was but juſtice he ſhould undergo the like puniſhment with him.* *Baſanes*, though he had heard theſe terrible threats, forbore not to commit the ſame crimes, but thought it a ſcandal to be outdone in his daring wickedneſs, and a mean thing in him to have recourſe to God for pardon; but as ſome obſtinate perſons, who propoſe to themſelves ſome certain end, never ceaſe, when once embark'd in an affair, till they have accompliſhed their deſigns: In like manner, from the prophet's admonition, and threatning his houſe with a total extirpation, he became ſtill worſe and worſe; and from the commiſſion of the moſt enormous crimes, puſhed himſelf on deeds more heinous, if poſſible. From day to day, he laboured to improve in vice and irreligion. He made another expedition, and march'd with an army againſt *Ramathon*, (a city of no ſmall importance, and diſtant from *Hieroſolyma* about forty furlongs) which he took, fortified, and reſolved to put a ſtrong garriſon in it, who, ſallying out from time to time, might infeſt the kingdom of *Aſanus*.

Aſanus obſerving this motion and preparation of the enemy, was ſomething uneaſy at it: He thought the throwing a garriſon into *Ramathon* would prove of dangerous conſequence, and be attended with many miſchiefs, the effects whereof his whole kingdom would inevitably feel; whereupon he ſent ambaſſadors to the king of *Damaſcus*, with large preſents of gold and ſilver, to implore his aſſiſtance, and put him in mind of the league of friendſhip, which was ſolemnly ſtruck between both their fathers. The king courteouſly received the preſent, and diſſolving the amity between him and *Baſanes*, made a firmer league between him and *Aſanus*. This done, they acted in confederacy together, and detached their officers of both armies to go and diſturb the cities in *Baſanes*'s juriſdiction; to this end they immediately went, ſome of them they burnt, and others they ſack'd. Among the reſt they plundered the cities *Abion*, *Dan*, and *Abellana*, beſides a great many others. As ſoon as the king of the *Iſraelites* came to hear of theſe outrages, he left fortifying *Ramathon*, and went with the utmoſt expedition to aſſiſt his ſubjects, and revenge their ill treatment. *Aſanus*, in the mean time, erected, out of the materials *Baſanes* had prepared for building *Ramathon* and left behind him, two ſtrong cities in the ſame place: One of them he called *Gaba*, the other *Maſpha*. *Baſanes*, after this, was never able to lead an army, or make head againſt *Aſanus*, being (*a*) prevented by death. He was buried in *Tharſa*, and his ſon *Elanus* ſucceeded him in the government. This prince, after a ſhort reign of two years, came to an untimely end. *Zamares*, general over the one half of the forces, laid in wait for him and ſlew him; the murther was thus, he order'd ſome of his horſemen to ruſh in upon him, as he ſat at an entertainment at *Orſa* his ſteward's houſe, to which he had invited him for the better execution of his bloody deſign; while his guards and officers were from him engaged in beſieging *Gabaath*, a city of the *Paleſtines*.

After *Zamares* had put *Elanus* to death, he ſeized upon the kingdom for himſelf, and ſlew all the race of *Baſanes*, which verified the prophecy of *Jehu*. His family met with the like diſaſters, as we have juſt before mentioned, befel the houſe of *Hieroboamus*. When the army that laid ſiege to *Gabaath*, came to hear of the accident that had happened to their king, and of *Zamares*'s ſeizing the kingdom after he had murther'd him, they elected *Amarinus* their general for their king, who preſently decamping from *Gabaath*, march'd to *Tharſa*, (the city of the king's reſidence,) and took it by ſtorm. But finding the place unguarded, he went into an inner apartment of

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(*a*) *Dandilly* the *French* Man, and Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange* after him, ſay thus: 'This was the laſt of *Baaſha*'s 'Military Adventures, for he was cut off by *Creon*.' By this Account we are made to believe that one named *Creon*, (but who he was does not appear,) aſſaſſinated *Baaſha*, according to the Editions of our Author publiſhed by the foregoing Gentlemen. But the *Greek* Word χρεὼν in this Paſſage imports no more than Death or Fate.

the palace, and ſetting fire to it, thew himſelf into the flame, and burnt himſelf and the houſe together, after a ſhort reign of ſeven days. A diviſion hereupon enſued among the *Iſraelites*; ſome of them were for making *Thabmeus*, others *Amarinus* their king. But thoſe who were in the latter's intereſt, proving more powerful, ſlew *Thabmeus*, by which means *Amarinus* became king of all the *Iſraelites*. He began his reign in the thirtieth year of *Aſanus*; and continued in the adminiſtration twelve years, ſix of which he reigned in *Tharſa*, and the other ſix in the city *Semareon*, called by the *Greeks Samaria*, he called it *Semareon* from *Semarus*, who ſold him the mountain upon which it was built; there was no difference between him and the kings his predeceſſors, except that of his being more wicked than they; for all of them made it their daily practice to commit the groſſeſt impieties, with deſign to alienate the minds of their ſubjects from the ſervice and fear of God; upon which account the Almighty ſucceſſively cut them off by ſome uncommon death, and entirely rooted their poſterity from the face of the earth. *Amarinus* died at *Samaria*, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Achabus*.

From the foregoing we may learn how the providence of God watches over the affairs of men; how his love is extended to them who worſhip him, and his hatred and direful vengeance to them who reject and mock him. The kings of the *Iſraelites*, for the many monſtrous crimes they committed, did not enjoy their ſovereignty long, but were hurried out of the world by ſome untimely end or other, and their race extirpated by him who ſucceeded. *Aſanus*, king of the *Hieroſolymites* and the two tribes, enjoyed an happineſs, and a length of age, the juſt reward of his exquiſite juſtice and uncommon devotion. For he reigned one and forty years in great proſperity, and then died in perfect tranquility. After his death *Joſaphatus* his ſon, and born of a woman nam'd *Abida*, ſucceeded in the government. This prince was in the opinion of all men a man of courage, and a fine imitator of the many excellencies of his grandſire *David*. But of him and his affairs hereafter.

CHAP. XIII.

Achabus *had more impious Diſpoſitions, after he had married* Jezabela, *than any of the Kings his Predeceſſors had diſcovered before him. Of the Actions performed by the Prophet* Elias; *and what happened to* Nabuthus.

ACHABUS, king of the *Iſraelites*, dwelt in *Samaria*, and held the government two and twenty years; he cauſed no alteration in the laws of his predeceſſors, except in making them worſe than he found them, the natural effect of his abandoned and monſtrous impiety; all their miſcarriages he perfectly imitated; he was a notorious contemner of the divine being of God, and above all things endeavoured to copy the impious life of *Hieroboamus*. He not only paid adoration to the golden calves made and ſet up by him, but was remarkable for more monſtrous and abſurd inventions of his own. He married *Jezabela*, daughter of *Ithobalus*, king of the *Tyrians* and *Sidonians*; from whom he learned the worſhip of the gods of her country. *Jezabela* was a woman of a bold and unſtable temper; her wanton and frantick humour drove her to that extreme, as to erect a temple to the god of the *Tyrians*, which they call *Belus*; and to cauſe a grove of every kind of tree to be planted in it to his honour. She created prieſts and falſe prophets to this god. *Achabus* conſtantly entertained a great number of theſe perſons about him. And his madneſs and wickedneſs by turns, prompted him to things far exceeding all the impieties of the kings his predeceſſors.

A certain prophet of the high God, of *Theſbona*, a city of *Galaad*, went to *Achabus*. He told him that God had denounced this againſt him, namely, 'That he would neither 'ſend any rain, or dew upon the land for one 'entire year, until he appear'd again.' After he had confirm'd this threatning with an oath, he turned to the ſouthward, and went to a certain brook, which might ſupply him with water; there he ſtayed a while, and the ravens from day to day brought him meat. The brook ſome time after this dried up, occaſioned by the want of rain; God, upon this, commanded him to go to *Sarephtha*, a city ſtanding in the middle way between *Tyre* and *Sidon*, where he ſhould find a widow woman who would provide for him. As he came near the gate of the city, he eſpied a woman gathering of ſticks. God hereupon ſignified to him, that ſhe was the perſon who would feed him. *Elias* then went up to her and ſaluted her; he deſired her to fetch him ſome water to drink: The woman readily went her ways to bring it; the prophet called her back again and bid her bring him ſome bread too. The woman proteſted ſhe had nothing at home but an handful of meal, and a little oil; that ſhe had gathered a few ſticks to go home and bake it into a cake for herſelf and her ſon; who, after they had eaten it, muſt, ſhe told him, inevitably ſtarve, as they had nothing elſe. *Elias*, upon this, ſaid, *Take heart and go thy ways, and hope for better things. Bring me a little of it, for I foretel thee, that the meal in thy barrel and the oil in thy cruſe ſhall not be conſumed, until God ſhall vouchſafe to ſend down rain upon this land.* After the prophet had ſpoke thus, ſhe went home, and did as he commanded her, but found to her ſurprize, and the verifying of *Elias*'s words, ſufficient proviſion for herſelf, ſon and him; for neither the meal, nor the oil was conſumed, until the drought was over. *Menander* takes notice of this ſcarcity of rain, in his chapter of the actions of *Ithobalus*, king of the *Tyrians*. He ſpeaks thus, *In his time there was no rain, from the month* Hyperborœtas, *until the ſame month in the following year, upon which he ſupplicated God, but his prayers were attended with loud thunderings. He built* Botrys *in* Phenicia, *and* Auza *in* Lybia. This, as mention'd by *Menander*, in his commentaries, muſt be the ſame drought with that in *Achabus*'s reign; for he lived in the ſame time with *Ithobalus*, the *Tyrian* king.

The woman who fed the prophet, whom we have juſt before mentioned, ſeeing her ſon about this time fall very ſick, ſo that his life ſeemed in great danger, lamented heavily for him, and beating her boſom with her hands, wept aloud and laid the blame upon the prophet's coming, who, ſhe imagin'd, had diſcovered her ſins, and taken away her ſon's life as an attonement for them. *Elias* ſeeing this, bid her be of good heart, and deliver her ſon into his hands, for he would reſtore him to life again. The woman gave him to *Elias*, who carrying him into his chamber, laid him upon the bed; after which he called aloud to God, ſaying, *That the woman who had entertained and nouriſhed him, would be ill requited if her ſon ſhould be ſnatched from her; wherefore he beſeeched him, that his ſoul might return into the child, and by that means his life be reſtored.* God taking compaſſion upon the woman's condition, and moved by the fervent prayer of the prophet, leſt the mother's ſorrows ſhould be laid to the charge of *Elias*, beyond all expectation re-animated the child. The woman ſeeing this, was extremely thankful to the prophet, and ſaid, ſhe plainly perceived that the ſpirit of God was in him.

A little while after this, God was pleaſed to ſend the prophet to king *Achabus*, to let him know that he ſhould have rain. The famine was exceeding ſharp over the whole country, and the ſcarcity of proviſions, to ſuſtain life, ſo great, from the want of rain to produce them, that not only men, but horſes, aſſes and cattle, were very much tormented therewith; paſturage and all manner of graſs was totally burnt up. In this calamity *Achabus* called to him *Obadias* his overſeer, whom he bid to go to the ſprings of the rivers, and brooks, and ſee if there was any graſs, which he ordered him to cut down and bring for the forage of his horſes: He (*a*) ſent perſons over (*b*) all the world to enquire for the prophet *Elias*, who not finding him, he ordered *Obadias* to go along with him; when they had gone ſome ſhort way, they parted from one another; *Achabus* took one road, and *Obadias* another. When *Jezabela* the queen was enraged againſt the prophets, *Obadias* ſupported a hundred of them with bread and water in caves. As this perſon was journeying homewards, *Elias* met him, whom upon enquiry he found to be the prophet, and did him reverence; *Elias* bid him go and acquaint *Achabus* that he was coming to him: *Obadias* anſwer'd, What ſin have I committed, or what is it I deſerve, that you ſhould now bid me go to him, who ſearches for you in every place to take away your life? Are you a ſtranger to his ſending perſons every where to ſeek you out, that he may put you to death? He deſired him, as the ſpirit of God was in him, not to depart any other way, ſince, if the king ſent him to ſearch for him, and he ſhould not find him, he ſhould certainly pay the loſs thereof with his life; therefore he deſir'd him to have ſome regard for his ſafety, and conſider the care he had extended to perſons of his profeſſion, namely, how he had formerly preſerved a hundred prophets out of the murthering hands of *Jezabela*; and at that preſent time had them concealed and maintained them at his own coſt. The prophet, on the other hand, commanded him to go to the king and not be afraid: And to remove his fears on that ſcore, he ſwore that that very day he would certainly appear before the king.

Obadias went and acquainted *Achabus* with the coming of *Elias*. The king, full of anger ran to meet him, and in a diſordered tone of voice ask'd him, if he was the perſon who vexed the nation of the *Hebrews* by the drought inflicted on their country? The prophet concealing nothing from him, told him, that he and his family were the ſole inſtruments of bringing upon the nation of the *Hebrews* the many calamities they ſuffer'd. That his receiving into the land foreign gods, and worſhipping them, and forſaking the god of the *Hebrews*, who was alone God, and the great diſregard he had ſhewed for his worſhip, were the occaſion of the drought. He bid him aſſemble the whole nation of the *Hebrews*, his wive's prophets, whoſe number he mentioned, and the prophets of the groves, about four hundred in all, upon mount *Carmel*. When all of them by *Achabus*'s orders were met upon the mount, the prophet *Elias* ſtood up in the midſt of them: And why do you, ſaid he, live between two wavering opinions? If they believed, he told them, that their own God was the true and only God; his advice was to follow him, and obey his precepts. But if they diſregarded him, and believed in the foreign ones, then his advice to them was, to pay their adoration to them, and eſpouſe their religion. The audience making no manner of anſwer to what he had advanced, he then deſir'd them, (that the power and virtue as well of their gods as of his God might be diſplayed;) that as he was the only prophet of his, and they were four hundred prophets of

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(*a*) It is not certain what reading *Epiphanius* follows in this Paſſage, his Words are *Qui dum miſiſſet in cunctum orbem terrarum ad quærendum prophetam Eliam, nec inveniſſet, precepit, &c.* The Meaning of which is: Who having ſent over the whole World to find out the Prophet *Elias*, and not meeting with him, he commanded, *&c.*

(*b*) This Paſſage gives a plain Demonſtration, how the like Saying in that remarkable Place of St. *Luke*, Chap. ii. ver. 1. ought to be conſtrued; namely, of the *Roman* World as herein of the *Jewiſh* World. The Words are, *And it came to paſs in thoſe Days, that there went out a Decree from* Cæſar Auguſtus, *that all the World ſhould be taxed*, Havercamp.

their Gods, he might take an ox, kill and lay it upon a pile of wood, without putting any fire underneath. That in like manner they ſhould do the ſame: After which their gods ſhould be invoked to ſet fire thereto; by which means the true God would be eaſily diſtinguiſhed. This experiment was approved by all. But *Elias* bid the other prophets chuſe themſelves an ox, and make the trial firſt by calling upon their gods; this they performed, but the prayers and ſupplications of the prophets who brought the ſacrifice proved all in vain. *Elias* obſerving this, ridiculed and adviſed them to call aloud to their Gods; for that either they were upon ſome journey, or probably faſt aſleep. In this manner of invoking their gods they continued from morning till noon, cutting themſelves with knives and lances after the cuſtom of their religion. When *Elias's* turn was come to flay his victim, he commanded the other prieſts to remove their oblation, and bid the people draw near him, that they might obſerve he did not ſecretly convey fire among the wood. Upon their coming up to him, he took twelve ſtones to anſwer the number of the tribes of the *Hebrews*; of which he made an altar, and cut a deep ditch about it. When he had placed the wood thereon, he commanded four pails full of fountain water to be poured upon it, which running down the ſides might fill the ditch beneath; this done, he began to call upon God by prayer, that he would vouchſafe to demonſtrate his power to a people, who had long wandered in error. While he was yet earneſt at his prayers, a fire in the ſight of the people ſuddenly fell from heaven, and alighted upon the altar, which conſumed the ſacrifice with ſo much violence that the water was entirely ſucked up, and the ditch made dry thereby.

When the *Iſraelites* ſaw this, they fell proſtrate upon the ground, and reverenced one God, calling him the greateſt and the ſole God. The other, they ſaid, were only names impoſed through the depraved and fooliſh opinions of men. This done they follow'd, by the direction of *Elias*, the falſe prophets, and put them to death. The prophet bid the king go to dinner, and not trouble himſelf, for God would ſhortly ſend him rain. *Achabus* departed, and *Elias* went up to the top of mount *Carmel*, where ſitting down upon the ground, he bowed his head to his knees, and commanded his ſervant to get upon a certain rock, and caſt his eyes along the ſea, and tell him if there was not a cloud ſtirring: The ſky at this time was exceeding fair and ſerene; the man mounted the rock ſeveral times, but could ſee nothing like a cloud. At length when he had gone the ſeventh time he brought *Elias* word back, that he ſaw ſomething blackening in the air, but it was no bigger than the ſole of a man's foot. *Elias* upon this ſent to *Achabus*, bidding him make haſte to the city, before the cloud diſſolved itſelf in rain. *Achabus* was ſcarce got to *Jeſraela*, before the heaven was quite overcaſt with clouds, and a ſudden rain poured down in a violent tempeſt. In the mean time the prophet, aſſiſted by the ſpirit of God, ran before *Achabus's* chariot, till he came to *Jeſraela* the city of (a) *Izarus*.

When *Jezabela*, *Achabus's* wife, came to hear of the miracles *Elias* had performed, and how he had put to death her prophets, in a fury ſhe ſent meſſengers to tell him, ſhe would deal with him in the very ſame manner he had done with them. *Elias*, fearing the worſt, fled into the city, called *Berſubee*, which is ſituated on the very frontiers of the tribe of *Judah*, bordering upon *Idumæa*, where, leaving his ſervant, he went into the deſart, and there praying for death, he ſaid he was not better than his forefathers, who were dead, that he ſhould covet to live any longer. After ſpeaking thus, he laid himſelf under the ſhade of a tree to repoſe himſelf; but being preſently raiſed from his ſleep, he found meat and water ſet by him; upon which he eat and refreſhed himſelf, and then went to mount (b) *Sinæus*, where *Moyſes* received at the hands of God the laws, according to our traditions. He perceived a large cave, into which he went and dwelt there. But a while after he heard a voice, but did not know from whence it came, that asked him why he had left the city, and what he did there? He made anſwer to the voice, becauſe he had ſlain the prophets of the ſtrange gods; and perſuaded the people that there was only one God, which they had worſhipped from the beginning: That for this reaſon, the queen ſought for him to bring him to puniſhment. The voice upon this bid him the next day come out into the open air, for there he ſhould be taught what to do: Accordingly he came out of the cave the next day, when he perceived a violent earthquake, and ſaw a glorious bright fire, followed by a ſudden calm, upon which a divine voice commanded him not to be terrified at what had happened, for none of his enemies ſhould overcome him. It bid him go home, and create *Jehus*, the ſon of *Nemeſſæus*, king of the *Iſraelites*, *Hazaelus* of *Damaſcus*, king of the *Syrians*; and *Eliſſeus*, of the city *Abela*, the prophet in his room; for the wicked ſhould be rooted out between *Jehus* and *Hezaelus*. When *Elias* had heard this, he travelled into the country of the *Hebrews*, where finding *Eliſſeus* in company with others, plowing with twelve yoke of oxen, he went up to him, and threw his garment over him, after which *Eliſſeus* began to propheſy, and ſtraitway leaving his oxen, followed *Elias*. But that he might take his farewel of his relations, he deſired leave to go and ſalute them, which being granted him, from that time forward he became a ſervant and diſciple of *Elias* while he lived. But thus much ſhall ſuffice at preſent to ſpeak of this prophet.

(a) *Holy Writ* nor *Epiphanius* make any mention of this Name.

(b) St. *Jerome* ſays, That this Mountain is ſometimes called *Sinæus*, ſometimes *Choreb*.

There was a perſon named *Nabuthus*, an inhabitant of *Jezrael*. This man had a field that lay contiguous to the king's grounds. *Achabus* was deſirous of buying it at any price, with deſign to annex it to his eſtate: But told *Nabuthus*, if he had not a mind to take money for it, he would give him in exchange any other field of his as an equivalent, and bid him accordingly chuſe one. *Nabuthus* would by no means conſent to this, and told the king, that as it came to him by inheritance, he would receive the fruits of his own ground, and preſerve it. This anſwer nettled the king, who took it as an affront to be denied; and became in a little time ſo vexed at it, that he neglected the refreſhment of bathing himſelf, or even eating. *Jezabela* upon this, asked him the reaſon of his anxiety, and why he would not waſh, dine, and ſup as uſual. Hereupon *Achabus* acquainted his wife *Jezabela* with *Nabuthus*'s behaviour towards him. How, after he had made his requeſt in the moſt obliging and courteous terms, after treating him with a condeſcenſion unuſual in, and inferior to the dignity, of a king, *Nabuthus* had ſourly refuſed him what he asked. *Jezabela* finding this, bid him not trouble himſelf about ſo trifling an affair, but take care of himſelf and his health; for ſhe would take care that *Nabuthus* ſhould be puniſhed for what he had done. To this end ſhe ſent letters in the name of *Achabus* to the chiefs of the *Iſraelites*, commanding them to proclaim a faſt, and call an aſſembly, in which ſhe bid them give *Nabathus*, (who was of a noble family) the principal place. That there ſhould be three falſe witneſſes ſuborned, to ſwear that he had blaſphemed God, and ſpoke treaſon againſt the king, for which he ſhould be ſentenced to be ſtoned to death. In purſuance of the orders contained in the queen's letters, *Nabuthus* was convicted of having blaſphemed God, and ſpoke treaſon againſt *Achabus*; and was accordingly ſtoned to death by the multitude. When *Jezabela* had heard what was done, ſhe went to the king, and bid him take poſſeſſion of *Nabuthus*'s field and inheritance. *Achabus* was rejoiced at the news, and leaping from his bed, went to view his vineyard. God was highly offended at this, and ſent *Elias* the prophet into *Nabuthus*'s field to meet the king, and expoſtulate with him about what had been done; and how, after the right owner of the inheritance had been unjuſtly ſlain, he went to ſeize it without any colour of equity or right. Upon *Elias*'s coming, *Achabus* told him he was willing to be treated by him as he ſhould think fit, for he eſteemed it diſhonourable to be taken by the prophet in any unjuſt act. But *Elias* acquainted him, that in the very place the dogs conſumed the body of *Nabuthus*, there ſhould the blood of him and his wife be ſpilt, and all his kindred be deſtroyed, as a puniſhment for ſo heinous a crime as the murther of an innocent man, contrary to the laws of his country. *Achabus* was ſtruck with horror and confuſion at hearing this, he repented himſelf of his crime, put on ſackcloth, and went bare foot, refuſing all manner of ſuſtenance, and in that manner mortifying himſelf for what he had done, and endeavouring to appeaſe the wrath of God: The Almighty, mov'd with *Achabus*'s repentance, told the prophet he would defer puniſhing his family while he lived, but threatned to execute it upon his ſon, which *Elias* acquainted the king with.

CHAP. XIV.

Of Adad *King of* Damaſcus *and* Syria*'s waging War twice againſt* Achabus, *who both Times defeated him.*

IN this poſture ſtood the affairs of *Achabus*. Near about this time *Adad*'s ſon, king of *Damaſcus* and *Syria*, muſter'd all the forces in his dominions, and joined in confederacy with him two and thirty petty kings beyond *Euphrates*, with whom he marched againſt *Achabus*, who being much inferior to ſtrength and numbers, did not care to hazard an open engagement, but drawing his men out of the field, he placed them in fortified towns, while himſelf remained in *Samaria*, a place defended with ſtrong walls, and by nature almoſt impregnable. The *Syrian* perceiving this, marched with his forces, and went directly againſt *Samaria*, which he inveſted on every ſide with his army, and began to lay ſiege to it. He diſpatched an herald to *Achabus*, to ask leave for him to ſend ambaſſadors to him, by whom he might learn what it was he required. *Achabus* giving leave to ſend them, the ambaſſadors went, and according to their maſter's inſtructions ſaid, *That* Achabus*'s riches, children and wives were* Adad*'s; which if he allowed, and permitted him to take whatſoever he thought fit out of them, he would draw off his army, and raiſe the ſiege.* *Achabus* diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors, and ordered them to tell *Adad*, *That he and all he had were at his ſervice.* They acquainted him with this; whereupon he ſent them back again, to require of him, ſince he confeſſed all he had was at his command, to receive the meſſengers he would ſend the next day, and permit them to open and ſearch his palace, and the houſes of his kindred, and ſuffer them to take away all the valuable things they found therein, and leave the remainder for himſelf. *Achabus*, incenſed at the ſecond embaſſy of the *Syrian* king, convoked an aſſembly of the people, to whom he ſaid, *That he was ready, for their ſafety, and to preſerve them in peace, to yield up to his enemy his wives, children, and all he had. For ſo much the* Syrian, *by his firſt meſſage, demanded. That by his ſecond he required to ſend ſome ſervants of his, to rifle all their houſes of every thing valuable in them; and all this only to have ſome pretence for waging war againſt him. That he had begun with him firſt, as knowing he would not ſpare any thing of his for his people's good; and next had* *made a demand upon them of things they would never agree to, only to find an opportunity of engaging in a war with ſome colour of juſtice. However, he concluded, he was willing to do what they thought fit.* The people adviſed him not to gratify him in any thing, but deſpiſe him as an arrogant and vain man, and put himſelf in a poſture of defence. Upon this, he returned the ambaſſadors this anſwer, which he bid them return to their king, *That he was ſtill ready, in order to preſerve the liberty of his ſubjects, to comply with his firſt terms, but as to the laſt he would by no means condeſcend thereto, after which he diſmiſſed them.*

When *Adad* had heard the anſwer he returned, he was extremely enraged, and ſent the ambaſſadors the third time to *Achabus* with this menace, *That his army ſhould caſt up a bulwark higher than the walls he confided in, which would only prove an handful of earth to each man.* This was to diſcover the multitude of his army, and ſtrike the greater terror into the beſieged. *Achabus* made anſwer, *That it was not for men of the ſword, to vaunt or talk much, before they were ſure of the victory.* The ambaſſadors returned, and acquainted *Adad* with the anſwer they brought, as he ſat at dinner with his two and thirty kings. Immediately upon this, he gave orders to inveſt the town, erect their works, and carry on the ſiege with all imaginable diſpatch. *Achabus* and his men perceiving this, were ſtruck with a mighty pannic: But this fear and concern continued not long, for a certain prophet came to him, and told him that God had promiſed to deliver into his hands the many thouſands of the enemy. *Achabus* deſirous of knowing how this victory was to be obtained, asked the prophet, who told him, *By the ſons of his captains, and himſelf the conductor.* Upon this, he aſſembled the ſons of his captains, and found two hundred and thirty two; and underſtanding that the *Syrian* was wholly taken up with feaſting and mirth, he ſuddenly opened the gates, and let the young men out. Some of *Adad*'s ſpies ſeeing this, went and told him of it, whereupon he commanded ſome of his men to go and bring them bound unto him, whether they came as enemies or not. In the mean time the reſt of *Achabus*'s army within the walls, were ready for engaging. The ſons of the captains encountred *Adad*'s guards, many of whom they ſlew, and purſued the remainder of them even to their camp. As ſoon as *Achabus* perceived that victory inclin'd to their ſide, he order'd the reſt of the army to ſally out; who, attacking vigorouſly the *Syrians*, entirely routed and put them to flight. The enemy little imagined to ſee ſo numerous an army ſally out of the city. They were taken naked and defenceleſs, and obliged to forſake their camp, and leave all their martial ſtores and weapons behind them. *Adad* in the mean time ſcarce had an opportunity to mount his horſe, and avoid being taken priſoner. *Achabus* chaced the *Syrians* a long way, and made a great ſlaughter of them. He took their camp, in which he found great ſpoil, and a large quantity of gold and ſilver: Beſides, he obtained a vaſt booty of the king's chariots and horſes; after which he returned home: Upon this, the prophet came and adviſed him to have (notwithſtanding his late victory,) an army in readineſs, for *Adad* would make a ſecond expedition againſt him the next year, which would ſufficiently employ his whole forces.

Adad having got ſafely off with all the forces he was able, conſulted his friends how he ſhould renew the war with the *Iſraelites*. They adviſed him not to hazard a battle in the mountains, (for the God of the *Iſraelites*, they ſuggeſted, always proved ſtronger in ſuch places, which had occaſioned their late overthrow;) but to encounter in the plain, where they might hope to recover the day. Beſides, they bid him ſend home the kings he had brought with him, as confederates of the war; retain their forces, and ſet over them in their ſteads able commanders, and recruit the companies he had loſt, by levying in their countries a freſh ſupply of men, chariots and horſes.

In the beginning of the ſpring *Adad* marched his army againſt the *Iſraelites*, and came up near a certain city of theirs, call'd *Apheca*, where he incamped in the great plain by it. *Achabus* drew up his army facing the enemy, and alſo incamped. His forces, in compariſon of the enemy's, were inconſiderable. The prophet again came and acquainted him, that God would make him victorious: But to ſhew him the fooliſh opinions of the *Syrians*, he told him, that the Divine Power was equally the ſame on the mountains as on the plains. For ſix days both armies kept themſelves quiet within their tents. But early in the morning, of the ſeventh, *Adad*'s forces put themſelves in battle array. *Achabus* perceived this, and ranged his men over againſt them. The onſet was furiouſly begun by him; which the enemy being unable to ſuſtain, were obliged to fly, and in the chace miſerably periſhed. A great number of them were killed amidſt the throng of their own chariots, and by the hands of their fellow ſoldiers. Very few preſerved themſelves by flight to *Apheca*. For the wall tumbling down, near ſeven and twenty thouſand were cruſh'd to death under its ruins. Beſides theſe, one hundred thouſand fell in the engagement. *Adad*, having eſcaped the fury of the battle with ſome of his truſty friends, hid himſelf in a ſubterraneous cavern; where ſome of them acquainted him, how generous and compaſſionate the kings of the *Iſraelites* always had been, and were; and that provided he would ſuffer them to humble themſelves as became ſuppliants, and go to *Achabus*, they told him, they would obtain from him his liberty. Upon this remonſtrance, he diſmiſſed them. They put on ſackcloth, and having bound their heads with (a) cords, (an antient cuſtom the *Syrians* uſe in their ſupplications,) they went to *Achabus*, and told him that *Adad* begged his life at his hands, which, if granted, he would acknowledge himſelf always his vaſſal. *Achabus* ſaid, he was pleaſed to hear of his having eſcaped the battle, without receiving any danger, and promiſed he would uſe him with all poſſible honour and reſpect, and as his own brother. The meſſengers having receiv'd an oath of indemnity for their maſter's appearance, went back to the cave, and brought him thence to *Achabus*, at that time ſitting in his chariot. He proſtrated himſelf at his feet. *Achabus* upon this, ſtretched out his hand and lifted him up into his chariot, where ſaluting him, he bid him be chearful, and entertain no more melancholy fears. *Adad* returned him thanks, and ſaid he ſhould ever acknowledge the ſignal favour he had done him: And promiſed to reſtore him back the cities the kings his predeceſſors had taken from the *Hebrews*, and that he ſhould always be as free and welcome to viſit *Damaſcus*, as his own father had been to ſee *Samaria*. After this, they made a league between themſelves, and ſwore to the performance of it *Achabus* beſtowed many valuable preſents upon *Adad*, and then diſmiſſed him. Such was the period put to the war waged by *Adad* the *Syrian* king, againſt *Achabus*, and the *Iſraelites*.

(a) It is a Cuſtom the *Syrians* have to ſurround their Heads with Cords, when they go to implore any Thing. The *Grecians* had another Cuſtom, not unlike the former, which was to carry in their Hands a Branch of *Olive*, twiſted about with white Wool. See *Danaides apud Æſchyl. Supplic.* ver. 22. Spanheim.

A while after this, a certain prophet named *Micheus*, came to one of the *Iſraelites*, and bid him ſtrike him upon his head; for God's pleaſure was it ſhould be ſo. The man refuſing to do as commanded, the prophet foretold him, that a lion ſhould meet and kill him, becauſe he had not obeyed the word of God. The man accordingly did meet with this unhappy accident. After which, the prophet went to another, and commanded him to do the ſame thing, who immediately ſtruck him upon the head and broke it: Upon this, he bound his head and went to the king, telling him he was a ſoldier, and that a tribune had given him a certain priſoner to keep, who had made his eſcape from him, for which he was afraid of being put to death; the tribune threatened to take away his life, if the priſoner eſcaped from him. *Achabus* hereupon ſaid, that he ought to die for it. But *Micheus* the prophet preſently unbinding his head, made himſelf known. He uſed this artifice on purpoſe to get an opportunity of ſpeaking with the king; for he told him, *That God for his letting* Adad *go unpuniſhed out of his hands, who had blaſphemed him, would now revenge himſelf upon him, and make* Adad *the inſtrument of deſtroying him, and his army.* Theſe words of the prophet enraged *Achabus*, who threw him into priſon. But the king was notwithſtanding uneaſy at the relation, and went home in a manifeſt confuſion.

CHAP. XV.

Of Joſaphat *the King of* Hieroſolyma. *How* Achabus, *with the Aſſiſtance of* Joſaphat, *engaged with the* Syrians, *was overthrown, and Slain in the Battle.*

IN this ſituation was *Achabus*. We ſhall now return back to *Joſaphat*, king of the *Hieroſolymites*. This prince, having conſiderably enlarged his kingdom, put garriſons into his own cities, and alſo into thoſe of the tribe of *Ephraim*, which his grandfather (*a*) *Abias* had taken from *Hieroboamus*, king of the ten tribes. As he was juſt and pious, he had God on his ſide, who always ſhewed himſelf propitious to him. For ſcarcely a day paſt in which he did not perform ſome act of piety and religion. This behaviour procured him a great reputation among the neighbouring kings, who were continually ſending him large preſents, by which means he grew very rich, and extended his fame and glory far and near.

In the third year of his reign, he called an aſſembly of the officers and prieſts under his juriſdiction, whom he commanded to travel throughout *Judæa*, and teach his ſubjects diſperſed in every town the laws of *Moyſes*, to incite them to a juſt obſervation of them, and cauſe them diligently and conſcientiouſly to worſhip God. The whole people were ſo well pleaſed with his care for their obſerving the laws, that nothing could have ſatisfied them better. The bordering nations had ſo particular an eſteem for *Joſophat*, that they lived in an inviolable peace with him. The *Paleſtines* paid him their accuſtomed tribute, and the *Arabians* yearly ſent him ſix hundred and thirty lambs, and the like number of kids. He fortified ſeveral large and ſtrong cities, and made vaſt preparations both of men and arms, to withſtand his enemies. He had three hundred thouſand ſhield-bearers of the tribe of *Judah*, commanded by *Edmeus*: And two hundred thouſand under *Joannes*. This officer had alſo under him two hundred thouſand footmen, all archers of the tribe of *Benjamin*. *Joſaphat* had another (*b*) general named *Ochobatus*, who had under his command one hundred and eighty thouſand ſhield-bearers, beſides thoſe ſoldiers garriſoned in his cities of defence.

(*a*) It appears from the Sacred Books, 2 *Paralip.* chap. xiii. ver. 18. that *Abias*, after *Hieroboamus*'s Defeat, took ſome Cities, but in chap. xvi. ver. 8. it is ſaid, that *Joſaphat* put Garriſons in the Cities of *Ephraim*, which his Father *Aſa* had taken.

(*b*) From 2 *Paralip.* chap. xvii. I am of Opinion that this Paſſage is greatly corrupted. *Epiphanius* ſeems to give it another Turn. There was another General named *Gezonat*, (ſome *Gezonath*) who had under his Command, One Hundred Thouſand armed Men, beſides an Hundred Thouſand of the King's Servants; whom he alſo governed, *&c.* In the other Editions the Words *præter hos alia centum millia*, are wanting.

He married his ſon *Joram* to *Gotholia*, daughter of *Achabus*, king of the ten tribes. A while after this, he went to *Samaria*, where *Achabus* received him very courteouſly, and ſumptuouſly entertained his army that followed him, with large quantities of corn, wine, and fleſh, and other proviſions. *Achabus* deſired *Joſaphat* to enter into an alliance with him againſt the *Syrian* king, and endeavour to recover by arms the city *Aramatha*, ſituated in the country of *Galaad*, which had been wreſted from his father by *Adad*'s father. *Joſaphat* promiſed him his aſſiſtance, (for at that time his forces were equal in number to thoſe of *Achabus*,) and accordingly ſent for his army to march from *Hieroſolyma* to *Samaria*. The two kings went out of the city, and having ſeated themſelves upon their thrones, took a review of their armies, and paid them. *Joſaphat* in the mean time commanded, if there were any prophets among them, to come and adviſe about the expedition againſt the *Syrians*, and give their opinions, whether or no the war was to be undertaken at that time; for a peace had been ſubſiſting three years, from the time of *Adad*'s being taken to that day, between *Achabus* and him.

Achabus, calling his prophets to him, in number about four hundred, commanded them to conſult God, if the army he had marched out againſt *Adad*, was to be victorious, and ſubdue the city; for the recovery of which, he was going to war againſt it. The prophets perſuaded him to undertake the expedition: For the *Syrians* would be overthrown, and put into his hands as before. *Joſaphat* found by their words they were falſe prophets, and ſaid to *Achabus*, *Is there no other prophet who can tell us ſomething more certain about what will happen?* *Achabus* anſwer'd him, *There was another, but whom he did not like, who had foretold him many melancholy events, and how the* Syrian *king would prove victorious over him, and put him to death; and that his name was* Micheus, *the ſon of* Jembleus. *Joſaphat* upon this, deſired him to be fetched. An *Eunuch* was immediately ſent to bring *Micheus*. The *Eunuch*, as he walked along with him, told him how all the other prophets had foretold victory to the king. *Micheus* anſwer'd, *He durſt not tell a lie to God, but would declare what he had put into his mouth.* When he came before *Achabus*, and was deſir'd by him to ſpeak the truth, he ſaid, *That God had ſhewn him the* Iſraelites *flying, and the* Syrians *purſuing them, like ſo many ſheep diſperſed upon the mountains without their ſhepherds.* He told him, that God ſignified by it, *That the* Iſraelites *ſhould return in ſafety, but only* Achabus *be killed in the fight.* When *Micheus* had thus delivered himſelf, *Achabus* addreſſed himſelf to *Joſaphat* and ſaid, *Did not I tell you a little while ago, what an enemy this man was to me, and what things prejudicial to my repoſe he prophecied:* *Micheus* upon this replied, *That it was neceſſary for him to hear every thing which God had foretold him about him, and how he had been induced by his falſe prophets to undertake a war upon hopes of victory, when he himſelf was inevitably to fall in the battle.* This ſtruck *Achabus* in a great fear and confuſion. *Sedecias*, one of the falſe prophets, came up to the king, and exhorted him not to mind what *Micheus* had advanced; for that there was no truth in his words. *Sedecias*, with deſign to refute *Micheus*'s prediction, brought an argument from the prophecy of *Elias*, who, he ſaid, had a much better gift of foretelling things than him. 'He remonſtrated how *Elias* had prophecied, that at the city *Iſara* in the field of *Nabuthus*, the dogs ſhould lick up the blood of the king, as they had done the blood of *Nabuthus*, for having ſtoned him to death. It is manifeſt then, ſaid he, that this *Micheus*, who is not aſhamed to contradict the prediction of a greater prophet than he, is a palpable impoſtor. For he aſſerts that the king, within (a) three days from hence, will certaily periſh in the battle. It is neceſſary to be known, whether or no he ſpeaks by the impulſe of a divine ſpirit. I will give him a blow with my hand; and if he be a true prophet, let it wither as that of king *Hieroboamus* did, when he offer'd to take hold of *Jadon*. I preſume you have heard of this action.' After he had ſpoke thus, he ſtruck the prophet, but no miſchief enſuing from it, *Achabus* thereupon was emboldened, and led out his army againſt the *Syrians* with ſtrong hopes. He was hurried to it, we imagine, by a kind of fatality; and his believing his falſe prophets more than the true ones, was a great cauſe of haſtening his deſtruction. *Sedecias* having made horns of iron, told the king, 'That God ſignified by them, that he ſhould ſubdue all *Syria*.' Upon this, *Micheus* told him, 'He ſhould in a few days be obliged to run out of one ſecret place into another, to avoid the puniſhment due to his falſe predictions.' *Achabus* after this, ordered him to be carried to *Achamon*, the governor of the city, by him to be impriſoned, and only bread and water to be allowed him.

In the mean time *Achabus* and *Joſaphat* king of the *Hieroſolymites* muſtered their forces, and marched to *Aramatha*, a city of *Galaad*. The *Syrian* king hearing of their march, led out his army againſt them, and incamped at a ſmall diſtance from *Aramatha*. *Achabus* and *Joſaphat* agreed, that the former ſhould diveſt himſelf of his royal robes, and the latter put it upon himſelf, and ſtand dreſt ſo in the front of the battle. This artifice was made uſe of to evade the prophecy of *Micheus*. *Achabus*'s diſguiſe however could not ſcreen him from death; for *Adad* expreſly ordered his captains to tell their men not to kill any of the *Iſraelites*, except their king. The *Syrians*, having begun the engagement, ſaw *Joſaphat* at the head of the army, whom they took for *Adad*. Upon which they ruſhed violently upon him; and coming up cloſe to him, they hemned him in on every ſide: But preſently, perceiving their miſtake, they retired. The battle continued from morning till night, and though victory ſtood on their ſide, they killed not one man, as their king had (a) commanded. The death of *Achabus* was their only aim; however, they could not find him. A boy named (b) *Amanus*, belonging to king *Achabus*, let fly an arrow among the enemy by chance, which piercing through the king's breaſt-plate, forced its way into his lungs. *Achabus* concealed the miſchance he had received from his men, leſt, hearing it, they might turn their backs and fly. He commanded his charioteer to drive him out of the army, for the wound he had received was mortal. Though he ſuffered a great deal of pain, he kept within his chariot until ſun-ſet; when, with the loſs of blood that fell from him, he was forced to give up the ghoſt.

(a) Meaning he was three Days Journey from *Aramatha*.

Night coming on, the *Syrian* army withdrew into their tents. But as ſoon as they were advertized by an herald of *Achabus*'s death, they decamped, and each man retired to his own home. The body of *Achabus* was carried to *Samaria*, and there buried; and upon waſhing his chariot at the fountain of *Izaras*, (which was beſmeared with his blood,) the propheſy of *Elias* was verified; for the dogs licked up his blood, and the place was afterwards made uſe of for the women to bathe in. He died at *Ramathon*, according to the propheſy of *Micheus*. Now from the accidents which befel *Achabus*, according to the predictions of both the prophets, we ought to draw this concluſion, not to deſpiſe the ſupreme Arbiter of all things, but reflect upon his judgments with veneration and holy reſpect, and eſteem the propheſy of thoſe, whom the Deity inſpires with his word, as given for our benefit; ſince we are by it made ſenſible what we are to do, and what to avoid. Beſides, the example of *Achabus*, may ſerve to teach us a right opinion of God's foreknowledge, and predetermination of all things, and the neceſſity of events, which we are not able to avert, even if they were foreknown to us. But we humour and ſooth ourſelves ſo far, until we are paſt recovery. This ſeems to be the rock upon which *Achabus* ſplit, and loſt his life. His not believing thoſe who foretold him his deſtruction, and his over fond credulity to thoſe, who only made a pretence to propheſy to obtain his favour, became his ruin. Thus was his end, and his ſon *Ochazias* ſucceeded him in the kingdom.

(a) His Command was not to kill any one, unleſs they could not hinder themſelves from ſo doing, in Forcing their Paſſage to the King. (b) Whence came this Name *Amanus*? (ſays *Schotanus*.) *Raſi* tells us, it is traditionally wrote *Naaman*. Will not then *Joſephus*, who mingles ſometimes the *Jewiſh* Traditions, agree in it?

The END *of the* Eighth BOOK.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
OF THE
ANTIQUITIES of the *JEWS.*

BOOK THE NINTH.

Containing the Space of One Hundred and Fifty Seven Years.

CHAP. I.

Again of Joſaphat. *Of his creating Judges, and overcoming his Enemies, with the Aſſiſtance of God.*

KING *Joſaphat*, after aiding *Achabus*, king of the *Iſraelites*, againſt *Adad* the *Syrian* king, (as we have mention'd in the foregoing) returned back to *Hieroſolyma*. The prophet *Jehus* met him upon his march, and reprimanded him for the league he had entred into with the impious and wicked *Achabus*. *He repreſented to him, that God was very much incenſed at it, yet notwithſtanding his trangreſſion, he had ſaved him out of the enemies hands, on account of the good that ſtill remained in him. Joſaphat*, upon this reprimand of the prophet, immediately offered up his prayers and ſacrifices to God. This done, he made a progreſs throughout all his dominions, and gave orders for the laws which *Moyſes* had received at the hands of God, to be diligently obſerved, and the worſhip of the Almighty to be devoutly performed. He appointed judges in all the towns under his juriſdiction, and exhorted them to adminiſter juſtice impartially to the people, which he bid them eſteem the nobleſt poſſeſſion; the diſtinguiſhing mark and type of their dignity; and far above the baſe views of reward or bribery. He ordered them to diſcharge their reſpective duties, under a conſcientious conſideration that God ſaw all, even their moſt ſecret actions. When he had thus conſtituted and inſtructed every city of the two tribes, he returned to *Hieroſolyma*, where he likewiſe created judges out of the prieſts, *Levites*, and the chiefs of the people, giving them a kind admonition to be juſt, and judge without favour, affection or prejudice, of every cauſe brought before them: But if at any time a caſe of more weighty importance from any other city ſhould be ſubmitted to their determination; they ſhould then be more particular and diligent in giving judgment upon it: For all determinations ought to be made with the greateſt diligence and exactneſs, in that city where God's temple was placed, and the king had his palace. He appointed *Amaſias* the high prieſt, and *Zabadias*, both of the tribe of *Judah*, the heads of his officers. Such was the order in which he ſettled his kingdom.

About this time the *Moabites* and *Ammanites* joined with a numerous army of *Arabians*, marched againſt him, and incamped at the city *Engaddi*, near the lake of *Aſphaltitis*, and about three hundred furlongs from *Hieroſolyma*. The beſt palms and balſam grow in this place. As ſoon as *Joſaphat* underſtood they had paſſed the lake, and made an inroad into his dominions, he was ſtruck with terror, and convoked an aſſembly of the people to meet in the court before the temple, where, ſtanding with his face towards it, he implored the aſſiſtance of God to aid and give them ſtrength to repel the enemy that was marching againſt them, (for ſo did they who erected the temple, intreat the Almighty to protect the city, and give them courage to drive away thoſe who came to invade it,) to drive them out of that land, which he in his infinite bounty had beſtowed upon them. *Joſaphat* mingled tears with his prayers, and the whole people with their wives and children offered up their prayers to God. During the time of this adoration, a certain prophet named *Jaziel*, came into the middle of the aſſembly, and told the people and king aloud, *That God had heard their prayers, and would fight for them with their enemies. That he commanded them the next day to march with their army and meet the enemy, whom they would find aſcending a certain place, between* Hieroſolyma *and* Engaddi, *called the* Eminence. *That they ſhould not engage them; but only ſtand and behold how God would fight for them.* When the prophet had done ſpeaking, the king and the people turned their eyes to the ground, adored and returned thanks to God, while the *Levites* praiſed him on their inſtruments of muſic.

The king early next morning went into the deſert under the city *Thecoas*, and exhorted the people to confide in what the prophet had ſaid, and not to range themſelves in battle array, but only place in the foremoſt rank the prieſts with their trumpets, and the *Levites* with their ſingers, and in that order praiſe God, as if he had already delivered their country from the enemy: Every one was pleaſed with this advice, and immediately put it in execution. Upon this, God immediately ſtruck a mighty pannic into the *Ammanites*. They took one another to be real enemies, and in that confuſion and miſtake fell upon one another. The ſlaughter was ſo great among themſelves, that not a man of ſo numerous an army eſcaped. *Joſaphat* having caſt his eyes into the valley where the enemy had encamped, and perceiving the place covered with the carcaſſes of the ſlain, were rejoiced at the aſſiſtance God had lent him, which had procur'd him the victory without any toil or danger on his ſide, permitted his men to plunder the enemies camp, and ſtrip the dead. For the ſpace of three days they gather'd the ſpoil, until they were quite wearied. So great was the number of the dead. On the fourth day, the whole people aſſembled together in a certain hollow and craggy place, where they celebrated the power and mercy of God: From which the place took the name of the *Vale of Thankſgiving* to this day.

The king having marched his army from thence to *Hieroſolyma*, paſſed ſeveral days there in ſacrifice and feaſting. The report of this late defeat of his enemies ſpread itſelf amongſt foreign nations, who were preſently ſeized with a great fear, and imagin'd that God would give him the ſame aſſiſtance for the future. And from this time *Joſaphat* lived in great renown, wholly owing to his great piety to God. He preſerved a friendſhip with the ſon of *Achabus* king of the *Iſraelites*, with whom he covenanted to build ſhips, and ſend them to the markets of *Pontus* and *Thrace*. But their ſize being unfit for thoſe ſeas, they were all loſt. After which, he never employed himſelf in ſending fleets to ſea. In this ſituation were the affairs of *Joſaphat* king of the *Hieroſolymites*.

CHAP. II.

Of Ochazias *King of the* Iſraelites; *and again of* Elias *the Prophet.*

OCHAZIAS, ſon of *Achabus*, reigned over the *Iſraelites*, and had the ſeat of his reſidence in *Samaria*; he was a wicked prince, and much reſembled his father and mother, and not unlike to *Hieroboamus*, who was the founder of impiety in *Iſrael*, and firſt drew the people to idolatry. After he had reigned two years in the kingdom, the king of the *Moabites* revolted from him, and ceaſed to pay the tribute, accuſtom'd to be given his father: As *Ochazias* was going down the ſtairs of his palace, accidentally fell down, and he received a great hurt: Upon this, he ſent to *Muſca* the god of *Accaron*, (for ſo was the deity of that place named,) to conſult him about his health. The God of the *Hebrews* appeared to *Elias* the prophet, and commanded him to go and meet the meſſengers, and aſk them, if the *Iſraelites* had not a God of their own, that their king ſent to a ſtrange one to enquire about his health. He commanded him to bid them return, and acquaint *Ochazias* he ſhould not recover from his illneſs. *Elias* having executed what God had commanded him; the meſſenger went back and told the king what the prophet had ſaid to them. *Ochazias* was amazed at their ſudden return, and asked the reaſon of it. Upon this, they made anſwer, they had met a certain man, who forbad them to go any further, but bid them return back and acquaint him how his diſeaſe ſhould encreaſe and grow worſe. The king commanded them to diſcover the man to him, who had told theſe things. They ſaid he was an hairy perſon, and wore a leathern girdle. From theſe words of the meſſengers he found him to be *Elias*, whereupon he ordered a tribune to take fifty ſoldiers, and fetch him to him. The tribune, ſent upon this errand, found him ſitting upon the top of a mountain, and commanded him to come down, and go with him to the king: He inſiſted on it that he ſhould, otherwiſe he threatned to take him away by force. *Elias* upon this, told him, he would pray for fire to be ſent down from heaven to conſume both him and his ſoldiers, that it might be ſeen he was a true prophet. This was preſently fulfilled, for he had no ſooner prayed, than fire immediately fell from above, and burnt both the tribune and his ſoldiers to aſhes. The king no ſooner came to hear of this diſaſter, than he diſpatched another tribune with the like number of ſoldiers as with the firſt, to *Elias*. This perſon uſing the ſame menace againſt him, that if he would not voluntarily come down, he would uſe forcible means; *Elias* prayed againſt him, and preſently fire deſcended and conſumed him as the other had been. When *Ochazias* underſtood what had befallen the ſecond tribune, he ordered a third to go. This perſon was of a ſweet and mild diſpoſition. When he was come to the place where *Elias* was, he accoſted him in a courteous manner, and told him, he well knew how much againſt his real inclination he was come for him, by the king's orders; and how the others before him, obliged by the ſame neceſſity, not led by their will, had done it. Therefore he begged him to conſider the caſe of him and his ſoldiers, and come down and go with him to the king. *Elias*, captivated with the modeſt behaviour of the man, deſcended and went with him. When he was come into the preſence of the king, he told him the word of God declared itſelf thus againſt him: ‘That ſince thou haſt deſpiſed him as if he was not a God, and unable to foretel thee any thing true about thy health, but haſt ſent to the God of *Accaron* to enquire what period thy diſeaſe ſhall have, I here denounce death to thee.’

A little while after this, according to the propheſy of *Elias*, he died. His brother *Joram*, he leaving no iſſue, ſucceeded him: This *Joram* reigned twelve years, and in every reſpect imitated his father *Achabus* in wickedneſs and impiety towards God: For he departed from his worſhip, and adored ſtrange gods. In affairs of government he was unwearied and very penetrating. About this time *Elias* the prophet was taken from the ſight of men, nor doth any perſon know to this very day the cataſtrophe of this divine man. He left behind him *Eliſſeus* his diſciple, as we have hinted in the foregoing. Of this *Elias*, and *Enoch*, who lived before the flood, mention is made in the ſacred books that they vaniſhed. But no man ever could find that they ever died.

CHAP. III.

Of the Expedition Joram *and* Joſaphat *made againſt the* Moabites. *Of the Miracles perform'd by* Eliſſeus, *and* Joſaphat'*s Death.*

AS ſoon as *Joram* had received the kingdom, he reſolved upon a war againſt *Miſau*, king of the *Moabites*, who had fallen off, as we have mentioned before, from his brother. *Miſau* had paid a tribute of a (*a*) hundred thouſand unſhorn ſheep to his father *Achabus*. *Joram* muſtered his forces, and ſent to *Joſaphat*, deſiring him, as there had been a friendſhip ſubſiſting between him and his father, he would enter into an alliance with him, and aſſiſt him to carry on a war againſt the *Moabites*, who had lately revolted from him. *Joſaphat* gave him not only an aſſurance of his aſſiſtance, but promiſed to bring into the alliance the king of the *Idumeans*, who was *Miſau*'s enemy. *Joram* having received this frank promiſe of *Joſaphat*'s aſſiſtance, marched to *Hieroſolyma* with his army, where *Joſaphat* entertained him in an elegant manner. The three kings, namely, the king of the *Hieroſolymites*, the king of *Samaria*, and the king of *Idumea*, came to a reſolution of marching againſt the enemy through the deſerts of *Idumea*; and accordingly went out of *Hieroſolyma*. After they had travelled ſeven days, the army and the carriage-beaſts were reduced to great ſcarcity of water; their guides had miſtaken the way, and every one was in great diſtreſs, eſpecially *Joram*, who, being impatient with the hardſhips he ſuſtained, cried out, in an exclamatory way, to God, ‘What ill had they done, that he ſhould give into the hands of the *Moabites*, three kings without ſtriking a blow?’ *Joſaphat*, who was a juſt prince, endeavoured to hearten him, by ordering him to ſend into the camp, for an enquiry to be made, if there was not a prophet of God in it, who might conſult the oracle of the Almighty, and acquaint them, what was neceſſary to be done. One of the king's ſervants upon this, ſaying he had ſeen *Eliſſeus*, the diſciple of *Elias*, and the ſon of *Saphateus*, the three kings, by *Joſaphat*'s advice, went to him. When they were come to his tent, which was pitched a little way out of the camp, they aſked him, what was done with the army. *Joram* was very importunate upon the matter. *Eliſſeus* deſired him not to trouble him, but go to his father's and mother's prophet's; for undoubtedly they could foretel things true. *Joram* finding this, intreated him to propheſy and ſave them. *Eliſſeus* ſolemnly ſwore he would not have anſwered him, if it had not been for *Joſaphat*, who was an holy and juſt perſon. After this, the prophet ordered a muſician to be called, and as he was ſinging, *Eliſſeus* feeling the divine impulſe, commanded the kings to make many ditches in the channel of the brook, ‘For without ever a cloud, wind, or ſhower of rain, you ſhall behold the brook filled with water ſufficient to preſerve your men and beaſts. Nor ſhall you only receive this miracle at the hands of God, but by his aſſiſtance you ſhall bear away the victory from your enemies, demoliſh their faireſt and beſt fortified cities, cut down their fruit-trees, ravage their country, and laſtly, ſtop up their rivers and fountains.’

The prophet having ſpoken thus, the next morning, before the ſun roſe a mighty torrent of water flowed, (God had poured down a vaſt rain in *Idumea*, about three days journey from the place they were at) by which the army and cattle were ſufficiently refreſhed. When the *Moabites* underſtood that three kings were marching againſt them, and that they took their rout through the deſert, their king levied an army with the utmoſt expedition, and commanded his forces to incamp themſelves upon the mountains, leſt the enemy ſhould break into his dominions by ſurprize. Juſt as the ſun roſe, they ſaw the brook full of water, (for now they were on the frontiers of *Moab*) which in colour reſembled blood. For the rays of the ſun darting full upon it, had made it ſeem exceeding red; the *Moabites* miſtaking the cauſe of it, imagined the enemy had ſlain one another for want of water, and that the brook flowed with a ſtream of their blood. Moved with this falſe opinion, they petitioned their king to let them go and pillage the enemy. Every one imagining he was going to enrich himſelf with ſpoil ready to his hands, marched to their camp as if all had

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(*a*) *Holy Writ* ſays, an Hundred Thouſand unſhorn Lambs, and the like Number of Rams.

been dead in it. But their expectations were ſoon fruſtrated. For the enemy immediately hemning them in, ſome of them were ſlain, while others oblig'd to fly, betook themſelves with great precipitation to their own country. The three kings preſently entering the land of *Moab*, demoliſhed their towns, ravaged their fields, and filled them with ſtones and ſand taken out of the torrent; they cut down their beſt trees, damned up their ſprings of water, and laid their walls even with the ground. The king of the *Moabites* finding himſelf likely to be reduced to a cloſe ſiege, and perceiving to what danger the city was like to be brought, reſolved to ſally out with ſeven hundred men, and endeavour to break on horſeback through a paſſage of the enemy's camp, where he imagined the guards were from their poſts. But his efforts to eſcape proved ineffectual: He was obliged to retire back into the city, where he committed an action, which nothing but madneſs or deſpair could have influenced him to: He took his eldeſt ſon, who was to have been his immediate ſucceſſor, and dragging him to a place of the wall, where the enemy might plainly behold the action, he made a ſacrifice of him to his god. The kings ſeeing this melancholy ſpectacle, and being actuated with a motive of compaſſion and tenderneſs, immediately broke up the ſiege, and returned each to his own home: *Joſaphat* went back to *Hieroſolyma*, where he enjoyed great tranquility and eaſe, but did not long ſurvive this expedition. He died when he was ſixty years of age, and after a reign of five and twenty, he was interred at *Hieroſolyma* with much magnificence; and copied in a great meaſure his great grandfather *David*'s excellent qualifications.

CHAP. IV.

Joram *ſucceeds* Joſaphat. *Of* Joram, *the King of the* Iſraelites *Expedition againſt the* Syrians, *and the Miracles performed by the Prophet* Eliſſeus.

JOSAPHAT left behind him ſeveral ſons, but he declared *Joram* the eldeſt his ſucceſſor to his kingdom, he bore the ſame name with his mother's brother the king of the *Iſraelites*, and the ſon of *Achabus*. When the king of the *Iſraelites* returned from *Moab* to *Samaria*, he brought with him thither the prophet *Eliſſeus*. We ſhall give a hiſtory of the actions of this divine perſon, as they are very famous and remarkable, and what the Holy Scriptures have tranſmitted down to our knowledge.

They acquaint us how the wife of *Obedias*, *Achabus*'s ſteward, went and told him he was no ſtranger to her huſband's preſerving the prophets from the rage of *Jezabela*, who had endeavoured to find and put them to death. She ſaid, he had hidden and took up money upon intereſt for the maintenance of an hundred of them. That her huſband being dead, ſhe and her children were threatened by the creditors to be clapt into priſon; wherefore ſhe deſired him, for the ſignal kindneſs her huſband had ſhewn to perſons of his profeſſion, to give her ſome relief, in her preſent neceſſity: The prophet asked her what ſhe had in her houſe; ſhe anſwered, nothing but a little oil in a cruſe. The prophet commanded her to borrow a good quantity of empty veſſels of her neighbours; and putting them into her chamber, and ſhutting the door thereof, pour oil into every one of them, for God would fill them all. The woman put the prophet's command in execution, and ordered her ſons to reach her all the veſſels. When all of them were full, ſhe went and acquainted the prophet with it. He bid her go and ſell the oil and with the money ariſing from the ſale, diſcharge the debts; for there would remain an overplus, ſufficient for the maintenance of her and her children: Thus did *Eliſſeus* clear this woman, and free her from the importunity of her creditors.

Beſides this, (*a*) *Eliſſeus* ſent certain perſons at a very proper juncture, to admoniſh *Joram* to beware of a certain place, for there were ſome *Syrians* laid in ambuſh there to deſtroy him. The king paying a due regard to the prophet's admonition, went not a hunting that day, as he had appointed. *Adad*, who had laid this ſtratagem, finding the artifice diſcovered, and imagining ſome of his own men had betrayed the ſecret to *Joram*, was much incenſed, and ſending for them to be brought into his preſence, he accuſed them of betraying his deſign, and threatened them with death for it, for none but they were privy to it. Some of them who were preſent, begged the king not to be prepoſſeſſed with a falſe opinion, or entertain any ſuſpicions of them, as if they had diſcloſed to his enemy, the order he had given them to kill *Joram*, for he muſt know it was *Eliſſeus* the prophet who diſcovered every thing to the king of his enemies, and it was he alone who had made known his ſtratagem. *Adad* upon this, ſent to enquire in what city the prophet at that time reſided. The meſſengers, ſent upon this errand, brought back word, he dwelt in the city *Dothani*. *Adad* immediately diſpatched ſeveral companies of horſemen and charioteers to go and apprehend him. They preſently ſurrounded the town, ſo that there was no poſſibility for the inhabitants to paſs in or out undiſcovered. Early the next morning

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(*a*) We are apprehenſive there is a large Gap in this Place, ſince we want a great deal of thoſe Things, which Sacred Writ ſpeaks of *Eliſſeus* in Chap. iv, v, and vi. of 2 *Kings*. There is no Connection with the foregoing. But if we take the Proofs of the Bible, we ſhall join the Senſe, Chap. vi. 2 *Kings* ver. 8. *Then the king of* Syria *warred againſt* Iſrael, *and took counſel with his ſervants*, ſaying, *In ſuch and ſuch a Place ſhall be my Camp.*

morning a ſervant of the prophet coming to hear of the enemies deſign to apprehend his maſter, was ſtruck with great terror and trembling; and crying, went and acquainted *Eliſſeus* with the news. The prophet bid his ſervant not to be afraid, for he relied on the protection of God, which always emboldened him. However, he prayed to God, to confirm his ſervant with a ſtronger hope, and animate him with courage, that he would be pleaſed to give ſome token of his power and preſence, as he thought proper. God liſtened to the prophet's prayer, and made the ſervant ſee his maſter ſurrounded with a great number of horſemen and chariots. This miraculous ſight quite put him out of fear, and the great aſſiſtance, which he imagined he ſaw about *Eliſſeus*, entirely ſtrengthened him. After this, the prophet again prayed God to caſt a darkneſs before the eyes of his enemies, that they might not be able to diſtinguiſh him. Having obtained this from God, he ſtept into the midſt of his enemies, and aſked them whom they were come to ſeek: They told him they were come in queſt of the prophet *Eliſſeus*; upon this, he promiſed them, provided they would follow him into the city where he was, to ſurrender him into their hands. They not only blinded in their eyes, but infatuated in their ſenſes, without any heſitation, followed the prophet for their guide. When he had got them within the walls of *Samaria*, he bid *Joram*, the king, ſhut the gates of the city, and ſurround them with his forces. After which he prayed to God, once more to take away the darkneſs from their eyes, and reſtore their ſight. Their blindneſs being removed, they eaſily perceived themſelves betrayed into the midſt of their enemies. The *Syrians* ſeeing this miraculous accident, but what they leaſt of all ſuſpected, wrought upon them, were, as was very reaſonable to ſuppoſe, confounded with wonder and aſtoniſhment, and continued for ſome time in ſuſpenſe, as if grown ſtupied. *Joram* aſked the prophet if he would have them ſhot to death. *Eliſſeus* abſolutely forbid this, for, *ſaid he*, If they had been taken priſoners of war, to put them to death would have been juſt. But as they had offered no manner of injury or hoſtility to his dominions, but by the guidance of God had come thither ignorantly, he adviſed him to uſe them civilly, and, after giving them an handſome entertaiment, diſmiſs them: *Joram* followed the prophet's advice, and ſplendidly and magnificently feaſted the *Syrians*; after which he ſent them back to king *Adad*.

At their return they acquainted *Adad* with what had befallen them. The king was aſtoniſhed at the wonderful miracle, and admired the power and preſence of the God of the *Iſraelites*. He was ſtartled at the reflection of his near preſence to the prophet. His fear of *Eliſſeus* made him reſolve never again to plot ſecretly againſt the king of the *Iſraelites*. As he imagined his forces were ſuperior both in number and ſtrength to *Joram*'s, he reſolved to declare open war againſt him. To this end he collected a vaſt army, and marched with it againſt him, who apprehending his forces were unequal to engage the *Syrians*, ſhut himſelf up in *Samaria*, and relied on the ſtrength of the place. *Adad* hoped if he proved unable to take the city by his engines of war, yet he ſhould do ſo by famine, and ſtopping up all the places of intercourſe to the city, and hindering all proviſions from being carried into it, he laid cloſe ſiege to it. *Joram* was afflicted with ſuch a grievous famine, and ſcarcity of proviſions, that an aſs's head in *Samaria* was ſold for fourſcore pieces of ſilver, and a quart of pigeon's dung (for ſeaſoning) for five pieces of ſilver. This dreadful calamity made the king very apprehenſive, leſt the ſharpneſs of the famine might compel ſome of his ſubjects to betray the city of the enemy; for which reaſon he every day went upon the walls, and viſited the guards, taking care none of the enemy got in; and no underhand and ſecret combination was carried on to his prejudice, or the giving up the city without his knowledge. Theſe precautions he had long before learned to put in practice. While he was intent on his buſineſs, a certain woman came up to him, and cried, *My Lord have pity on me*. *Joram* ſuppoſed ſhe begged ſomething of him to eat, upon which he ſeemed very angry, and curſed her, ſaying, 'I have neither barns or wine-preſſes, wherewith to give thee any thing.' The woman upon this acquainted him, ſhe wanted no proviſion of him, but only that he would be pleaſed to determine a difference ſhe had with another woman. *Joram* commanded her to ſpeak, and ſignify to him what ſhe had to advance. She told him, 'That a neighbour woman, an acquaintance of hers, and herſelf, being ſo much oppreſſed with the famine, that they were no longer able to ſuſtain their lives, agreed to kill their children, (for each had a male child,) and feed one another by turns with them. Now I, ſaid ſhe, killed mine firſt, and we eat it yeſterday. But now, when I ſhould have part of her child, ſhe breaks her word with me, and hides him.' Theſe words troubled *Joram* to the very ſoul; he rent his clothes and wept bitterly. His anger was vehemently kindled againſt the prophet, for not praying to God to avert the calamities wherewith he was then oppreſſed. And he preſently ſent meſſengers to take off his head. He himſelf followed after them full of wrath, and muſing on the deſtruction he had threatned *Eliſſeus* with the king's indignation was not concealed from the prophet, who ſitting at home with his diſciples, acquainted them, that *Joram*, the ſon of a murtherer, was ſending to behead him, 'Take you care, *ſaid he*, to faſten the door of my houſe upon him, who come to execute his raſh command, for the king will change his reſolution, and revere the prophet.' As ſoon as the ſervants of *Eliſſeus* ſaw the perſon who was ſent by the king's orders to ſlay their maſter, they bolted the door upon him. *Joram*'s paſſion againſt the prophet being over, he was afraid leſt the man he had diſpatched to kill him, had put him to death, and therefore he haſtened to countermand his orders, and ſave him. When he was come into his preſence,

ſence, he asked him, how he could defer asking God to avert the calamities they ſuffered, and ſuffer himſelf to be an unconcerned ſpectator of their preſent hardſhips. *Eliſſeus* upon this, promiſed him, that in that very hour, (in which he was then come) on the morrow there ſhould be ſo great a plenty of proviſions, that two meaſures of barley ſhould be ſold in the market for one ſicle, and a meaſure of flour at the ſame rate. This joyful news diffuſed gladneſs through the heart of *Joram*, and all about him. They gave an implicit belief to the prophet's words, becauſe they had often before fully experienced the truth of his predictions; nay, their firm expectation of what was to happen, eaſed them of that day's miſery and want. But the captain of a *Tertia* of *Joram*'s army, as the king was leaning upon him, ſaid thus, *My prophet, the things you have told are moſt incredible. As ſoon will God pour down from heaven ſhowers of barley and wheat, as your words prove true.* The prophet upon this, told him, *Your eyes ſhall certainly be witneſſes of what I have predicted; but you ſhall receive no manner of benefit from it.*

This propheſy of *Eliſſeus* was verified in the very manner he had ſpoke it. There was a law at *Samaria*, that all leprous perſons ſhould dwell without the city. Four men infected with this diſtemper, had their habitations without the gates. No body, by reaſon of the extreme famine, offer'd to give them any proviſions. And the law forbad them to enter the city; ſo that whether they remained where they were, or went into the town, the famine preſented death to them. Upon this, they agreed to throw themſelves upon the enemy. If they ſpared them, they thought they ſhould live; if they killed them, then they ſhould die an eaſier death than ſtarving. Having thus fixed their reſolution, they went in the night to the enemies camp. God juſt then had brought a terror and aſtoniſhment upon the hearts of the *Syrians*; he made their ears tingle with the ſound of arms, clattering of horſes, and the march of a numerous army. Their ſuſpicions every moment increaſed. Their confuſion was at length wrought to that pitch, that, leaving their camp, they ran in a precipitate haſte to *Adad*, and told him, that *Joram*, king of the *Iſraelites*, had received into his pay the king of the *Ægyptians*, and the king of the *Iſles*, who were upon their march, for they had heard the ſound of their arms near them. *Adad* believed the relation, (for his ears as well as his army's were full of this deluſive noiſe.) All the army in the utmoſt conſternation betook themſelves to an haſty flight, leaving their camp, and a vaſt plunder of horſes, aſſes, and great riches in it. The lepers abovementioned, coming up to the *Syrian* camp, found all things buried in the utmoſt ſilence; they entered it, and went into a certain tent, where they refreſhed themſelves with meat and drink; took away many clothes, and carried out of it a large quantity of gold and ſilver. This done, they went into another tent, in like manner taking thence all they found in it. They did ſo a third and a fourth time, while not ſo much as one ſingle perſon was to be found to obſtruct them. This made them conjecture the enemy had withdrawn themſelves, upon which they began to reprimand one another, for not apprizing *Joram* and the citizens of the news. They immediately went back to the walls of *Samaria*, and, calling aloud to the centry, told them what the enemy had done. The centry went and acquainted the king's guard therewith. *Joram* having received intelligence of the affair, convoked a counſel of his officers and chief men, to whom he repreſented, *That he ſuſpected the departure of the enemy of ambuſcade and ſtratagem: That the* Syrian *king deſpairing of ſtarving out of the city, had forſaken his camp, through a view of drawing them out to plunder it: And ſuddenly ſallying back upon them, by means of which, he would not only put them all to the ſword, but become maſter of the city with great eaſe. Wherefore he adviſed them to watch it faithfully, and not be ſwelled up with falſe hopes that the enemy was gone off, and ſuffer themſelves raſhly to go out of it.* This precaution of *Joram*'s was judg'd by one of the aſſembly to be very prudent and neceſſary. Whereupon the perſon gave it as his opinion, to ſend two horſemen to ſearch all the country as far as *Jordan*, who, if they happened to be taken by the enemy in ambuſh, might prove a warning to the reſt of the army not to venture ſo far, leſt the ſame misfortune ſhould befall them. (*a*) Beſides, *ſaid he*, if they chance to be taken and put to death, their loſs will be inconſiderable, and they may be accounted among thoſe who have periſhed by the famine. *Joram* agreeing to this opinion, immediately ſent two horſemen for that end. They travelled all along without meeting one enemy in the road. They found plenty of proviſions, and a vaſt quantity of arms, which they had left behind them, in order to make their flight the more eaſy. *Joram* being acquainted with theſe things, ſent his men to plunder their camp. The ſpoil was of exceeding great advantage to him. A large quantity of gold and ſilver, herds of all kinds of cattle, and ſo vaſt an abundance of proviſions was found there, that the ſpoil exceeded even their imaginations. They not only got ſufficient to deliver them from their famine, but had ſuch a vaſt overplus remaining, that according to the propheſy of *Eliſſeus*, two meaſures of barley were ſold for one ſicle, and one meaſure of wheat at the ſame rate. This meaſure contains an *Italian* buſhel and an half. Notwithſtanding this unexpected affluence of things, the captain over the *Tertia* of the army was the only man who received no benefit of it, for being commanded by the king to keep his poſt at the gate, to hinder the multitude from ruſhing out

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(*a*) The Loſs of the two Horſemen will not be ſo much, ſince in all Probability the Famine may take them away. *Galenius.*

all at once, which might endanger many of them to be trodden to death in the throng, he had himſelf the miſfortune to undergo the ſame fate, which he endeavoured to hinder others from; for in the vaſt hurry and croud of the citizens to get out, he was ſqueezed to death, according to the predictions of *Eliſſeus*, who had denounced it againſt him; as he was the only one who had diſcredited the propheſy he had made about the plenty that was to happen.

Adad, the *Syrian* king, got in ſafety to *Damaſcus*, but coming to underſtand that God had been the ſole means of ſtriking his army with their terror and confuſion, and that the invaſion of the enemy had been all imaginary and deluſive, he was extremely dejected, and, imagining it to be a judgment of heaven upon him, in that melancholy reflection fell ill. Hearing that *Eliſſeus* was coming to *Damaſcus*, he ſent *Hazael*, one of his moſt truſty ſervants, with magnificent preſents to meet him. He charged him to aſk whether he ſhould recover from his indiſpoſition. *Hazael* taking forty camels, loaded them with the moſt valuable things *Damaſcus* could afford, and travelled with them to meet *Eliſſeus*. When he was come up with him, he courteouſly ſaluted him, and told him, he was ſent by order of *Adad*, to bring him thoſe preſents, and enquire of him if he was to recover his health. Upon this, the prophet told him his maſter ſhould certainly die, but deſired and commanded him not to acquaint him with it. *Hazael* hearing this melancholy news was very much troubled. *Eliſſeus* wept, and poured out a great many tears, on reflecting and foreſeeing the many calamities *Hazael* was to bring upon the *Hebrews* after *Adad*'s death. *Hazael* perceiving it, aſked what made him ſo ſorrowful. I weep, ſaid he, at the reflecting on the many miſeries the *Iſraelites* are to ſuſtain under you; for you will put to death the moſt noble of them, burn their beſt fortified cities, daſh their children againſt the ſtones, and rip open their women with child. *Hazael* aſked him, whence he was to receive the power to do ſuch things. The prophet told him, God had ſhewn him he was to be king of *Syria*. *Hazael* returning back to the king, acquainted him, he had nothing to fear from his diſtemper; the next day he took a wet net, and throwing it over him, ſtrangled him: After which he ſeized the government. He was a man of unwearied diligence, and much in favour with the *Syrians*, and the people of *Damaſcus*. Hence it is that (*a*) *Adad* and *Hazael*, his ſucceſſors, are worſhipped as Gods for thier vaſt liberalities, and erecting ſo many temples, with which they adorned *Damaſcus*. Beſides, they perform an annual ſolemnity in honour of theſe two kings, by carrying their images in proceſſion, and boaſt very much of their antiquity, when they are not able to carry them higher than eleven hundred years. *Joram*, king of the *Iſraelites*, having received the news of *Adad*'s death, was relieved from all his fears on his account, and enjoyed again a ſtate of tranquility and peace.

CHAP. V.

Of the Wickedneſs, Deſtruction and Death of Joram, *King of the* Hieroſolymites.

JORAM, king of the *Hieroſolymites*, (who had the ſame name as we have mentioned in the foregoing, with the king of the *Iſraelites*,) no ſooner had eſtabliſhed himſelf in the kingdom, than he put to death his brothers, and all his father's friends, moſt of whom were princes, and leading men. This was the beginning of his reign, wherein he gave the world to underſtand, he was no ways unlike the kings of *Iſrael* his predeceſſors, who had relinquiſhed the cuſtoms of their country, and forſaken the worſhip of God. *Gotholia*, daughter of *Achabus*, and his wife, were very inſtrumental in carrying him over to pay adoration to ſtrange gods, and acting idolatrouſly. However God, for the covenant he had made with *David*, would not wholly aboliſh his poſterity. *Joram* was every day endeavouring at ſome freſh impiety, to promote the religion of the *Gentiles*. About this time the *Idumeans* revolted from him, ſlew their king, who had ever been in terms of amity with his father *Joſaphat*, and placed in his room another king of their own making. *Joram*, upon this affront, muſtered up all the horſemen and chariots he had at hand, and marching with them into *Idumea* in the night time, made a ſudden inroad into that country, ſlew all he met with on the frontiers of his kingdom, and then marched back again. This expedition was of little or no ſervice to him. For immediately a general revolt followed it, in which the whole region of *Libina* joined. *Joram* was ſo mad, as to compel his ſubjects to aſcend the tops of the mountains, and there worſhip ſtrange gods.

While he was acting in this manner, and giving too plain proofs of his diſregard to the laws and precepts of his anceſtors, he received a letter from *Elias* the prophet, which acquainted him with God's inflicting a dreadful puniſhment upon him, for his defection from the laws of his forefathers, and his impious imitation of the idolatries of the kings of *Iſrael* his predeceſſors, for his compelling the tribe of *Judah*, and the citizens of *Hieroſolyma*,

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(*a*) *J. Clerk* is rather of Opinion, *Hazael* and his Son were worſhipped as Gods by the *Syrians*, and not *Hazael* and *Adad*, ſince the People of *Damaſcus* under *Adad* underwent divers great Hardſhips, that it was unlikely a King and his Murtherer ſhould have Divine Honours paid them. Of *Adad*'s being deified, See *Selden* in his *Syrian* Gods in *Synt*. 1. L. 6.

to forſake the worſhip of their true God, and follow after falſe deities, as *Achabus* had done before him: For his putting to death his brothers, and ſlaying the juſt and good without diſtinction. The prophet's epiſtle marked out to him the puniſhment he ſhould undergo for theſe daring crimes; namely, the deſtruction of the people, the (1) death of his wife and children, and the ſhort time himſelf had to live. That his own death ſhould be brought upon him by a raging diſtemper within his bowels, which ſhould torment him extremely, and cauſe them to rot and burſt through him; that himſelf ſhould be a ſpectator of his own calamity, without a power of averting it, and in that deplorable condition ſhould die. Such was the letter of *Elias*.

Not long after this an army of *Arabians*, (inhabiting next the *Æthiopians*) and *Paleſtines*, made an incurſion into *Joram*'s kingdom, which they not only ravaged, bat pillaged his palace, and ſlew therein his ſons and wives. Notwithſtanding this, one of his ſons, named *Ochozias*, eſcaped out of the hands of the enemy. After this calamity, the king, according to what the prophet had foretold, fell ill of a lingering diſtemper, which was looked upon as a judgment upon him from heaven; of which he miſerably died, having firſt beheld his guts burſt out of his belly. The people were violently enraged againſt him; for they deemed him unworthy of princely burial, ſince God had ſent down his curſes upon him, by which he died; and therefore they forbid his being interred in the ſepulchre of his forefathers, or receiving any other marks of funeral honours, but buried him in a private manner, after he had lived forty years, and reigned eight. After which, they put the government into the hands of *Ochozias* his ſon.

CHAP. VI.

Of Jehus'*s being anointed King, and his putting to Death* Joram, *and* Ochozias. *Of the Means he took of puniſhing the Impious.*

JORAM, king of the *Iſraelites*, as ſoon as *Adad* was dead, was lifted up with hopes of being able to recover, out of the *Syrian* hands, *Aramatha*, a city of *Galaad*. To this end he made great preparations, and led an army againſt it. As he was beſieging it, he received a wound from an arrow ſhot at him by a *Syrian*; which did not then prove mortal. However, he withdrew himſelf into *Jezael*, to apply proper remedies to it; while he left *Jehus*, ſon of *Nemeſſus*, to carry on the ſiege in his room: The city was ſhortly taken by ſtorm. It was propoſed to the king, as ſoon as he was recovered, to engage the *Syrians* in open battle: In the mean time, *Eliſſeus* the prophet gave the ſacred oil to one of his diſciples, commanded him to go to *Aramatha*, anoint *Jehus*, and tell him God had made choice of him to be king. He gave ſome other directions, and bid him depart with the utmoſt privacy, that no body might be made privy to his journey. Being come to the city, he found *Jehus*, as *Eliſſeus* had foretold him, ſitting in the midſt of his officers. Stepping up to him, he told him he wanted to communicate an affair to him. *Jehus* roſe up immediately, and took him into his cabinet, where the young man taking out the oil, poured it upon his head, *and ſaid*, God had made him king to aboliſh the poſterity of *Achabus*, and revenge the blood of the prophets, whom *Jezebela* had unjuſtly put to death. That as the houſe of *Hieroboamus* for its impieties had been deſtroyed, and after it, that of *Baaſas*, ſo he ſhould wholly exterminate the remains of *Achabus*, and leave none of his poſterity alive. After he had done ſpeaking thus, he haſtily went out of the cabinet for fear of being ſeen by any of the army.

Jehus went out after him, and returned to his officers, where he reſumed his former place. They began to be very ſolicitous, and asked him ſeveral times to tell them what had brought the young man to him, for they took him to be diſordered in his ſenſes. You conjecture right, anſwered *Jehus*, for what he ſaid to me, was like words of a madman. This made them far more inquiſitive than before, to know what he had ſpoke to him. He told them, upon this, he had acquainted him, God had given him the government over the people. No ſooner had *Jehus* declared himſelf thus, than the whole aſſembly took off each man his garment, and ſpread it before *Jehus*, and then giving a ſignal with their horns, proclaimed him king. This done, he aſſembled the forces, and reſolved to march with them againſt *Joram* in *Jezraela*, who, as we have limited in the foregoing, had withdrawn thither, to dreſs the wound he had received at the ſiege of *Aramatha*. *Ochozias*, king of the *Hieroſolymites*, being a near relation of *Joram*'s (for he was his ſiſter's ſon, as we have ſaid above) was at this time come hither alſo to pay him a viſit, but in fact to ſee how he enjoyed his health, after receiving the wound. *Jehus*, deſirous of ſetting upon *Joram* and his adherents unexpectedly, gave particular orders not to let any perſon ſlip out of the city, who might acquaint *Joram* with his intention. This he told them would ſufficiently diſcover their kindneſs for him, and ſhew their obedience to him as king.

Jehus's orders were gladly received, and they immediately put a ſtrict watch in the roads to hinder any perſons going to *Jezraela* to acquaint *Joram* what was a doing. *Jehus* in the mean time muſtered up the choiceſt of his horſemen; and, mounting his chariot, marched directly to *Jezraela.* He was not gone far before a ſpy, ſent by *Joram* to watch any perſons coming to the city, ſaw *Jehus* with a company of armed men with him. The fellow poſted to *Joram,* and told him there was a body of horſemen drawing near the town. *Joram* preſently commanded an horſeman to go and meet them, and aſk who they were. The horſeman riding up to *Jehus,* enquired of him how the army was, the king he ſaid having diſpatched him upon that meſſage. *Jehus* bid him aſk no queſtions about it, but follow him. The ſcout ſeeing this, acquainted the king the horſeman had joined himſelf to the body of troops, and was coming along with it. A little while after this, *Joram* ſent another horſeman upon the very ſame errand. When the ſpy had told the king the ſecond horſeman had done as the firſt, *Joram* was at length induced to mount his chariot, in company with *Ochozias* king of the *Hieroſolymites* (who, as we have ſaid before, was at that time come, as being his relation, to ſee how he recovered from his wound) and go and meet it. For ſome time *Jehus* moved ſlowly on with his body of men. *Joram* met him in the field of *Nabuthus,* where he aſked him, if the army was ſafe. *Jehus* began to uſe coarſe language againſt him, and called his mother a ſorcereſs and an harlot. The king, finding that was no ſecure place for them to ſtay in, told *Ochozias* they were circumvented; upon which he turned his chariot, and rode off in a precipitate flight: *Jehus* immediately put his hand to his bow, and ſhot thence an arrow, which went through his heart. *Joram* preſently fell with his head upon his knee, and gave up the ghoſt. *Jehus* ſeeing this, commanded *Badacrus,* captain of a *Tertia* of the army, to take *Joram*'s carcaſe, and throw it into the field of *Nabuthus,* calling, at the ſight thereof, *Elias* his propheſy to remembrance, which that divine perſon had foretold *Achabus.* After he had ſlain *Nabuthus,* namely, how he, together with his progeny, ſhould one day periſh in that very field where he had cauſed *Nabuthus* to be ſlain; and he himſelf had heard, as he was ſitting once behind *Achabus* in his chariot, this prediction, which fell out according as the prophet had foretold it. *Ochozias,* having beheld the exit of *Joram,* was apprehenſive of his own danger; wherefore he turned his chariot into a bye-road, where he imagined he ſhould be able to eſcape *Jehus.* But he cloſely purſued him, and as he was aſcending a ſteep place, let fly an arrow and wounded him, which obliged him to come out of his chariot, and mount on horſeback, by means of which he got clear of *Jehus,* and withdrew into *Megeddo,* where in a little time he died of the wound he had received: From hence he was carried to *Hieroſolyma,* and there interred, after he had reigned juſt one year, and ſhown himſelf a more wicked perſon than his father.

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(1) We have interpreted thus: Becauſe *Sacred Writ* ſays nothing of their being raviſhed, but only of their Deaths.

When *Jehus* was come to *Jezraela, Jezabela,* magnificently dreſſed, ſtood up in her turret, and ſaid, *O hopeful ſervant, who haſt ſlain his maſter.* *Jehus* looking upwards, enquired who it was that ſpoke; he commanded her to come down to him, which ſhe not immediately performing, he ordered the eunuchs about her, to throw her headlong from the tower. The walls were ſprinkled with blood as ſhe fell; and her carcaſe was trod to pieces by the horſes as ſhe laid upon the ground. This done, *Jehus* went directly to the palace, where he refreſhed himſelf and his friends, being weary with their travelling; he ordered thoſe who had ſlain *Jezabela,* to give her the honour of an interment, in reſpect to her great family, and the line of kings from which ſhe was deſcended. Thoſe who had the charge given them of burying her, could find nothing elſe remaining of her body, but her ſkull, the palms of her hands, and the ſoles of her feet; the remaining parts were eaten up by the dogs. *Jehus* coming to underſtand this, was aſtoniſhed at *Elias* his propheſy; for he had foretold ſhe ſhould die in *Jezraela* in that very manner.

Achabus had ſeventy ſons, and all brought up in *Samaria.* *Jehus* wrote two letters, one of which he ſent to the governors, the other to the *Samarian* princes, acquainting and admoniſhing them to make him, who was the ſtouteſt of them all, their king, and ſo revenge the death of their maſter; concluding, for himſelf, he was well provided with horſes, arms, forces, and fortified towns. His writing thus, was to try how the *Samaritans* ſtood affected to him. The princes and governors, having peruſed the letters, were very much terrified at it. They conſidered it as an impoſſibility to make head againſt him, who had overcome two great kings; and therefore anſwered him, that they received him for their lord, and yielded obedience to his commands. *Jehus* wrote back to them, that he bid them behead the ſons of *Achabus,* and bring their heads to him. The princes upon this ſent to the governors, and gave them orders to take their heads off, and ſee them conveyed to *Jehus:* In obedience to the commands given them, they cut off all their heads, put them in wicker baſkets, and in that manner ſent them to *Jezraela.* *Jehus* was at ſupper with ſome of his friends, when the news was brought him of the heads being come. He bid them be placed in two heaps before the gates, one on each ſide. This done, as ſoon as it was day next morning, he went out to ſee them. When he beheld them, he began to tell the people there preſent, that he had led out an army againſt his maſter, and killed him. But he had not ſlain thoſe. This was done to perſuade the people to a belief, that the entire deſtruction of *Achabus* his poſterity and houſe, was the natural reſult of *Elias*'s prophecy. When he had put to death as many of *Achabus*'s kindred as could be found in *Jezraela,* he went to *Samaria.* But happening to meet on the road ſome relations of *Ochozias,* king of the *Hieroſolymites,* he aſked them whether they were travelling. They anſwering they were going to compliment *Joram* and their king *Ochozias,* (for they knew nothing of their being ſlain by *Jehus*) he ordered them to be apprehended and put to death, being forty and two perſons in number. After this he met with one *Jonadab*, a very good and juſt perſon, and an old acquaintance of his: *Jonadab* after the firſt ſalute began to commend him for rooting out the race of *Achabus*, and performing every thing according to the appointment of God. *Jehus* deſired him to ſtep up into his chariot, and accompany him to *Samaria*, telling him, he would not ſpare one wicked man; but puniſh the falſe prophets and prieſts, and thoſe who had ſeduced the people from the worſhip of the Great God, to the adoration of ſtrange deities. For it was, to a good and juſt man, the moſt delightful and pleaſant of all ſights, to behold the wicked deſervedly puniſhed for their crimes. *Jonadab* condeſcended to what *Jehus* ſaid, mounted his chariot, and rode with him to *Samaria*. *Jehus* accordingly put to death all the kindred of *Achabus*, whereſoever he found them, and being deſirous of ſlaying all his falſe prieſts and prophets, he circumvented them with ſtratagem; he convoked an aſſembly of the people, wherein he told them, he would worſhip the God of *Achabus*, and if that prince had done them honour, he would perform twice as much. He bid them take care to have all the prieſts, prophets, and worſhippers of their God preſent, for he had reſolved to make a more then ordinary ſacrifice to him; at the celebration of which, he commanded all the prieſts to be preſent on pain of death: Now *Achabus* his God was called *Baal*. After he had in this manner declared his orders for ſacrificing to this God. He ſent meſſengers throughout all the land of *Iſrael*, to bring the prieſts to aſſiſt at it. He commanded veſtments to be given all of them. When they had received them, he went with their friend *Jonadab* into the houſe of *Baal*, and commanded ſtrict inquiry to be made, if no ſtranger or foreigner was entered in, for he would ſuffer no other perſons to be preſent at *Baal*'s worſhip, than the prieſts themſelves. He was preſently acquainted there was no others but *Baalites* there, and that the ceremony was juſt going to begin. Upon this, he planted before the door fourſcore choſen ſoldiers, unto whom he gave his orders to ſlay all the falſe prieſts, and vindicate their country's religion ſo long ſet aſide; threatning that perſon with immediate death, who ſuffered any one of them to eſcape. Accordingly they put every man of them to death, burnt *Baal*'s temple, and ſo delivered *Samaria* from the worſhip of ſtrange Gods. This *Baal* was the god of the *Tyrians*; *Achabus*, deſirous of gaining the favour of *Ithabalus*, the *Tyrian* and *Sydonian*, aud his father-in-law, erected a temple in honour of him at *Samaria*, and created prieſts for his ſervice, giving him all manner of divine worſhip. When *Baal* was removed, *Jehus* permitted the people to pay adoration to the golden calves. As he had proved the inſtrument of rooting out the wicked race of *Achabus*; ſo God acquainted him by his prophet, that his poſterity ſhould enjoy the throne of *Iſrael* to the fourth generation. Such was the ſituation of *Jehus*'s affairs.

CHAP. VII.

Of Gotholia'*s poſſeſſing the Kingdom of the* Hieroſolymites *five Years. How* Jodaus *the High-prieſt, after he had Slain her, made the Son of* Ochazias *King.*

GOTHOLIA, *Achabus*'s daughter, coming to hear of her ſon *Ochozias*'s, and her brother *Joram*'s death, as alſo of the total deſtruction of the royal ſtock; endeavoured by all manner of ways to root out the poſterity of *David*, that not one might remain to enjoy the kingdom. And ſhe had actually performed what ſhe had reſolved upon, but that one of *Ochozias*'s ſons was ſaved, in the following manner: *Ochozias* had a ſiſter by the ſame father with him, named *Joſabeth*. *Jodaus* the high prieſt was married to her. *Joſabeth* happened to go into the palace, where ſhe found a child of a year old named *Joas*, laying hide with its nurſe among the dead bodies. She privately took it with the nurſe and conveyed both to her own apartment, from whence ſhe carried the child into the temple, where her husband and ſhe nurſed it ſix years, the ſpace of time *Gotholia* reigned over the *Hieroſolymites* and the two tribes.

In the ſeventh year, *Jodaus* communicated the whole matter to five centurions. He repreſented to them the opportunity thrown into their hands of wreſting the goverment from *Gotholia*, and transfering it to the child, who was the legal heir. He bound them by an oath, to ſecure a punctual performance by an unanimous agreement together. This done, he began to conceive hopes of ſucceeding in the enterprize he had formed againſt *Gotholia*. The centurions, whom *Jodaus* the high-prieſt had brought into this aſſociation, went and travelled all over the country, aſſembling the prieſts and *Levites*, and the princes of the tribes, whom they conducted to the high-prieſt at *Hieroſolyma*.

Jodaus demmanded an oath of them, not to reveal the ſecret he ſhould communicate, for it required their ſilence as well as their aſſiſtance. All unaimouſly having ſworn to conceal faithfully what he ſhould diſcloſe to them, he brought forth the child remaining of the line of *David*, whom he had taken care of, and ſaid, *This is your king, and of that family which you all know God hath foretold ſhall reign for ever. Therefore I adviſe and exhort you to divide yourſelves into three parts; one to guard the king in the temple; another to watch the avenues leading to it; and the other to defend the open gate that leads to the palace. Let thoſe who have no arms retreat into the temple: But ſuffer none who bear weapons, unleſs a Prieſt, to enter into it.* *Jodaus* further ordered a certain number of prieſts and *Levites* to guard the perſon of the king with their ſwords drawn, that they might immediately put to death any perſon who ſhould dare enter the temple with a weapon in his hand; and to defend the king's life with an undaunted courage. They all ſhewed a perfect aſſent to this advice of the high-prieſt, by their mutual readineſs in following it. In the mean while, *Jodaus* went and opened the armoury of the kings, which *David* had made in the temple; whence taking all the ſpears, and quivers of arrows, and what other kinds of weapons he could find there, he diſtributed them amongſt the centurions, prieſts, and *Levites*. Thus armed they joined together in a body and ſurrounded the temple, to prevent the entrance of thoſe who had no buſineſs there. Having brought the child into the midſt of them, they placed the royal crown upon his head; and then *Jodaus*, taking the ſacred oil, anointed him with it, and declared him king; the people all the while ſhewing their joy by acclamations, cried out, *God ſave the King*.

Gotholia hearing this unexpected ſhouting and noiſe, ſeemed much diſturbed; and immediately leaving her throne, hurried away with her guards. When ſhe came to the temple, the prieſts ſuffered her to go in: But the ſoldiers following her were denied entrance by the guard, who were poſted round the temple, agreeable to the commands they had received from *Jodaus*. *Gotholia*, ſeeing the child ſiting upon the throne, with the royal crown upon his head, rent her cloaths, and crying aloud, commanded him to be killed, who had treacherouſly endeavoured to uſurp her kingdom. Upon this *Jodaus* called the centurions, and ordered them to take *Gotholia* and carry her away into the valley of *Cedron*, and there put her to death: For he would not pollute the temple with the blood of ſo wicked a woman. He further commanded them, if any perſon ſhould preſume to lend her any aſſiſtance, to kill him alſo. Her executioner then ſeized her, in obedience to his commands, and carried her to the gate of the king's mules, where they put her to death.

This ſtratagem having ſucceeded upon *Gotholia*, *Jodaus* afterwards convened in the temple an aſſembly of the people and ſoldiers; in which he bound them by an oath of allegiance to the king, and to defend him and his kingdom. After this, he made the king himſelf ſwear to a ſtrict celebration of the worſhip of God, and a punctual obſervance of the laws of *Moyſes*. This done, they ruſhed into the temple of *Baal*, which *Gotholia* and her huſband *Joram* had erected to the honour of *Achabus*, but the diſhonour of God; and pulled it down to the ground, killing *Maathas*, *Baal*'s prieſt. *Jodaus* gave the immediate care and charge of the temple to the prieſts and *Levites*, as *David* long before had commanded: He ordered them twice every day to offer a ſacrifice of burnt offerings, as was cuſtomary, and burnt incenſe according to the direction of the law. He appointed likewiſe ſome of the *Levites* to be porters of the temple, to hinder any unclean perſon from entring privately into it.

When he had diſpoſed things in this order, he, accompanied by the centurions, captains, and people, led the king from the temple to the palace: And having placed him on the royal throne, all the people ſhouted with acclamations of joy, and gave themſelves up for ſome days to feaſting and rejoicing, and not a man in the whole city ſeemed diſſatisfied with the death of *Gotholia*. *Joas* was ſeven years old when he began to reign; his mother's name was *Sabia* of *Berſabee*. He ſtudiouſly practiſed the laws, and was a moſt ſtrict obſerver of God's Worſhip, as long as *Jodaus* the high-prieſt lived. As ſoon afterwards as he came to maturity, he married two wives given him by *Jodaus*, by whom he had ſons and daughters. Such is the account of *Joas*'s eſcape from *Gotholia*'s ſnares, and how he obtained the kingdom.

CHAP. VIII.

Hazael *makes War againſt the* Iſraelites *and* Hieroſolymites. Jehus *dies, and is ſucceeded by* Joas. Joas, *King of the* Hieroſolymites, *at firſt is very zealous for God's Worſhip, but afterwards fails his good Beginning, by ordering* Zacharias *to be ſtoned to Death.* Joas *dies and* Amaſias *ſucceeds him.*

HAZAEL, the king of the *Syrians*, waging war with the *Iſraelites*, and *Jehus* their king, marched an army into the country of the *Reubenites*, *Gadites*, and *Manaſſites*, lying beyond *Jordan* towards the eaſt, and laid it waſte. He then proceeded to ravage all *Galaad* and *Batanæa*, not only burning every thing, and plundering wherever he came, but even not refraining from the murder of all thoſe who fell into his hands. For *Jehus* made no preparation to curb his outrageous violence, and drive him out of the country he had ravaged: But at laſt, having abandoned himſelf to an utter neglect and abhorrence of all religious duties, and a contempt of the laws of his country, he died, after a reign of (1) ſeven and twenty years over the *Iſraelites*: and was interred at *Samaria*, leaving his ſon *Joas* his ſucceſſor in the kingdom.

Joas, king of the *Hieroſolymites*, was very deſirous of repairing the temple of God: And for this end he called *Jodaus* the high-prieſt, and gave him orders to ſend the *Levites* and prieſts throughout the kingdom, to collect of every perſon an half ſhekel of ſilver towards repairing and adorning the temple, which was very much fallen to decay under *Joram*, and *Gotholia* and their children. *Jodaus* however did not put their orders in execution, for he was ſenſible the people would not be willing to part with their money. But in the twenty third year of his reign, *Joas* aſſembled *Jodaus* and the *Levites*, and reprimanded them for not obſerving his commands about repairing and beautifying the temple: And order'd them for the time to come to ſee it was repair'd. *Jodaus* hereupon made uſe of this contrivance to raiſe the money, which the people very readily complied with. He cauſed a wooden cheſt to be made, with a ſmall chink on the top. This he placed in the temple near the altar, and then commanded every one to drop through the hole what money he thought fit, towards carrying on the repairs of the temple. This ſcheme was entirely agreeable to the people's diſpoſition; who brought in a vaſt quantity of gold and ſilver, and even ſtrove who ſhould be the moſt liberal benefactor. The high-prieſt and clerk of the treaſury opened the cheſt every day, and counted the money in the preſence of the king. As ſoon as they thought the people had contributed a ſufficient ſum of money, the king and *Jodaus* the high-prieſt hired carpenters, and maſons, and bought the fineſt and largeſt wood they could get to carry on the repairs. With the gold and ſilver, that abundantly remained, after the repairing of the temple was over, they purchaſed goblets, cups and other veſſels, and expended great part of it in the oblations of magnificent daily ſacrifices. This care and order was diligently obſerved as long as *Jodaus* lived.

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(1) According to the Scripture, Two and Thirty.

After his death, (who lived one hundred and thirty years, being all along very eminent and remarkable for his juſtice and probity, and was interred in the royal ſepulchre, for preſerving the kingdom in the line of *David*;) King *Joas* laid aſide his regard for the worſhip of God. The princes too, and leading men of the nation, as well as himſelf, were reduced to that depravity of morals, that they violated all manner of right, and were guided wholly by their own irregular and vicious inclinations. God beholding with indignation this ſudden alteration for the worſe, in the king and his ſubjects, ſent prophets to them, to make them ſenſible of their crimes, and endeavour to reclaim them. But their deſires were ſo linked to their own unruly paſſions, that neither the remembrance of thoſe terrible judgments which the Almighty had inflicted upon their forefathers, and their whole generation, for rejecting his divine laws, nor the melancholy puniſhments the prophets had denounced againſt them, had any influence upon their minds. But the king, ungrateful and unmindful of the memory of *Jodaus* the high-prieſt, and of the many ſignal ſervices he had done him, ordered his ſon *Zacharias* to be ſtoned to death in the temple; for being endowed with the divine ſpirit of God, and repreſenting, in the midſt of the people, to the king and them, their indiſpenſible obligation, to follow virtue and righteouſneſs; the neglect of which, he had told them, would be puniſhed by God in a ſevere manner: Yet *Zacharias*, before he died, invoked God to be his witneſs and judge, that the cruel and bloody death he ſuffered, was the ungrateful reward of the good advice he had given, and the many ſervices he had done *Joas* by his father.

It was not long before the king received a due reward for his crimes. *Hazael*, king of the *Syrians*, making an inroad into his dominions, ſacked and demoliſhed *Gitta*, and then marched his army againſt him to *Hieroſolyma*. *Joas* was exceedingly terrified, and drawing the treaſures of God and the kings, and taking out of the temple the gifts and offerings in it, ſent them all to the *Syrian* king, to avoid the danger of a ſiege, and ſecure himſelf from any apprehenſion of a war. *Hazael*, overcome with the preſents, departed with his forces from *Hieroſolyma*. *Joas* a while after fell dangerouſly ill, and the friends of *Jodaus*, to revenge the unjuſt death his ſon *Zacharias* met, plotted againſt his life, and at length ſlew him. He was interred at *Hieroſolyma*, but not in the royal ſepulchre, becauſe of his impiety. He lived ſeven and forty years, and left his ſon *Amaſias* his ſucceſſor.

In the one and twentieth year of *Joas*'s reign, *Joaz* ſon of *Jehu* began to reign over the *Iſraelites* in *Samaria*: He govern'd that kingdom ſeventeen years, being unlike his father, but reſembling in his impieties thoſe kings who had revolted from God. The *Syrian* king in an engagement made ſo terrible an havock in his vaſt army, that he left him but ten thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, conquering and plundering many of his largeſt and beſt fortified cities, and giving him almoſt an entire defeat. Theſe calamities befel the *Iſraelites*, according to the propheſy of *Eliſſeus*, when he foretold *Hazael* he would be king. After he had ſlain the king of the *Syrians* and *Damaſenes*, *Joas* finding himſelf reduced to theſe extremities, had recourſe to God, whom he beſought by prayers to deliver him out of *Hazael*'s hands, and not throw him into his power. The Almighty, accepting his humiliation inſtead of an unſpotted innocence, and ſhewing himſelf rather deſirous of correcting, than utterly deſtroying the wicked, delivered him from all his apprehenſions of the danger of a war, and brought a ſtate of peace and tranquility in his dominions, which reſtored his affairs to their former flouriſhing condition.

After *Joas*'s death, *Joas* his ſon ſucceeded him in the government of *Iſrael* in *Samaria*, which he held ſixteen years, when *Joas* king of *Judah* had reigned ſeven and thirty years, both of them being of the ſame name. He was, to ſay the worſt of him, a very good prince, and far from following the example of his father. When *Eliſſeus* the prophet, through age, was fallen ill, the king of the *Iſraelites* went to ſee him, but finding him at the very point of death, the ſight fetched the tears from his eyes, and he called him his father and ſafeguard. *For while he lived, he told him they had no need of uſing arms againſt their enemies; his predictions having conſtantly made them victorious without battles: But now his departure out of the world,* *would leave them expoſed to the hoſtilities of the* Syrians, *and their other enemies. Wherefore, he added, that, as he could live no longer in ſafety, without the counſel of the good old prophet, 'twas much better for them to leave the world together. Eliſſeus* endeavoured to comfort the deſponding heart of the ſorrowful king, and bade him reach a bow and arrows, draw it, and ſhoot. He let fly three, and then gave over: Upon this, the prophet ſpoke thus: *If you had ſhot a fourth, you would have entirely overthrown the* Syrian *kingdom; but ſince you have contented yourſelf with three, you ſhall prove victorious over the* Syrians *in the like number of engagements; and regain that country, which they have wreſted out of your father's hands.* The king having heard this, departed. In a little while after, the prophet died. He was a perſon of moſt ſingular piety, and the love of God was in a viſible manner extended towards him, as his wonderful and almoſt incredible prophecies witneſs, which the *Hebrews* preſerve in great veneration. He had the honour of a very magnificent and noble funeral, ſuch as well became the dignity of a perſon ſo dear to the Almighty. There happen'd a very remarkable accident a little after his death, ſome robbers having killed a man, threw his dead body into the prophet's ſepulchre: No ſooner did the carcaſs touch the remains of *Eliſſeus*, than it was re-animated. So that this divine prophet had not only the particular favour to foretel events whilſt living, but an inherent quality of performing miracles when dead.

After *Hazael*, the *Syrian* king's death, the kingdom deſcended to his ſon *Adad*, againſt whom, *Joas*, the king of the *Iſraelites*, proclaimed war: And having gained a victory over him in three ſeveral engagements, recovered all the land, cities and towns, which his father *Hazael* had wreſted out of the hands of the *Iſraelites*. Some time after this *Joas* died, and was buried at *Samaria*, leaving his ſon *Hieroboamus* his ſucceſſor in the kingdom.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Expedition of Amaſias *againſt the* Idumeans *and* Amalekites, *in which he overcomes them. Of his Engagement afterwards with* Joas, *by whom he is beaten, and not long after Slain;* Ozias *his Son ſucceeding him.*

IN the ſecond year of *Joas* king of the *Iſraelites*, *Amaſias* began at *Hieroſolyma* his reign over *Judah*; his mother was a native of *Hieroſolyma*, and named *Jodad*: From his very infancy he diſcovered a more than ordinary diſpoſition to cultivate juſtice and religion; and when he had eſtabliſhed himſelf in the kingdom, his firſt reſolution was to revenge the death of his father *Joaſus*, by puniſhing his murtherers. Upon this, he ordered all of them to be ſeized, and put to death: But upon their children he committed no manner of violence, therein wiſely obeying the laws of *Moyſes*, which adjudged it very unjuſt to puniſh children for the crimes of their parents. This done, he picked out all the flower of his youth, juſt above twenty years of age, that was in the tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*: Out of which he collected an army of three hundred thouſand, over whom he placed centurions: He hired likewiſe of the king of *Iſrael*, an hundred thouſand ſoldiers at the rate of one hundred talents of ſilver: For he had reſolved to make war upon the *Idumeans*, *Amalekites*, and *Gabalites*: But when he was ready to march, a certain prophet adviſed him to ſend back the *Iſraelites*; for ſaid he, they were a wicked race of men, and the oracle of God had denounced deſtruction to him, if he made uſe of their aſſiſtance: But that he ſhould return victorious, if, relying on the protection of God, he marched out a ſmall army, and engaged the enemy. The king ſeemed uneaſy at this advice, becauſe he had already paid the auxiliaries their wages: Upon which, the prophet further exhorted him to obey the will of God, for he would increaſe his wealth. Upon the prophets ſaying thus, the king diſmiſſed them, and told them, what they had received from him as a hire, he freely beſtowed upon them as a preſent. After this, he marched his own forces againſt the nations before mentioned, and gave them a terrible defeat; having killed ten thouſand men on the ſpot, and caſt the like number headlong alive from a great rock in *Arabia*, whither he had purſued them: He carried off a vaſt booty, and immenſe rich treaſures out of thoſe nations. While *Amaſias* was buſied in this expedition, the *Iſraelites*, whom he had diſmiſſed, being enviouſly offended at his ſucceſs, and taking their diſcharge as an open affront upon them, which they ſuppoſed he never would have been guilty of, had not he deſpiſed them, made a ſudden inroad into his dominions, and marching as far as *Bethſemere*, laid the country waſte round about it, carrying off a great number of cattle, and putting three thouſand men to the ſword.

Now *Amaſias*, puffed up with the ſucceſs he had obtain'd, little regarded God as the ſole author of his late victory: But bidding defiance to his power, gave himſelf over to the worſhip of thoſe gods of the *Amalekites*, which he had brought away with him out of their country. The prophet hereupon told him, *He wondered how he could be ſo fooliſh as to believe thoſe to be gods, who were not able to afford their worſhippers any aſſiſtance, or to deliver them out of his hands, who had ſuffered ſo many of them to be deſtroyed, and themſelves to be taken priſoners, and carried by him to* Hieroſolyma *with the reſt of the ſpoil.* Theſe words ſo highly provoked the king, that he forbade him ſpeaking any more, and threatned to puniſh him ſeverely, if he preſumed any more to act beyond his office. Upon this, the prophet ſaid he would for the future hold his peace: But foretold him, that God would not let paſs the ſtrange innovations he had made in religion. *Amaſias* now ſwelled with pride, and unable to govern himſelf in the happy run of ſucceſs he had received at the hands of God, and for which he ungratefully and impiouſly diſhonoured him, wrote to *Joas* king of the *Iſraelites*, commanding him, *Together with all his people, to pay him a ſtrict allegiance, as was formerly done by his anceſtors to* David *and* Solomon: *Otherwiſe, he would make him ſenſible of his right by power of arms.* *Joas* returned the following anſwer:

King *Joas* to king *Amaſias*.

There was in mount Libanus *a lofty cypreſs and a thiſtle. The thiſtle ſent to the cypreſs to demand his daughter in marriage: But in the mean while, a wild beaſt went by and trod down the thiſtle. Let this be an example to you, not to covet too high things; nor, after your late ſucceſs againſt the* Amalekites, *vauntingly boaſt too much, for fear your own kingdom ſhould undergo the like calamities.*

Amaſias having read the letter, was moved with a ſtronger deſire than before of waging war againſt him; and God, we are of opinion, ſpurred him on to it, by way of puniſhment for his wicked apoſtacy. Having led out his army againſt *Joas*, and drawn it up in battle array, a ſudden fear and conſternation, the uſual effects of God's diſpleaſure, ſeized his whole hoſt, and made them fly, even before the engagement. The army being thus diſperſed through fear, it happen'd *Amaſias*, forſaken by his men, was taken priſoner by the enemy: And *Joas* threatned him with death, if he did not perſuade the *Hieroſolymites* to open their gates, and receive him and his whole army into the city. *Amaſias*, compelled by neceſſity, and terrified at the apprehenſions of dying, conſented to the enemies admittance. *Joas* therefore, riding in his triumphal chariot, with *Amaſias* his priſoner before him, entered *Hieroſolyma*, through a breach of the wall, four hundred cubits wide, which he had ordered to be made for that purpoſe. And thus he, being now maſter of *Hieroſolyma*, took away with him the treaſures of God, and carried off all the gold and ſilver he could find in the palace of *Amaſius*: At laſt he gave *Amaſius* his liberty, and returned to *Samaria*. Theſe calamities fell upon the *Hieroſolymites* in the fourteenth year of *Amaſias*'s reign. After this, his own friends laid wait for his life, which obliged him to take refuge in *Lachiſa*, where he was ſhortly after murthered by ſome perſons ſent thither by the conſpirators. His body was carried back to *Hieroſolyma*, and there interr'd with the royal funeral rites. And thus did he end his life for his inſolence and contempt of God; having lived four and fifty years, and reigned nine and twenty, leaving behind him his ſon *Ozias* to ſucceed him.

CHAP. X.

Of Hieroboamus *King of the* Iſraelites, *and the Prophet* Jonas. *Of* Zacharias's *Acceſſion to the Crown, after the Death of his Father* Hieroboamus. *Of* Ozias's *the King of the* Hieroſolymites *Conqueſt of the bordering Nations, and the Accidents that befel him as he was going to offer Incenſe.*

IN the fifteenth year of the reign of king *Amaſias Hieroboamus*, ſon of *Joas*, enter'd upon his government over the *Iſraelites* at *Samaria*, which he held forty years. He lived in ſtubborn contempt of God, and an open violation of the laws; he was an idolater, in the moſt groſs and abſurd manner, and brought innumerable calamities upon the *Iſraelites*. *Jonas* the prophet foretold this prince, that the *Syrian* power and grandeur might be very much diminiſhed by him, if he made war againſt them; and the bounds of his own kingdom extended to the city *Amathus* northward, and to the lake *Aſphaltitis* ſouthward; for formerly *Canaan* was thus bounded, by *Jeſus* the famous general. *Hieroboamus*, in purſuance of *Jonas*'s prediction, made an expedition againſt the *Syrians*; wherein, as the prophet had foretold him, he reduced to his obedience all that country.

I think it neceſſary, as I have promiſed a faithful and accurate account of actions and events, to relate in this work every thing I have obſerved in the (a) *Hebrew* books relating to this prophet. God having commanded him to go to *Niniveh*, and there foretel the people, that their empire would ſoon be diſſolved: He, through fear, did not go; but flying from God to *Joppa*, there embarked on board a veſſel, which by chance was in the harbour, ready to ſet ſail, and bound for *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*. A ſudden tempeſt aroſe in his paſſage, by which the ſhip was in great danger of ſinking: The captain of the ſhip, the pilot and ſailors, ſeeing themſelves in ſuch imminent danger, betook themſelves to prayers for a deliverance from their preſent calamity. *Jonas* all the while lay concealed in the veſſel, little regarding what the reſt of the crew was doing. But a great ſea ariſing, and the wind raiſing the waves to a vaſt height, all of them began to apprehend, as is very likely in ſuch caſes, ſome perſons on board was the real cauſe of the tempeſt: Whereupon they reſolved to caſt lots, and try to find out who the perſon was. Accordingly lots were caſt, and the chance fell upon *Jonas*. This made them aſk him what countryman he was, and what employment he followed: He anſwered he was an *Hebrew* by nation, but a prophet of the great God: And then adviſed them, if they were deſirous of averting their preſent danger, to throw him into the ſea, for he was the ſole occaſion of ſuch tempeſtuous weather. At firſt they had not the courage to perform his command, thinking it great injuſtice to expoſe a ſtranger to ſo manifeſt a danger of his life, and who had entruſted it in their hands. But the thoughts of their being ſwallowed up by the waves, as they expected the ſhip's ſinking every moment, baniſh'd their compaſſion: And being mov'd on the one hand by the prophet's intreaties, as well as on the other by their own fears, they at length threw him in: Whereupon the tempeſt preſently abated. Hiſtory ſays, he was caſt upon the ſhore of the (*a*) euxine ſea, after he had been ſwallowed by a whale, in whoſe belly he remained three days, and as many nights alive, and without receiving any manner of hurt in his body. Immediately after this miraculous deliverance, he aſked pardon of God for his offence, and went directly to *Niniveh:* Where ſtanding in a convenient place, from whence his words might be diſtinctly heard, he foretold them, that the empire of *Aſia* would in a ſhort time be taken out of their hands. After this propheſy, he returned back. What I have here related is wholly taken from the accounts given of him in our (*b*) books.

(a) 'Tis plain, that, beſides the Holy Scriptures, he meant the *Rabbinical* Books, which he gave too much Credit to.

King *Hieroboamus* having lived in great peace and proſperity, and reigned in that happy ſtate forty years, at laſt died, and was buried at *Samaria*, his ſon *Zacharias* ſucceeding him. *Ozias*, the ſon of *Amaſias*, began to reign over the two tribes in *Hieroſolyma*, in the fourteenth year of *Hieroboamus:* His mother's name was *Achalia*, by nation an *Hieroſolymite*. He was naturally of a good and juſt diſpoſition, valiant, and in the adminiſtration of his affairs very prudent and careful. He made an expedition againſt the *Paleſtines*, in which he overthrew them, took their cities *Gitta* and *Jamnia* by ſtorm, and pulled down their walls. After this expedition, he engaged the *Arabians*, bordering upon the *Ægyptians*, whom he conquered, and afterwards built a city near the red ſea, into which he put a ſtrong garriſon. Having alſo gained a victory over the *Ammanites*, he impoſed a conſtant tribute upon them, and reduced into his obedience all their country, as far as the frontiers of *Ægypt:* After which he returned to *Hieroſolyma*, and began to ſhew his care for that place. Whatever part of the walls of the city was run to decay through length of time, or the negligence of preceeding kings, he entirely rebuilt, as well as all thoſe places the king of the *Iſraelites* had demoliſh'd, when he entered *Hieroſolyma* in triumph, with *Ozias*'s father *Amaſias* his priſoner before him. He alſo raiſed many towers, an hundred and fifty cubits high. He likewiſe built ſeveral fortreſſes, to ſecure the open country, and unfortified places, and made many aqueducts, for he had a vaſt abundance of all ſorts of cattle, his kingdom being very fit for paſturage. He underſtood husbandry, and enriched his country with all ſorts of plants and ſeeds, and other kinds of agriculture. He had an army conſiſting of three hundred and ſeventy thouſand choice men, commanded by two thouſand centurions and tribunes, all men of exceeding great valour and might. He diſpoſed his whole army into companies, and armed each man with a ſword, ſhield, a breaſt plate of braſs, bow, and a ſling. Beſides theſe, he made ſeveral large machines to batter towns in a ſiege, and other inſtruments to caſt ſtones with, beſides grappling irons, and many other things of that nature.

Having made theſe vaſt preparations, ambition at length ſeized his mind: He eſteem'd the tranſitory glory of earthly, above the immortality of heavenly things, and ſo was took off from his obedience to God, and the laws. His ſucceſs proved the occaſion of his falling into the very crimes his father had been guilty of; for his tide of good fortune was too ſtrong for him, and at length bore him down. A ſolemn feſtival was at hand, at which all the people were accuſtomed to be preſent: The king at that time cloathed himſelf in a ſacerdotal habit, and went into the temple to offer incenſe to God on the golden altar. Upon this, *Azarias* the high-prieſt, who had fourſcore other prieſts to attend him, went, and forbade him proceeding in his deſign, at the ſame time they all ordered him to depart out of the temple, and not violate the laws of God; for they repreſented to him the unlawfulneſs of any one's offering incenſe, except he was of the line of *Aaron*. The king was highly nettled at their words, and threatned to put them to death, if they ſpoke a word more. Immediately the earth trembled, and the roof of the temple open'd, through which a beam of the ſun darted full upon the face of the king, who from that very inſtant became a leper. This prodigy was followed by another. Near a certain place before the city, named *Eroge*, the one half of a mountain that look'd weſtward, was torn from the other half, and rolled for the ſpace of four furlongs, till it ſtopt eaſtward of a mountain over-againſt it, by which means the road was blocked up, and the king's gardens covered with rubbiſh. The prieſts perceiving the king's face cover'd all over with the leproſy, acquainted him with his miſfortune, and commanded him to depart out of the city as an unclean perſon. Aſhamed at what had befallen him, and ſtruck with great terror, he obeyed their commands, and went out of the city with the miraculous diſtemper upon him, as a mark of his puniſh-

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(*a*) *Bochart* in his *Hieroz*, Part II. l. 1. ch. xix. ſhews this to be an Error of *Joſephus*.

(*b*) *Viz.* The Scripture and *Rabbinical* Writings, as before taken Notice of.

ment for his inſolence and contempt of God. He lived for ſome time out of the city in a private condition, ſubſtituting his ſon *Jotham* to manage the government in his ſtead: At length, thro' grief and remorſe of conſcience for the crimes he had committed, he departed this life: After he had lived ſixty eight, and reigned fifty two years. His body was interred in his gardens by itſelf.

CHAP. XI.

Of Zacharias, Sellum, Manaem, Phaclias, *and* Phaceas, *and how they obtained the Government of* Iſrael. *Of* Phale*'s and* Theglaphalaſar*'s waging War againſt the* Iſraelites. *Of* Jotham*'s, the Son of* Ozias, *Reign over the Tribe of* Judah; *and of* Nahum*'s Prophecy againſt the* Aſſyrians.

Zacharias, after a ſhort reign of ſix months over the *Iſraelites*, was treacherouſly ſlain by one *Sellum*, the ſon of *Jabes*, and his particular friend. *Sellum* ſucceeded him in the kingdom, but enjoyed it only thirty days. *Manaem*, general of *Zacharias*'s army, was at this time in *Tharſa*; but hearing of the accident that had befallen his maſter, decamped from thence, and marched with all his forces to *Samaria*, where he engaged *Sellum*, and ſlew him. After this he declared himſelf king, and marched from *Samaria* to *Thapſa*; but the citizens ſhut their gates againſt him, and would not admit him as king. To revenge himſelf upon them, he laid waſte all the country round about with fire, and beſieged their city, which he took by ſtorm; and then, incenſed at the indignity the inhabitants had offered him, he put all of them to the ſword, not ſparing the very infants, but ſhewing his cruelty in the higheſt degree: And thus did he commit ſuch barbarities upon his own nation, as a foreign one, though ſubdued in war, ought not to have ſuffered. In this wicked manner he begun his reign, and for the ſpace of ten years exerciſed the ſame inhumanities; and was, in ſhort, the moſt cruel of all the kings his predeceſſors. *Phale*, the *Aſſyrian* king, marched a numerous army againſt him, but he thought fit to decline the engagement, and purchaſe his ſafety with the offer of a thouſand talents of ſilver; which the *Aſſyrian* received, drew off his army, and retired. *Manaem* raiſed this ſum of money of the people, every perſon being taxed fifty drachms. Some time after this he died, and was interred at *Samaria*, leaving his ſon *Phaceas* his ſucceſſor. This prince reſembled his father in all manner of cruelty; reigned two years, and then was treacherouſly murthered, with ſeveral of his own friends, as he ſat at a publick entertainment. *Phaceas* a tribune, ſon of *Romelia*, was the perſon who contrived the plot againſt him, and afterwards uſurped the kingdom, reigning therein twenty years in a very wicked and tyrannical manner. In his reign *Theglaphalaſar*, king of the *Aſſyrians*, making an expedition againſt the *Iſraelites*, ſubdued all the land of *Galaad*, all the country lying beyond *Jordan*, and *Galilee* adjoining to it, beſides *Cidyſa* and *Azor*; and carried away into captivity all their inhabitants, into his own kingdom: Of whom we have already ſaid enough in this place.

Now *Jotham*, ſon of *Ozias*, reigned at *Hieroſolyma* over the tribe of *Judah*, whoſe mother's name was *Jeraſa*, a native of that city. This prince was endowed with excellent qualifications, his piety towards God was great, and his juſtice towards man very ſtrict. His care for the affairs of the city was viſible in many inſtances, (for what part ſoever was ruinous, and fallen to decay, he rebuilt;) he repaired the porch and ſteps leading to the temple, and erected a great part of the city walls, that through want of repairs were tumbled down, fortifying them with large towers, proof againſt any aſſault. He alſo made war againſt the *Ammanites* whom he defeated, and impoſed on them an yearly tribute of one hundred talents of ſilver, ten thouſand (1) meaſures of barley, and the ſame number of wheat. Thus he enlarged and enriched his kingdom, making it formidable to its enemies, and cauſing it to enjoy a happy and peaceful ſtate.

There was at this time a certain prophet named *Nahum*, who foretold the deſtruction of the *Aſſyrians*, and the city of *Ninus* in theſe words: Niniveh *ſhall be as a fiſh pool, whoſe waters are violently agitated with the wind; all its inhabitants ſhall be put into confuſion, and fly away; but ſhall firſt ſay to one another;* Stand, ſtop, take with you your gold, take with you your ſilver. *But not one ſhall follow this advice; for they ſhall eſteem the preſervation of their lives much dearer than the poſſeſſion of their riches. Every one ſhall be filled with faction and diſcord; lamentation and ſorrow ſhall come upon them; their limbs ſhall grow weak, and their faces turn pale as death with fear. Where will then be the lion's den, or the dam of the lion's whelps? Behold,* O Niniveh, *the word of the Lord ſpeaks unto thee: I will utterly deſtroy thee, and no more ſhall the lions, that come out of thee, govern the world.* The prophet propheſied many other things againſt *Niniveh*, which I think unneceſſary to be related here, and have paſſed them over on purpoſe, leſt I ſhould ſeem too tedious and troubleſome to my readers. However, *Nahum*'s propheſy againſt *Niniveh* was verified an hundred and fifteen years after. And ſo much on this head at preſent.

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(1) Each Meaſure contained about Thirty Buſhels.

CHAP. XII.

Of Jotham's *Death, and* Achazes *ſucceeding him. Of the Expedition* Araſes, *King of* Damaſcus, *and* Phaceas, *King of* Iſrael, *made againſt him. Of the Alliance, to carry on the War againſt them, between* Achazes *and* Theglaphalaſar, *the* Aſſyrian *King, who ravaged* Syria, *carried the* Damaſenes *into* Media, *and peopled their City with other Nations.*

JOTHAM died in the forty first year of his age, after he had reigned ſixteen years; and was at laſt buried in the royal ſepulchre. The kingdom then deſcended by hereditary right to his ſon *Achazes*, who behaved himſelf in the moſt impious againſt God. He not only acted contrary to the laws of his country, but followed the wicked practices of the kings of *Iſrael*, building altars at *Hieroſolyma*, upon which he ſacrificed to idols, and following the cuſtom of the *Canaanites*, made a burnt ſacrifice of his own ſon, and committed ſeveral other impieties of the like nature. In this mad and frantic behaviour, he was ſet upon by *Araſes* king of *Damaſcus*, and the *Syrians*, and *Phaceas* king of the *Iſraelites*, who had entered into an alliance againſt him, and ſhut him up in *Hieroſolyma*, where they beſieged him a long time, but to little purpoſe; the walls proving too powerful againſt their attacks. In the mean while the *Syrian* king took *Ailath*, a city near the red ſea, the inhabitants whereof he put to the ſword, and then put a colony of *Syrians* into it. After he had taken ſeveral garriſons, and put to death a vaſt number of *Jews*, he drew his army out of the country, and marched home to *Damaſcus* with a rich booty. The king of *Hieroſolyma*, underſtanding the *Syrians* were returned home, imagined himſelf ſtrong enough to engage the king of the *Iſraelites*: Whereupon he drew out his army againſt him to give him battle, but in the engagement was ſlain; the anger of God being kindled againſt him for his many notorious and impious crimes: For one hundred and twenty thouſand *Jews* were ſlain that day by the *Iſraelites*. Their general *Zacharias* ſlew with his own hand *Amaſias* king *Achazes*'s ſon, and *Ericas* the prime miniſter of ſtate, and took *Elcas*, the general of the army of *Judah*, priſoner alive. Beſides, he took many captives of both ſexes of the tribe of *Benjamin*, and, enriched with a very conſiderable ſpoil, returned to *Samaria*.

Obedas, a certain prophet, lived at this time in *Samaria*; he went to meet the army before the walls of the city, where, exalting aloud his voice, he declared the victory had not fallen on their ſide by their valour and conduct, but by the anger of God, which was kindled againſt king *Achazes*. He then reprimanded them for not contenting themſelves with the proſperous ſucceſs they had received, but preſuming to lead captive men of the tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, and their own relations too: He perſwaded them therefore to diſmiſs them to their own homes, without offering them any manner of injury: For if they diſobeyed his orders, God would certainly puniſh them. The people of *Iſrael*, upon this advice, convened an aſſembly, and conſulted what to do. A certain man named *Bachazias*, who had conſiderable intereſt in the commonwealth, ſtood up, and three others with him; and ſpoke thus: *We will not give our conſent theſe people ſhould be brought captives into the city, leſt God deſtroy all of us for it: For our own paſt crimes are heinous enough againſt him, which the prophets have denounced againſt, without increaſing his vengeance by any new wickedneſs.* When the ſoldiers had heard this remonſtrance, they gave their priſoners power to act as they thought fit. Then the four perſons before-mentioned took the captives, looſed them from their chains, and having taken care of their bodies, furniſhed them with proviſions for their journey, and then ſent them ſafe home; themſelves conducting them beyond *Jericho*, a little way from *Hieroſolyma*, where they left them, and returned to *Samaria*.

King *Achazes*, having received this terrible overthrow, ſent ambaſſadors to *Theglaphalaſar*, the *Aſſyrian* king, to deſire his alliance with him, in a war againſt the *Iſraelites*, *Syrians*, and *Damaſenes*; he promiſed him a great ſum of money, and gave him in hand (as on earneſt of more) large and rich preſents. No ſooner were the ambaſſadors arrived, and had opened their inſtructions, than he haſtened to his aſſiſtance, and making an expedition againſt the *Syrians*, laid waſte their country, took *Damaſcus* by ſtorm, and ſlew king *Araſes*. He tranſplanted the *Damaſenes* into the upper *Media*, and put a colony of *Aſſyrians* into their city. This done, he plundered the land of *Iſrael*, taking away with him many priſoners. After he had thus humbled the *Syrians*, king *Achazes*, taking all the gold and ſilver there was in the royal treaſury, and even in the temple of God, beſides all the offerings of precious value, went to *Damaſcus*, and preſented them, according to agreement, to the *Aſſyrian* king: After which he returned him his grateful thanks for the ſervices he had done him, and then went back to *Hieroſolyma*. This prince was ſo ſtupid and thoughtleſs of his own good, that though the *Syrians* had given him a terrible defeat, he ſtill perſiſted to adore their gods, and worſhip them; as if by their aſſiſtance he was yet to get the victory. Having received a ſecond overthrow, he began to pay reverence to the *Aſſyrian* gods; and ſeemed to give greater worſhip to all thoſe falſe deities, than he had ever done to the true God, who, enraged at his apoſtacy, had occaſioned the defeats he had ſuffered. His contempt of God, and diſobedience, aroſe at length to that height, as to keep the doors of the temple ſhut, to prohibit the ſolemn and uſual ſacrifices to be offered, and to rob that holy place of all the donations in it. After this open and ſacrilegious contumely he died, having lived ſix and thirty years, and reigned ſixteen, leaving his ſon *Ezekias* his ſucceſſor.

CHAP. XIII.

How Phaceas *was treacherouſly murthered by* Oſeas, *who not long after was conquered by* Salmanaſar. *Of* Ezekias, *the Succeſſor of* Achazes, *nad his remarkable Piety and Juſtice.*

ABOUT this time, *Phaceas* king of the *Iſraelites* was murthered by the treachery of *Oſeas* his particular friend: Who, uſurping the goverment, was guilty of much wickedneſs, and behaved himſelf in an utter contempt of all things divine for the ſpace of nine years. *Salmanaſar*, the *Aſſyrian* king, made an expedition againſt him, in which he gave him an overthrow, (for he had loſt the favour and protection of God) and reducing him to his obedience, impoſed a tribute upon him. In the fourth year of the reign of *Oſeas*, *Ezekias* began to rule in *Hieroſolyma*; who was the ſon of *Achazes* and *Abia*, a native of that city. He was naturally of a good and merciful temper, and of a juſt and religious diſpoſition. Immediately on his acceſſion to the throne, he preſcribed a ſtrict and religious worſhip of God, as the moſt neceſſary and profitable action for himſelf as well as his ſubjects: And for this end he convened an aſſembly of the people, prieſts and *Levites*; to whom he ſpoke in this manner: "I need not acquaint you, that for the many enormous crimes of my father, in oppoſition to what the holy worſhip of God required, you have ſuffered many great calamities, being corrupted by his ways, and influenced by his impieties to worſhip what he falſely imagined to be gods. I exhort you therefore, as you have experienced the heavy puniſhment of this ſin, to free yourſelves from it, and cleanſe your minds from your impurities. Do you prieſts and *Levites*, go to the temple and open it; and purge it with luſtrations, expiatory conſecrations and ſacrifices, according to the cuſtom of your country, and the honour due to God: By which means you will avert his wrath, and obtain his mercy."

When the king had done ſpeaking, the prieſts opened the temple, prepared the holy veſſels, caſt out all defilements and impurities, and laid the ſacrifices upon the alter. The king than ſent meſſengers throughout his kingdom, to ſummon the people to *Hieroſolyma*, to celebrate the feaſt of unleavened bread: Which had been neglected a long time through the impious reigns of former kings. He exhorted the *Iſraelites* too by his meſſengers to leave their preſent way of life, and return to their antient courſe, and the worſhip of the true God: For which reaſon, he promiſed them leave to come to *Hieroſolyma*, there to celebrate the feaſt of unleavened bread, in company with his own people. He adviſed them not to do it, unleſs voluntarily, and with a free will, which would turn to every one's advantage, as being a means of making them for the future happy. The ambaſſadors coming among the *Iſraelites*, opened their king's inſtructions; but they, far from influencing thoſe impious men with a compliance with them, where diſobeyed, and treated with deriſion, as if they had been madmen; nay, they deſpiſed, rejected, and at laſt put to death the prophets too, who exhorted them to a performance of the ſame thing, and foretold them the many calamities they would ſuffer, if they did not ſeaſonably repent, and turn to God. Not content with committing theſe outragious acts, they proceeded to do far worſe, continuing in their abominable impieties ſo long, till God, deſirous of revenging his inſulted honour, delivered them into the hands of their enemies. But of this we ſhall ſpeak more hereafter. Notwithſtanding, ſeveral of the tribe of *Manaſſes*, *Zabulon*, and *Iſſachar*, obeying the admonitions of the prophets, became converts to true piety, and went to *Ezekias* at *Hieroſolyma*, to worſhip there the God of their fathers.

When the multitude was met together, king *Ezekias* went up to the temple, accompanied with the princes and all the people, where he made a ſacrifice for himſelf of ſeven oxen, ſeven rams, as many lambs, and as many he-goats. When the king and princes had laid their hands upon the heads of the victims, they let the prieſts perform the ſacrifice; who ſlew them, and then made an intire burnt-offering of them, the *Levites* in the mean time, ſtanding in a ring about them, with inſtruments of muſic, ſung divine hymns, according to the inſtructions of *David*; while the prieſts joined in concert with them, and accompanied their voices with trumpets. After this, the king and all the people fell proſtrate with their faces to the ground, and adored God: *Ezekias* afterwards ſacrificed ſeventy oxen, an hundred rams, and two hundred lambs; and gave ſix hundred oxen, and three thouſand other cattle, to feaſt the people withal. This the prieſts performed according to the preſcription of the law; and the king ſat down among the people, returning God thanks with the utmoſt gratitude and joy.

The feaſt of unleavened bread was now at hand; and in the time of their preparations for the feaſt of the paſſover, they offered up for ſeven days ſucceſſively a new courſe of ſacrifice. The king, over and above what the people ſacrificed, gave them two thouſand bulls, and ſeven thouſand of other kinds of cattle: The ſame laudable example did the princes follow; for they gave a thouſand bulls, and fourteen hundred other cattle. This feſtival, which had not been performed in the like manner ſince *Solomon*'s time, till *Ezekias*'s days, was now celebrated with vaſt ſplendor and magnificence. As ſoon as the feſtival was over, they made it their buſineſs to purge the country round about from impurity of worſhip, and to clear the city from idols. The king then commanded daily ſacrifices to be offered out of his own ſtores, according to the law, and appointed the tenths and firſt fruits to be given to the prieſts and *Levites*, to enable them to take care of God's worſhip, without the hindrance of any other employment. Thus the people furniſhed them abundantly with all manner of fruit and proviſions, upon which account the king cauſed granaries and ſtore-houſes to be built for every prieſt, his wife, and children: And thus again they returned to the antient worſhip of the true God. After things were ſettled in this order, the king proclaimed war againſt the *Paleſtines*, and obtained a victory over them, taking all the enemies cities, from *Gaza* to *Gitta*. The king of *Aſſyria*, then ſent ambaſſadors to demand payment of the tribute his father before him had ſubmitted to, otherwiſe, he threatned a total ſubverſion of his kingdom. *Ezekias* was not at all daunted with theſe aſſuming threats of the *Aſſyrian*; but put his entire confidence, in his piety to God, and the prophecies of the prophet *Eſdiah*, whoſe veracity he had already ſufficiently experienced. And thus much at preſent is ſufficent relating to this king.

CHAP. XIV.

Of Salmanaſar's *taking* Samaria *by Storm, carrying away the ten Tribes into* Media, *and planting their Country with a Colony of* Chuthæans.

SALMANASAR, the *Aſſyrian* king, hearing the king of the *Iſraelites* had ſent a private embaſſy to *Soah* the *Ægyptian* king, to invite him into an alliance againſt him, was moved with indignation at the news, and accordingly made an expedition againſt *Samaria*, in the ſeventh year of *Oſeas*. The king refuſing to yield, he beſieged it three years, and then took it by ſtorm, in the ninth year of king *Oſeas*, and the ſeventh of *Ezekias* king of *Hieroſolyma*. By the loſs of this place the kingdom of *Iſrael* was quite overthrown; the whole nation was carried captive into *Media*, and *Perſia*; among whom was *Oſeas* their king. *Salmanaſar* then brought other nations from a certain place in *Perſia*, called *Chuthus*, (there being a river in that country of the ſame name,) and gave them *Samaria*, and all the land of *Iſrael* to inhabit. Thus the tranſportation of the ten tribes out of *Judea*, happened nine hundred and forty ſeven years from the time their fathers departed out of *Ægypt*, to take poſſeſſion of it. Eight hundred years from the goverment of *Jeſus*; and two hundred and forty years, ſeven months, and ſeven days, after the revolt from *Roboamus* the grandſon of *David*, to *Hieroboamus*; of whom I have ſpoke already. This calamity fell upon the *Iſraelites*, for their acting in oppoſition to the laws, and diſobeying the prophets, who had from time to time foretold them of their deſtruction, if they ceaſed not from committing their iniquities. Now the original of this their tranſportation into *Media*, was their revolt from *Roboamus David*'s grandſon, and conſtituting *Hieroboamus* his ſervant their king; who by his numberleſs crimes made God his enemy; but in return for them, and the iniquity into which he plunged his ſubjects by his wicked example, he received a puniſhment, which he very well deſerved by his vicious life and apoſtacy.

The *Aſſyrian* king carried his arms over all *Syria* and *Phænica*; whoſe name may be found in the *Tyrian* records: For he made an expedition againſt that nation when *Elulæus* was king. Mention is alſo made of this prince by *Menander*, who digeſted the *Tyrian* affairs into a chronicle, and tranſlated their records into the *Greek* language: The account he gives is as follows: “*Elulæus* was king of the *Tyrians*, and reigned ſix and thirty years; he ſailed with a fleet againſt the *Kittæi*, who had revolted from him, and reduced them to his obedience: At the ſame time the *Aſſyrian* king waged war againſt him, and carried his arms over all *Phænicia*; but, after having made peace throughout all the country, marched home again. *Sidon Ake*, old *Tyre*, and many more cities, revolted from the *Tyrian*, and went over to the *Aſſyrian* goverment. The *Tyrians* not following their example, the king renewed the war againſt them, having been furniſhed by the *Phænicians* with ſixty ſail of ſhips, and eight hundred rowers. The *Tyrians* engaged this numerous fleet, and with only twelve veſſels, diſperſed the enemies ſhips, and took five hundred of their rowers captive. This procured the *Tyrians* a great deal of fame; The *Aſſyrian* king, enraged at this loſs, returned, and ſet guards at their river, and aqueducts, to hinder them from drawing water. The *Tyrians* endured this hardſhip five years, and procured themſelves water out of the wells they were obliged to dig.” This is the account the *Tyrian* records give of *Salmanaſar* king of the *Aſſyrians*.

When the *Chuthæans* (who were compoſed of five nations, and called by this name from a country of *Perſia* named *Chuthus*, which is alſo the name of a river there, from whence they were tranſplanted) went to *Samaria*, they carried thither with them their own gods, and worſhipped them after the cuſtom of their country. The Almighty beholding this, was exceedingly wroth, and ſent a ſudden (1) peſtilence amongſt them, which ſweeping them away in heaps, without any remedies being able to avert the calamity, they were adviſed by the oracle to pay their adoration to the moſt High God, as the only way to ſave themſelves from deſtruction. To this end they ſent ambaſſadors to the *Aſſyrian* king, deſiring him to ſend them ſome of the prieſts, taken priſoners in the war with the *Iſraelites*: Their requeſt was granted, and accordingly prieſts came, who having initiated them in the ceremonies and religion of the moſt High God, and ſhewn them how to ſerve him, the peſtilence ſoon abated; and even to this time they have continued to perform the rites of the true God: The *Hebrews* calling them in their language *Chuthæans*, and the *Grecians* in theirs *Samaritans*. Theſe people are very inconſtant, and given to change; for whenever the *Jewiſh* affairs ſucceed proſperouſly, they ſtile themſelves their kinſmen, and pretend their original is the ſame from *Joſeph*. But when the tide of fortune turns againſt the *Jews*, then they ſay they in no reſpect belong to them, nor will have any commerce with them either as friends or relations, but declare themſelves foreigners, and of a quite different nation. But I ſhall refer any farther account of theſe people to a more convenient opportunity.

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(1) What induced *Joſephus* (ſays *Bochart* in *Hieroz.* l. 3. chap. iii. p. 745.) to write *Peſtilence* inſtead of *Lions*, I cannot conceive, unleſs he borrowed it from ſome *Jewiſh* Hiſtorian, who metaphorically called the ſending *Lions* into *Samaria* a Peſtilence: For the Scripture, 2 *Kings*, chap, xvi. ver. 25. ſays, *Lions* were ſent among the Nation of the *Chuthæans* or *Samaritans*.

The *END* of the NINTH BOOK.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

ANTIQUITIES of the *JEWS.*

BOOK THE TENTH.

Containing the Space of One Hundred Eighty Two Years, Six Months, and Ten Days.

CHAP. I.

Of Senacherib*'s Expedition againſt* Ezekias, *and the threatning Meſſage* Rapſakes *ſent him while* Senacherib *was marched againſt the* Ægyptians. *How* Eſaiah *comforted him. Of* Senacherib*'s Return to* Hieroſolyma, *after his ill Succeſs in* Ægypt; *his marching Home with the Remainder of his Forces that ſurvived, and the Accidents that befel him ſoon after.*

EZEKIAS having now reigned fourteen years over the two tribes, *Senacherib*, king of the *Aſſyrians* raiſed a vaſt army, marched with it againſt him, and took by ſtorm all the cities in the tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*. He was upon his way to *Hieroſolyma*, when an embaſſy ſent by *Ezekias*, met him on the road, with terms of ſubmiſſion, and an offer of paying what tribute he ſhould be pleaſed to lay upon him. *Senacherib* gave audience to the ambaſſadors, and ſaid he would draw off his forces, and grant the king's petition, on condition he would give him three hundred talents of ſilver, and thirty of gold; and then ſwore not to uſe any manner of hoſtility, but to depart peaceably out of the kingdom, provided he kept up to the terms. *Ezekias* putting faith in his aſſurance, drained his treaſures, and ſent him the money he demanded: After which, he imagined himſelf freed from all manner of danger, and ſecure from any farther attempt upon his kingdom. But the *Aſſyrian*, having received the money, broke through his oath: He went indeed himſelf againſt the *Ægyptians* and *Æthiopians*, but left behind him *Rapſakes* his general, and two others with a numerous army, to ravage the city of *Hieroſolyma*: The names of the two other generals were *Tharata* and *Anacharis*.

Marching up to *Hieroſolyma*, and incamping under the very walls, they ſent a meſſenger to *Ezekias* to demand a conference with him. The king was afraid to truſt himſelf in the affair, but ſent three of his particular friends in his room, namely, *Eliakim* his prime miniſter, *Sobnæas*, and *Jochaus*, keepers of the records. Upon their coming out of the city, they poſted themſelves before the captains of the *Aſſyrian* army: *Rapſakes* the general ſeeing them, bid them go back and tell their king, *That the great king* Senacherib *was deſirous of knowing, what was the confidence or hope he depended upon, to ſcreen himſelf from his maſter, diſobey his command, and refuſe to admit his army within the city? Are his hopes founded upon his army's being ſubdued by the* Ægyptians? *If that is his expectation, acquaint him, he deceives himſelf, and is like a man who leans upon a broken reed, which, if he lays too heavy a ſtreſs upon it, will be not only incapable of ſupporting him, but alſo run into his hand and wound him. You ought to tell* Ezekias, *that this expedition is undertaken by the expreſs will and pleaſure of the Almighty, who, as he has given him the victory over the* Iſraelites, *will in the ſame manner reduce his ſubjects to his obedience.*

Rapſakes delivered himſelf in *Hebrew*, being well verſed in that language; but *Eliakim* apprehending that, if the multitude ſhould hea his words, they might be ſtruck with fea deſired him to ſpeak in *Syriac*: The general obſerving what he ſuſpected, and how he ſeeme to be afraid, lifted up his voice in a loude ſtrain, and anſwer'd *Eliakim* in *Hebrew*, ſaying

ing, *Let all hear the commands of my king, that, by knowing his will, and conſulting their own advantage, they may ſurrender themſelves to us. For it is manifeſt you and your king have often deceived the people with vain hopes, and induced them to reſiſt our arms: Now if you have any courage or boldneſs to encounter or endeavour to drive away this army of ours, I will give you two thouſand horſes, out of the number I have with me, if you will find riders to them, and exert your power. But it is impoſſible for you to produce what you have not. If it is in your power, why do you delay thus long, deliberating upon an affair, which you will be compelled to perform in the end? If you voluntarily ſurrender yourſelves, you may expect mercy: But if you are compelled to it, you may certainly conclude all the calamities and misfortunes you ſhall ſuffer were the fruits of your contumacy and diſobedience.*

The ambaſſadors and all the people heard *Rapſakes*, and as he ſpoke in this manner, and carried the tidings of it to *Ezekias*, who immediately putting off his royal robes, dreſſed himſelf in ſackcloth, and with all the tender marks of humiliation, after the cuſtom of his country, fell proſtrate upon his face, and beſought God, as he placed his whole truſt and confidence in him, that he would be pleaſed to give him his help and aſſiſtance. He then ſent ſome friends and prieſts to the prophet *Eſaiah*, to deſire him to intercede with the Lord by prayers and ſacrifices for the common benefit of all, and for the humbling the arrogant pride, and preventing the cruel deſigns of the enemy, in compaſſion to his people. The prophet punctually obeyed the king's requeſt, and received a commiſſion from the oracle of God to cheer the deſponding hearts of the king and his friends, and foretold them, the enemy ſhould be overthrown without a battle, be humbled and depart with ignominy; for God would effectually ruin them. He likewiſe propheſied, that *Senacherib*, the *Aſſyrian* king, after his ill ſucceſs in *Ægypt*, ſhould return home, and there be ſlain by the ſword.

It happen'd at this very time, that the *Aſſyrian* king ſent a letter to *Ezekias*, in which he ſaid he was infatuated, in imagining himſelf able to eſcape the bondage of him, who had ſubdued ſo many great and warlike nations: In the cloſe, he threatned utter deſtruction to him and his, if he opened not his gates and voluntarily received his army into the city. Notwithſtanding theſe menaces, *Ezekias* preſerved his courage, putting his entire confidence in what the prophet had foretold him, and little regarding the boaſting letter, he folded it again, and laid it up in the temple. Again the king implored the Almighty's protection of the city, and the lives of its inhabitants: *Eſaiah* then told him his prayers were heard, and that the *Aſſyrian* ſhould not beſiege him at that time; but his ſubjects ſhould hereafter live ſecure and free from any danger he could threaten them with, till their lands in peace, and enjoy their eſtates in the utmoſt tranquility. A little while after this, the *Aſſyrian* king's ſchemes upon *Ægypt* proving unſucceſsful, he return'd home: And for this reaſon. He had ſpent a long time in beſieging *Peluſium*, and when he had raiſed his rampart almoſt equal with the walls, to give the aſſault, news was brought him that *Tharſikes*, the *Æthiopian* king, marching at the head of a numerous army, was coming to the aſſiſtance of the *Ægyptians*, but had taken his march through the deſart, with deſign to ſurprize the *Aſſyrians*. This report confounded *Senacherib*, who raiſed immediately the ſiege, and drew off his army. *Herodotus*, in the ſecond book of his hiſtory, makes mention of this *Sanacherib*; who marching againſt the *Ægyptian* king, who was *Vulcan*'s prieſt, laid ſiege to *Peluſium*, but was obliged to raiſe it, on the following account: *The prieſt of the* Ægyptians (ſays he) *imploring the aſſiſtance of his God, had his ſupplications granted, and immediately the* Arabian *was inflicted with a plague.* Herodotus *in this aſſertion is miſtaken, for he calls him the king of the* Arabians, *not* Aſſyrians. *There came*, adds he, *ſo great a number of rats one night into the* Aſſyrian *camp, that they entirely deſtroyed their bows and their other arms: Whence it followed, as the king had no more arms, that he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege of* Peluſium. In this manner does *Herodotus* relate this ſtory. Beſides, (*a*) *Beroſus* the *Chaldean* hiſtorian, takes notice of this *Senacherib*, how he reign'd over the *Aſſyrians*, and waged war againſt all *Ægypt* and *Aſia*. His words are theſe:

Senacherib returning from his *Ægyptian* expedition to *Hieroſolyma*, found the forces he had left there under *Rapſakes* in a great danger, from a peſtilential diſeaſe God had ſent amongſt his army: Which, the firſt night they attempted to beſiege the city, ſwept away one hundred and fifty thouſand men, with their officers and centurions. This calamity ſtruck him full of fear and aſtoniſhment, and apprehending the total loſs of his army, with the remaining part of his forces, he withdrew into *Niniveh* the capital city of his kingdom; where he had not been long, before he was treacherouſly murthered by his two eldeſt ſons, *Adramelech* and *Saraſar*, in the temple of his favourite idol *Araſcus*. The parricides were baniſhed by the citizens for this inhuman and unnatural murther of their father, and obliged to return into *Armenia*: While *Aſarachod* ſucceeded *Senacherib* in the kingdom. And this is the period of the *Aſſyrian* expedition againſt the *Iſraelites*.

(*a*) *Beroſus*'s Account of this Fact is wanting in this Paſſage. See *Scaliger* upon the Fragments of *Beroſus*, where he in a very ingenious Manner fills up this Vacancy.

CHAP. II.

Of Ezekias's *falling ſick: And how, being at the Point of Death, God added fifteen Years to his Life. Of the Shadow of the Sun going backwards ten Degrees.*

KING *Ezekias* being unexpectedly freed from his fearful apprehenſions, ſacrificed to God with all the people, and returned thanks to his Almighty power, who had been the only cauſe of deſtroying one part of the enemy with the peſtilence, and making the other part retreat in haſte from *Hieroſolyma*, through fear of being killed in the ſame manner. While he was thus employing himſelf in the ſacred worſhip of God, he was ſeized with ſo violent an illneſs, that his phyſicians and friends gave him over, and he himſelf deſpair'd of a recovery. His ſickneſs was very much increaſed by the trouble he conceived in his mind, at dying without leaving a lawful heir in his family, or a ſucceſſor to his kingdom. This reflection was a ſad mortification to him, and being very much afflicted at this unhappineſs, he beſought God to prolong his life ſome little time longer, until he had got iſſue, and became a father; for then he ſhould be very willing to end his life. God compaſſionating his caſe, granted his requeſt, becauſe he had not mourned at the thought of dying, as going to be deprived of the ſplendor of a kingdom, but had lamented his want of children, and implored the gift of one to ſucceed him in the government. Upon this, God ſent the prophet *Eſaiah* to him, with a command to acquaint him, that within three days he ſhould recover from his illneſs, and from that time ſhould live fifteen years longer, wherein he ſhould beget children. The prophet in obedience to the word of God, told *Ezekias* this news, but his diſeaſe being ſo violent, and the time of recovery ſo ſudden and ſurprizing, that he could not be induced to believe it, without ſome miraculous ſign from *Eſaiah*, to confirm his commiſſion, and prove that God had ſent him. For thoſe things which are above our expectation, and greater than we can poſſibly hope for, are apt to draw us into this folly, namely, of deſiring to have the truth confirmed by ſome extraordinary means. The prophet asked him what ſign would ſatisfy him. *Ezekias* deſired him to cauſe the ſun which ſhine upon the ſtairs in his houſe to go ten (*a*) degrees backwards, and then return to the place it was at before; which he ſaid, would ſufficiently convince him, and give him ſatisfaction. The prophet beſought God to beſtow this ſign; which being granted, the king immediately recovered from his indiſpoſition, and went up to the temple, where he worſhipped and gave God thanks.

It happen'd about this time, the *Aſſyrian* empire was diſſolv'd by the *Medes*. But of this in another place. Now *Balad*, king of *Babylon*, ſent ambaſſadors with coſtly preſents to *Ezekias*, to deſire him to enter into a league of friendſhip with him. *Ezekias* received the ambaſſadors with great civility, magnificently entertain'd them, ſhew'd them his treaſury, his ſtore of arms, all his other riches in gold, jewels, and precious ſtones, loaded with preſents to carry to *Balad* their king, and then diſmiſſed them. Upon this, the prophet *Eſaiah* went and asked him, who thoſe men were, and whence they came; he anſwer'd, they were ſent by the king of *Babylon*, and he had ſhewn them all the riches and magnificence of his palace, that they might gather from thence, what to report of him to their king. The prophet hereupon replied, *Know then, the time will ſoon be at hand, when thoſe very riches of yours ſhall be carried away to* Babylon; *your ſons ſhall be made* Eunuchs, *and having loſt their manhood, ſhall in that condition ſerve the king of* Babylon. *For God hath foretold theſe things.* *Ezekias* was extremely dejected upon hearing theſe words, and ſaid, it was a great trouble to him that his nation ſhould meet with ſuch calamities, which for his part he was ſo very unwilling they ſhould ſuffer; but ſince it is impoſſible to alter what God had once decreed, he begg'd his kingdom might, for the ſhort time he was to live, remain in peace. *Beroſus* makes mention of this *Balad* king of *Babylon*. But the prophet *Eſaiah*, who was undoubtedly full of a divine inſpiration, and ſo certain in all the predictions he made, as never to err, committed his prophecies to writing, and left poſterity to be judges of them by their events. Neither was he the only prophet, but twelve others performed the ſame thing: And whatſoever good or bad chance ſucceeded, the ſame exactly correſponded with their prophecies. But we ſhall ſpeak more particularly of theſe things hereafter.

(*a*) This Paſſage hath no Reference to the Degrees upon a Superficies, as a Dial or Clock: But the Degrees or Stairs of a Houſe are here implied. *Reland.*

CHAP. III.

Of Manaſſes's *Reign after* Ezekias. *Of his Converſion to God, when he was in Captivity. How God reſtored him to his Kingdom, which deſcended to his Son* Amos *after his Death.*

KING *Ezekias* having ſurvived the time we mentioned above, and lived in peace, died in the fifty fourth year of his life, and the twenty ninth of his reign. His ſon *Manaſſes*, by *Achiba*, a native of *Hieroſolyma*, ſucceeded him in the kingdom; but inſtead of following his father's good example, he committed every impiety, and was even bold enough to be guilty of thoſe very crimes which had cauſed the deſtruction of the *Iſraelites*, by polluting with his abominations the temple, city, and every place of his kingdom. His reign was begun with an utter contempt of God, and a cruel perſecution of all the juſt and good men among the *Hebrews*; his barbarity put the very prophets to death, and not a day paſſed, in which he did not kill one or other of them, ſo that the ſtreets of *Hieroſolyma* reeked with blood. God, beholding this daring and wicked behaviour of his, was exceedingly wroth, and ſent prophets to the king and people, threatening to bring the very ſame calamities upon them, as their brethren the *Iſraelites* then ſuffered for their diſobedience. But they, inſtead of making a proper uſe of this propheſy, which, if timely credited, would have averted all their misfortunes, diſregarded it ſo long, until, to their coſt, they found the truth of it, when it was too late to avoid the fatal conſequence. As they ſtill perſiſted in their wicked courſe of life, God ſtirred up the heart of the king of *Babylon* and *Chaldea*, to make war upon them, who ſent an army into *Judea*, which entirely laid it waſte, took king *Manaſſes* priſoner by ſtratagem, and carried him to king *Balad*, who then had him at his mercy. *Manaſſes* under this diſaſter at laſt meditating on the many misfortunes he had brought upon his own head, by his apoſtacy and wicked life, beſought God to turn the hearts of his enemies to pity and compaſſion towards him. God mercifully heard his prayer, and granted it; ſo that the king of *Babylon* diſmiſſed him, and reſtored him to his own kingdom. When he came to *Hieroſolyma*, he endeavoured to do all the good he was able, to bury in oblivion his tranſgreſſions of God's laws, of which he heartily repented, modelling his mind after another manner, and wholly applying himſelf to religion and the advancement of God's worſhip. He conſecrated the temple again, cleanſed the city from all impurities, and made it his entire employment to expreſs his gratitude to God for his ſafety, and to beg a continuation of his favour and protection as long as he lived. He cauſed the people to perform the like, being conſcious to himſelf, that his former miſcarriages had very nearly involved them in a diſmal calamity. He raiſed an altar, and ſacrificed upon it, according to the inſtitution of *Moyſes*; and after he had thus taken due care of God's religion, he made it his buſineſs ro fortify *Hieroſolyma*, repairing the old, and erecting a new wall. He alſo raiſed ſeveral very high towers, and furniſhed thoſe erected in the ſuburbs, for the better defence of the city, with all manner of ſtores and proviſions. In ſhort, he was ſo changed for the better, that from the time of his converſion to God, he lived in peace; and his juſt and religious behaviour procured him the name of being a moſt happy prince, and good example. He died in the ſixty ſeventh year of his age, and in the fifty fith of his reign, and was interr'd in his own gardens. *Amos* his ſon, by *Emalſema*, a native of *Jabat*, ſucceeded him in the kingdom.

CHAP. IV.

Of Amos *the Succeſſor of* Manaſſes, *and* Joſias *his obtaining the Government after him; who was a juſt and religious Perſon. Of the Propheteſs* Olda.

AMOS purſuing the wicked example of his father's youth, was treacherouſly murthered in his palace, by ſome of his own familiar acquaintance, when he had lived only four and twenty, and reigned two years. But the people did juſtice upon the murtherers, and interred him with his father, giving the government to *Joſias* his ſon, when he was eight years of age: This prince's mother was named *Jede*, a native of *Bosketh*. *Joſias* was of a promiſing genius, and naturally well inclined to virtuous and good actions, ſetting before him the example of *David's* piety as the ſtandard of the future behaviour of his whole life. When he was but twelve years of age, he gave a remarkable ſpecimen of his piety and juſtice, by reforming in the people their falſe opinions in regard to divine worſhip: And convinced them of their error in paying adorations to idols, and brought them over to the worſhip of the true God. He obſerving the actions of preceding kings, he wiſely rectified every thing he found amiſs, with a diſcretion and prudence far ſurpaſſing his tender age: But what he found juſt and well ordered, he ſtill retained and followed. All theſe things were owing to his own natural underſtanding and judgment, aſſiſted by the experienced advice of his old counſellors. For as long as he purſued the right intention of the

the laws, every thing he performed in regulating the ſtate, and reſtoring the ancient worſhip of the true God, ſucceeded proſperouſly; and in a more particular manner, as the people were now no longer under the powerful influence of an ill example. He made a ſtrict ſearch throughout the city, and over all his kingdom, cutting down all the groves dedicated to falſe gods, demoliſhing their altars, taking away all the donations his anceſtors had beſtowed upon them, and treating them with ſcorn and deriſion. Thus he brought the people from a moſt groſs idolatry, to put their truſt in the Almighty; and then ordered the ſacrifices and burnt offering to be laid on the altar as uſual. He conſtituted a certain number of judges and rulers, for the adminiſtration of affairs, and the diſtribution of juſtice, in as ſtrict a manner as if it had been for the preſervation of life itſelf. He likewiſe ſent meſſengers over all his dominions, to raiſe contributions of gold and ſilver towards repairing the temple, but left it entirely to every perſon's pleaſure to give as his circumſtances could permit. The money being collected and brought in, he committed the management of repairing the temple, and laying out the money, to *Amaſias* the governor of the city, *Saphan* the ſcribe, *Joat* the recorder, and *Eliakias* the high-prieſt, who immediately hiring architects, and purchaſing all other neceſſaries for carrying on the work, begun the reparations. The repairing of the temple gave all people a clear demonſtration of the king's piety.

In the eighteenth year of his reign, he ſent to *Eliakias*, the high-prieſt, ordering him to caſt the overplus of the money into cups, chalices, and goblets, for the ſervice of the ſacrifices; and alſo to make the ſame uſe of the gold and ſilver that remained in the treaſury. *Eliakias* the high-prieſt taking out the gold, accidentally found the ſacred books of *Moyſes* as they were laid up in the temple, which he took away, and gave to *Saphan* to peruſe; who having read them over, went to the king, and acquainted him, that they had fully executed his order: After which he produced the books of *Moyſes*, and read them over to *Joſias*. Upon hearing theſe books, he rent his robe, and called to him *Eliakias*, the high-prieſt, *Saphan* the ſcribe, and ſome other particular friends, whom he ſent to the propheteſs *Olda*, the wife of *Sallum*, a perſon of great fame and character, and ordered them to deſire her to offer up her prayers to God for them, and endeavour not only to appeaſe his wrath, but alſo to gain his favour. For it was to be feared, he ſaid, that God would, for their father's neglecting the commandments of *Moyſes*, baniſh them from their native country, and make them like vagabonds, to wander over the world, deſtitute of aſſiſtance, and doom'd to a poor and miſerable life. The propheteſs having received the king's inſtructions, bid them return, and acquaint the king; *That God had paſſed a ſentence againſt them, never to be repealed by any prayers or interceſſion, that the people were to be deſtroyed, baniſhed their native country, and puniſh'd, with the loſs of all the comforts they then enjoyed, for their violation of his laws, and not repenting when ſo much time had been allow'd them, and the prophets had ſo often admoniſh'd them to return to their duties, the infringement of which, they had foretold them, would be attended with fatal conſequences: Which, that they might believe there was a God, and that no falſhood had been foretold by his prophets, they were unavoidably to feel. But becauſe the king had preſerv'd himſelf righteous and juſt, God would ſtop his hand from bringing as yet upon them theſe calamities; but immediately upon his death his decree ſhould be executed upon them.*

The propheteſs having given them this fatal prediction, they returned, and acquainted *Joſias* with it, who, ſending meſſengers throughout the country, commanded all the prieſts *Levites*, and all perſons of what age ſoever to come to *Hieroſolyma*. Upon their meeting together there, the firſt thing he did, was to read the books of *Moyſes* over to them, and afterwards ſtanding upon an eminence in the middle of the multitude, he exacted from them an oath of obedience to the laws and precepts of *Moyſes*, and a faithful obſervance and celebration of God's wholly worſhip. The people willingly received it, and immediately obeyed the king's commands: And then ſacrificed, and offered up their ſupplications to God, for a continuance of his favour and mercy. *Joſias* then commanded the high-prieſt, to throw out of the temple all the veſſels he could find there, which had been dedicated to idols. There were many of theſe heaped together, which were burned, and the aſhes thrown into the (*a*) air. Beſides, he put to death all the prieſts of the idols, who were not of the line of *Aaron*. After he had done thus in *Hieroſolyma*, he took a progreſs throughout his dominions, utterly deſtroying all the places of worſhip which *Hieroboamus* had erected to the honour of falſe gods. He burnt the bones of the falſe prophets upon the altar, which *Hieroboamus* firſt ſet up. And thus was the prediction of *Achias* the prophet fulfilled; who, during *Hieroboamus* his ſacrificing, and in the full hearing of all the people, foretold what would happen; namely, that a perſon of the line of *David*, named *Joſias*, ſhould perform the actions we have juſt now mention'd. This propheſy was verified three hundred ſixty and one years after its firſt being declar'd.

This done, *Joſias* viſited others of the *Iſraelites*, whom the *Aſſyrians* had not led into captivity; and exhorted them to leave their evil courſe of life, to forſake the worſhip of ſtrange gods, and reverently obey him who alone was Almighty, and the God of their fathers. He then made a ſtrict ſearch into their houſes, villages and cities, apprehending there might be idols concealed in them. He afterwards took down the (*b*) chariot of the ſun, which his predeceſſors had erected upon an eminence

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(*a*) Thrown into the River. *Epiphanius.*

(*b*) *Galenius* interprets, Horſes of the Sun.

of the temple, and every thing elſe they had ſet up to be adored as a God. Thus having purged the whole country, he aſſembled the people at *Hieroſolyma*, where he celebrated the feaſt of *unleavened bread*, otherwiſe called the *paſſover*: And beſtowed upon the people for *Paſchal* victims, three thouſand kids and lambs, and three thouſand oxen for a burnt-ſacrifice. The chief prieſts alſo gave the other prieſts two thouſand and ſix hundred lambs: And the heads of the *Levites* in like manner gave five thouſand lambs, and five hundred bullocks to the reſt of the tribe. Being furniſhed with this prodigious number of victims, they ſacrificed according to the laws of *Moyſes*, the prieſts having the precedency, and the people aſſiſting. The *Hebrews* had not celebrated ſuch a *paſſover* ſince the days of the prophet *Samuel*. The reaſon was, becauſe every thing was done in exact obedience to the preſcription of the laws, and the antient rites of their country. After this, *Joſias* lived in great tranquility, abounded in glory, plenty and riches, and died in the following manner.

CHAP. V.

Joſias *engages* Nechao, *is wounded, and ſhortly after dies.* Nechao *carries away* Joachaz *the King his Succeſſor into* Ægypt, *and gives the Kingdom to* Joakim. *Of* Jeremias *and* Jezekiel.

NECHAO, king of the *Ægyptians*, raiſed an army, and marched to the river *Euphrates*, to give battle to the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, who had deſtroyed the *Aſſyrian* empire, with deſign to make himſelf maſter of *Aſia*. When he was arrived at the city *Mende*, (a place under the juriſdiction of *Joſias*) he was prohibited from leading his army againſt the *Medes* through his dominions. *Nechao* ſent an herald to tell him his march was not deſigned againſt him, but directed to *Euphrates*, and adviſed him not to give him occaſion of breaking his reſolution, and turning his arms againſt him. *Joſias* would not hearken to *Nechao*'s remonſtrance, but abſolutely refuſed him a paſſage through his kingdom: Being moved to this denial, as I ſuppoſe by an impulſe of fate, that being the time deſigned for his death. For as he was riding in his chariot from one wing of his army to the other, giving orders and marſhalling his men, an *Ægyptian* ſhot him with an arrow, which preſently took away his eager deſire for fighting. For, finding the wound very painful, he commanded a retreat to be ſounded, and then returned to *Hieroſolyma*, where he died of the wound he had received. He was interr'd with great funeral pomp in the ſepulchre of his anceſtors, in the thirty ninth year of his age, and thirty firſt of his reign. His death was attended with great lamentations from the people, who for ſeveral days ſucceſſively gave themſelves up to ſorrow and mourning. The prophet *Jeremias* compoſed a very mournful elegy upon his death, which is yet extant. This prophet had before foretold the calamities that were to befal *Hieroſolyma*, and committed to writing the evils that happen'd at this time, as well as the near approach of the *Babyloniſh* captivity. But *Jeremiah* was not the only perſon who foretold theſe things to the people, for *Jezekiel* the prophet, left two books behind him, which he wrote upon this melancholy ſubject. Theſe two prophets were both of the ſacerdotal race. *Jeremias* lived in *Hieroſolyma* from the thirteenth year of the reign of *Joſias*, until the deſtruction of the temple with the city. But we ſhall ſpeak farther of this prophet in its proper place.

After the death of *Joſias*, as we have ſaid above, *Joachaz* his ſon ſucceeded him in the kingdom, being then about three and twenty years of age, and reign'd in *Hieroſolyma*. His mother's name was *Amital*, a native of the city *Loban*. Now *Joachaz* was a wicked prince, and of bad morals, neither merciful towards his ſubjects, nor religious towards God. The *Ægyptian* king, as he returned from the war, ſent for him to come to him at *Amath*, a city in *Syria*. Upon his coming thither, he put him in chains, and gave the government to his elder brother *Eliakim*, (whoſe name he changed into *Joakim*) by the ſame father. He then impoſed a tribute upon his kingdom of an hundred talents of ſilver, and one of gold, which *Joakim* readily paid: But as for *Joachaz*, the *Ægyptian* king carried him with him into his country, where he died, having reigned only three months and ten days. *Joakim*'s mother's name was *Zabuda*, a native of the city *Abuma*.

CHAP. VI.

Nabuchodonoſor, *overcoming the* Ægyptian *King, carries the War amongſt the* Jews; *kills* Joakim, *and conſtitutes* Joakim *his Son, King.*

IN the fourth year of the reign of king *Joakim*, a prince called *Nabuchodonoſor* aſcended the throne of *Babylon*, who at this time advanced with a great army as far as *Karchameſa*, a city bordering near *Euphrates*, with a reſolution to make war upon *Nechao*, king of *Ægypt*, under whoſe juriſdiction all *Syria* was at that time. *Nechao* coming to hear of the *Babylonian* king's expedition, made all imaginable haſte to withſtand him. For which purpoſe he raiſed a conſiderable army, and marched it directly to the river *Euphrates*, with a deſign of hindring *Nabuchodonoſor* from proceeding any further: But in an engagement was defeated with the loſs of ſeveral thouſands of his men. The *Babylonian*, paſſing over the *Euphrates*, reduced all *Syria* as far as *Peluſium*, except *Judea*, to his obedience. In the fourth year of *Nabuchodonoſor*'s reign, which was the eighth of *Joakim* over the *Hebrews*, the *Babylonians* led a vaſt army againſt the *Jews*, demanding tribute of *Joakim*, and on his refuſal of payment, threatened a war againſt him. *Joakim* was terrified at this menace, and ſubmitted to buy his peace with a ſum of money, paying the tribute, that was impoſed upon him, for three years.

The following year, *Joakim* receiving intelligence, that the *Ægyptians* were marching to engage the *Babylonians*, refuſed to pay the tribute any longer. But his hopes were ſoon over, for the *Ægyptians* durſt not undertake an expedition againſt them. *Jeremias* the prophet from day to day told him, that fruitleſs were the hopes he put in the *Ægyptians*; for *Hieroſolyma* ſhould not only be deſtroyed by the *Babylonians*, but himſelf alſo taken priſoner. Notwithſtanding theſe forewarnings, no body became the better for them, as foreſeeing no manner of ſafety in them. The nobility as well as the lower kind of people diſregarded them, and laid that conſtruction upon them, as if they had contained a diſaffection to the king: Nay, they proceeded ſo far as to accuſe *Jeremias*, and brought him before the judgment ſeat, demanding puniſhment to be inflicted upon him. A vaſt majority was againſt him, but the more conſiderate and graver ſort acquitted him; who remonſtrated, that he was not the only perſon who had propheſied ſuch things againſt the temple; for the prophet *Michæus* before him had propheſied as much, and many others, who never were ill treated by the princes of their times, but had in great honour, and eſteemed true prophets of God. This remonſtrance pacified the rage of the people, who preſently acquitted *Jeremias* from the puniſhment they had decreed againſt him: Who, having committed all his prophecies to writing, on a day of faſting, when all the people were gather'd together in the temple, in the ninth month of the fifth year of king *Joakim*, read the book, wherein he had wrote all his prophecies about the city, temple and people. Upon hearing them read, the princes took the book from him, and order'd him and *Baruch* his ſcribe to depart immediately, without letting any body know where to find them. Afterwards they carried the book to the king, who order'd his Scribe to take and read it with his friends about him. The king, upon hearing the contents, ſeemed angry, ſnatched it out of the ſcribe's hands, and threw it into the fire, giving a command for *Jeremias*, and *Baruch*'s being found and puniſhed; but they were got out of the reach of his anger.

A little while after this, *Joakim* received the *Babylonian* king at the head of a numerous army in the city: For the many terrible predictions of the prophet had frighted him. He imagined, as he had neither ſhut the gates of the city againſt him, nor made any preparations to reſt his march, he ſhould ſuffer no damage from him: But upon his entering the city, far from preſerving his word, he ſlew *Joakim* with ſeveral of the ſtouteſt and fineſt men in *Hieroſolyma*, ordering their bodies to be thrown without the walls without the rites of interment: After which, he conſtituted *Joakim* his ſon, king of the city and the country in his room. He carried into captivity into *Babylon*, three thouſand perſons of figure and quality, among whom was the prophet *Hezekiel*, then a boy. Now this was the end of *Joakim*, after he had lived ſix and thirty, and reigned eleven years. *Joakim* his ſon ſucceeded him in the government, and reigned three months and ten days. His mother's name was *Noſta*, a native of *Hieroſolyma*.

CHAP. VII.

The Babylonian *King, repenting he had made* Joakim *King, carries him to* Babylon, *and gives the Kingdom to* Sedekias; *who, diſtruſting the prophecies of* Jeremias *and* Jezekiel, *goes over to the* Ægyptians. *The* Babylonian *overcomes them in their March to* Judea. *Of the Things which befel* Jeremias.

THE king of the *Babylonians* preſently began to dread the conſequence of his ſetting *Joakim* upon the throne. The reflection of his revenging the death of his father, and drawing the kingdom from his allegiance, caſt great diſtruſts in his mind: Therefore, to remove theſe doubts, he diſpatched a numerous army to go and beſiege him in *Hieroſolyma. Joakim*, as he was a good and virtuous prince, was unwilling the city ſhould be brought to any imminent danger upon his account: Wherefore he took his mother and kindred, and gave them as hoſtages to the *Babylonian* captains, who were ſent for this end, upon the aſſurance of an oath, that neither they, nor the city, ſhould receive any prejudice by their means, but this proteſtation was broken in a year's time afterwards. For the *Babylonian*, regardleſs of his promiſe, ſent letters to his captains, to make all the youth and artificers in the city captives, and bring them bound to him. This they did, and the number amounted to ten thouſand eight hundred thirty and two perſons, among whom were *Joakim*, his mother, and friends: This great number was conveyed in ſafe cuſtody to him: After which he conſtituted *Sedekias*, *Joakim*'s uncle, king, and bound him by an oath, not to make any innovations in his kingdom, or in any ſort aſſiſt the *Ægyptians*.

Sedekias was one and twenty years of age when he entered upon the government, born of the ſame mother with *Joakim*, and a contemner of every thing juſt and ſacred; his companions were of the ſame ſtamp; and the people lived in a licentious and arbitrary manner, every one purſuing the dictates of his own inclinations and paſſions. This made *Jeremias* the prophet often go to the king, and exhort him to leave his wicked courſe of life, which was wholly oppoſite to the inſtitutions of the laws, to obey the precepts of virtue, and give no credit to his officers, who were dangerous men, nor to the falſe prophets, who deluded him with an imaginary perſuaſion, that the *Babylcnians* would never beſiege the city again; but that the *Ægyptians* would make war upon them, and overcome them. This he ſaid was entirely falſe, and never would happen. *Sedekias*, while the prophet was ſpeaking, indeed ſeemed to credit him, and believe what he delivered to be true: Nay, that it was for his own intereſt to follow his advice. But his mind ſuddenly wavered, and his creatures about him turned the good opinion he had formed of the prophet's words, to an implicit belief of their deceits. *Jezekiel*, who was now at *Babylon*, foretold the deſtruction that was ready to fall upon the people, and ſent an account of it to *Hieroſolyma*: But *Sedekias* could not be induced to believe the prophecies of theſe two holy men, for the following reaſon. Both prophets agreed in their predictions, namely, that the city was to be beſieged, and *Sedekias* taken captive. But *Jezekiel* in one particular circumſtance differed from *Jeremias*, for he foretold that *Sedekias* ſhould not ſee *Babylon*; whereas *Jeremias* on the other hand propheſied, that the king of *Babylon* ſhould carry him away priſoner with him. This diſagreement, or rather difference of expreſſion, made the king entirely reject all the other circumſtances of their prophecies which did agree, as ſo many impoſitions and falſities. Notwithſtanding this, what each had foretold proved true in every particular: But of that we will ſpeak in its proper place.

Sedekias, having preſerved an alliance for eight years with the *Babylonians*, at length broke the league, and joined with the *Ægyptians*. By this conjunction he hoped to give the *Babylonians* an entire overthrow: But the *Babylonian* king, coming to underſtand this, made an inroad into his dominions, ravaging all the country, and making himſelf maſter of the fortified places: After which he marched to *Hieroſolyma* with an intent of taking it by ſtorm. The *Ægyptian* hearing of the extremities, to which his ally *Sedekias* was reduced, marched a numerous army into *Judea*, with a reſolution of forcing *Nebuchodonoſor* to raiſe the ſiege. This made the *Babylonian* break up from before *Hieroſolyma*, and march againſt the *Ægyptian*, whom he engaged, and entirely routed, putting them to flight, and driving them out of all *Syria*. The *Babylonian* king had ſcarce turned his back upon *Hieroſolyma*, but the falſe prophets began their old courſe of deluding *Sedekias*, by repreſenting, that the *Babylonian* would neither make war upon him and his citizens; nor remove them from their habitations, and carry them to *Babylon*: On the contrary, thoſe, who were already captive there, would return with all the veſſels, which the king of the *Babylonians* had taken out of the temple. But *Jeremias* ſtepping into the middle, propheſied quite contrary, and with truth: 'How they acted wickedly in 'deceiving their king, for the *Ægyptians* were 'not to be depended upon; but the *Babylonians*, *ſays he*, will overthrow them, and 'then incamp before *Hieroſolyma*; the inhabitants of which, if he finds able to endure 'a long ſiege, he will through length of time 'ſtarve to death; but as many as ſhall ſurvive, he will carry away captive, and ſtrip 'them of their goods. He will rob the temple of all the valuable things in it, and then 'burn it: He will lay the city level with 'the ground, and we and our poſterity are

‘ to be ſlaves ſeventy years; after which the ‘ *Perſians* and *Medes* will overturn the *Babylonian* empire, and deliver us from our ‘ ſervitude, by whom being diſmiſſed, we ‘ ſhall again inhabit this country, rebuild the ‘ temple, and reſtore *Hieroſolyma*.’ Theſe words of *Jeremias* obtained credit with many, but the leading men, whoſe hearts were hardened, reviled him for his prophecy, as if it was the effect of madneſs, and not of inſpiration. Afterwards, he was going to *Anathoth*, the place of his nativity, about twenty furlongs diſtant from *Hieroſolyma*, a certain magiſtrate, who accidentally met him, ſtopped him, charging him as a deſerter to the *Babylonians*. The prophet told him he was unjuſtly, and falſly accuſed, for, he ſaid, he was only travelling into his native country. This remonſtrance had no weight with the perſon, who took him before the magiſtrates, and there, after the barbarous formality of a rigid examination and cruel torture, was ſentenced to die, and clapt into priſon, till he received his puniſhment accordingly. In this confinement he continued ſome time, unjuſtly ſuffering for the charge of deſertion, as abovementioned.

In the ninth year of the reign of king *Sedekias*, on the tenth day of the tenth month, the *Babylonian* king again inveſted *Hieroſolyma* with a numerous army. He ſat down before the city, and carried on a moſt vigorous ſiege againſt it for eighteen months. At length famine and peſtilence, two of the greateſt evils, raged in a terrible manner within the walls, and dreadfully encreaſed. *Jeremias*, although confined in priſon, cried aloud, and admoniſhed the people to open the gates, and let the *Babylonians* in, which would preſerve all their lives; otherwiſe, their deaths and utter deſtruction were inevitable. He prophecied, if any remained in the city, they would periſh either by famine, or the ſwords of their enemies; but if they fled to the enemy, they would eſcape death. Upon the report of theſe words, the leading men were ſo far from giving the leaſt credit to them, that they utterly rejected them, though themſelves were upon the point of deſtruction, and went in an enraged manner to the king, and acquainted him with all they had heard, complaining of, and accuſing the prophet, as a madman, who, by his denouncing calamities and miſeries, took off the edge of the peoples courage to defend their country; who elſe were vigorous, and reſolved to undergo any danger in withſtanding the enemy, for the protection of their king and city. They repreſented to him likewiſe, that *Jeremias* adviſed them to fly to the enemy for protection, telling them, the city would ſhortly be taken, and entirely demoliſhed.

The king was not prone to anger, but of a mild and peaceable diſpoſition, and entertained no unjuſt thought againſt the prophet. But for fear of procuring the diſpleaſure of ſo many great men about him at ſuch a critical juncture, he ſurrendered him into their hands, to be treated by them as they thought fit. Having obtained their deſire, they hurried away to the priſon, from whence taking him, they let him down by a rope into a deep ditch full of ſoil and naſtineſs, there to be ſmothered to death. He was almoſt covered with the filth, only his eyes and noſtrils appearing above it. One of the king's ſervants, an *Æthiopian* by birth, but in great eſteem, went and told the king of the misfortune the prophet laboured under, and repreſented to him the inhumanity of his friends and princes in letting him down into ſo loathſome a place, which was much worſe than the death he was reaſonably to expect if he fell into the hands of his enemy. Upon hearing this, the king repented he had ſurrender'd him into the hands of his princes, and commanded the *Æthiopian* to take thirty of his ſervants, ropes, and whatſoever elſe was neceſſary to preſerve the prophet, and go quickly to draw him up out of the ditch. The *Æthiopian*, according to his orders, took the men, and other neceſſaries, went and delivered him from his nauſeous confinement.

The king after this ſent privately for him, and asked him, if he could acquaint him with any thing from the oracle of God, that would aſſiſt him in his preſent calamity. He anſwered, he had already, but ſaid, his advice would not be followed, although he himſelf commanded an obedience to it: For your friends, *ſaid he*, have reſolved to put me to death, as though I was ſome notorious offender. Where are thoſe impoſtors now, who ſaid the *Babylonian* war would not be renewed? I am ſtill apprehenſive, if I preſume to declare the truth, you will put me to death for it. The king upon this, promiſed him upon his oath, not to kill, or ſurrender him again into the hands of his princes. *Jeremias* relying upon the king's honour, adviſed him to ſurrender the city to the *Babylonians*, acquainting him, he was commiſſioned by the oracle of God itſelf to tell him ſo, provided he had any thoughts of ſaving himſelf, or averting the danger that threatned him; or any inclination the city ſhould not be levelled with the ground, and the temple burnt. He told him likewiſe, if he refuſed to comply with this advice, and acted contrary to it, all the calamities, his citizens, himſelf, or kindred were to ſuſtain, would be imputed to him as the ſole cauſe. Upon hearing this, *he ſaid*, he was willing to follow his advice, but was apprehenſive leſt ſome of his friends, who had revolted to the *Babylonians*, ſhould calumniate him before the king, and aggravate his puniſhment. But the prophet bid him caſt away his fears, for his ſuſpicion of puniſhment were groundleſs; and if he ſurrendered the city to the *Babylonians*, neither he, his wives or children, ſhould be any ways injured, and the temple ſhould remain untouched. *Jeremias*, having made an end of ſpeaking, the king diſmiſſed him, but charged him not to divulge the leaſt thing that had paſſed between them, either to the citizens or princes, but bid him, if it happen'd to be known, and any queſtions were asked about his being ſent for, or the like, to pretend he came to intercede for his enlargement. The prophet did as he was ordered; and to every one who enquir'd the buſineſs he had with the king, he gave anſwer as directed.

CHAP. VIII.

Hieroſolyma *is taken by the* Babylonian *King; the Temple burnt; and the* Hieroſolymites *and* Sedekias *carried to* Babylon. *Of the High-prieſts in the Time of the Kings.*

THE king of *Babylon* in the mean time carried on the ſiege with vigour. His towers were raiſed to a convenient height, to repel the defendants from the walls. He likewiſe erected other works quite round the city, which equalled the walls in height. The beſieged however bravely and chearfully endured the ſiege, and were not dejected under the dreadful diſcouragements of the famine and peſtilence: And though they were in this terrible manner afflicted within, and the enemy had planted their batteries againſt the walls without, for a general aſſault, yet they ſeemed ſtill ſtrengthened with freſh courage, and not the leaſt diſmayed, but oppoſed their engines of war to the enemies; ſo that there was a kind of contention for a while in diligence and military skill between the *Babylonians* and *Hieroſolymites*: For while the former relied on their numbers, and thought themſelves ſtrong enough to take the city, the latter put all their hopes in defending it, and therefore vigorouſly oppoſed their aſſaults and attacks againſt it. In this manner did the beſieged keep poſſeſſion, until, what by the famine and peſtilence, and what by the darts thrown at them by the enemy from their towers, they were almoſt all ſlain.

Now the city was taken in the eleventh year of king *Sedekias*, on the ninth day of the fourth month, by the captains *Nabuchodonoſor* had entruſted the ſiege with, he himſelf being then at *Reblath*. The names of the officers, if the reader ſhould be deſirous of knowing them, are theſe, *Nergelear. Aremmantus*, *Semegar*, *Naboſar*, and *Echarampſar*. The city was taken about midnight. The officers of the enemy went directly into the temple, which *Sedekias* perceiving, he took his wives, children, officers and friends, and endeavoured to eſcape through a narrow fortified paſſage leading to the deſert. But certain renegades giving the *Babylonians* intelligence of it, they ſet out early in the morning in purſuit of them, and overtook them not far from *Jericho*: The officers and friends of *Sedekias* who accompanied him in his flight, perceiving the enemy, forſook him and fled, every one conſulting his own ſafety. They took *Sedekias* alive, with a few perſons about him, and carried him, with his wives and children, to the king. Upon his coming into his preſence, *Nabuchodonoſor* began to call him a faithleſs and perfidious man, for breaking the treaty with him, and, unmindful of his promiſe, in not preſerving his kingdom for his benefit. He alſo taxed him with ingratitude, for turning his forces againſt his benefactor, who had taken away the kingdom from his nephew *Joakim*, and liberally beſtowed it upon him. But the great God, ſaid he, incenſed at your behaviour, hath delivered you priſoner in my hands. After he had thus ſharply reprimanded *Sedekias*, he commanded his ſons and friends to be ſlain in his and the reſt of the priſoners ſight: After which he pulled out the eyes of *Sedekias*, and carried him bound in chains to *Babylon*. And thus were the prophecies of *Jeremias* and *Jezekiel* verified; for the former foretold, he ſhould be carried captive to *Babylon*, and ſpeak with the king, and (*a*) and ſee him face to face. But the latter prophecied that he ſhould be carried to *Babylon*, but (*b*) not ſee it; which he could not do, when his eyes were plucked out.

We have mentioned theſe things, to convince the ignorant of the power, and explain to them the nature of God; for though his operations are various, yet there is a conſtant harmony and regularity preſerved throughout the whole. His predictions expoſe man's ignorance and incredulity but the more, which blind his eyes from obſerving their events, by means whereof he hurries himſelf into dangers, whence he finds no poſſibility of eſcaping.

This was the period of thoſe kings, who were deſcended from the line of *David*, one and twenty in number, from the firſt to the laſt. Their reigns, put together, make up five hundred and fourteen years, ſix months and ten days. *Saul* the firſt king reigned twenty years, but was of another tribe.

Now the *Babylonian* king *Nabuchodonoſor* ſent *Nabuzardanes*, the general of his army, to *Hieroſolyma*, to rifle the temple of all its ornaments, with a command afterwards to burn it, to lay the city level with the ground, and carry away the inhabitants to *Babylon*. He came to *Hieroſolyma* in the eleventh year of king *Sedekias*, and ſtript the temple, taking out of it all the gold and ſilver veſſels dedicated to the ſervice of God, *Solomon's* great laver, the brazen pillars with their chapiters, and the golden tables and candleſticks. This done, he burnt the temple in the (*c*) fifth month, on the firſt day thereof, in the eleventh year of the reign of king *Sedekias*, and the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonoſor*; after which he demoliſhed the palace, and laid

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(*a*) *Jer.* chap. xxxii. ver. 4. He ſhall ſurely be delivered into the Hands of the King of *Babylon*, and ſhall ſpeak with him Mouth to Mouth, and his Eyes ſhall behold his Eyes. (*b*) *Ezekiel*, chap. xii. ver. 13. I will bring him to *Babylon*, to the Land of the *Chaldeans*, yet ſhall he not ſee it, though he ſhall die there. (*c*) According to the *Alexandrian* Chronicle, page 135. In the fifth Month, on the ninth Day thereof, and in the nineteenth Year of *Nabuchodonoſor*; in Conformity to what *Sacred Writ* ſays.

the city in aſhes. The temple was burnt four hundred and ſeventy years, ſix months and ten days, after its firſt erection, after the peoples going out of *Ægypt*, one thouſand ſix hundred years, ſix months, and ten days: From the deluge to this deſtruction of the temple were one thouſand nine hundred fifty ſeven years ſix months and ten days, and from the creation of *Adam* until the overthrow of the temple, were three thouſand five hundred and thirteen years, ſix months and ten days. And this is the number of the years between theſe material tranſactions; but the order wherein every action happened, we have already given a particular account of. The king of *Babylon*'s general having, according to his inſtructions, levelled *Hieroſolyma* with the ground, carried the people priſoners away with him. The captives of note were *Sareas* the high-prieſt, *Sophonias* the next prieſt in dignity, the three head keepers of the temple, the eunuch, captain of the guards, ſeven of *Sedekias*'s particular friends, his ſcribe, and ſixty other officers. All theſe perſons, together with the veſſels of the temple, he ſent to the *Babylonian* king, at *Reblath*, a city of *Syria*, who commanded the heads of the high-prieſt and the great men to be ſtruck off, but carried *Sedekias* and the other captives with him to *Babylon*. He alſo took with him in chains *Joſadock*, the high-prieſt, *Sareas* the ſon of the former high-prieſt, whom the *Babylonian* king beheaded at *Reblath* in *Syria*, as we have juſt now mention'd.

Since we have recounted all the royal line, and mention'd each particular prince, and the many years he lived and reigned, we deem it alſo neceſſary to acquaint the reader with the names of the high-prieſts, who ſucceſſively were in the prieſtly office under the kings. The firſt high-prieſt after *Solomon*'s building the temple was *Sadoc*; *Achimas* his ſon ſucceeded him in that dignity: After *Achimas* was *Azarias*, after him was *Joram*, after *Joram* was (a) *Iſus*, after him was *Axioram*, after him was *Phideas*, after *Phideas* was *Soudeas*, after *Soudeas* was *Juel*, after *Juel* was *Jotham*, after *Jotham* was *Urias*, after *Urias* was *Nerias*, after *Nerias* was *Odeas*, after him follow'd *Sallum*, and after *Sallum* was *Elkias*; after *Elkias* was *Sareas*, and after him laſtly was *Joſadock*, who was carried captive to *Babylon*. All theſe, in a regular ſucceſſion from father to ſon, enjoy'd the prieſthood.

Upon the king's return to *Babylon*, he threw *Sedekias* into priſon, and there confined him until he died: After which he gave him a magnificent funeral, and dedicated all the golden veſſels he had taken out of *Hieroſolyma*, to his own gods. The people he diſperſed up and down the country about *Babylon*, and ſet *Joſadock* the high-prieſt at liberty.

CHAP. IX.

Nabuzardanes *conſtitutes* Godolias *Governor over the* Jews *remaining behind.* Iſmael *ſhortly after kills him, and is forced to fly for it.* Joannes *goes with the People into* Ægypt; *whom the* Babylonian *King in a War againſt the* Ægyptians *takes Captive, and carries away with him to* Babylon.

NABUZARDANES the general made all the *Jews* of condition priſoners, and carried them away with him; but the poorer and meaner ſort he left behind, under the government of *Godolias*, a very honeſt man, the ſon of *Aicam* a nobleman. He aſſigned them lands to cultivate, under a condition of paying a certain tribute to the king. He alſo diſcharg'd *Jeremias* the prophet out of priſon, and ſent for him. Upon his coming, he perſuaded him to go to *Babylon* with him; for the king had given orders to allow him all neceſſaries, but if he had not a mind for that journey, he bid him tell him where elſe he would inhabit, that he might write and acquaint the king with it. The prophet anſwered, that he was unwilling to go with him, or remove into any other country, but had rather end his days amidſt the ruins and poor remains of his own. The general, hearing his reſolution, and leaving the government in the hands of *Godolias*, bid him take all the care of him he could, and ſupply him with what ever he wanted: He then made him ſeveral handſome preſents, and gave him leave to go wherever he pleaſed. *Jeremias* upon this, went and lived in the city *Maſphath*, having firſt deſired *Nabuzardanes* to give *Baruch* his diſciple, his liberty. *Baruch* was the ſon of *Ner*, of an honourable family, and well verſed in the language of his country.

Nabuzardanes having granted his requeſt, went to *Babylon*; but thoſe, who during the ſiege of *Hieroſolyma*, had fled and ſheltered themſelves in different parts of the country, now hearing that the *Babylonians* were departed, and that many of the *Jews* ſtill remained about *Hieroſolyma*, and had liberty giving them of tilling the country, thronged from all parts to *Maſphath* unto *Godolias*. Their leaders were *Joannes*, ſon of *Careas*, *Jezanias*, *Sereas*, and ſome others. There was alſo *Iſmael*, a perſon of the royal blood, but a very wicked and crafty man. While *Hieroſolyma* was beſieged, he fled to *Baalim*, king of the *Ammanites*, and lived with all the time. *Godolias* perſuaded all who came to him to ſtay, and entertain no manner of apprehenſions of fear about the *Babylonians*; for if they cultivated the land they would receive no harm. He gave them aſſurance of what he ſaid by an oath, and told them, he would defend them from any injuries or hoſtilities offered them; and adviſed them to chuſe any cities they pleaſed to live in, and he would ſend ſome of his people with them, but at the ſame time admoniſhed them, while the ſeaſon continued, to gather in the corn, wine, and oil, to ſupply their neceſſities during the winter. Having thus delivered himſelf, he diſmiſſed them to go and ſeek out habitations agreeable to every one's inclination.

(a) Biſhop *Mountague* ſays *Iſus* and *Axioram* are fictious Names. *Vide* his *Apparatus*.

The report of *Godolias*'s civil treatment of all thoſe who fled to him, and the liberty given them to till land for their ſubſiſtance, under a condition of paying a certain tribute to the king of *Babylon*, coming to the knowledge of the nations bordering upon *Judea*, brought a vaſt concourſe of people out of them to *Godolias*, to live in the ſame country with him. *Joannes*, and the other leaders, finding the land governed in a profound peace, the pure reſult of the clemency and humanity of *Godolias*, entertained extraordinary ſentiments of him. Therefore, out of the love they had conceived for him, they acquainted him, that *Baalim*, king of the *Ammanites* had a deſign of ſending *Iſmael* of the royal blood, who would treacherouſly and privately, if he had an opportunity, put him to death; for his deſigns were to get the goverment over the *Iſraelites* into his own hands. But they ſaid, they would deliver him from his ſnares, if he would permit them to kill him: For, added they, if you happen to be ſlain by him, we are apprehenſive the poor remains of the *Iſraelites* will meet with the ſame fate. *Godolias* ſaid, he could not be induced to believe ſo vile a thing of a man who was under ſo many obligations to him; for he thought it improbable, that one, who had received from him an abundance of all things in his extremeſt wants, ſhould ſo ungratefully and barbarouſly uſe his benefactor, as ſecretly to ſeek his life, and endeavour to kill him with his own hand, when, out of gratitude, he ought rather to defend him, and prevent, if poſſible, the wicked deſigns of others. But he told them, if they were to be credited in this affair, he eſteemed it better he ſhould be ſlain by him, than for himſelf to kill a perſon who had fled to him for refuge, and put his ſafety in his hands.

Joannes and the leaders with him, finding their remonſtrances could not prevail upon the mind of *Godolias*, went way from him. But in thirty days *Iſmael* came to *Maſphath* unto *Godolias*, attended by ten men, and was entertained in a very elegant manner. The cups went round plentifully, untill *Godolias* became heavy-headed. *Iſmael* perceiving him quite overpowered with the wine, made a ſignal to his friends, who ſuddenly riſing from the table ſlew *Godolias* and all his gueſts: After which they ruſhed out into the city, and put to death all the *Jews* in the city, and the ſoldiers that were left in it by the *Babylonians*. The next day fourſcore perſons, ignorant of what had happened, came with preſents for *Godolias*. When *Iſmael* ſaw them, he ordered them to ſtep into *Godolias*'s houſe: When ſuddenly ſhutting the gates, he killed almoſt every man of them, and for fear of expoſing their bodies, threw them into a deep ditch. Out of theſe fourſcore perſons a few preſerved their lives, who deſired to live until they had made a diſcovery of ſome goods, cloaths, and corn, that lay concealed in the fields under ground. *Iſmael*, upon this intelligence, ſpared their lives: But for the inhabitants of *Maſphath*, their wives and children, he made them his priſoners; and carried them away with him. Among theſe were the daughters of *Sedekias*, whom *Nabuzardanes*, general of the *Babylonians*, had left with *Godolias*, immediately after this, he returned to the king of the *Ammanites*.

Joannes, with the reſt of the leading men, coming to hear of *Iſmael*'s bloody maſſacre at *Maſphath*, and his killing *Godolias*, were vaſtly enraged. They muſtered up the forces under each perſon's command, and marched them againſt *Iſmael*, whom they found near the fountain *Chebron*, with deſign to make war upon him. The captives taken by *Iſmael*, ſeeing *Joannes* and the other leaders, advancing forwards, were extremely glad, ſuppoſing they were coming to their aſſiſtance; and immediately quitting their conqueror, they went over to *Joannes*, *Iſmael* eſcaping with only eight perſons fled to the king of the *Ammanites*. But *Joannes* taking all *Iſmael*'s eunuchs, wives, and children, went to a place called *Mandra*, and abode there that day. Now they all reſolved to travel into *Ægypt*, fearing, if they remained any longer in that country, the *Babylonians* would certainly puniſh them with death, for the murther of *Godolias*, who had been entruſted by them with the goverment. During this conſultation, *Joannes* the ſon of *Kareus*, and the chiefs his companions, went to *Jeremias*, the prophet, and ſuppliantly beſought him to aſk God to diſcover to him what they ſhould do in this uncertain ſituation; at the ſame time ſwearing faithfully to put in execution whatſoever he ſhould order them to do: The prophet hereupon promiſed to make interceſſion to God for them. Accordingly the Almighty at the end of ten days appeared to him, and bade him acquaint *Joannes*, and the other chiefs, that his care ſhould be extended to them, provided they remained in the land they were in; nay, that he would preſerve them unhurt from any hoſtilities of the *Babylonians*: But if they went into *Ægypt*, then his anger ſhould be kindled againſt them, and they be liable to the very ſame calamities their forefathers had undergone. After *Jeremias* had acquainted them with this admonition of God, they gave ſo little regard thereto, that they believed he had, upon his own authority, commanded them to abide where they were; and to gain the good opinion of *Baruch* his diſciple, had falſely made God the author of perſuading them not to depart; which would give the *Babylonians* an opportunity of puniſhing them with death. Wherefore diſobeying the advice of God, which he had given to his prophet, they marched to *Ægypt*, carrying with them *Jeremias* and *Baruch*.

When they were arrived there God revealed to his prophet the expedition which the *Babylonian* king would make in *Ægypt*; and commanded him to foretel the people of *Ægypt*'s being conquered by him; and how he would put to death a great number of it's inhabitants, and take others away to *Babylon* there to be made ſlaves. Which prediction was fully verified. For five years after the deſtruction of *Hieroſolyma*, which anſwered to the twenty third year of *Nabuchodonoſor*'s reign, that prince led an army into *Cœla Syria*, which he took, and carried his arms among the *Moabites* and *Ammanites*, whom he ſubdued. After which he invaded *Ægypt*, took it, and ſlew the (1) king then reigning, in whoſe room he put another, and then carried the *Jews* reſiding their the ſecond time to *Babylon*. Thus the *Hebrews*, by means of their ill fortune, were twice beyond the *Euphrates*; the ten tribes being carried by the *Aſſyrians* from *Samaria* in the reign of king *Oſeas*, and the other two tribes by *Nabuchodonoſor* after the taking of *Hieroſolyma*. At the time *Salmanaſar* led away the *Iſraelites*, the *Chuthæans* were ſettled in their rooms: Theſe people inhabited the inland parts of *Perſia* and *Media*; but after their removal to *Samaria*, they took upon them the denomination of *Samaritans*. When *Nabuchodonoſor* carried away the two tribes, he left no other nation to ſupply their places; whereby all *Judea*, and *Hieroſolyma*, and the temple, remained empty and deſolate (2) ſeventy years: Now between the captivity of the ten tribes, and the carrying away of the two tribes, was an interval of an hundred and thirty years, ſix months, and ten days.

CHAP. X.

Of Daniel, *and what befel him at* Babylon.

NABUCHODONOSOR, the *Babylonian* king, having carried away with him the ſons of the moſt eminent *Jews*, and the relations of king *Sedakias*, who were the moſt remarkable for a fine perſon or beautiful face, placed them under the care and tuition of maſters: Some of theſe were made eunuchs, (a practice which he uſed with the youth of other conquered nations) and received their proviſions from his table. Beſides he took care to have them inſtructed in the conſtitutions of his kingdom, and taught the *Chaldæan* language. In a ſhort time they became tolerably well verſed in the country. There were among them four relations of king *Sedekias*; of excellent beauty and an happy genius: The firſt was named *Daniel*, the ſecond *Ananias*, the third *Miſael*, and the fourth *Azarias*. But *Nabuchodonoſor* changed their names, and gave them others. *Daniel* he called *Baltaſa*, *Ananias* he named *Sedrach*, *Miſael* he entitled *Miſach*, and *Azarias Abednago*. Theſe four, on account of their uncommon parts and wiſdom, he held in great eſteem and favour.

Daniel with his relations being deſirous of living more ſparingly, and abſtaining from the luxurious dainties brought from the king's table, went to *Aſchanes* the eunuch, who was ſet over them, and deſired him to take and eat himſelf the proviſions the king ſent, and give them dates and pulſe, or any other food of that kind: For ſuch a way of living was much more agreeable to their inclination, than the luxury they were courted to, and abhored.

Aſchanes told him he was very ready to gratify their deſires, but was apprehenſive that if the king ſhould once obſerve them to grow lean, and their coulour change, (which would be ſoon occaſioned by their alteration of diet,) and there ſhould be any difference in their looks from other youths who were well fed, they would prove the cauſe of his being puniſhed for it. *Aſchanes* in this fearful doubt was at length induced to let them, only for experiment, eat after their own way during ten days; Under a condition, that if in that time their bodies received no ſenſible decay, they were conſtantly to uſe the ſame way of living: But if he perceived any alteration in their countenances for the worſe, then he was to oblige them to return to their former diet. Conformable to this agreement *Achanes* permitted them to eat their pulſe: But ſo far were they from growing weak or lean by it, that their bodies became more fat and plump upon it; nay, inſomuch that thoſe who were fed from the king's own table ſeemed in poor caſe to them, and *Daniel* and his companions appeared to have lived high, and luxuriouſly. *Aſchanes*, obſerving this, was eaſed of his fearful apprehenſions, and accordingly took to himſelf the daily proviſions the king allotted them, and ſupplied them with ſuch food, as we have already juſt mentioned. By this temperate manner of living their genius was kept active, their underſtanding not clogged and made incapable of improvement, and their bodies more fit to undergo labour; for they were neither ſurfeited with variety of meats, nor made effeminate by luxury: In ſhort, with a wonderful facility they acquired a profound knowledge in all manner of *Hebrew* and *Chaldæan* learning. *Daniel*, however, was remarkable above the others for his great skill in the interpretation of dreams, to which he made no falſe pretence, for the Almighty was often pleaſed to reveal his will to him in viſions.

Two years after the conqueſt of *Ægypt*, king *Nabuchodonoſor* had a miraculous dream, the ſignification whereof God had made known to him in his ſleep, but upon his riſing from his bed, he had forgot it. Upon this, he ordered the magicians, *Chaldæans* and diviners to be called to him, and told them that he had dreamt a dream, but had forgot it; he bad them therefore tell him his dream, and the interpretation of it. They anſwered him, that it was impoſſible for man to find it out; but if he could declare to them the viſion he ſaw in his dream, they promiſed to give him the interpretation of it. Highly angry at this anſwer of theirs, the king threatned them with death, unleſs they immediately told him and ſolved his dream; and conſequently he ordered all of them to be put to death, when they ſaid they were not able to perform his command. The king's decree of putting all the wiſemen to death coming to the ears of *Daniel*, who imagined himſelf and his relations in ſome danger by it, he went to *Arioch*, the captain of the king's life guard, and humbly intreated him to tell him the reaſon why the king had commanded all the magicians, *Chaldæans* and diviners, to be put to death. When he came to underſtand that it was upon the account of a dream the king had had, and that the wiſe men, being commanded to tell it to him after he had forgot it, were unable to do ſo, for which reaſon his indignation was moved againſt them, he deſired *Arioch* to go to the king, and obtain, if poſſible, one night's reprieve for them, that he might have time to conſider of it; for he hoped, after he had offered up his prayers to God, to be able to find out the dream, and give him the true interpretation of it. *Arioch* upon this, went to the king, and acquainted him with *Daniel*'s requeſt. The king immediately gave orders to defer the execution of the magicians, untill he knew more from *Daniel*'s promiſe. *Daniel* with his kinſmen went to their houſe, and all the night beſought God by prayers to reveal the viſion to them, and deliver the magicians and *Chaldæans*, with whom they were nevitably to periſh, from the king's wrath; by giving them power to explain the dream, which he had dreamt the night before, and was ſlipt out of his mind. God compaſſionating the danger they were in, and being pleaſed with *Daniel*'s wiſdom, made known to im the dream, and its interpretation, wherewith he might acquaint the king. When *Daniel* had received this extraordinary mark of vour from God, he roſe up very much joiced, and went and communicated the mat- r to his brethren, who were almoſt reduced a deſpair of their lives, and fear of death; t by this welcome news of *Daniel*, they re freed from their dreadful apprehenſi- s, and ſtrengthened with new hopes of life. er they had returned God their thanks for compaſſion of their tender years, *Daniel* ly in the morning went to *Arioch*, and de- d to be conducted to the king, to acquaint with the viſion he had ſeen in his dream night before.

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(1) This Prince in *Jerem.* chap. 44. ver. 30. is called *Pharaoh Ephree*, by the Septuagint. If he be the ſame perſon whom *Herodotus* in his *Enterpe* calls *Apries*, I fear *Joſephus* miſtakes in ſaying *Nabuchodonoſor* killed him.

(2) Our Author here makes plain mention of the Years of Deſolation, See *Zachariah*, chap. 1. ver. 12.

When *Daniel* came into the king's preſence, conjured him in the firſt place not incauti- y to eſteem him wiſer than the other *Chaldæans*, becauſe he was ready to tell him his dream, which none of them were able to do: *For it was not by his own underſtanding or knowledge he was rendered capable of interpreting it: But God*, ſaid he, *taking compaſſion upon us, who were in ſo great danger of looſing our lives, did, whilſt I offered up my prayers to him for my own and countrymen's ſafety, declare to me your dream, and the interpretation of it. But yet the reflection of being doomed to die ourſelves, gave us not ſo much uneaſineſs, as the thought of how great a ſtain it will be on your honour to put to death ſo many good and juſt men wrongfully, for not making known to you, what the greateſt wiſdom of man is entirely ignorant of, and which the eternal omniſcience of God can alone reveal. As you lay in your bed, and was revolting in your mind who was to ſucceed you as emperor of the whole world, God, being willing to ſhew you all the kings your ſucceſſors, repreſented the following viſion to you. You thought you ſaw a large ſtatue ſtanding before you, the head whereof was gold, the ſhoulders and arms ſilver, the belly and thighs braſs, and the legs and feet iron. After this, you ſaw a vaſt ſtone torn out of a mountain, which fell upon the ſtatue, and daſhed it to pieces, ſo that the gold and the ſilver, and the braſs and the iron, became ſmaller than chaff, and was by a ſudden blaſt of wind blown every were about: The ſtone then became ſo big as to ſeem to cover all the earth. Now the interpretation of the Viſion, which you ſaw, is this: The golden head ſignifies yourſelf and the kings of* Babylon *your predeceſſors; the two arms and ſhoulders denote to you, that your empire will be overturned by two kings, whoſe power ſhall be broken by another coming from the weſt armed in braſs: This ſhall alſo be ſubdued by another reſembling iron, who ſhall extend his rigorous ſway over the whole world, in the nature of iron, becauſe it is ſtronger then gold, and ſilver, and braſs. Daniel*, beſides this, acquainted the king with the meaning of the ſtone; but it is not my buſineſs to relate matters to come, but only to ſpeak of facts actually paſt and tranſacted. Now if any perſon, who is deſirous of knowing the truth, cannot reſt ſatisfied with what I have here related, but is more inquiſitive into futurity, let him have recourſe to the book of *Daniel*, which he will find among the ſacred writings.

King *Nabuchodonoſor* hearing theſe things, and underſtanding his dream, was ſtruck with admiration at *Daniel*'s wiſdom, and proſtrating himſelf upon his face, worſhipped him as if he had been ſome God, at the ſame time commanding ſacrifices to be offered to him. And, not content with doing thus, he gave him the name of his own God, and committed to him and his relations the chief adminiſtration of the affairs of his kingdom. But through the envy and malice of ſome perſons, they were ſoon brought into danger of their lives, the cauſe whereof was this: The king ordered a golden image to be made, ſixty cubits in height, and ſix in breadth, which he ſet up on a plain of *Babylon*: This done, he conſecrated it in a very ſolemn manner, and aſſembled all the governors in his kingdom, whom he charged in expreſs terms, as ſoon as they heard the ſound of the trumpet, to fall upon the earth and worſhip the image; but to all thoſe who refuſed to do ſo, he threatned to caſt them into a fiery furnace. Accordingly as ſoon as the trumpet ſounded they all fell down, and paid adoration to the image; but it is reported of *Daniel*'s kinſmen, that they, unwilling to violate the laws of their country, would not perform the like homage. Upon which, being manfeſtly convicted of the crime, they were immediately thrown into the fire, but by the Divine Providence preſerved, and miraculouſly delivered from death; for the fire never once touched them: But as if it had been ſenſible that men of innocent and pure hearts were caſt into it, it did not injure them by its flame as long as they remained in it: God all the time abating its force and preſerving them. This procured them greater favour then ever with the king, who now eſteemed them as men beloved of God; and held them ever after in the higheſt honour and reſpect.

Not long after this the king had another dream; that he was ſoon to be diveſted of his kingdom, and live among beaſts for the ſpace of ſeven years, after which he was to regain his kingdom. 'Twas this he dreamt about; and accordingly ſummoned again his magicians, of whom he enquired concerning it, and demanded an interpretation. But none of them could unfold the ſignification of the dream, or explain it to the king. *Daniel* was the only perſon found capable of interpreting it, (which he did, and every thing in order happened as he foretold); for *Nabuchodonoſor*, having, as we have juſt now mentioned, dwelt ſeven years in the wilderneſs, during which time none dared to take the adminiſtration of affairs upon him, God's wrath was at length appeaſed by his prayers, and accordingly reſtored him to his kingdom. And I hope now, none will blame me for reciting all theſe matters here as I found them in antient books, for, in the beginning of this hiſtory, I have precautioned thoſe perſons who may be apt to criticiſe or expoſtulate upon ſome paſſages herein, by affirming that I tranſlated the *Hebrew* books into *Greek*, in the courſe of which I have neither diminiſhed nor added any thing by my own invention.

CHAP. XI.

of Nabuchodonoſor *and his ſucceſſors, and of his Empires being overturned by the* Perſians. *Of the Things that happened to* Daniel *in* Perſia, *and of his Prophecies.*

KING *Nabuchodonoſor*, after a reign of forty three years, died. He was a prince of great induſtry, and exceeded the kings his predeceſſors in the greatneſs of his riches. *Beroſus* in the third book of his *Chaldæan* hiſtory takes notice of him in theſe words, 'His father *Nabuchodonoſor* being old, and unfit for undertaking any hardy enterprize, hearing that the governor he had placed over *Ægypt*, *Cœlo-Syria* and *Phœnicia*, had revolted from him, gave his ſon *Nabuchodonoſor*, who was but a youth, part of his army, to march againſt him: *Nabuchodonoſor* accordingly engaged, and overcame him, reducing all the country to his obedience, and making it a province of his kingdom. But his father *Nabuchodonoſor* ſhortly after was taken very ill, and died in *Babylon*, after he had reigned one and twenty years. The ſon coming ſoon to hear of his death, ſettled matters in *Ægypt* and the countries round about, and gave orders to ſome particular friends to carry the captive *Jews*, *Phœnicians*, *Syrians*, and *Ægyptians*, together with the heavy armed ſoldiers and baggage to *Babylon*, whilſt he with a few attendants directed his journey through the deſert to that place; were getting the goverment into his hands, which had been managed by the chief of the *Chaldæans*, he ordered the captives, who were carried thither, to be diſpers'd in colonies throughout *Babylonia*. After which he embelliſhed the temple of *Belus*, by hanging up in it the ſpoils and trophies he had taken in the war. Beſides this, (1) he built a new city of *Babylon*, and added it to the old one, and to hinder the courſe of the river from being turned of, by means whereof they might the eaſier be beſieged, he ſurrounded the inner city with three walls, and the outer city likewiſe with the ſame number. After he had thus fortified the city, he erected magnificent gates, and built a new palace cloſe to that of his father's, the height and beauty of which may be deemed an unneceſſary task to deſcribe here; yet though it was very ſpacious and grand, no more than fifteen days were ſpent in the perfect compleating of it. In this palace he erected vaſt piles of ſtones in the ſhape of mountains, upon which were curiouſly carved all manner of trees; he cauſed alſo to be made a *hanging Paradice*, as it was called; this was performed at the importunity of his wife, who was a *Mede*, and deſired to have ſomething to reſemble her own country.' Beſides the foregoing author, *Megaſthenes*, in the third book of his *Indian* hiſtory, mentions the ſame things, but endeavours to evince that this king, in conrage and glorious actions, far excelled *Hercules*; for he tells us, that he laid waſte a great part of *Lybia*, and all (2) *Iberias*; *Diocl* alſo in his *Perſian* hiſtory mentions this king, and *Philoſtratus* likewiſe both in his *Indian* and *Phœnician* hiſtories ſays, that he beſieged

(1) *Epiphanus* ſays, he repaired the antient City, and made new Buildings, whereby thoſe wh came to beſiege the Place, could in no manner turn the Current of the River, or prevail againſt th Town.

(2) See *Caſaubons* Epiſtle to *Baromius*, p. 135.

Tyre thirteen years, whilſt *Ithobalus* was king thereof. And theſe are the accounts that all hiſtorians give of this king.

After *Nabuchodonoſor*'s death, his ſon *Abilamarodach* ſucceeded him in the kingdom. This prince releaſed *Jechonias*, king of the *Iſraelites*, from his impriſonment, and reckoned him amongſt the (*a*) number of his beſt friends; he enriched him with many preſents, and honour'd him above all the other kings at *Babylon*. His father had broke the league with this unhappy prince, who, to ſave the city from the calamities of a ſiege, as we have ſaid before, delivered up voluntarily himſelf, his wives, his children, and all his kindred to him. *Abilamarodach* died, after a reign of eighteen years, his ſon *Nigliſſar* obtaining the government after him; who alſo died, when he had reigned forty years. *Laboſordach*, by right of ſucceſſion, enjoyed the throne after this prince, but after a ſhort reign of only nine months, he died, leaving the kingdom to (*b*) *Baltaſar*, whom the *Babylonians* called *Naboandel*. *Cyrus*, king of *Perſia*, and *Darius* king of *Media*, made (*c*) war againſt him: But during the ſiege he had a moſt ſurprizing and wonderful viſion. As he ſat at ſupper in an apartment of his palace amongſt his concubines and friends, at which were uſed many gold and ſilver veſſels, he ordered all the veſſels, which *Nabuchodonoſor* had taken at the ſacking of *Hieroſolyma*, to be brought out of his temple. Theſe *Nabuchodonoſor* had never uſed, but only laid them up in the temple of his God. *Baltaſar*, being ſo very preſumptous, as to drink out of theſe veſſels, and blaſpheme in his cups the moſt high God, ſaw an hand iſſuing out of the wall, and writing thereon certain words. Terrified at the ſight, he called together the magicians, *Chaldæans*, and all the wiſe men ſkilled in the interpretation of prodigies and dreams, to whom he ſhewed the writing, and ordered them to explain it to him; but there were none found capable of interpreting it. The king, confounded at the amazing prodigy, commanded proclamation to be made throughout his kingdom, that whoever could read the writing, and make known the interpretation thereof, ſhould have a gold chain about his neck, be cloathed in purple after the manner of the *Chaldean* kings, and be the third perſon in the government. After this proclamation, a greater concourſe of magicians aſſembled than before, each ſtriving to read the writing, but all to no purpoſe. The king's grandmother obſerving him very much troubled at it, began to give him courage; ſhe acquainted him, there was a certain captive, by nation a *Jew*, and named *Daniel*, whom *Nabuchodonoſor* brought away with him, after he had overthrown *Hieroſolyma*. This *Daniel*, ſhe told him, was a very wiſe and learned man, and had the gift of ſolving the greateſt difficulties, and only in the power of God to interpret; and that whenever *Nabuchodonoſor* aſked him any abſtruſe queſtion, he always gave him perfect ſatisfaction. The king, hearing this, commanded him to be ſent for, that he might reveal the meaning of that miraculous writing, (the ſignification of which was to prove very fatal to him) and ſhew the ignorance of thoſe who could not underſtand it.

Baltaſar, hearing this, called *Daniel* to him, and told him he had heard much of his fame and wiſdom, namely, that he was influenced by the ſpirit of God, and was the only perſon capable of diſcloſing thoſe ſecrets which others were ignorant of, and therefore deſired him to read the writing, and interpret it to him; and that, as a reward for ſo doing, he would give him a gold chain to be worn about his neck, that he ſhould be cloathed in purple, and accounted the third man in dignity in his kingdom; and that all who ſhould behold him in that ſplendid condition, or enquire the reaſon of it, ſhould be told that it was his wiſdom that had advanced him to that high honour. *Daniel* deſired him not to load him with preſents (for a wiſe man is not to be overcome with bribes, though they are deſired by poor and needy perſons) but ſaid he would interpret the writing to him, which denounced a ſudden death to him, becauſe not admoniſhed by the evils his anceſtor had ſuffered for his obſtinacy againſt God, he had not learnt to practice piety and holineſs, or endeavoured to perform the great duty of a devout life; but after that *Nabuchodonoſor* for his impiety was doomed to live amongſt beaſts, and by his fervent prayers and ſupplications, obtained ſo much mercy as to be reſtored to his former life and kingdom, for which he worſhipped God ſo long as he lived with an unfeigned belief that he was Omnipotent, and preſided over the affairs of mankind; *Baltaſar*, unmindful of ſo lively an example, often blaſphemed the moſt high, and made uſe of the veſſels of his temple amongſt his concubines. God, beholding theſe things, was highly enraged at him, and therefore expoſed the writing, that by it he might underſtand what death he was to ſuffer. The writing he told him, was to be interpreted thus, MANE, in the *Greek* tongue ſignified *Arithmos*, a number, implying, that God had numbered the continuance of his life and kingdom, and that but a ſmall time was remaining. THEKEL was the ſame as *Sathmos*, weight. Wherefore God, ſaid he, hath weighed the time of your kingdom, and diſcovered that it is ſinking down. PHARES in the *Greek* language ſignified *Ctaſma*, or a piece or fragment. God, added he, will therefore break your kingdom in pieces, and divide it amongſt the *Medes* and *Perſians*.

(*a*) *Epiphanius* ſays he made him to be reckon'd amongſt the Kings in *Babylonia*. The 25th ch. of *Kings* 11. ys, that the King of *Babylon* ſet the Throne of *Jechonias* above the Thrones of the Kings that were with him *Babylon*.

(*b*) The ſame who was beſieged by *Cyrus* the *Perſian* King, and *Darius* the *Mede*. But is is refuted by *Pætavius*, *Doctr. Tempor*, P. 2. p. 168.

(*c*) A.C. *Sabellicus* ſhews this to be a Falſity his *Enneadis* 2. l. 6. p. 327. and others beſides him.

Daniel acquainting *Baltaſar* that the writing upon the wall ſignified what he had ſaid, it ſtruck him with a great fear and terror, as is reaſonable to believe from ſuch a dreadful omen; yet, though *Daniel* was the prophet of ſuch melancholy news, the king, agreeable to his word, gave him all the preſents he had promiſed him, reflecting with himſelf that thoſe things for which they were given were owing to himſelf, and the determination of fate, and not of him who had prophecied them; and that *Daniel* had performed the part of a juſt and good man, in giving him a true interpretation of things, tho' their events and conſequences were to prove fatal to him. Thus did *Baltaſar* reflect: And not long after both he himſelf and the city were taken by *Cyrus* the *Perſian* king, who led an army againſt it. Now *Baltaſar* was king when *Babylon* was taken, and he had then reigned ſeventeen years. And this is the end of the ſucceſſors of *Nabuchodonoſor*. *Darius* was ſixty two years old, when, with his kinſman *Cyrus*, he overturned the *Babylonian* empire. He was the ſon of (*a*) *Aſtyages*, but called by another name by the *Grecians*. He carried the prophet *Daniel* into *Media*, where he heaped great honours upon him, and conſtituted him one of the three chief rulers or governors, over the three hundred and ſixty inferior ones, whom he appointed throughout his empire.

Daniel mounting to this high honour, and ingratiating himſelf into the very ſoul of *Darius*, who, as if he had been inſpired by the ſpirit of God, committed every affair of conſequence to his truſt and management alone, came at laſt to be greatly envied. For envy is never more ſeen, than in thoſe who behold other perſons in greater eſteem with kings than themſelves. Yet *Daniel* never gave his enemies, who could not bear the reſpect *Darius* ſhewed him, and were conſtantly ſeeking ſome occaſion or other of defaming and accuſing him, any reaſon for ſuch uſage. As he was above the mercenary views of receiving money for bribes, eſteeming it ſcandalous even to take a reward for a ſervice done, ſo he never gave his detractors the leaſt juſt pretence of accuſing him. When they found they were able to inſinuate nothing to the king, that would induce him to leſſen his eſteem for *Daniel*, and that their aſperſions and calumnies were fruitleſs, they had recourſe to another invention, whereby to take away his life. They perceived that he offered up thrice a day his prayers to his God, upon which they imagin'd they had found a fair pretence of ruining him. In conſequence of this they went to *Darius*, and acquainted him, that his governors and rulers had a reſolution to ordain a public feſtival among all the people, for the ſpace of thirty days, wherein it ſhould be unlawful for any one to aſk him or his gods for any thing, and that whoſoever tranſgreſſed this decree, ſhould be caſt into the lion's den, and there periſh.

Darius, little ſenſible of their malicious deſigns, and far from underſtanding their wicked ſchemes againſt *Daniel*, told them he was pleaſed with their reſolution, and promiſed to confirm it; whereupon he made a publick proclamation, to let the people thoroughly underſtand the decree of the governors. Hereupon every one ſeemed very careful not to infringe the laws; notwithſtanding which, *Daniel* had no apprehenſions of fear from tranſgreſſing it, but in the ſight of all he ſtood, after his uſual cuſtom, and prayed to his God. The governors, having thus obtained the opportunity they had all along ſought againſt *Daniel*, went immediately to the king, and accuſed him as the only perſon who had offered up his prayers to God, when all the reſt were afraid to do ſo. But this was an open mark of their envy towards him, and their watching him was far from being the effect of a ſtrict piety. They were ſtill apprehenſive the king would pardon him though he had offended againſt the edict: This conſideration therefore increaſed their envy, and they inſiſted in more ſtrenuous terms, as he had acted repugnant to the decree, to have him caſt into the den of lions. *Darius* was in hopes his God would protect him from any injury of the wild beaſts, and therefore exhorted him to bear his lot patiently. Accordingly he was caſt into the den, and the king, having put his own ſeal upon the ſtone in the mouth of it, departed, but could neither eat nor take any reſt all the night for his anxious fears about *Daniel*. Early the next morning he aroſe and went to the den; where finding his ſeal unbroken which he had left upon the ſtone, he unlooſed it himſelf, and calling aloud to *Daniel*, aſked him if he was well; who, hearing the king ſpeak, told him he had received no manner of injury; upon which he ordered him to be taken out of the den. *Daniel*'s enemies per-

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(*a*) *Theodoret* upon *Daniel*, l. 6. p. 616, writes thus, ‘When *Darius* the *Mede* had reigned a ſhort Time, *Cyrus* obtained the Government, and tranſlated it to the *Perſians*. *Joſephus* the Hiſtorian ſays, ‘That *Darius* was the Son of *Aſtyages*, and the Uncle of *Cyrus* by his Mother's Side, but that the *Grecian* Writings gave him another Name. *Cyaxares* was the Name they gave him: He alſo aſſerts, That *Darius*, and *Cyrus* his Nephew, in Company, beſieged *Babylon*, and took it, and that they ſlew *Baltaſar* that very Night, in which he ſaw certain Syllables written upon the Wall. But *Daniel*'s Account contradicts this, who ſays, That he governed in the Kingdom of *Darius*, and in the Kingdom of *Cyru* the *Perſian*, and ſhows (*Dan.* ch. vi.) that the Kingdom of *Darius* was one, and that of *Cyrus* another. Now if they had but one Army at the Siege of *Babylon*, they had but one Kingdom. But it is ſaid that they had each one. And *Aſtyages* was buried with his Fathers, and *Cyrus* the *Perſian* obtain'd the Kingdom.' So that by this Account, *Darius* and *Cyrius* reigning together, did not beſiege *Babylon* and ſlay *Baltaſar*; but that *Darius* firſt, and next to him *Cyrus*, reigned over *Aſſyria*. Neither do the Words of *Joſephus* agree with the *Greek* Writings; out of which it cannot be collected that *Cyaxares* was the Son of *Aſtyages*, or that he was the ſame *Darius* whom *Joſephus* has made to beſiege *Babylon* in Company with *Cyrus*. So that *Joſephus*, accounting this Place may be accuſed of Improbability.

ceiving he had taken no hurt, would not attribute his ſafety to his God, and his providence, but imagining, that the lions, being full ſed, had offered no violence to him, they went and made out their ſtory thus to the king. *Darius* being vaſtly incenſed, and full of anger at theſe malicious proceeding of theirs, commanded a great deal of fleſh to be thrown to the lions; and when they had ſufficiently ſatisfied themſelves with it, he ordered *Daniel*'s enemies to be thrown amongſt them, to make the experiment, if their full bellies would reſtrain their fury from raging againſt them. By this means *Darius* ſoon plainly perceived that *Daniel* was preſerved miraculouſly. For no ſooner were the governors caſt amongſt the lions, than they furiouſly fell upon them, not ſparing one of them, but devouring them as if they had been quite famiſhed. But I ſuppoſe it was not hunger, after they had been ſatisfied with meat, but the malice of the men that ſharpened their appetite; for God, if he thought fit, could make even irrational beaſts the executors of his vengeance.

In this manner *Daniel*'s enemies having received their juſt puniſhment, king *Darius* ſent meſſengers throughout his kingdom, to proclaim that adoration and worſhip to be paid to *Daniel*'s God, and commanded him alone to be eſteemed the Omnipotent and true God. As for *Daniel* he had him in the greateſt eſteem, and gave him the chief place amongſt his friends. *Daniel*, now finding himſelf raiſed to vaſt honour, and that God preſided over his actions, erected at *Ecbatan* in *Media*, a tower of admirable work and curious workmanſhip, which is ſtill remaining, and appears to the ſpectators to be newly built, nay, to have been erected on the very day they caſt their eyes upon it. Its beautiful outſide and ſtrength is not the leaſt decayed, though ſo long from its firſt erection, which is the more to be wonder'd at, as buildings ſhare the ſame fate, in this particular, with their founders, as both grow old, their ſtrength alike decays, and beauty fades. In this tower are the kings of *Media*, (*a*) *Perſia*, and *Parthia*, buried to this very day; and the care of it was committed to a (*b*) *Jewiſh* prieſt, which is ſtill the cuſtom at this time. I will now recite a particular account of *Daniel*, the relation of which will very much ſurprize the reader. Every thing beyond all expectation, as if he had been a prophet of the firſt claſs, ſucceeded proſperouſly with him: While he lived, kings and their people held him in ſupreme honour, and his actions, after his death, procured him everlaſting fame. The books he has left behind him are in uſe amongſt our nation to this day, and from them we gather that he was inſpired by the Moſt High. He did not only, like other prophets, foretel things to come, but mentioned the very time they were to happen. And as other prophets were generally the foretellers of unhappy events, which made them incur the hatred of both kings and people, *Daniel* on the other hand was a meſſenger of good news to them, ſo that the happy prophecies he made gained him the eſteem and reſpect of all; and the nations he lived amongſt not only gave a ready aſſent to them, as being well aſſured of their truth, but alſo paid him Divine honour for them. From the writings he has left behind him we may collect that his prophecies were undoubtedly true and unchangeable. For he ſays, ‘That being at *Suſa*, the metropolis of *Perſia*, he went on a time with ſome companions of his into the plain there, where on a ſudden an earthquake happened, which his companions beholding, fled away and left him by himſelf. He immediately fell on his face with both his arms ſtretched out upon the ground, when ſomebody took hold of him, and bid him riſe and ſee what was many ages after to befal his citizens. Accordingly he roſe, and beheld a large ram having many horns ſprouting out of his head, but the laſt ſeem'd by far the longeſt: He then caſt his eyes to the weſtward, and ſaw an he-goat coming from thence through the air, who engaged the ram, ſmote him with his two horns, laid him proſtrate upon the ground, and then trod upon him: After this, he ſaw a very large horn iſſuing out of the forehead of the he-goat, which breaking, there ſprouted four ſmaller ones in its room, which faced the four winds: Out of theſe he ſaw another ſmaller horn ariſe, which he ſaid, God had revealed to him, would, upon its increaſe, bring war amongſt his nation, take *Hieroſolyma* by ſtorm, and diſturb the courſe of ſacrificing in the temple for the ſpace of one thouſand two hundred and ſixty ſix days.’ *Daniel* hath written that theſe things were ſhewn to him in the plain near *Suſa*, and that God declar'd the meaning of his viſion to be this: ‘He ſaid that the ram ſignified the kingdoms of the *Perſians* and *Medes*, and the four horns the kings who were to govern them. That the horn which ſprung up laſt denoted the laſt king, who was to be greater and richer than all the other kings. That the he-goat repreſented one to come out of *Greece*, who was to be a king, and to encounter the *Perſians* twice, and both times to obtain a victory over them: After which he was to reduce all the *Perſian* kingdom to his obedience. That the large horn which grew out of the forehead of the he-goat, was a type of the firſt king, and the four others which faced the four winds, were emblems of the four kings, who were to be the firſt king's ſucceſſors, after his deceaſe, and

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(*a*) The *Perſian* Kings, as the received Opinions, were buried at *Iſtacras*, otherwiſe called *Perſepolis*. Now what *Joſephus* ſays as to the Freſhneſs and Beauty of this Building, is no more than what I can myſelf affirm of the Stones of the *Mauſolæum* of the *Perſian* Kings, which I received from *Cornelius Bruaius* who pulled them from thence: This Gentleman affirms the Hardneſs of theſe Stones to be ſuch, as ſcarcely to yield to Iron, and to break in Shivers the Axes that ſtrike it. *Reland.*

(*b*) I am induced to believe (ſays *Bochart*) that *Darius* made uſe of *Daniel*'s extraordinary Skill and Advice in erecting this Tower, the Management and Performance of which pleaſed him ſo well, that he gave the Government of it to the *Jews*.

were to divide his empire between themſelves: And though they were neither his ſons, or any ways related to him, yet they were to rule the world for many ages. And that from theſe another king was to ſpring up, who was to overthrow the *Jewiſh* kingdom, deſtroy their nation and laws, ſack their temple, and hinder their ſolemn ſacrifices from being offered, during three years.’ This was *Daniel*’s viſion, which plainly foretold the calamities our nation afterwards ſuffered under *Antiochus* and *Epiphanes*, and which he penned many years before its conſequences happen’d. *Daniel* alſo wrote many accounts concerning the empire of the *Romans*, who were to bring deſtruction upon our nation. Theſe ſeveral things did this pious perſon commit to writing, that they who happened to peruſe them, or ſee them fulfilled, might thence raiſe their wonder at the ſtupenduous honour God was pleaſed to give *Daniel*, and perceive the erroneous ſyſtem of the *Epicureans*, which excludes providence from being concerned in the affairs of life, makes God not any way concerned about human actions, and denies that all things are governed by the eternal foreſight of an all-wiſe and Almighty Being: But that the world, without the intermediate aſſiſtance of a governor, is preſerved in the order we behold it, by a natural inherent power of its own. Now if, according to this ſyſtem, the world was governed by no ſupreme hand at all, it would inevitably ſoon fall to pieces: For we ſee that ſhips without pilots, or able perſons to ſteer them, are by every ſtorm in danger of being caſt away; and that chariots without ſkillful drivers to manage them, are ſuddenly overturned and daſhed to pieces. Theſe prophecies of *Daniel* make me believe thoſe perſons greatly in the wrong, who pretend God has no concern about human affairs: For we ſhould never have heard of, or ſeen the completion of his predictions, if all things in this world had been conducted by chance. As I found theſe matters related, ſo I have tranſcribed them here; but every man is left to his own liberty of judging, and maintaining a different opinion, if he thinks otherwiſe of the facts here mentioned.

The *END* of the TENTH BOOK of the Antiquities.

FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

ANTIQUITIES of the *JEWS*.

BOOK THE ELEVENTH.

Containing the Space of Two Hundred and Fifty Three Years, and Five Months.

CHAP. I.

How Cyrus, *the King of the* Perſians, *after he had ſent the* Jews *from* Babylon *into their own Country, permitted them to build a Temple, and gave them Money towards carrying it on.*

IN the firſt year of *Cyrus*'s reign, which was the ſeventieth from that day wherein our nation was ſent captive from their native country to *Babylon*, God took compaſſion upon them for the captivity and troubles they had ſuffered, according to what he had foretold by *Jeremias* his prophet, before the deſtruction of the city, how that, after they had ſerved *Nabuchodonoſor* and his poſterity, and endured a ſlaviſh life under them for the ſpace of (a) ſeventy years, he would again reſtore them to their native country, where they ſhould rebuild the temple, and enjoy their former happy ſtate. All theſe things God fulfilled. For after he had rouſed the ſpirit of *Cyrus*, he cauſed him to write circular letters throughout all *Aſia*, to this effect: 'Thus saith king Cyrus, ſince the great God hath conſtituted me king of the world, I am perſuaded it is he whom the nation of the *Jews* worſhip, for he hath foretold my name by his prophets, and that I am to rebuild his temple at *Hieroſolyma*, in the land of *Judea*.'

Cyrus came to know theſe things by reading the prophecies of *Eſaias*, which he left two hundred and ten years before this happened; for he ſaid that God had privately made him this revelation: ''Tis my will that *Cyrus*, whom I have conſtituted king of many powerful nations, ſhall ſend my people back into their own country, and build my temple.' This prophecy was declared by *Eſaias* one hundred and forty years before the deſtruction of the temple. Therefore, when *Cyrus* peruſed this paſſage, he admir'd God's foreknowledge and providence, and a ſudden deſire excited him to fulfil what was written. To this end he aſſembled the moſt conſiderable of the *Jews* of note at *Babylon*, and told them, 'That he gave them liberty to return into their own country, and there rebuild *Hieroſolyma* and the temple of God: That he would aſſiſt them in the undertaking, and write to his governors in *Judea* to ſupply them with gold and ſilver, towards carrying on the building of the temple, and alſo with ſheep for their ſacrifices.'

Cyrus having declared himſelf to the *Iſraelites* in this manner, the princes of the two tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, together with the *Levites* and prieſts, went to *Hieroſolyma*, but many ſtayed behind at *Babylon*, not caring to leave their preſent poſſeſſions. As ſoon as they were carried there, all the king's friends aſſiſted them in their preparations to rebuild the temple; for ſome brought gold, others ſilver, and ſome again brought great flocks of ſheep, together with large numbers of horſes. Beſides, they ſacrificed to God, and killed victims after their uſual manner, as if the city had been already rebuilt, and their antient ſolemnity of ſacrificing had been revived. Moreover *Cyrus* ſent back to them the veſſels dedicated to the ſervice of God, which king *Nabuchodonoſor*, after he had ſtript the temple, carried away to *Babylon*: He delivered them to *Mithridates*, his treaſurer, to carry, and ordered him to give them to *Abaſſarus*, upon condition he ſhould keep them in his cuſtody until the temple was built, and then to deliver them into the hands of the prieſts and princes of the people, to be reſtored to the temple. *Cyrus* alſo wrote a letter to his governors of *Syria*, to this effect:

(a) *Voſſius* ſays, that the Captivity is to be reckoned from the third Year of *Joachim*.

KING CYRUS TO SISINAS AND SARABASANAS, GREETING.

'I have given my licence to as many *Jews* as think fit, to return into their native country, and reſtore their city, and rebuild the temple of God at *Hieroſolyma*, in the very ſame place it before ſtood in. To this end I have ſent *Mithridates*, my treaſurer, and *Zorobabel*, the prince of the *Jews*, to lay the foundations of the temple, and build it, and make it in height ſixty cubits, and in breadth the ſame number, and to conſiſt of three partition walls of poliſhed ſtone, and one of wood to be hewn out of the country; and beſides, to erect an altar on which they may ſacrifice to God the charge of which I am willing to ſupply out of my own treaſury. I have alſo delivered into the hands of *Mithridates* my treaſurer, and *Zorobabel* the prince of the *Jews*, the veſſels which king *Nabuchodonoſor* formerly took out of the temple of God, with orders to reſtore them to the ſame place. Their number is as follows: Fifty golden, and five hundred ſilver baſons; forty golden, and five hundred ſilver *Thericlean* cups; fifty golden, and five hundred ſilver water-cups; thirty golden, and three hundred ſilver libation cups; thirty golden, and two thouſand and four hundred ſilver phials, and beſides theſe, one thouſand large veſſels. I grant them alſo the ſame honours, which their anceſtors were accuſtomed to, and give them five thouſand and five hundred drachmas to purchaſe ſheep, and wine and oil, beſides twenty thouſand and five hundred *Perſian* meaſures of barley. And my command is, that a tax be laid upon *Samaria* to furniſh them with all theſe things, and that the prieſts ſhall perform their ſacrifices according to the inſtitution of *Moyſes*, and during the ſolemnity ſhall pray for the life of the king and his family, and that the *Perſian* kingdom may continue long. But whoſoever ſhall act contrary to this order, my decree is, that he ſhall be crucified, and his goods confiſcated to the king's uſe.'

This was the tenour of *Cyrus*'s letter: And the number of thoſe who returned from captivity to *Hieroſolyma* were four millions, two thouſand, four hundred and ſixty two perſons.

CHAP. II.

How the Jews, *after the Death of* Cyrus, *by the Order of* Cambyſes, *were hindred by the* Cutheans *and Governors of* Judea, *from carrying on the Building of the Temple.*

WHILST they were laying the foundations of the temple, and carrying on the building thereof with the utmoſt expedition, the bordering nation, eſpecially the *Chutheans*, (whom *Salmanaſar*, king of the *Aſſyrians* had brought out of *Perſia* and *Media*, and ſettled in *Samaria*, when he cauſed the people of *Iſrael* to remove from thence;) deſired the governors and the overſeers of the workmen to hinder the *Jews* from rebuilding the city and temple. Now they being bribed by preſents from them, promiſed them for the ſake of the money that they would neglect the affairs of the *Jews*, and occaſion the building to move on very ſlowly: For *Cyrus*, being engaged in other wars, knew nothing at all of their proceedings, and, fighting againſt the *Maſſagetæ*, loſt his life amongſt them. But when *Cambyſes*, the ſon of *Cyrus*, came to the throne, the *Syrians*, *Phœnicians*, *Ammanites*, *Moabites*, and *Samaritans*, wrote a letter to him in this manner: 'We your majeſty's ſervants, *Rathymus* the regiſter, and *Semelius* the ſcribe, and the preſidents of the council in *Phœnicia* and *Syria*, ſends greeting: It is abſolutely neceſſary for you, O king, to know that the *Jews* who were ſent from *Babylon*, are come into our country, where they are building a rebellious and wicked city, reſtoring its ancient courts of judicature, and erecting new walls and a temple. Now we preſume to let you know, that if their undertakings are ſuffered to be finiſhed, they will neither continue to pay you tribute, nor obey your decrees, but will both reſiſt the power of kings and be more ready to command than obey. Therefore we hold it beſt, now the building of the temple is vigorouſly carrying on, to write to you, O king, and not neglect to acquaint you with this momentous affair, in order for your inſpecting the records of your predeceſſors, wherein you will find that the *Jews* have been the authors of many revolts, and prejudiced againſt kings, and not only ſo, but their very city inclined to the ſame principle which occaſion'd its deſtruction. Upon this account, we have taken the freedom to inform you, on a preſumption you may be ignorant of it, that if this city is rebuilt and ſurrounded with walls, you will inevitably loſe a paſſage into *Cœlo-Syria* and *Phœnicia*.'

When *Cambyſes* had peruſed this letter (who was naturally of no good diſpoſition) he was vexed at the contents, and ſent back an anſwer to this effect: 'King *Cambyſes* to *Rathymus* the regiſter, and *Belſemus*, and *Semelius* the ſcribe, and the reſt of the council, and to the inhabitants of *Samaria* and *Syria*, ſends greeting: I have read the letter you ſent me, and commanded the records of my predeceſſors to be inſpected, wherein it is found, that this city hath always been an enemy to kings, and its citizens fomentors of ſeditions and wars; and we have alſo found that their kings have been very valiant and powerful, and collected tribute out of *Cœlo-Syria* and *Phœnicia*. Wherefore I command that the *Jews* be hindred from rebuilding their city, leſt for the future their malice be augmented, which has hitherto

‘ been ſo prejudicial to kings.’ As ſoon as this letter was read, *Rathymus* and *Semelius* the ſcribe, and their colleagues, immediately mounted their horſes, and haſtened to *Hieroſolyma*, carrying a great multitude along with them, where they prohibited the *Jews* from carrying on the building of the city and temple. And thus for the ſpace of nine more years were theſe undertakings laid aſide, until the ſecond year of the reign of *Darius* king of the *Perſians*; for *Cambyſes*, after he had reigned ſix years, in which time he ſubdued *Ægypt*, died ſoon after his return from thence to *Damaſcus*.

CHAP. III.

How Zorobabel, *for his ſuperior Skill in ſolving Problems, obtained Leave to rebuild the Temple from* Darius, *who ſucceeded in the Kingdom after the Death of* Cambyſes, *and the Deſtruction of the* Magi.

AFTER the *Magi* were removed out of the way, who had for one year held the kingdom after the death of *Cambyſes*, the princes of the ſeven houſes of the *Perſians*, as they are called, made *Darius*, ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*, king; who, in his private condition of life, had made a vow to God, that if he came to be king, he would ſend all the veſſels dedicated to the ſervice of God, which remained behind at *Babylon*, to the temple at *Hieroſolyma*. About this time *Zorobabel*, who had been choſen prince of the captive *Jews*, came from *Hieroſolyma* to *Darius*, with whom he had had a cloſe friendſhip formerly; who, to give him a teſtimony of his kindneſs, made him one of his body-guards, in conjunction with two others, an honour which *Zorobabel* had deſired.

Darius in the firſt year of his reign, made a very ſumptuous and coſtly entertainment for the officers of his houſhold, and the princes of *Media*, and the governors of *Perſia* and *India* as far as *Æthiopia*, and for his military officers over an hundred and twenty ſeven provinces. When every one had ſufficiently regaled himſelf at the feaſt, they retired each to their bed-chambers. But *Darius*, having withdrawn himſelf to his room, and retired to bed, where he ſlept but a ſhort ſpace of the night, ſoon roſe up, and when he found he could repoſe himſelf no longer, began to diſcourſe with his three body-guards, and promiſed to cloath him, who made the wiſeſt and trueſt anſwer to a queſtion or two he would aſk, in purple, to let him drink out of golden cups, to ſleep upon a golden bed, to drive his chariot with golden reins, to wear a royal cap upon his head, and a golden chain about his neck, to place him next in dignity to himſelf for his wiſdom, and to call him his own relation. After he had made this promiſe, his firſt queſtion was, if wine was the ſtrongeſt thing? his ſecond, if a king? and his third, if a woman? or whether truth excelled all theſe? And having ſaid thus, he held his tongue. The next morning he aſſembled his ſeveral governors of *Perſia* and *Media*, and placing himſelf on his throne, from whence he adminiſtred juſtice, he commanded each of his body-guards to give their ſentiments, of what he had propoſed to them, in the hearing of all preſent.

Hereupon the firſt of them began to ſpeak about wine, and to extol its power in this manner: ‘ Gentlemen, ſaid he, I am going to ſpeak of the ſtrength of wine, which by theſe following demonſtrations, I find to have a greater power than all things. It firſt of all deceives the minds of thoſe who drink it, by putting kings upon a level with their ſubjects, making ſervants talk as freely as their freeborn maſters, and inſpiring beggars with the notions of riches and grandeur. If it once enters into their ſouls, they are immediately chang'd, and a ſtrange and new power poſſeſſes them; they, tho' in great calamity, feel no miſery, and tho' poor, ſeem to themſelves rich enough to be above the aſſiſtance of others, inſomuch that they talk greatly, ſpeak of talents of money, and in ſuch a lofty manner as is agreeable only to rich people. Beſides, wine makes a man forget kings and generals, puts out of his remembrance even friends and relations, and makes him think them unknown to him; but when he becomes ſober, and the fumes of the wine are evaporated out of his brain by ſleep, he riſes ignorant of every thing he was guilty of in his drunkenneſs. Wherefore from theſe reaſons I conclude, that wine is the ſtrongeſt thing of all, and that nothing can compare to it for its violent quality.’

After the firſt had thus deſcanted upon the power of wine, he remained ſilent; upon which the ſecond began his harangue upon the power of kings, to ſhew it is the ſtrongeſt, and exceeds all other things, which ſeem to have an equal power or underſtanding. He endeavour'd to demonſtrate it in the following manner: ‘ Men, ſaid he, have the government in their hands over all things, who can make both ſea and land ſubſervient to their uſes; but even they ſubmit to the authority and power of kings. Wherefore they who can exerciſe dominion over man, who is the ſtrongeſt and moſt couragious of all living creatures, are very juſtly to be reckoned thoſe who excel moſt in power and ſtrength. If they command their ſubjects to undertake war, or hazard themſelves in any difficult enterprize, they are obeyed; or if they order them to encounter their enemies, they ſubmit to their power, and obſerve their commands; and thus is it when they decree mountains to be levelled, and walls and towers to be demoliſhed. Beſides, if they order them to kill or be killed, they are never diſobeyed; and in every thing implicitly, whether it be right or no, they perform the king's command. If ſubjects gain a victory in war, they bring the ſpoil ‘obtained in battle to the king. Again, they who, free from military employments, till the country, as ſoon as they have finiſhed their rural labours, gather'd in their harveſt and fruits, they bring a tribute thereof to the king. And whatſoever the king orders or commands to be done, they without delay perform. Laſtly, the king lives upon all manner of dainties and delights, ſleeps with pleaſures about him, and is guarded by perſons watching; and all this is done through fear of his power, for whilſt he takes his repoſe, none dare preſume to leave him, let his own buſineſs never ſo much require his preſence; but he carefully watches the king's perſon, as eſteeming it his only and moſt neceſſary employment. For which reaſons, it is plain, that a king is the moſt powerful of all, ſince when he but ſpeaks, ſo great a multitude is always ready to give ear to him.’

When the ſecond had done ſpeaking, *Zorobabel* the third began to acquaint them with the power of women and truth in this manner: ‘Wine, ſaid he, is indeed ſtrong, and a king, whom all obey, is ſtrong, but women are far ſtronger than both of them; for a woman bore the king, and the planters of the vineyard which produceth wine; women both bring them into the world, and nouriſh them, and there is nothing in the world but what we are beholden to women for; for they weave for us clothes, and 'tis to their good oeconomy we owe the preſervation of our domeſtic concerns. Nor can we ſuſtain life without a communication with women. If we ſcrape up vaſt quantities of gold and ſilver, or any other valuable treaſure, we preſently reject all at the ſight of a beautiful woman, whom we eagerly covet and deſire; and if we can purchaſe the happineſs of enjoying her, we patiently ſubmit to the loſs of all our goods. Nay, for women we often forſake father and mother, our native country, and many times forget our deareſt friends to go and live with them, and this is ſufficient to convince us how powerful a woman is: Do not we undergo all the calamities of ſea and land, to purchaſe riches, which, when acquir'd with vaſt toil, we beſtow upon our wives, as if they had the ſuperiority over us? I myſelf have ſeen the king, who is lord of ſo vaſt an empire, ſuffer *Apame*, daughter of *Rabezac*, and his concubine, to ſtrike him without a frown; nay, to pull the diadem from his head, and place it upon her own without being chid for it. I have ſeen him ſmile when ſhe ſmiled, and look ſad when ſhe was ſad, and ſympathize with her in every other affection of mind, and ſtrive to pacify her with wonderful ſubmiſſion, whenever he obſerved her to be ſorrowful or uneaſy.’

All the officers and governors hearing this, looked upon one another, but *Zorobabel* proceeded to ſpeak of truth, which he did to this effect: *I have already ſhewn the great power of women; yet they and a king are very weak, if put in compariſon with truth, for the earth is large, and the heaven is high, and the ſun ſwift in his courſe, and all theſe are moved by the will of God, who is truth and righteouſneſs, and againſt whom no iniquity can prevail. Many things which ſeem ſtrong and powerful, are not permanent, but ſubject to decay, but truth is eternal, and flouriſhes for ever. Truth beſtows upon us things not liable to be corrupted by time, or ſuch riches as fortune often takes away from us, but juſtice and equity, by which we can diſcern good from evil, and model ourſelves accordingly.*

No ſooner had *Zorobabel* made an end of ſpeaking about truth, than all unanimouſly pronounced that he had delivered himſelf beſt, and that truth, by its own nature, was immutable, and ſubject to no alteration. The king upon this bid him demand ſomething more than what he had promiſed him, for he would give it him for his wiſdom, and ſuperior knowledge to the reſt; and, ſaid he, you ſhall ſit down with me, and I will call you my (*a*) couſin. When *Darius* had ſpoke thus, *Zorobabel* deſired him to remember the vow he had made, if he came to obtain the kingdom: For he had vowed to rebuild *Hieroſolyma*, and the temple of God, and reſtore the veſſels which *Nabuchodonoſor* had taken, and carried to *Babylon*. ‘And this is what I, ſaid he, aſk of you, ſince you have permitted me to aſk it, and vouchſafed to ſtile me a wiſe and prudent man.’

The king hearing this was very much rejoiced, and kiſſed him, and wrote immediately to his officers and governors, with orders to conduct *Zorobabel* and his companions to *Hieroſolyma*, and there ſuffer them to rebuild the temple; and after this he ſent mandatory letters to his preſidents in *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, to hew down *Cedar* trees in mount *Libanus*, and ſend them to *Hieroſolyma*, that they might be uſed in carrying on the building of the city, and gave particular orders to grant all the *Jews* their liberty, who were deſirous of removing to *Judea*, and forbid his officers and governors to exact any thing from them, and turn it to the king's uſe, and permitted them to cultivate all the land which they ſhould inhabit, free from tribute. He alſo laid a command upon the *Idumæans*, *Samaritans*, and *Cœlo-Syrians*, to ſurrender up all the *Jewiſh* towns, which then were in their poſſeſſion, and to aſſiſt them with fifty talents towards the building of the temple; and he gave them free liberty of offering up their ſacrifices in conformity to the inſtitutions and laws of their country, and of making all the ſacred robes and veſtments, which their high-prieſt and other prieſts uſed in the celebration of the worſhip of God, out of their own manufactures, and alſo the inſtru-

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(*a*) At this very Day the Kings of *Great Britain* and *France*, call thoſe Couſins whom they dignify wi the Title of Earl, Count, or Biſhop, ſaying thus, *Moutrez chez* Couſin *Archeveſque de Canterbury*. I hav read a Letter wrote by *Anne* Queen of *England*, to the Count of *Athlone*, in which ſhe calls that Gentlema her Couſin.

ments wherewith they ſolemnized the praiſes of God, ordering likewiſe lands to be aſſigned to the keepers of the city and temple, and a certain annual ſum of money for the neceſſary ſupport of their age. And after he had done thus, he reſtored back the veſſels dedicated to the ſervice of God, and performed every thing conformably to what *Cyrus* before him had intended towards ſending back the *Jews* into their native country.

Zorobabel, having obtained this favour from the king, departed out of the palace, and lifting up his eyes towards heaven, returned God thanks for beſtowing upon him wiſdom, and proving the means of carrying away the prize in the judgment of *Darius*; for I had not procured that favour, ſaid he, if thou, O Lord, hadſt not been propitious to me. But after he had thus offered up his praiſes to God, and begged him to continue the like kindneſs to him, he went to *Babylon*, and acquainted the *Jews* with the joyful news he had received from the king; who, having heard it, bleſſed God for granting them again liberty to return into their native country, and for the ſpace of ſeven days kept a publick feaſt, to expreſs the greatneſs of their joy upon that happy occaſion. This done, they elected the princes of the tribes to go to *Hieroſolyma* with their wives, and children, and beaſts of burden; and having received the perſons from *Darius* who were to conduct them thither, they marched with great rejoicing, playing upon harps and cymbals, and attended by a vaſt multitude of the *Jews*.

In this manner they proceeded, family by family, and of each a certain number. But I deem it not neceſſary to recount them by name here, leſt, whilſt the reader's mind is taken off from the main ſubject, the chain of hiſtory be interrupted. Yet thoſe of the tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, who departed, and were upwards of twelve years of age, amounted to (1) four hundred and ſixty two (2) myriads and eight thouſand, and the *Levites* were ſeventy four thouſand; beſides a promiſcuous multitude of women and children, amounting to forty thouſand ſeven hundred and forty two; and beſides theſe, there were one hundred and twenty eight choiriſters of *Levitical* extraction; one hundred and ten porters; and three hundred and ninety two ſervants belonging to the ſacrifices; and excluſive of this number, there were ſix hundred and ſixty two perſons, who pretended to be *Iſraelites*, but could not make out their family and pedigree. And there were ſome prieſts who were diſpoſſeſt of the ſacerdotal dignity for having married, and not being able to produce a clear account of their lineage, and for their being not mentioned in the written genealogies of the *Levites* and prieſts. Of this claſs were five hundred and twenty five; and there followed thoſe who went up to *Hieroſolyma* ſeven thouſand three hundred and thirty ſeven ſervants; two hundred and forty five ſingers and players upon the harp; four hundred and thirty five camels; and five thouſand five hundred and twenty five aſſes. Now *Zorobabel* the ſon of *Salathiel* was the general of this great multitude, being of the tribe of *Judah*, and of the poſterity of *David*; and in conjunction with him was joined *Jeſus* the ſon of *Joſedec* the high prieſt; and beſides theſe two, were choſen for captains out of the multitude, *Mardochæus* and *Serebæus*, who carried with them one hundred pounds of gold, and five thouſand of ſilver. And thus did the prieſts and *Levites*, and one part of the whole *Jewiſh* nation, which then dwelt at *Babylon*, march in proceſſion to go and inhabit *Hieroſolyma*: But the reſt of the multitude departed to their native habitations.

CHAP. IV.

How the Temple was built, notwithſtanding all the Attempts of the Chuthæans *to hinder it.*

IN the ſeventh month from their departure from *Babylon*, *Jeſus* the high-prieſt, and *Zorobabel* the prince, ſent meſſengers all about the country, to aſſemble the whole nation at *Hieroſolyma*, who with extreme alacrity came thither, and erected an altar in the very ſame place the former one ſtood in, with a reſolution to perform ſacrifice thereon to God according to the inſtitutions of *Moyſes*. But while they were intent upon this good deſign, the bordering nations, who were their profeſt enemies, were incenſed at them. Beſides, they celebrated the feaſt of tabernacles at this time, as our legiſlator had appointed, and offered up their daily oblations and burnt ſacrifices, and their ſacrifices of ſabbaths, and obſerved all their other feſtivals; and they who performed their vows, made them at the ſacrifices on the new moon of the ſeventh month. Moreover they ſet about building the temple, beſtowing great ſums of money upon maſons and ſmiths, and victuals and drink upon the perſons who brought the materials, for the *Sidonians* very willingly hewed down *Cedars*, and brought them from mount *Libanus*, and put them on ſhip-board to be conveyed into the *Haven* at *Joppa*; for *Cyrus* had given this command, which now *Darius* ordered to be put in execution.

In the ſecond year from the *Jews* return to *Hieroſolyma*, and in the ſecond month, the building of the temple was begun, and the foundations laid; and upon the new moon of the ſecond month of the ſecond year, they began to raiſe the ſuperſtructure, after they had ſet over the works as many of the *Levites* as exceeded twenty years of age, and *Jeſus* with his ſons and brothers, and (1) *Zodmiel* the brother of *Judah*, the ſon of *Aminadab*, and his brothers. By the extraordinary care theſe ſeveral perſons ſhewed in their management, the temple was finiſhed much ſooner than was expected. Upon which the prieſts, with their trumpets, being habited after their accuſtomed manner, and the *Levites*, and the ſons of *Aſaphus*, ſung hymns to God, after the manner which *David* had preſcribed: But thoſe prieſts, and *Levites*, and heads of families, who were advanced far in years, recollecting in their minds the beauty and magnificence of the old temple, and obſerving the new one, for want of money, to be far inferior both for building and ornament, and how much their condition was altered from its former happy ſtate, were very ſorrowful, and being unable to conceal their grief, melted into tears and ſighs. But the meaner ſort ſeemed very well ſatisfied with their condition, and thought it ſufficient that a temple was now finiſhed for them, little reflecting on the old one, or making any compariſons between them, which was the moſt ſplendid and ſtately, and the univerſal joy amongſt them, and the ſounds of trumpets, quite drowned the mourning and complaints of the elder ſort and prieſts, who eſteemed the latter much inferior to the firſt.

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(1) *Eſdras*, l. 1. chap. ii. and l. 3. chap. v. ver. 41. ſays only forty two thouſand, three hundred and ixty, yet *Zonaras* follows *Joſephus* in this Paſſage.

(2) A Number of ten thouſand.

When the *Samaritans* heard the ſound of the trumpets (being profeſt enemies to the tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*) they run to know the occaſion of it; and having underſtood the reaſon, that it was upon account of the temple's being built by the *Jews*, who had been carried captive into *Babylon*, they went to *Zorobabel*, and *Jeſus*, and the leading men among them, and required leave to aſſiſt in the building with them, and to be admitted friends amongſt them, to help to carry it on. *For we, ſaid they, adore no leſs the ſame God than you, to whom we offer up our prayers and ſupplications, and have been conſtant in obſerving his religion ever ſince the time, when* Salmanaſar, *the king of the* Aſſyrians, *brought us out of* Chuthia *and* Media *into this place, which we now inhabit.* After they had in this manner delivered themſelves, *Zorobabel*, and *Jeſus* the high-prieſt, and the princes of the *Iſraelites*, returned them this anſwer; *That they could not admit them as aſſiſtants in building the temple, ſince the order was made alone to them to carry it on, firſt by* Cyrus, *and then by* Darius. *However, they might have leave to worſhip God in it, if they pleaſed, in common with all other nations, who ſhould come thither on that account.*

The *Chuthæans* hearing this (for by that name are the *Samaritans* called) took it ill, and perſuaded the nations of *Syria*, and the governors over them, to hinder the *Jews* in their vigorous endeavours to build the temple, as they had done before, firſt under *Cyrus*, and next under *Cambyſes*. And about this time *Siſines*, the governor of *Syria* and *Phænicia*, and *Sarabozanes*, with ſome others, went up to *Hieroſolyma*, and demanded of the princes of the *Jews*; *By whoſe permiſſion they preſumed to build the temple in a manner, that it rather ſeemed a tower of ſtrength, than a place of worſhip, and what was their reaſon for ſurrounding the city with ſuch ſtrong rampiers and walls?* To this *Zorobabel* and *Jeſus* anſwer'd, *That they were ſervants of the moſt high God, and that the temple, formerly built by their happieſt and moſt virtuous king, had for ſeveral ages remained ſafe. But that, for the wicked tranſgreſſions of their fore-fathers againſt God,* Nabuchodonoſor *the king of the* Babylonians, *and* Chaldæans, *after he had ſack'd the city, entirely demoliſhed it, and having rifled the temple, burnt it, carrying the people into captivity to* Babylon, *and transferring them to other habitations: Yet* Cyrus, *his ſucceſſor in the* Babylonian *and* Perſian *kingdoms, had wrote a letter, commanding the temple to be rebuilt, and had given to* Zorobabel *and* Mithridates, *his treaſurer, all the donations and veſſels back again, which* Nabuchodonoſor *had taken from thence, to be carried to* Hieroſolyma, *and placed in the new built temple. For he had given orders to uſe the utmoſt diſpatch in carrying it on, and commanded* Abeſſarus *to go up to* Hieroſolyma, *and be very diligent about erecting it; who no ſooner had received the letter, but immediately went thither, and laid the foundations, and ever ſince hath continued building, and hath not yet been able to be finiſhed, thro' the malice and hatred of its enemies. Wherefore, if you are inclined to it, write to* Darius *the very words we have now ſpoke to you, that recourſe may be had to his records, and be made ſenſible, that nothing, of what we have now declared, is falſe, or not authentic.*

Zorobabel and the high-prieſt having ſpoke thus, *Siſines* and his followers would not hinder them from carrying on the building of the temple, until they had firſt acquainted *Darius* with the affair. To which end they preſently diſpatched a letter to him about it. In the mean time the *Jews* were extremely terrified, and had ſtrong apprehenſions, leſt *Darius* ſhould repent of the leave he had granted the *Hieroſolymites* to build the temple. But two prophets, named *Aggæus* and *Zacharias*, who were amongſt them at that time, bad them entertain chearful hopes, and not dread receiving any injuſtice or wrong from the *Perſians*; for God had propheſied ſo to them. This encouragement gained credit with them; after which they once more very diligently ſet about the building, and loſt not a day by their negligence.

But *Darius*, after the *Samaritans* had wrote to him, and in their letter accuſed the *Jews* of fortifying their city, and erecting a templ more like a ſtrong tower than a place o worſhip, and that what they were carrying o was contrary to his order, ſhewing at the ſam time *Cambyſes*'s letters, wherein he had fo bidden the temple to be rebuilt, conclude from thence, that his affairs in the rebuild *Hieroſolyma* were in no good condition, an after he had peruſed the epiſtle which *Siſin* and his colleagues had ſent him, he order'd ſearch to be made amongſt the royal records at *Ecbatane*, a tower in *Media*, where was found a regiſter book, wherein the following words were written: *In the firſt year of his reign, king* Cyrus *commanded the temple and altar to be new built at* Hieroſolyma, *and to make its height ſixty cubits, and its breadth the ſame number, and to conſiſt of three partition walls of poliſhed ſtone, and one partition of the wood of the country, and he ordered that the expence of them ſhould be defrayed out of his treaſury; and he alſo commanded all the veſſels, which* Nabuchodonoſor *had taken away, and carried to* Babylon, *to be returned to* Hieroſolyma, *and gave the charge of them to* Abeſſarus *his governor, and to his preſident of* Syria *and* Phænicia, *and his colleagues, whom he ſtrictly enjoin'd to refrain from injuring the* Jews, *and ſuffer them to build the temple. And he alſo commanded them to aſſiſt them in carrying it on, and lay a tax upon the province they governed, to ſupply them with bulls and rams, and lambs, and kids, and barley, and oil, and wine, and all other things which the prieſts ſhould have occaſion for in their ſacrifices, or at the times they offered up their prayers to God, for the preſervation of the king, and the* Perſians. *But that whoſoever ſhould infringe his command in any particular, he ordered him to be apprehended and crucified, and his goods confiſcated to his uſe. And laſtly, he prayed God to ſtrike dead that perſon, who preſumed to hinder the building of the temple, for his impiety.*

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(1) *Eſdras* calls him *Kadmiel*, ſo that this Word is corrupted, and ſome others following.

When *Darius* had found theſe things mentioned in the records of *Cyrus*, he wrote to *Siſines*, and his colleagues, to this effect: Darius *the king to* Siſines, *maſter of his horſe, and to* Sarabazanes, *and their colleagues, greeting: I have ſent you copies of the letters which I have found amongſt the records of* Cyrus, *and I will, and require you to act conformably to every article contained therein. Farewel.* From this letter *Siſines* and his companions gathered the pleaſure and inclination of the king; whereupon they reſolved to perform the remainder at a convenient time. They therefore ſet about giving their aſſiſtance towards carrying on the ſacred building, and helped very much the elders and princes of the *Jews* in it, by means whereof, with wonderful diligence, the building was compleated; *Aggæus* and *Zacharias*, by the appointment of God, propheſying all the time, and the decrees of *Cyrus* and *Darius* having greatly contributed towards finiſhing it, which was done within ſeven years. And in the ninth year of the reign of king *Darius*, on the twenty third day of the twelfth month, which by our nation is called *Adar*, and by the *Macedo*- *ians*, *Dyſtrus*, the prieſts and *Levites*, with he reſt of the nation of the *Iſraelites*, for eing reſtor'd to their antient happy con- ition after their captivity, and for receiv- g a new temple, offered up ſacrifices of e hundred oxen, two hundred rams, four undred lambs, and twelve he-goats (to anſwer e number of the *Iſraelitiſh* tribes, which ere ſo many) to make expiation for every erſon's tranſgreſſions. Beſides, both the prieſts and *Levites* took care to have porters, according to the inſtitutions of *Moyſes*, at every door; for the *Jews* had built all round the temple porticos leading into the inner courts.

The feaſt of unleavened bread was now near at hand, whereupon, on the firſt month, which by the *Macedonians* is called *Xanthicus*, and by our nation *Niſan*, all the people withdrew out of their towns, and thronged to the city, where being purified, they performed the ſolemnity, according to the cuſtom of their country, in company with their wives and children, who were alſo purified. And after they had offered the *Paſchal* lamb, as they call it, on the tenth day of the ſame month, for ſeven days ſucceſſively, they ſumptuouſly feaſted together, ſparing no manner of coſt, but offering burnt offerings, and returning God thanks, for reſtoring them to their native country, and the enjoyment of the law of their anceſtors, and for making the *Perſian* king their friend and benefactor; and thus they lived in *Hieroſolyma*, offering up to God the moſt coſtly ſacrifices, and performing the worſhip of God moſt magnificently, and eſtabliſhing that form of a commonwealth, which has the mixture of the power of a few great men in it; for the high prieſts exerciſed the ſupreme authority, until the *Aſamonæan* race obtained the kingdom. For before the captivity, and deſtruction of the city, the government continued regal, from *Saul* the firſt king, and *David*, five hundred and twenty two years, ſix months and ten days. But before theſe kings, they were under the government of rulers called judges and monarchs; and this form of a commonwealth from the death of *Moyſes* and *Jeſus* the general, ſubſiſted upwards of five hundred years. And theſe are the accounts of the *Jewiſh* affairs which happen'd under *Cyrus* and *Darius* the kings, from the captivity. Now the *Samaritans*, a very ſpiteful and envious nation, did the *Jews* many injuries, as depending upon their great riches, and boaſting themſelves to be relations of, and deſcended from the *Perſians*. For they refuſed to pay the tribute the king had commanded to be allowed the *Jews* for their ſacrifices, having procured the maſter of his horſe to favour them in it; and in all other things they ſtrove all they could to moleſt them both by themſelves or others. This treatment induced the *Hieroſolymites* to ſend to *Darius*, and accuſe the *Samaritans*; and accordingly *Zorobabel* and four other officers undertook the embaſſy. But when the king had heard what the ambaſſadors had to object againſt the *Samaritans*, he diſmiſſed them with letters to the maſters of his horſe, and the council of *Samaria*, which were written to this effect: ‘ King *Darius* to *Tanganes* and ‘ *Sambabes*, maſters of the horſe, at *Samaria*, ‘ and to *Sadrakes* and *Babelon*, and the reſt ‘ of their colleagues in *Samaria*. *Zorobabel*, ‘ *Ananias*, and *Mardochæus*, the ambaſſadors ‘ of the *Jews*, have exhibited complaints ‘ againſt you, for having given them diſtur- ‘ bance in their building of the temple, and ‘ for having refuſed to pay them the taxes ‘ towards the maintenance of their ſacrifices,

‘ which I have commanded you to perform.
‘ Now I will and require you, as ſoon as
‘ you have peruſed this letter, to pay out of
‘ the royal treaſury at *Samaria*, money ſuf-
‘ ficient to defray every expence which the
‘ prieſts ſhall judge neceſſary, towards offering
‘ daily ſacrifices, that no ſtop be put thereto;
‘ and that they may invoke God for the proſ-
‘ perity of myſelf, and the *Perſian* nation.’
And this was the ſubſtance of the letters he wrote.

CHAP. V.

Of the great Benevolence Xerxes, *the Son of* Darius, *ſhewed the* Jews. *Of* Eſdras *and* Neemiah.

AFTER the death of *Darius*, his ſon *Xerxes* ſucceeded him in the kingdom, who ſhewed the ſame regard and veneration for God, as his father had done before him: And he gave very lively proofs of it, by promoting his worſhip, and by his extraordinary benevolence to the *Jews*.

About this time one *Joakim*, the ſon of *Jeſus*, was high-prieſt. But there lived a very juſt man at *Babylon*, and one who was in much repute with every one, named *Eſdras*: He was the firſt prieſt of the people, perfectly underſtood the *Moſaic* conſtitutions, and had obtained great eſteem with *Xerxes*. He had made a reſolution to go up to *Hieroſolyma*, and carry thither along with him ſome of the *Jews* who dwelt at *Babylon*. And to that purpoſe he petitioned the king to grant him credential letters to the governors of *Syria*, to let them know who he was. The king hereupon wrote a letter to this effect:

Xerxes, *king of kings, to* Eſdras, *prieſt and profeſſor of the Divine Laws*, Greeting:

I Have commanded, that my tenderneſs and humanity may be ſeen, that leave be given to the *Jews*, and their prieſts and the *Levites* who now live in my kingdom, and are deſirous to remove to *Hieroſolyma*, to go thither. Therefore he who is willing to return, may freely depart, according to what I and ſeven of my council have decreed: That he may act in *Judea* agreeably to the law of God, and that the moſt high may receive the offerings which I and my friends have vowed, and that all the gold or ſilver any where in the country of *Babylon*, which has been dedicated to the ſervice of God, may be ſent to *Hieroſolyma*, for the uſe of the ſacrifices: And if you yourſelf deſire any thing to be caſt in gold or ſilver, it ſhall be lawful for you and your brethren to do it. The ſacred veſſels now given you, yourſelf ſhall dedicate to God, and if any thing beſides happens to come into your mind, you ſhall have liberty to put it in execution, and my treaſury ſhall defray the charge thereof. Moreover I have wrote to the comptrollers of my finances in *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, to pay exact obedience to what *Eſdras* the prieſt, and the expounder of the laws of God, ſhall direct. And that God may never pour out his wrath either upon me or my ſucceſſors, I order that every thing, even to an hundred corns of barley, in purſuance of the law, be given to God. And I further command you, not to impoſe any tax or other burthen to injure them, on any prieſt or *Levite*, or ſacred ſingers, or porter, or holy ſervant, or ſcribe of the temple. And as for you, *Eſdras*, in conſideration of your great wiſdom, I licence you to appoint judges well verſed in your law, to adminiſter juſtice throughout all *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, and to teach it to thoſe unacquainted with it, that all your people, who ſhall tranſgreſs it, may be deſervedly puniſhed for the ſame: And that they, who, after they are made ſenſible of their duty, may not plead ignorance, but being found guilty of acting repugnant to it, may be accuſed of contumacy and an inſolent diſdain of it, and be puniſhed by death or fine. *Farewel.*

Eſdras having received this letter, was exceedingly rejoiced, and began to return God thanks, and acknowledge the benevolence of the king towards him, ſaying, he was infinitely obliged to him for his kindneſs. But when he had read the letter to the *Jews*, then at *Babylon*, he kept it to himſelf, and wrote a copy of it, which he ſent into *Media* to all the people of his nation; who coming to underſtand the king's pious inclination towards the ſervice of God, and his kindneſs for *Eſdras*, were extremely glad, and many of them packed up all their effects, and went to *Babylon*, being very deſirous of returning to *Hieroſolyma*. But the greateſt number of the people remained behind in that country. Upon which account only two tribes live under the *Roman* government. For the other ten to this very day inhabit beyond the *Euphrates*, being an infinite number of perſons, and not to be reckoned. Beſides, a great number of prieſts and *Levites*, and porters, and ſacred ſingers, and miniſters of the temple, went to *Eſdras*, whom he collected together into a place beyond the *Euphrates*, and kept them there three days, during which he appointed a faſt to implore God's protection, to aſſiſt them in their journey, and deliver them from ſuffering any miſfortune from their enemies, or any other accident. For *Eſdras* had before told the king that God would be their conductor and preſerver, and therefore would not petition him for horſes to carry them away. When th faſt was over, they began their march fro *Euphrates* on the twelfth day of the firſt mont and in the ſeventh year of king *Xerxes*, and arriv'd at *Hieroſolyma* in the fifth month of t ſame year; where *Eſdras* immediately ſurrendred into the hands of the keepers of t treaſury, the ſacred money, *viz.* ſix hund and fifty talents of ſilver, ſilver veſſels weig ing one hundred talents, golden veſſels weighing twenty talents, and veſſels of (*a*) braſs weighing twelve talents, which were better than gold. Now the king and his counſellors, and all the *Iſraelites* remaining at *Babylon*, made preſents of theſe. And *Eſdras*, having deliver'd them up to the prieſts, ſacrificed according to the law, burnt ſacrifices to God, *viz.* twelve bullocks for an expiation of the ſins of the whole people, ninety rams and ſeventy two lambs, and twelve he-goats for a propitiatory ſacrifice. And he alſo gave the king's letters to the governors and rulers over *Cœlo-Syria* and *Phœnicia*, who, with all imaginable reſpect honoured our nation, executed the king's commands, and aſſiſted them with every thing they wanted.

And theſe are the tranſactions of *Eſdras*, which in every circumſtance fell out very fortunately, and I am induced to believe that God, in regard of his probity and uprightneſs, thought him worthy of receiving his proſperous bleſſing. A little while after this, ſome perſons came and brought before him certain of the people, and prieſts, and *Levites*, who had tranſgreſſed the laws, and acted in oppoſition to the inſtitutions of their country, by marrying wives of foreign nations, and in that manner defiling the prieſthood. They petitioned him therefore to put in force the laws, for fear the anger of God ſhould be ſent down upon all of them without diſtinction, and involve them again in ſome miſerable calamity. When *Eſdras* heard this, he was very ſorrowful, and preſently rent his clothes, and tore the hair from his head and his beard, and caſt himſelf proſtrate upon the ground, becauſe the better ſort of the people had acted thus. And conſidering with himſelf, that he ſhould not be obeyed, if he commanded them to put their wives away, he would not riſe from the ground. Whereupon ſeveral perſons, who were juſt and good men, came to him, and pitied him, and expreſſed their concern with him for what had been done. But when *Eſdras* roſe from the ground, he ſtretched out his hands, and lifted them up towards heaven, and ſaid he was aſhamed to look thither after the people had committed ſo heinous a crime, and ſhewed themſelves unmindful of the hardſhips their anceſtors had ſuſtained for their tranſgreſſion. But he begged God, who had preſerved ſome remainder of them out of their calamities and captivity, and had again brought them back to *Hieroſolyma*, to inhabit their native country, and had made the *Perſian* kings their friends and benefactors, that he would forgive their preſent crimes, which deſerved death, if, on condition they obtained pardon, they turned themſelves to praiſe and worſhip God for his mercy.

And thus did *Eſdras* make an end of his prayer. But while the perſons about him with their wives and children were weeping and bewailing, one named *Achonius*, a chief of the *Hieroſolymites*, came to him, and ſaid, that all they who had lived with foreign wives, were guilty of a great ſin, and perſuaded him to make all of them ſwear to put away their wives and children, and if any infringed the oath, to inflict a due puniſhment upon him. *Eſdras* was perſuaded hereupon to it, and exacted an oath from the princes of the prieſts and *Levites*, and the *Iſraelites*, to put away their wives according to the advice of *Achonius*. As ſoon as they had all taken the oath, he went out of the temple, and departed to the houſe of *Joannes* the ſon of *Eliaſib*, where he ſtayed all that day, without taking any manner of ſuſtenance, through his great ſorrow. After this a decree was publiſhed, commanding all thoſe, who were returned from their captivity, to meet at *Hieroſolyma* in the ſpace of two or three days; and upon non-appearance to be expelled out of the number of the people, and their goods to be ſequeſtred. Hereupon the people of *Judah* and *Benjamin* came within the three days, and aſſembled together on the twentieth day of the ninth month, which by the *Hebrews* is called *Chaſleus*, and by the *Macedonians Appellæus*. But after they had taken their ſeats in the higher part of the temple, the elders being there alſo preſent, but pinched with cold, *Eſdras* aroſe up, and accuſed them, telling them that they had committed a crime in marrying foreign women, but that nevertheleſs they ſhould have liberty to ſacrifice to God, which might prove acceptable to him, and beneficial to themſelves, if they would put away their wives. To this remonſtrance the whole company cried out they were ready to agree; but ſaid their number was very conſiderable, and it was winter time, and the buſineſs was not to be compleated in a day or two's ſpace. But if they would ſend, or ſuffer their own magiſtrates, or thoſe of other tribes, to come at a certain time, and join with them ſome other grave men of any other place, they would ſubmit to have an account taken of thoſe who had married foreigners. This reſolution was liked, and concluded upon, and the enquiry was begun on the firſt day of the tenth month, of who had taken foreigners to wife: And the ſcrutiny having continued to the firſt day of the following month, ſeveral of the poſterity of *Jeſus* the high-prieſt, and the other prieſts, *Levites*, and *Iſraelites*, were found to have foreign wives and children by them; whereupon they immediately began to put them away, ſhewing greater regard to a right obſervance of the laws, than to the love they bore them: And to pacify the anger of God, they ſlew rams, and offered them up in ſacrifice to him. But to recount the names of the offenders I judge entirely ſuperfluous. And after *Eſdras* had thoroughly corrected theſe abuſes in marriage, he aboliſhed the cuſtom of taking foreigners to wife, and left it entirely amended to poſterity.

On the ſeventh month, when the feaſts of tabernacles were celebrated, and all the people were met together in that place, near the gate facing the eaſt, which opens to the wide

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(*a*) This was a Metal made of a Mixture of Gold and Braſs, formerly eſteemed the moſt precious Metal.

part of the temple, they deſired *Eſdras* to recite to them the laws of *Moyſes.* And accordingly, having placed himſelf in the midſt of the audience, he continued reading to them from morning until noon. But when they had heard the laws read over to them, they not only learned to follow juſtice for the preſent, and for the future, but alſo lamented what was paſt, and with eyes drowned in tears heavily mourned at this conſideration, that if they had paid a due regard to the laws, they had not ſuffer'd the misfortunes they had undergone. When *Eſdras* ſaw them involved in this mournful condition, he commanded them to go home, and leave off weeping, for the day was a feſtival, and a very improper time to ſhew any ſigns of ſorrow. He exhorted them rather to turn their minds to mirth and feaſting, more agreeable to the time; and told them that their repentance and ſorrow for their paſt offences ſhould be a ſecurity againſt their future tranſgreſſions. And thus, at the requeſt of *Eſdras,* they begun to feaſt together, which they performed during eight days in their tents, and then departed home, giving God thanks, praiſing him, and acknowledging their obligations to *Eſdras,* who had piouſly amended every breach of the laws: And who, loaded with glory and age, died ſoon after, and was magnificently interr'd at (*a*) *Hieroſolyma.* And about the ſame time *Joakim* the high prieſt died, and was ſucceeded in the prieſthood by his ſon *Eliaſib.*

A certain captive *Jew,* named *Neemias,* king *Xerxes*'s butler, happening on a time to be walking before *Suſa,* the capital city of the *Perſians,* and perceiving ſome ſtrangers, who ſeemed to have travelled a long journey, entering the city, and hearing them talk in *Hebrew,* he ſtept up to them, and asked them from whence they came; they anſwer'd from *Judea*; whereupon he enquir'd into the condition of the people, and their city *Hieroſolyma.* They told him their nation was under great misfortunes, and that the walls of their city were levelled to the ground, and that the nations bordering upon their country, had done ſeveral injuries to the *Jews:* For in the day time they made inroads into their lands, and waſted them, and in the night time committed other miſchiefs, by taking away forcibly ſeveral perſons both out of the country, and *Hieroſolyma* itſelf; ſo that the roads were every where ſtrew'd with dead bodies. This ſorrowful account made the tears fall from the eyes of *Neemias,* and being moved with pity at the calamities of his countrymen, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and 'How long, ſaid he, 'are your misfortunes to continue, how long, 'O Lord, will thou ſuffer them to be thus 'chaſtiſed and afflicted? For now we are 'made a prey, and ſpoil to every one.' But whilſt he ſtayed at the gate and wept, a perſon came and told him that the king was ready to go to ſupper. Upon this *Neemias,* in the condition he was then in, and without ſo much as waſhing himſelf, made haſte to go and perform his duty to the king. But when ſupper was over, the king being in a pleaſant humour, and merrier than uſual, caſt his eyes upon *Neemias,* and obſerving his face full of ſorrow, he asked him the reaſon of his ſadneſs. Upon this, having begged God ſecretly to inſpire his words with ſoftneſs and perſuaſion, 'How can I, ſaid he, O king, appear otherwiſe to your eyes, or not grieved in my 'heart, when I hear that the walls of my 'country *Hieroſolyma,* where the monuments 'of my forefathers remain, are laid even with 'the ground, and the gates burnt down? I 'intreat you, my king, to let me go thither, 'both to erect the walls, and put a finiſhing 'hand to the temple.' The king readily granted his requeſt, and promiſed to write a letter to his governors in his behalf, both to pay reſpect to him, and provide him with all manner of neceſſaries which he ſhould want. But pray, ſaid the king, ceaſe from uttering any more complaints, and do your duty for the future with chearfulneſs and pleaſure. *Neemias* upon this, praiſed God, and return'd the king thanks for ſo ample a teſtimony of his great condeſcenſion and goodneſs to him, and preſently began to change his ſorrowful and dejected countenance, and to diſcover ſome marks of gladneſs in his looks. On the next day the king ſent for him, and gave him a letter for *Adæus,* his governor of *Syria, Phœnicia,* and *Samaria,* wherein was an expreſs command to entertain *Neemias* honourably, and ſupply him with every thing he had occaſion for, in carrying on the building.

After he was come to *Babylon,* and had met with ſeveral of his countrymen, who offered themſelves voluntarily to accompany him in his journey, he ſet out for *Hieroſolyma,* in the five and twentieth year of *Xerxes*'s reign, where being arrived, and having (*b*) *Shewn the letter to God,* he gave it to *Adæus,* and the reſt of the maſters of the horſe; after which an aſſembly of the whole people was ſummoned at *Hieroſolyma,* and in the midſt of the temple he ſtood up, and ſpoke thus: '*Jews* and countrymen, the great God ſtill retains in his re'membrance your forefathers *Abram, Iſaac* 'and *Jacob,* and for their righteouſneſs hath 'not entirely abandoned you. But he hath 'given me his aſſiſtance in procuring me leave 'from the king to build our walls, and finiſh 'what is ſtill wanting to the temple. I de-

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(*a*) The *Jewiſh* Traditions ſay, that none, except they were Prophets, and Deſcendants from the Line of *David,* were buried at *Hieroſolyma.*

(*b*) That is, ſpread it open before him in the Temple, looking towards the Sanctuary, which was called *ſpreading it before the Lord,* becauſe the Sanctuary was eſteemed the Place of his immediate Preſence, and for that Reaſon called the *Holy of Holies.* This Cuſtom may be obſerved in 2 *Kings,* chap. xix. ver. 14. Some Perſons, however, will have this Paſſage to be corrupted, and that it ſhould be read τῷ λαῷ, ſhewn it to the People, or his Friends, and not τῷ θεῷ, to *God:* Whilſt others, imagine the whole Sentence, *Shewn the Letter to God,* to be interpolated; but I think without any Grounds, unleſs they are reſolved to expunge every Paſſage which diſpleaſes them, or they can't underſtand.

‘ ſire you therefore (ſince you cannot but be very ſenſible with what malignity and hatred the nations round about have acted towards us, and how eagerly they have oppoſed, and by all manner of means endeavoured to hinder our deſign of building, as ſoon as our reſolution came to be known to them) in the firſt place to put your truſt in God, who is of himſelf able to prevent their malicious intentions, and then neither day nor night delay carrying on the building, but continue it with the utmoſt diligence and diſpatch, ſince the opportunity is now thrown into our hands.’ After he had done ſpeaking, he preſently order'd the magiſtrates to take the dimenſions of the walls, and diſtributed the work to the people according to their villages and towns, and promiſing to aſſiſt himſelf with his domeſticks, he broke up the aſſembly. Now the *Jews* immediately ſet about the undertaking, who were thus ſtiled (ever ſince that day, wherein they came from *Babylon*) by the tribe of *Judah*, who arriving firſt there, gave that name as well to themſelves, as the country.

But the *Ammanites* and *Moabites*, and *Samaritans*, and all the inhabitants of *Cœlo-Syria*, as ſoon as they came to hear it reported, that the building of the walls was carrying on with the utmoſt diſpatch, they were very much diſpleaſed, and contrived ſeveral ſtratagems to hinder the deſign; for they not only ſlew many *Jews*, but endeavoured to take *Neemias*'s life away, by bribing ſome ſtrangers to kill him. And they endeavoured to ſtrike terror amongſt them, by ſpreading vain reports, as if ſome vaſt army compoſed of many nations was marching to invade them. And indeed they began to be ſo much terrified, that they were juſt upon the point of entirely abandoning the building. But none of theſe idle ſuggeſtions could deter *Neemias* from his reſolution of carrying it on, but keeping a guard of ſoldiers about his perſon, he conſtantly attended it, and ſuſtained all manner of drudgery, thro' a great deſire of compleating it. Yet, this extraordinary care for his own preſervation, was not taken by him, as if he had been fearful of death; but he was perſuaded, that if he died, his fellow citizens would not finiſh the building of the walls; whereupon he ordered for the future, that the builders ſhould work clad in arms, and both the maſon and the labourer wear ſwords; moreover, he commanded them to have ſhields in readineſs, and diſpoſed trumpeters about five hundred paces diſtance from them, with orders to ſound a charge upon the approach of any enemies, whereby the people might have time to arm themſelves, and fight, and not be taken unarmed and defenceleſs; and every night he went about the city, without regarding the labour and fatigue, or refreſhing himſelf either with ſleep, or victuals; for he made neither of theſe ſubſervient to his pleaſure, but to his neceſſity. This laborious and painful life he bore for the ſpace of two years and four months; for ſo long did *Hieroſolyma* take up only to be ſurrounded with walls, which were finiſhed in the eight and twentieth year of the reign of *Xerxes*. Immediately after this, *Neemias* and the people offered ſacrifices to God, for the walls being built, and celebrated a ſolemn feaſt for eight days. But when the nations inhabiting *Syria* came to underſtand that the building of the walls was compleated, they were violently enraged. In the mean time, *Neemias*, obſerving that the number of the people within the city was very inconſiderable, exhorted the prieſts and *Levites*, diſperſed up and down the country, to remove from thence into the city, and build themſelves houſes at their own expence, and ſettle there. And he alſo commanded the people inhabiting the country to bring the tenths of their fruits to *Hieroſolyma*, that the prieſts and *Levites* might have a continual ſupport, to enable them to perform the worſhip of God, without any hindrance. They willingly paid a ſtrict obedience to all theſe commands of *Neemias*; whence *Hieroſolyma* came every day to encreaſe in the number of its inhabitants. Now *Neemias*, after having performed many other extraordinary and worthy actions, died in an advanced age. He was, in ſhort, a very good, and juſt man, and a promoter of his countrymen's honour and reputation: To whom he left the walls of *Hieroſolyma* as an everlaſting memorial of his deſerts. And theſe are the tranſactions under the reign of *Xerxes*.

CHAP. VI.

Of Eſther, *and* Mardochæus, *and* Aman: *And how, while* Artaxerxes *reign'd, the whole Nation of the* Jews *was upon the Point of being deſtroyed.*

AFTER the death of *Xerxes*, the empire devolved upon his ſon *Cyrus*, whom the *Greeks* call *Artaxerxes*, under whoſe reign over the *Perſians* the whole nation of the *Jews*, with their wives and children, were upon the point of being utterly deſtroyed. But the cauſe of it we will ſpeak of ſhortly; for it is neceſſary that we firſt of all recite the occurrences relating to the king, how he married a *Jewiſh* woman of royal extraction, whom fame reports to have preſerved our nation. For *Artaxerxes*, having obtained the kingdom, and conſtituted over the provinces, reaching from *India* to *Æthiopia*, one hundred and twenty ſeven governors; in the third year of his reign, made a magnificent entertainment for his friends, and his ſubjects, the *Perſians*, and their governors, which laſted one hundred and eighty days; an action agreeable to a prince, who has every thing in his power, and is deſirous to make known his vaſt riches. After this grand entertainment was over, he gave another feaſt at *Suſa* to ſeveral nations, and their ambaſſadors, which laſted ſeven days. The preparation was made in the following manner: He order'd a tent to be ſet up, and ſupported with brazen and ſilver pillars, and white and purple cloth to be extended ſo wide over it, that ſeveral thouſands of people might ſit down under it. The cups uſed on this occaſion were made of gold and precious ſtones, and ſerved both for pleaſure and ſhow; and orders were given to the waiters, not to force any one againſt his inclination to drink, as the *Perſian* cuſtom is, but to let every one regale himſelf as he thought beſt. Meſſengers were alſo ſent throughout all the province to proclaim an entire relaxation from all manner of labour, and a celebration of a feſtival for ſeveral days, for the preſervation of their kingdom. And *Vaſte* the queen, celebrated a feaſt in the palace which was compoſed of ladies. The king, in regard of her great beauty, being deſirous to ſhew her to his gueſts, commanded her to be ſent for to the feaſt. But *Vaſte*, out of veneration to the laws of the *Perſians*, which forbid women being ſeen by ſtrangers, went not to the king; upon which he ſent ſeveral times his eunuchs for her, and as ſhe ſtill continued within her apartment, and refuſed to come, he began to be very angry, and immediately broke up the feaſt, and riſing up he called to him the ſeven *Perſians*, who are the expounders of the law, and accuſed his wife before them, and told them how ſhe had diſhonoured him: For tho' he ſeveral times ſent for her to come to the feaſt, ſhe did not one ſingle time obey him. He therefore commanded them to declare what the laws appointed againſt the queen in ſuch a caſe. Hereupon one of them, named *Muchæus*, ſaid, that the queen's diſobedience was not an affront to him alone, but that all the *Perſians* were concern'd in it, leſt their wives might follow the ſame example, and diſhonour them. (For no woman will obey her huſband, when ſhe has a pattern before her of the queen's pride towards you, who have the ſupreme command.) Whereupon he adviſed him ſeverely to puniſh ſo ſtubborn a behaviour, and then to proclaim amongſt the nations his decree againſt the queen: For he was of opinion that *Vaſte* ought to be put away, and her honours beſtowed upon another woman.

The king loving *Vaſte* extremely, was very ſorrowful at the thoughts of being ſeparated from her, yet the law being againſt him, there was no poſſibility of reconciling them. But he could not forbear complaining, when he reflected, that he himſelf had been the occaſion of his own uneaſineſs. Many of his friends obſerving him in this melancholy condition, came and adviſed him to baniſh out of his breaſt the remembrance of his wife, and his love to her, which could avail him nothing, but to ſend over the world to enquire for handſome and beautiful women, and to make her, who was the moſt charming, his wife; for after he was once married to another woman, his love would gradually fall off from his firſt wife, and turn to his other. This advice being approved, certain perſons were appointed to manage the affair, and find out ſome of the moſt beautiful women in all his empire, and bring them to him. In a ſhort time ſeveral were preſented to him, but there was a young virgin found in *Babylon*, who was an orphan, and brought up under her uncle, named *Mardochæus*, one of the tribe of *Benjamin*, and a principal man amongſt the *Jews*. And thus *Eſther* (for that was the young virgin's name) was eſteem'd more agreeable than all the reſt, for on her were the eyes of every one fixed in admiration: But afterwards ſhe had a certain eunuch to attend on her, who ſerved her with all manner of ſweet-ſmelling and precious ointments, ſuch as were uſed to anoint the body with, wherewith ſhe might perfume herſelf. And this method was practiſed on four hundred virgins for the ſpace of ſix months. But as ſoon as they were thought well accompliſhed, and worthy of the king's bed, one of them every day was admitted to lie with the king; but after he had lain with her, ſhe was ſent back to the eunuch. But *Eſther* being once admitted to him, he was ſo delighted and enamour'd with her, that he took her for his lawful wife, and celebrated the nuptials in the ſeventh year of his reign, on the twelfth month which is called *Adar*. And he ſent heralds, called *Argari*, amongſt all the nations, to order them to make a feaſt on that occaſion. But the *Perſians* and *Medes*, and the princes of the nations, he magnificently entertained during one entire month, in honour of his marriage. And when *Eſther* entered his palace he placed a diadem upon her head, and in that condition ſhe lived with him, but did not diſcloſe her nation to him, but her uncle, after he had removed from *Babylon* to *Suſa*, dwelt there, and daily was preſent in the royal palace, where he enquir'd how *Eſther* behav'd herſelf, for he loved her no leſs than his own daughter.

About this time the king made a law, that none of his ſubjects, when he ſat upon the throne, ſhould appear before him without being ſummoned. And to this end men having axes in their hands, were planted round about the throne, to puniſh thoſe who diſobeyed the command. But the king ſat down, having a golden ſceptre in his hand, which he ſtretched out towards him, whom he had a mind to ſave, who appeared without being called. And whoſoever toucheth the ſceptre was out of danger. And this account is ſufficient relating to this matter.

Some time after this, *Bagathons* and *Theodeſtes*, two of his eunuchs, conſpiring againſt the king, *Barnabazus*, a ſervant to another of his eunuchs, and by nation a *Jew*, coming to find it out, went and communicated it to the uncle of the king's wife; who by the means of *Eſther* betray'd the conſpirators to the king. The king was terrified at the relation, and having enquir'd into the affair, found it true. And he crucified the eunuchs, but gave *Mardochæus*, who had been the preſerver of his life, no reward at that time, only he ordered his recorders to inſert his name in the annals, and commanded him to remain in the palace, as one of his beſt and trueſt friends. It was cuſtomary at this time whenever *Aman*, the *Amalekite*, ſon of *Amadathas*, appear'd before the king, for not only the *Perſians*, but alſo ſtrangers, to pay him a low reverence, being an honour which *Artaxerxes* the king had commanded to be given him. However *Mardochæus* regarding his own wiſdom, and the veneration he had for the laws of his country, did not obſerve the uſual ceremony; which *Aman* obſerving, enquir'd who he was? But when he came to know that he was a *Jew*, he was angry, and told him, that free-born *Perſians* did homage to him, tho' he, but a ſlave, refuſed it. And being deſirous to revenge the affront upon *Mardochæus*, he imagined he could eaſily obtain from the king an order to puniſh him; for he reſolved to extirpate his whole race out of the nation, being himſelf deſcended from the *Amalekites*, who had been deſtroyed by the *Jews*, and upon that account had a ſort of natural averſion againſt them. For this purpoſe he went to the king, and laid before him this accuſation: 'That there was a certain malicious nation, diſperſed throughout his empire, which were unſociable, herding, and living by itſelf, which had a religion different from others, had laws peculiar to itſelf, and manners and inſtitutions quite contrary to thoſe of your people, and the reſt of mankind. Now if you are deſirous to gratify your ſubjects with any mark of favour, command that this nation be utterly deſtroyed, and let not one live, no not one, either to remain in ſervitude or bondage.' And that the king might loſe nothing, he promiſed to ſatisfy the tribute paid by the *Jews*, and to raiſe him, whenever he order'd it, forty thouſand talents of ſilver out of his own eſtate; being very willing, he ſaid, to give him ſo large a ſum, that his kingdom might be delivered from ſuch a pernicious and troubleſome people, and live in peace.

Aman having made this petition, the king gave him both the ſilver and the people, to do with them as he pleaſed. Then *Aman*, having it now in his power to complete his revenge, ſent an edict in the name of the king, to all the nations under the king's juriſdiction, to this effect: 'The great king *Artaxerxes*, to the one hundred and twenty ſeven governors from *India* unto *Ethiopia*, writes thus: Whereas I am ſet over many nations, and enjoy the empire of the world, as far as I pleaſe, wherein as yet I have not been compelled to exerciſe my authority rigidly or violently upon my ſubjects, but have hitherto, by a mild behaviour, influenced them to live in peace, and obey the laws; which happineſs I have made it my endeavour to eſtabliſh and perpetuate in my empire. Yet (*a*) *Aman*, who, on account of his great prudence and juſtice, hath obtain'd the greateſt poſt of honour under me, and who, for his extraordinary fidelity and great benevolence is the next in dignity to myſelf, has, out of his eſpecial care, made known to me, that there is a nation blended amongſt all other nations, an utter enemy to them, and to their laws, and a contemner of the authority of kings, and of different morals from the reſt of mankind, an avowed deſpiſer of monarchy, and of wicked and malicious inclination to our government. Wherefore I command you, as ſoon as *Aman*, my ſecond father, has ſignified my decree to you, that you deſtroy all the *Jews*, with their wives and children, not ſparing any of them, nor thro' compaſſion, acting contrary to my decree, but that you execute it fully and effectually; and I will have this order put in force on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month of this preſent year, that my enemies in every place may in one day be cut off, and my kingdom for the future enjoy a ſtate of peace and tranquility.'

This decree being carried to all the cities and provinces, every one was ready on the day appointed for this general deſtruction of the *Jews*. And even *Suſa* itſelf was prepared for it; but while the king and *Aman* continued eating and drinking together, the city was drowned in lamentation and ſorrow.

When *Mardochæus* came to know what had been done, he rent his clothes, and put on ſackcloth, and throwing aſhes upon his head, went crying thro' the city, that his nation, guilty of no crime, was going to be deſtroyed. And in this mournful condition he went as far as the palace, and there ſtood, for it was unlawful for him to enter in the habit he then was in. And all the *Jews* in the other cities did the ſame thing, where this decree had been publiſhed; for they wept, and heavily lamented the deſtruction with which they were threatned. As ſoon as the queen was acquainted by ſome, that *Mardochæus* was ſtanding before the gates of the palace in ſuch a miſerable condition, ſhe was amazed, and immediately ſent to have his clothes changed; but upon his refuſing to put off his ſackcloth, becauſe the calamity was not yet averted, for which he had been compelled to wear it, ſhe bid *Acratheus*, the eunuch, who very luckily was then with her, to go to *Mardochæus*, and learn what it was that made him ſo ſorrowful, and why, after ſhe had deſired him, he had refuſed to pull off the clothes he then had on. *Mardochæus*, upon this, told the eunuch the cauſe of it, and how *Aman* had ſent a decree againſt the *Jews* into all the provinces under the king's juriſdiction, and the ſum of money he had been promiſed by the king to deſtroy the nation of the *Jews*. And after he had given him a copy of the decree, for murthering the *Jews* at *Suſa*, to carry to *Eſther*, he commanded him to beg her to intercede with the king humbly in their

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(*a*) The Verſion of *Epiphanius* is ſomething different, and runs thus: 'One ſuperior in Wiſdom and Fidelity, named *Aman*, hath acquainted me, that there is a Nation diſperſed throughout the World, who doth not conform itſelf to my Laws, but following Cuſtoms contrary to all other Nations; contemns the Decrees of Kings, and by its Diſagreement diſſolves the Union between the other Nations; which Crimes coming to our Ears, and obſerving this rebellious Nation, in Oppoſition to the reſt of Mankind, living under the Government of perverſe Laws of their own, contradicting our Commands, and diſturbing the Peace of the Provinces under our Dominions, have ordered, that unto whomſoever *Aman*, whom we have conſtituted chief Governor over all our Provinces, and who is our ſecond Father, ſhall make known our Decree, that they ſlay all the *Jews* with their Wives, *&c.*'

behalf, and not deem it beneath her dignity, when her nation was in danger of being entirely deſtroyed, to put on an humble dreſs, whereby ſhe might avert the deſtruction threatned againſt the *Jews*: For *Aman*, the next perſon in dignity to the king, had raiſed ſo great an accuſation againſt them, that the king was intolerably enraged at it. When ſhe underſtood this, ſhe ſent again to *Mardochæus* to acquaint him, that the king had not ſent for her for three days, and it was certain death for any one to go to him uncalled for, unleſs he ſtretched his golden ſceptre towards that perſon whom he had a mind to ſave. For whoſoever he did ſo to, might go to him though he was not ſent for, and not be under any apprehenſions of death, but entertain aſſured hopes of ſafety. When *Mardochæus* had heard the meſſage the eunuch brought from *Eſther*, he bid him return and tell her, not to be ſo ſolicitous about her own preſervation, but have a regard for that of her own nation; for if ſhe neglected this opportunity, yet God would ſtill preſerve it; but ſhe and all her family would periſh by the hands of thoſe ſhe had deſpiſed. Hereupon *Eſther* ſent the ſame ſervant back again with orders to *Mardochæus*, to go to *Suſa*, and aſſemble all the *Jews* there and command them to faſt for three days, and ſhe and her maids would do the ſame; and afterwards ſhe promiſed to go to the king though againſt the law, and if he was pleaſed that ſhe ſhould die, ſhe would willingly obey him.

Now *Mardochæus*, according to *Eſther*'s command, made the people faſt, and he offered his ſupplications up to God with them, not to ſuffer his nation, now reduced to the laſt extremity, but, as his providence had often before been viſible in their preſervation, and he had pardon'd their tranſgreſſions, that he would in like manner deliver them from the imminent deſtruction that was denounced againſt them; for it was not their fault, that their lives were reduced to the preſent extremity, but he was himſelf the cauſe of *Aman*'s implacable hate. 'Becauſe, ſaid he, I did not adore him, nor 'pay him the ſame honour, which I have been 'accuſtom'd to pay to thee, O Lord, he hath 'maliciouſly formed this cruel deſign againſt 'them, who do nothing contrary to thy laws.' The people alſo uttered the ſame ejaculation, begging God to afford them his protection and defence, which they daily expected, and deliver the reſt of the *Jews* diſperſed over the world from any future calamity. And *Eſther* alſo prayed to God after the cuſtom of her country, and threw herſelf proſtrate upon the ground, and put on a mourning dreſs, and for three days abſtained from either eating or drinking, in all that time beſeeching God to take compaſſion upon her condition, and when ſhe appeared in the preſence of the king, to beſtow upon her an eloquent and perſuaſive ſpeech, and to add more grace and beauty to her face than before, in order to allay the wrath of the king, if he happened to be angry, and induce to protect her countrymen in their laſt extremity, and cauſe him to hate thoſe who had meditated their deſtruction, and if ſhe perceived the king's inclinations averſe to their wicked deſigns, to obtain immediately their deaths.

After ſhe had continued to pray thus for three days to God, ſhe put off her mourning habit, and adorning herſelf in the rich attire of a queen, ſhe took her two maids, upon the ſhoulder of one of whom ſhe lightly leaned, whilſt the other walk'd behind, and held up the train of her robe that hung down and ſwept the ground, and went to the king, with a beauteous redneſs ſpread over her cheeks, and a majeſtic gate, yet full of fear and dread. But when ſhe came into the preſence of the king, who was ſitting upon his throne, arrayed in his royal robes, interwoven with various colours, and diverſified with gold and precious ſtones, which ſtruck the beholders ſight with an awe and reverence, and perceived him angry, and his countenance changed with wrath, ſhe immediately loſt her ſtrength through her fear, and ſwooned away upon thoſe who ſtood by her. But the king, as I ſuppoſe, by God's will, alter'd his mind, and being tender of his wife's ſafety, leſt her concern ſhould trouble her more, he came down from his throne, and claſped her to his boſom, and kiſſed her, and ſpoke very tenderly to her, bidding her not be afraid, or apprehend any danger for appearing before him uncalled for, for that law was only made for his ſubjects, and not for her who had an equal ſhare with him in the government, and therefore could do any thing. After he had ſpoken thus, he delivered his ſceptre into her hands, and ſtroked his golden wand upon her neck becauſe of the law, to eaſe her mind of her apprehenſions of fear. *Eſther* being ſtrengthened by theſe tokens, ſpoke thus: 'My Lord, it is not poſſible for me to ſpeak, when ſo ſuddenly you have appeared to me; for as ſoon as I ſaw you, 'great, beautiful, and awful, my courage inſtantly left me, and my ſpirits ſunk away.' The king, concern'd at theſe mournful accents, was very uneaſy in his mind, and began to bid *Eſther* reſume her courage, and hope for the beſt, for ſhe might perſuade herſelf, that he would give her half his kingdom, if ſhe requir'd it. *Eſther* upon this, deſired him and *Aman* to come and dine with her, for ſhe ſaid ſhe had prepared an entertainment for them. Which favour the king granted, and both accordingly came to it; when the king, during the feaſt, bid *Eſther* propoſe any thing ſhe had an inclination to, for he would not deny her, but would grant her any thing, nay, though ſhe asked for the half of his kingdom. But ſhe was willing to defer her ſentiments until the next day, on condition he would come again with *Aman* to dine with her.

The king condeſcended to this requeſt, and promiſed to come, and *Aman* departed very glad to think he was the only perſon thought worthy to be entertain'd by *Eſther* with the king; and that no preceding king had ſhewn the like honour to any other ſubject before. But when he ſaw *Mardochæus* before the gates of the palace, he was extremely enraged, for he paid no manner of reverence to him whenever he met him. And when he was got home, he ſent for *Zaraza*, and ſome of his friends, who being come, he told them in what eſteem he was both with the king and queen, who had that very day invited him only beſides the king to partake of an entertainment in her own apartment, and was invited upon the ſame account on the morrow; and he added likewiſe, how the ſight of *Mardochæus* at the gates of the palace diſpleaſed him. *Zaraza* hereupon adviſed him to order a tree of fifty cubits height to be cut down, and in the morning beg leave of the king to crucify *Mardochæus* thereon. This advice was preſently put in execution, for *Aman* commanded his ſervants to prepare the croſs, and erect it in the open court before his houſe, to puniſh *Mardochæus* thereon. Every thing accordingly was prepared: But God diſappointed the malicious deſigns and hopes of *Aman*, who was extremely rejoiced at what he expected would come to paſs. Now the king that night happened to have but little reſt; whereupon being unwilling to ſpend his wakeful hours to no purpoſe, but deſirous to make uſe of it about the affairs of his kingdom, he ordered his ſcribe to bring the book of annals of him, and the kings his predeceſſors, and read it to him. When the ſcribe had produced, and read the book, there was mention made of a perſon, who, for a ſignal ſervice, had been rewarded with a province, and his name was written therein; and that a ſecond for an extraordinary inſtance of fidelity, had been handſomely gratified. After this, the ſcribe came to read the diſcovery which *Mardochæus* had made of the conſpiracy of *Bagothons* and *Theodeſtes*, againſt the king. Having read over this, he haſted on to another head: Upon this, the king ſtopt him, and ask'd, if there was nothing written of any reward beſtowed upon him for it. The ſcribe anſwer'd, that there was no mention made of any. The king then bid him ſtop a while from reading, and asked the watch what hour of night it was? When hearing that it was almoſt dawn, he ordered them, if they found any of his friends before the gates of the palace, to tell them to come to him. It chanced that *Aman* appeared, for he came ſooner than his uſual time, to puniſh *Mardochæus* with death. But when the ſervants had told the king, that *Aman* was in court, the king order'd him to be called, who entering: 'Since, ſaid he, I know your kindneſs to me to exceed that of all my other ſubjects, I beg your advice, how I ſhall reward one who is extremely worthy of my favour.' Here *Aman* thinking his determination would turn to his own advantage, (for the king had borne him the greateſt affection till that time) conſequently pronounced the moſt favourable advice he was able to give in ſuch a caſe. For, he ſaid, 'If your majeſty would have the perſon you love rewarded with honour, let him ride upon your own horſe, be clothed with your own robes, and wear a golden chain about his neck, and let one of your particular friends go before him, and proclaim throughout the city, that this honour ſhall be given to him, whom the king is pleaſed to honour.' Now *Aman* adviſed the king thus, as thinking the reward was for himſelf. This advice having extremely well pleaſed the king, 'Then, ſaid he, go, (for I give you leave to take my horſe and robes, and a golden chain) and ſeek out *Mardochæus* the *Jew*, and after you have given them to him, do you yourſelf perform the office of an herald, and walk before his horſe; for added the king, you being my particular friend, ſhall execute this office, becauſe you have given your good advice to do it. And this is the reward I give *Mardochæus* for preſerving my life.' *Aman*, not in the leaſt apprehending this unwelcome news, was extremely diſturbed at it, and knew not what to think: However, he went out, and took the horſe, and the king's purple robe, and the golden chain with him, and finding *Mardochæus* before the gates of the palace, clad in ſackcloth, he ordered him to put it off, and cloath himſelf in the purple robe. But *Mardochæus*, knowing nothing of the affair, fancied it was a trick put upon him: 'And, 'O curſed man, ſaid he, is it thus you laugh, and mock at my misfortunes?' But *Aman* telling, and aſſuring him, that the king rewarded him ſo, for ſaving his life, by a timely diſcovery of the eunuchs conſpiracy, he put on the purple robe, which was conſtantly worn by the king, and placed the golden chain about his neck, and mounting the horſe, he rode all round the city, while *Aman* went before, and made this proclamation: 'Thus will the king honour him whom he loves, and eſteems worthy of his favour.' *Mardochæus* having rode about the city, returned back to the king; but *Aman*, full of ſhame and confuſion, went to his houſe, and with tears in his eyes, told his wife and friends what he had done; who told him, that he could never complete his revenge upon *Mardochæus*, for God ſtood by him.

While they were ſpeaking thus together, *Eſther*'s eunuchs came, and preſently conducted *Aman* to the entertainment. But *Sabuchadas*, one of the eunuchs, eſpying the croſs ſtanding before *Aman*'s houſe, which was prepared for *Mardochæus*, asked one of the ſervants why it ſtood ready there: And being told that it was made for the queen's uncle, and that *Aman* was in hopes to obtain the king's leave to puniſh him, he held his tongue. Now the king and *Aman* being ſplendidly entertained by *Eſther*, he asked her to tell him what it was ſhe deſir'd, and he would give it her: Upon which ſhe began to deplore the danger her nation was in, how they were decreed to be cut off, and utterly deſtroyed, and that it was for them ſhe begged to intercede with him; for it would have created in her no uneaſineſs, if he had ordered all of them to have been ſold into captivity, that being but a ſlight miſfortune to the other; wherefore ſhe humbly begged him to deliver them from death. The king requiring her to tell him who it was that had deſired ſuch a decree to be made, ſhe then openly accuſed *Aman*, and ſaid that he, through his malicious envy had contrived it. The king was aſtoniſhed at this, and in a great uneaſineſs roſe from the entertainment, and retir'd into his gardens; upon which *Aman* began to entreat *Eſther* to forgive him his crime, for he now plainly perceived himſelf in danger. And throwing himſelf upon the queen's bed, begging and intreating her to pardon him; the king in the mean time entered, and ſeeing him there, began to be more enraged, and ſaid, ‘What? audacious ‘villain, dareſt thou attempt alſo to offer vio‘lence to my wife?’ Theſe words ſo terrified *Aman*, that he was not able to utter one word, and *Sabuchades* the eunuch ſtepping in, in the mean time, accuſed *Aman* of preparing a croſs fifty cubits high, for the puniſhment of *Mardochæus*, as one of his ſervants had informed him, when he went to call him to the entertainment. The king hearing this, decreed the ſame puniſhment to *Aman*, which he had prepared for *Mardochæus*, and commanded him immediately to be hang'd upon the croſs. From hence I cannot but admire the wiſdom and juſtice of God, who not only deſervedly puniſhed the wickedneſs of *Aman*, but took care he ſhould undergo the ſame death which he had artfully contrived for another. And this may prove a leſſon to other perſons, that whenever any one deſigns wickedly againſt another, the ſcheme is, when he leaſt thinks on it, accompliſhed upon himſelf.

Aman in this manner fell from all the honour and grandeur which he had received from his king, by an immoderate abuſe of his power; and the king beſtowed upon his queen all his eſtate and effects. And having ſent for *Mardochæus* (for *Eſther* had acquainted him with the near relation between them) he gave him the ring which he had beſtowed upon *Aman*, and the queen beſides preſented him with *Aman*'s poſſeſſions, and intreated the king to deliver the *Jews* from their apprehenſions of death, by repealing the decree of *Aman*, which had been proclaim'd throughout all the provinces of his empire; for ſhe could not live to ſee her country ravaged, and her countrymen deſtroyed. Upon this the king promiſed to do nothing to diſpleaſe her, nor to contradict her will, and gave her orders to write to the *Jews* what ſhe thought fit in his name, and he would take care to ſend it ſealed with his own ſignet throughout all his empire. For nobody who read a letter ſealed with the royal ſignet, durſt in the leaſt offer to diſobey the contents of it. Upon this the king's ſcribes were ſent for, and commanded to write to all the provinces in behalf of the *Jews*, and to the princes and governors, and to the one hundred and twenty ſeven rulers of the provinces from *India* unto *Æthiopia*. And the letters were to the following effect:

The great King *Artaxerxes*, to his Princes,
and others his well beloved, *Greeting*.

MANY perſons, through the abundance of favours and honours heaped upon them, became ſo haughty, that they not only injuriouſly treat their inferiors, but contrive wicked ſchemes againſt their benefactors, by which means they loſe the gratitude of mankind, and occaſion thoſe perſons, by whoſe benevolence they have procur'd their favours, to ſtrip them of all their honours and poſſeſſions. Their ambition and fooliſh inſolence deceive them, in imagining they can conceal their ways from God, and eſcape his avenging arm. Some of this ſort of men being promoted to the adminiſtration of publick affairs, by the interpoſition of their friends, and maintaining a private grudge againſt ſome perſons; which they keep from the knowledge of the ſupreme governor, by falſe and wicked accuſations, carry their wrath againſt the innocent, whereby their lives become in danger. Now this obſervation is not the reſult of actions tranſmitted from antiquity, or of report, or of what we have heard, but the conſequence of deeds audaciouſly perform'd before our own eyes. Whence for the time to come we ſhall make it our endeavour not to yield an implicit belief to calumnies and accuſations, or to thoſe tales which ſeveral would perſuade us to credit; but to be our own judges of what we ſhall perfectly know, and to take what meaſures we think proper, if they deſerve puniſhment, but if otherwiſe to reward them; having regard to the real merit of the perſons themſelves, and not to any reports of others. Now whereas *Aman*, the ſon of *Amadathas*, by nation an *Amalekite*, and not born of the race of the *Perſians*, hath been entertain'd by us, and our humanity, which we demonſtrate to every one of our ſubjects, hath been ſo far extended to him, that we called him our father, and our ſubjects conſtantly paid him reverence, and we beſtow'd upon him all manner of honours in our royal power to give; yet he hath not been able to ſuſtain his happy condition, nor wiſely or prudently to govern his great fortune, but has endeavour'd to deprive us, to whom he is indebted for his exceſſive power, of our life and kingdom, by a wicked and diabolical demand to put *Mardochæus*, our ſaviour, and much obliged friend, and *Eſther* the half of our life, and our partner in the kingdom, to death. When this had been done, and he had deprived us of our friends, his intentions were to transfer our kingdom to others. But when we perceived the *Jews*, who were by that wicked man doom'd to utter deſtruction, not to be men of wicked diſpoſitions, but to live according to the beſt laws and inſtitutions, and to worſhip that God who hath preſerv'd the kingdom for us and our anceſtors, we have not only abſolv'd them from the puniſhment to which *Aman*'s decree had devoted them, which if you diſobey you will do well, but are alſo deſirous that you would treat them honourably. For we have order'd him, who deſign'd their ruin, to be crucified with his whole family at the gates of *Suſa*, God, who ſeeth all things, inflicting the puniſhment upon him. And we command you to fix up a copy of this our mandate in all the publick places of our kingdom, and ſuffer the *Jews* to uſe their own laws, and live in peace, and to aſſiſt them in revenging themſelves upon their enemies, on the thirteenth day of the twefth month, which is call'd *Adar*: For God hath chang'd that dreadful day into a day of ſafety, and let it be a joyful day to thoſe who wiſh us well, and remain a monument of the *Jews* revenge upon their enemies. And we further *declare our royal will, that whatſoever city or nation ſhall dare to diſobey this our command, ſhall be deſtroyed with fire and ſword. And let this decree be poſted up in all the countries of our empire, and the* Jews *be prepared to revenge themſelves upon their enemies.*

The horſemen diſpatched with this decree, immediately went and performed their journey. But when *Mardochæus* appeared in publick, having the royal garment on, and the golden crown and chain about his neck, the *Jews* at *Suſa*, ſeeing him ſo greatly honoured by the king, imagined themſelves in the ſame high eſteem, and that they partook of his felicity. And the others, inhabiting in the other cities and provinces, after they had peruſed the king's letter, were filled with ſuch extreme joy and gladneſs, that ſeveral people of other nations, for fear of the *Jews*, circumciſed themſelves, hoping by that means to ſecure themſelves from danger; for upon the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which the *Jews* called *Adar*, and the *Macedonians Dyſtrus*, the horſemen, who brought the letter, proclaimed, that that being the day, wherein their deſtruction was reſolved, they had leave given them on the ſame day to revenge themſelves upon their enemies. All the kings, governors, lieutenants, and princes, honourably treated the *Jews*, and behaved themſelves very friendly towards them for fear of *Mardochæus*. As ſoon as the king's decree had been proclaimed in all the provinces of the empire, the *Jews* at *Suſa* killed about five hundred of their enemies in that city: And when the king gave an account to *Eſther* of the number of the ſlain in *Suſa*, and told her alſo what had been tranſacted in the provinces, and asked her, if ſhe deſired any further revenge upon her enemies, ſhe deſired the *Jews* might the next day put to death the remainder of her enemies, and crucify the ten ſons of *Aman*. The king ordered the *Jews* to do this alſo, being unwilling to diſoblige *Eſther* in any thing For which purpoſe they muſtered themſelves together again, and on the fourteenth day of the month *Adar* ſlew about three hundred more of their enemies, but did not meddle at all with their goods: But the *Jews*, who lived in the provinces, and other cities, killed ſeventy five thouſand of their enemies, which great ſlaughter was committed on the thirteenth day of the month, and the fourteenth they dedicated to mirth and feaſting. And in like manner did the *Jews* at *Suſa* aſſemble together, and feaſt themſelves on the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the ſame month: Whence to this very day, all the *Jews*, wherever diſperſed throughout the whole world, celebrate thoſe days in feaſts and entertainments amongſt one another. For *Mardochæus* wrote to the *Jews* living in the empire of *Artaxerxes*, to ſolemnize thoſe days, and tranſmit them down to poſterity, to be for ever kept holy and ſacred, and never to be put out of remembrance. For as the *Jews* were on thoſe days upon the very brink of deſtruction, by the curſed invention and ſchemes of *Aman*, he judged it their duty, after they had eſcaped the danger threatened them, and revenged themſelves upon their enemies, to obſerve them with reverence, and give God thanks thereon for their deliverance. And for this reaſon the *Jews* keep the aboveſaid days ſacred, and call them *Phrurai*, or the days of defence. Now *Mardochæus* was highly honoured and eſteemed by the king, and conſtituted by him his partner in the adminiſtration of publick affairs, and lived in a conſtant familiarity with the queen. And the *Jewiſh* affairs, by this turn of fortune, began to proſper far better than ever they expected. And theſe are the occurrences under the reign of *Artaxerxes*.

CHAP. VII.

How Joannes *ſlew his Brother* Jeſus *in the Temple. How* Bagoſes *injuriouſly treated the* Jews; *and of the Actions of* Sanaballet.

AFTER the death of the high-prieſt *Eliaſib*, his ſon *Judas* ſucceeded him in the prieſthood, who alſo dying, *Joannes* his ſon ſucceeded him in that honour. For which reaſon *Bagoſes*, the general of the (1) other *Artaxerxes*, polluted the temple, and impoſed a tribute upon the *Jews*, which was, to pay for every lamb before they made their daily ſacrifices, fifty (2) drachms. The cauſe of this was as follows: *Joannes* had a brother named *Jeſus*, to whom *Bagoſes* promiſed his intereſt to procure him the prieſthood. *Jeſus*, upon this aſſurance, had a diſpute with *Joannes* in the temple, in which he raiſed his anger to ſuch a degree, that in a paſſion he ſlew him. This was a moſt heinous offence of *Joannes* againſt his brother, ſince at that time he was in the prieſthood; but the more ſo, as neither *Greeks* nor *Barbarians* can be accuſed of ſo daring and impious an action. But God did not blot it out of his remembrance; but for that reaſon made the people ſlaves, and ſtirred up the *Perſians* to prophane the temple: For as ſoon as *Bagoſes*, the general of *Artaxerxes*'s army, came to know that *Joannes* the high-prieſt of the *Jews* had killed his brother in the temple, he went to the *Jews*, and in a very angry manner thus ſaid, ‘ What! ‘ durſt you preſume to commit murther within your temple?’ After which he endeavoured to go into the temple, but was denied entrance. Upon this he turned about and ſaid, ‘ Is there any queſtion to be made, but that ‘ I am purer than he who lays dead in the ‘ temple?’ After he had ſpoke thus, he entered the temple; and being willing to accompliſh his reſolutions, he maliciouſly infeſted the *Jews* for this murther of *Jeſus*, during ſeven years.

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(1) By the other *Artaxerxes*, *Joſephus* means *Artaxerxes Memor*, or, according to *Voſſius*, *Artaxerxes* *elius*; for he ſays *Joſephus* did well not to mention thoſe *Perſian* Kings, who had no Intercourſe with the *ews*; for his Hiſtory gives an Account of the *Jews*, and not of the *Perſians*; wherefore, after the Death f *Longimanus*, he returns to the *Jews*, without taking any Notice either of *Darius Nothus*, or *Arſis*; nay, or of the other *Artaxerxes*, unleſs of *Bagoſes* his General's polluting the Temple. *Hudſon.*

(2) A Drachm was a *Greek* Coin worth about a Groat.

After the death of *Joannes*, his ſon *Jaddus* ſucceeded him in the prieſthood, who had a brother named *Manaſſes*, upon whom (1) *Sanaballet*, (who was ſent, in the laſt year of *Darius's* reign, governor into *Samaria*, he himſelf being a *Chuthæan* by nation, from whom the *Samaritans* themſelves are deſcended) obſerving *Hieroſolyma* to grow very famous, and its kings to give the *Aſſyrians*, and the inhabitants of *Cœlo-Syria*, much trouble, willingly beſtowed his daughter *Nicaſo* in marriage, hoping by this alliance to procure the friendſhip of the whole nation.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Sanaballet, *and* Manaſſes, *and the Temple built by them in Mount* Garizim. *Of* Alexander*'s Entry into* Hieroſolyma, *and the Favours he beſtowed upon the* Jews.

ABOUT this time *Philip*, king of *Macedon*, was treacherouſly ſlain at *Ægæa* by *Pauſanias*, the ſon of *Ceraſtes*, who was deſcended from the family of *Oreſtes*. His ſon *Alexander* ſucceeded him in the kingdom, and paſſing the *Helleſpont*, fought a battle at the *Granicus* with the generals of *Darius*, whom he defeated. After this, he attacked *Lybia*, and having overcome *Jonia*, and over-run all *Caria*, he invaded the territories of *Pamphylia*, as is mentioned in another place.

But the elders at *Hieroſolyma*, being enraged at the brother of *Jaddus* the high-prieſt, for marrying a wife of a foreign nation, and by that means making her partner of the prieſthood, broke off all intercourſe with him; for they conſidered that this marriage was an encouragement to others to be guilty of the ſame fault, and introduce a cuſtom of marrying foreigners. And they reflected that their tranſgreſſing the law in this manner, by intermarrying with women of a foreign country, had proved the cauſe of their former captivity and misfortunes. Whereupon they commanded *Manaſſes*, either to divorce his wife, or not to approach the altar. Now the high-prieſt, as well as the people, being highly diſpleaſed, drove his brother from the altar; whereupon *Manaſſes* went to his father-in-law *Sanaballet*, and told him he loved his daughter very well, but was unwilling to be deprived of the ſacerdotal honour upon her account, (which was the greateſt ſtep of dignity in his nation, and hereditary in one family.) To this remonſtrance *Sanaballet* anſwered, and promiſed, not only to preſerve him in the prieſthood, but to inveſt him with the power and honour of being high-prieſt, and to make him governor of all the places at that time under his juriſdiction, provided he would keep his daughter to wife; and laſtly, told him, that he would build him a temple like that at *Hieroſolyma*, on mount *Garizim*, which is the higheſt mountain by far in all *Samaria*, and procure *Darius's* order for it. *Manaſſes*, induced by theſe promiſes, remained with *Sanaballet*, hoping to obtain the prieſthood by the gift of *Darius*; for *Sanaballet* was now in years. And becauſe ſeveral other prieſts and *Iſraelites* were involved in the ſame kind of marriages, very fierce contentions were kindled up at *Hieroſolyma*; for all of them went over to *Manaſſes*, *Sanaballet* aſſiſting them with money, and giving them lands to cultivate, and habitations to live in, and all manner of ways gratifying his ſon-in-law.

At this time *Darius*, underſtanding that *Alexander* had paſſed the *Helleſpont*, and defeated his generals at the river *Granicus*, and that he was marching onwards, raiſed an army of horſe and foot, with a deſign to meet the *Macedonians*, before they had over-run all *Aſia*; with which having croſſed the river *Euphrates*, and marched over *Taurus*, a mountain of *Cilicia*, he came up with the enemy on the frontiers of *Cilicia*, where he deſigned to give them battle. *Sanaballet* was pleaſed with this deſcent of *Darius*, and told *Manaſſes* he would perform his promiſe as ſoon as *Darius* returned victorious over his enemies; for he, and all the people in *Aſia*, had perſuaded themſelves that the *Macedonians* would not pretend to engage the vaſt army of the *Perſians*. But their expectations were greatly fruſtrated; for the king, engaging the *Macedonians*, was overthrown, and loſt a great part of his army; amongſt which his wife, mother and children were taken priſoners, and he himſelf forced to fly. *Alexander* after this marched into *Syria*, and took *Damaſcus*, and gaining *Sidon*, he laid ſiege to *Tyre*, and ſending a letter to the high-prieſt of the *Jews*, he required him to aſſiſt him, and ſupply his army with proviſions, for which he ſhould not only be diſcharged from the tributes impoſed upon him by *Darius*, but live in friendſhip with the *Macedonians*, and that he ſhould have no occaſion to repent of his compliance. But the high-prieſt returning an anſwer to the letter, that he had promiſed *Darius* under an oath, not to take up arms againſt him, and ſaying, he would never violate it whilſt he lived, ſo enraged *Alexander*, that tho' he did not reſolve to raiſe the ſiege before *Tyre*, which was juſt upon ſurrendering, yet he threatened, after he had taken it, to carry an army againſt the high-prieſts of the *Jews*, and by all manner of ways make him ſenſible, to whom he ought to preſerve his oath. After this he continued the ſiege with more vigour, and at length took it by ſtorm, and having ſettled matters therein, he marched next againſt the city *Gaza*, and laid ſiege thereto, and to *Babemeſes*, the governor of the garriſon.

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(1) *Scaliger* will have that this *Sanaballet* is the ſame which *Nehemias* frequently mentions. There were indeed two *Sanaballets*, the former was called *Horonita* by *Nehemias*, and was the ſame who endeavoured to hinder *Hieroſolyma* from being fortified, and whoſe Daughter *Jeſus* the Son of *Joiada* married; the other *Sanaballet* was he, who under *Alexander* built the Temple on Mount *Garizim*, whoſe Daughter *Nicaſo* was married to *Manaſſes* the Brother of *Jaddus*.

Sanaballet thinking now he had got a fair opportunity to perform what he had deſign'd, revolted from *Darius*, and taking with him eight thouſand of his ſubjects, went over to *Alexander*, whom he found beſieging *Tyre*, and told him, that he ſurrender'd the countries under his juriſdiction to him, and acknowledg'd him, inſtead of *Darius*, for his ſovereign. *Alexander* graciouſly receiving his ſubmiſſion, *Sanaballet* gather'd courage, and began to open his deſign, and told him, that he had a ſon-in-law, named *Manaſſes*, the brother of *Jaddus*, the high-prieſt of the *Jews*, and a great number of other perſons of the ſame nation with him, who were deſirous to erect a temple in his province, which would be very advantageous to him; for by that means the *Jewiſh* nation would be ſeparated into two bodies, which would hinder their union from being as troubleſome to other kings, as it was formerly to the princes of the *Aſſyrians*. *Sanaballet* having by this perſuaſive remonſtrance procured *Alexander*'s licence, uſed all poſſible diligence, and built a temple, and conſtituted *Manaſſes* high-prieſt thereof, ſuppoſing ſuch an action would be the greateſt honour to the ſons born of his daughter. But after *Tyre* had been beſieged ſeven, and *Gaza* two months, *Sanaballet* dies. And *Alexander*, having taken *Gaza* by ſtorm, marched up to *Hieroſolyma*; which *Jaddus* the high-prieſt hearing, was put to a great ſtreight, and with fear conſidered how he ſhould meet the *Macedonians* after he had affronted their king by his late diſobedience. Upon this he ordered the people to make ſupplications to God, and ſacrifice to him, and beſeech him to defend heir nation, and deliver them from their preſent danger. But *Jaddus*, in his ſleep, the ight after the ſacrifice, was admoniſhed by God in a dream, to aſſume courage, and after dorning the city with garlands, to open the ates, himſelf and the prieſts dreſſed in their rieſtly habits, attended by perſons in white loaths, and go and meet them, without any ear or apprehenſion of danger, relying on his rovidence. Upon this admonition he was uſed out of his ſleep, and ſeemed extreamly joiced; after which he told the revelation all, and having perform'd every thing as he d been ordered in his dream, he waited for e king's arrival.

As ſoon as he heard that he was not far from the city, he went out, accompanied with the prieſts and a great number of citizens, to a certain place called *Sapha*, (which if interpreted in *Engliſh*, ſignifies a *proſpect*, for from thence may be ſeen both *Hieroſolyma* and the temple.) But the *Phænicians* and *Chaldæans* who followed the king, imagined (which was very probable, as the king had been ſo highly enraged) that they ſhould ſack the city, and ſlay the high-prieſt alive; but their expectations were entirely fruſtrated; for *Alexander*, ſeeing at a diſtance the multitude in white cloaths, and the prieſts walking before them in their rich veſts, and the high-prieſt in his purple robe embroidered with gold, adorned with the *Ephod*, and *Pectoral*, and having his turbant upon his head, whereon was a golden plate, with the name of God inſcribed upon it, went by himſelf, and reverenced the name, and ſaluted the high-prieſt firſt. Hereupon all the *Jews* formed themſelves into a circle about *Alexander*, and ſaluted him with acclamations of joy; at which the kings of *Syria* and the reſt were amazed, and fancied the king was beſide himſelf. But *Parmenio* was the only perſon who went up to him, and asked the reaſon why, when every body elſe paid him reverence, he ſeemed to worſhip the high-prieſt of the *Jews*? *I have not, anſwer'd the king, worſhipped him, but that God, whoſe high-prieſt he is. For I beheld him in a dream habited in this very manner when I was at* Dius *in* Macedonia, *and thinking with myſelf how I could conquer* Aſia, *he exhorted me not to prolong the time, but courageouſly paſs over into it, promiſing to march before my army, and deliver into my hands the empire of the* Perſians. *Therefore, ſince I have ſeen no other perſon dreſſed in the like habit, and have now beheld this high-prieſt, and retain fully in my mind my dream, and the exhortation I received in it, I fancy, I have made this expedition by a divine command, to ſubdue* Darius, *and overthrow the power of the* Perſiaus, *and ſhall become proſperous in all my reſolutions and undertakings.* In this manner he ſpoke to *Parmenio*, and giving the high-prieſt his right hand, attended by the other prieſts in his march, he came to the city, and went up to the temple, where he ſacrificed to God according to the preſcription of the high-prieſt, at the ſame time uſing him, and the other prieſts, very honourably. And after he had been ſhewn the book of *Daniel*, in which was propheſied his overturning the *Perſian* empire, and being told he was the perſon typified in it, he was exceedingly glad, and diſmiſſed the multitude; but on the next day he aſſembled them again, and commanded them to ask whatſoever they deſir'd. The high-prieſt upon this deſired liberty to uſe the laws of their country, and every ſeventh year to be diſcharged from all manner of tribute, which requeſt he generouſly granted. And upon their further petition, that the *Jews* in *Babylon* and *Media* might have the ſame free exerciſe of their laws, he frankly promiſed to comply with their deſires. But he then told the multitude, that if any were willing to follow, and fight with him, they ſhould not only retain the antient cuſtom and uſage of their laws, but live conformably to them; and that if they would join his forces under that condition, he was ready to lead them. This propoſal was readily agreed to by many, who very freely gave in their names towards that expedition.

Alexander having in this manner ſettled affairs in *Hieroſolyma*, marched his army into the next cities. And every one he viſited received him very friendly; but the *Samaritans*, (who inhabited in *Sikim*, the capital city of that country ſtanding upon mount *Garizim*, and peopled by renegade *Jews*) ſeeing the extraordinary honour which *Alexander* paid the *Hieroſolymites*, reſolved to profeſs themſelves *Jews*. For the *Samaritans* are of the very temper we have before deſcribed; for when the affairs of the *Jews* receive an unfortunate turn, then they deny themſelves to be any ways related to them, which, in fact, is very true. But if at any time they perceive them raiſed to an advanced condition, or proſperity, they immediately are ready to jump, as it were, into their ſociety, calling themſelves their relations, and the deſcendants of the ſons of *Joſeph*, *Ephraim*, and *Manaſſes*. For this purpoſe therefore, with a ſeeming deſire to ſhew themſelves his friends, they run to meet *Alexander*, who was not far from *Hieroſolyma*; who having commended their diligence, the *Sikimites*, having taken along with them the forces which *Sanaballet* had before ſent, came up to him, and deſir'd him to viſit their city, and honour their temple by his preſence. In compliance with this requeſt, he promiſed to come, which he did; but they requeſting him to remit the tribute of every ſeventh year, becauſe they had not that year tilled their lands, he asked them, who they were, who deſired ſuch a favour? They anſwered, they were *Hebrews*, but were called the *Sidonians* of the *Sikimites*; he again asked them, if they were not *Jews?* But they denying this, he then ſaid, ‘I have granted that ‘favour only to the *Jews*, yet when I ſhall re‘turn, and come to know of you this matter ‘more fully, I will then do as I ſhall think ‘proper.’ And in this manner he diſmiſſed the *Sikimites*; but he commanded *Sanaballet*'s ſoldiers to follow him into *Ægypt*, where he would give them lands. And this he perform'd in the country of *Thebais*, which he ordered them to defend.

After *Alexander*'s death, the empire was divided amongſt his ſucceſſors, and the temple in mount *Garizim* ſtill remained. But if any of the *Hieroſolymites* were accuſed of eating forbidden victuals, of violating the ſabbath, or of any ſuch like crime, they immediately fled to the *Sikimites*, and endeavour'd to ſhew the injuſtice of their accuſation. At that time alſo *Jaddas*, the high-prieſt, died, and his ſon *Onias* ſucceeded him in that office; and this is the preſent ſtate of the affairs of the *Hieroſolymites*.

The *END* of the ELEVENTH BOOK of the Antiquities.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

ANTIQUITIES of the JEWS.

BOOK THE TWELFTH.

Containing the Space of One Hundred and Seventy Years.

CHAP. I.

How Ptolomy, *the Son of* Lagus, *having by Stratogem ſeized upon* Hieroſolyma *and* Judea, *carried thence many* Jews *into* Ægypt.

AFTER *Alexander*, the king of the *Macedonians*, had overthrown the *Perſian* empire, and ſettled (as we have juſt now mention'd) the affairs of *Judea*, he died; upon which the empire was divided among ſeveral perſons, for *Antigonus* ſeized upon *Aſia*, *Seleucus* upon *Babylon* and the nations of that country, *Lyſimachus* obtained the *Helleſpont*, and *Caſſander*, *Macedonia*. But *Ptolomy*, the ſon of *Lagus*, govern'd *Ægypt*. While theſe ſeveral princes were at variance amongſt themſelves, and each contending for the enlargement of his own kingdom, ſeveral long and bloody battles were fought, in which many cities were damaged and deſtroyed, and great numbers of the inhabitans ſlain. So that *Ptolomy*, the ſon of *Lagus* (who was called *Soter*, that is, *Saviour*) treated all *Syria* in a manner quite contrary to he meaning of his name. He, beſides, ſeized pon *Hieroſolyma* through ſtratagem and arti-ce; for entering the city on the ſabbath, un-er a pretence of ſacrificing, the *Jews* offered ot in the leaſt to obſtruct him, for they did ot imagine him their enemy; and having no pprehenſions of fraud from him, and the day ing dedicated to reſt, he ſeized upon the ty without any manner of toil or danger, d tyrannically and unmercifully treated the nhabitants. *Agatharchides*, the *Cnidian*, who wrote the tranſactions of *Alexander*'s ſucceſſors, bears witneſs to what we have here advanced, and reproaches our ſuperſtition, as he calls it, for the ſake of which we loſt our liberty, in the following words: ‘There is a nation of the *Jews* ſo called, who inhabiting a large and well fortified city, named *Hieroſolyma*, ſuffered themſelves to be put under *Ptolomy*'s power, by their remiſſneſs, or rather unwillingneſs to defend themſelves; and ſo, through an untimely ſuperſtition, ſubjected themſelves to his authority.’ And this is the account which *Agatharchides* gives of this matter. But *Ptolomy*, taking a great number of perſons captives, not only out of the mountainous countries of *Judea*, and the places about *Hieroſolyma*, but alſo out of *Samaria* and *Garizim*, (a) carried them into *Ægypt*. And hearing that the *Hieroſolymites* were the moſt ſtrict obſervers of their oaths and words, from the account which *Alexander*'s ambaſſadors reported after the defeat of *Darius*, he diſpoſed many of them into the garriſons, and put them on the ſame level at *Alexandria* with the *Macedonians*, and he gave them an oath of their allegiance to his ſucceſſors who ſhould entruſt that province to their care: And beſides a great number of *Jews* went of their own accord into *Ægypt*, being induced thereto, partly on account of the fertility of the country, and partly of the liberality of *Ptolomy*. But the *Samaritans* and the deſcendants of the *Jews* had ſtrong contentions between them in the practice of their country's inſtitutions. For the *Hieroſolymites* inſiſted that their temple was ſacred, and that the ſacrifices ought to be ſent thither; and the *Samaritans* oppoſed them, by contending that they ought to be performed at mount *Garizim*.

(a) *Scaliger* thinks that the *Synagogue* at *Cairo*, and the Natives of an Iſland in the *Red Sea*, are the Re-ins of the *Samaritans* who were carried Captives into *Ægypt*.

CHAP. II.

How Ptolomy Philadelphus *translated the* Jewiſh *Laws into* Greek, *and freed ſeveral Captives, and conſecrated many Offerings to God.*

AFTER *Alexander* had reigned twelve years, and after him *Ptolomy Soter* forty years, then *Philadelphus* ſucceeded in the *Ægyptian* kingdom, which he governed one and forty years, and ordered the *Jewiſh* laws to be tranſlated, and the *Hieroſolymite* captives in *Ægypt* to be ſet at liberty, who were an hundred and twenty thouſand perſons; and the occaſion of theſe tranſactions was this: *Demetrius Phalareus*, the king's librarian, making a collection of all the moſt valuable and remarkable books in the world, which he had heard were worthy of the king's ſtudy or peruſal, (for he had an eager deſire to collect books,) ſpent the greateſt part of his time in this affair only. *Ptolomy*, on a time aſking him how many thouſand books he had purchaſed, was anſwered by *Demetrius*, about two hundred thouſand; who ſaid, in a little time he would make the number five hundred thouſand; but added, there were many books amongſt the *Jews* concerning their laws and government, which very well deſerved a place in his library, but being written in their language, and with their characters, it would prove no eaſy task to tranſlate them into *Greek*; for their manner of writing in a great meaſure reſembles that of the *Syrians*, and the pronunciation not being much unlike, and he himſelf a native who uſed it, wherefore, ſaid he, there nothing hinders, but that you may get them tranſlated, you having money enough to defray the charge, and place them in your library. The king, thinking that *Demetrius*'s great deſire to collect books was calculated for his benefit, wrote to the high-prieſt of the *Jews*, to ſee the deſign put in execution.

There was at this time a perſon named *Ariſtæus*, in great eſteem with the king, and remarkable for his modeſt behaviour, who had it often in his thoughts to petition the king for a general releaſement of the *Jews* in his kingdom, and thinking that he had found a proper time to put his deſign in execution, he firſt treated of the affair with *Soſibius Tarentinus*, and *Andreas*, the captains of the guards, requeſting them, to give him their aſſiſtance in what he was going to intreat of the king. *Ariſtæus* having concluded upon what theſe two had adviſed, went to the king, and laid open his petition to him in the following manner: ‘ We ought not, O king, ‘ to advance falſhoods, but ſpeak the truth. ‘ Now ſince we have taken upon us to procure your favour to grant the *Jewiſh* laws ‘ to be tranſlated, we preſume to ask, by ‘ what means ſuch a thing can be accompliſh'd, ‘ when ſo many *Jews* continue ſlaves in your ‘ kingdom? Whom, if you ſet at liberty, ‘ your generoſity and goodneſs will not ſuffer in the leaſt by ſuch an action, ſince the ‘ ſame God who beſtowed upon them thoſe ‘ laws, protects your kingdom, in my humble opinion, and as far as I can perceive; ‘ for both they and we worſhip God the ‘ builder of the univerſe, calling him by ‘ one common word, Σεὺς (that is, *Jupiter*) ‘ the name being derived from the word ‘ *Living*, becauſe he beſtows life upon all. ‘ Wherefore to do honour to God, reſtore ‘ back to them, who worſhip him with his ‘ own religion, their country, that they may ‘ end their days in their native habitation. ‘ But let me acquaint you, my king, that I ‘ am not influenced by any tie of kindred, or ‘ being of the ſame nation, to petition this ‘ favour for them; but ſince all mankind are ‘ indifferently the workmanſhip of God, who, ‘ I know, is delighted with deeds of benevolence and charity, I exhort you on that account to ſhew yourſelf ſuch an example, as ‘ will be at the ſame time as noble in itſelf, ‘ as advantageous to them.’

Ariſtæus having thus ſpoke, the king caſt a joyful and pleaſant look on him, ‘ And ‘ how many thouſands, ſaid he, are there to ‘ be releaſed?’ *Andreas*, who was preſent, anſwer'd, ‘ Upwards of one hundred and ten ‘ thouſand:’ To which the king ſaid, ‘ This ‘ is no ſmall favour, *Ariſtæus*, which you ‘ deſire me to grant.’ Upon this, *Soſibius* and the others preſent, replied, that it was juſt to return God a grateful act for his generoſity, who had beſtowed his kingdom upon him. The king being wrapt in joy at theſe words, commanded them, when they paid the arrears due to the army, to give every captive under their cuſtody, each one hundred and twenty drachms, promiſing at the ſame time alſo to publiſh the *Jewiſh* books, very magnificently written, which *Ariſtæus* firſt, and next to him God, had influenced him to perform, and that he would not only ſet at liberty thoſe which his father, and his army, had brought captive into *Ægypt*, but thoſe who were before in his kingdom, and thoſe who ſhould happen to come thither for the time to come. And when they told him th the charge of their releaſement would amou to forty talents of ſilver, yet he granted i and ordered a copy of his decree, that h vaſt generoſity might be tranſmitted down poſterity, to be regiſter'd, which was done the following effect: ‘ We order all tho ‘ who under our father fought, and march ‘ in into *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, and ſubdued *Judea*, and from thence carried the natives of thoſe ſeveral places captives into our cities and kingdom, and ſold them there, to ſet them at liberty, and to give them alſo their freedom who were before that time in our kingdom; and all thoſe who ſhall for the time to come happen to be carried thither, receiving for each one hundred and twenty drachms: So that when the army's arrears are paid off, they may receive the price of their ranſom from the king's table. For I imagine that my father's deſign was not to make them ſlaves, or that their country ſhould be ravaged by the hoſtilities of his ſoldiers, or that they were to make an advantage to themſelves by removing them into *Ægypt*. Wherefore preſerving a tender regard for juſtice, and taking compaſſion upon thoſe who are unjuſtly oppreſſed, I command all my ſubjects who have any captive *Jews* in their ſervice, to ſet them at liberty, for the ſum before preſcribed; and that they do not act fraudulently in this affair, but punctually obey our order herein. And I require them within three days, from the date of this decree, to appear and give a liſt of all the *Jews* in their ſervice, to the perſons appointed to manage this buſineſs; for I take this licence of my own accord to command this. And if any perſon ſhall preſume to violate my order herein ſpecified, which upon certain evidence ſhall be proved againſt him, his goods ſhall be confiſcated to the king.' As ſoon as this decree was read over to the king, he was well pleaſed with it, but a clauſe was wanting for the indemnity and preſervation of thoſe who were carried before, or brought after that time priſoner out of *Judea*. And this out of his extenſive generoſity he added, and ordered the payments of their ranſom, which were likely to become very numerous and troubleſome, to be received between his ſecretaries and bankers. This being done, and the king's decree executed only ſeven days, there were raiſed towards the diſcharge of he *Jews* ranſom upwards of four hundred and ſixty talents. For the maſters exacted, even for the children, one hundred and twenty drachms each, as if the king had publiſhed he decree for their ſake only, when, as it was written, that ſum ſhould be raiſed only upon each perſon grown to man's eſtate, as we have already obſerved.

The king, as ſoon as theſe things were performed, in obedience to his decree, ordered *Demetrius* to take down in writing what he hought fit concerning the tranſlation of the *Jewiſh* books; for nothing had ever been raſh- or unadviſedly undertaken by thoſe kings, ut every thing perform'd with the utmoſt ac- racy and diligence. Whereupon I am induced to place in order here, true copies of the writing, and the letters; as alſo the number of the preſents that were ſent, with the apparatus of each, that the exceeding fine workmanſhip of the artiſt may be known by every one, and a concluſion drawn at firſt ſight of the abilities of the workman. Now the copy of the licence or writing was thus:

DEMETRIUS *to the great king.*

'WHEREAS, my king, you have given me your commands, to collect that number of books which is wanting to make up the full complement deſigned for your library, and to uſe my endeavours to procure thoſe which are abſolutely neceſſary: Now, I having taken the greateſt care herein, find the books of the *Jewiſh Legiſlature*, with ſeveral others, to be wanting; for being written in the *Hebrew* characters, and language, we cannot underſtand them. And the misfortune is, that they are more (*a*) incorrect than the author's editions of them, becauſe no royal eye has had an inſpection into them. Wherefore it is neceſſary that you have them very exact and regular; for it is found, that the inſtitutions contained therein, being the reſult of God's own thoughts, are full of the moſt profound wiſdom and perfect integrity, which has been the reaſon, that, according to *Hecatæus*, neither poets, nor hiſtorians have mentioned them without reverence and awe, becauſe the ſyſtem of morality laid down therein is the moſt perfect and agreeable to right reaſon. Wherefore, my king, if it is according to your inclination, write to the high-prieſt of the *Jews*, to ſend you ſix elders out of (*b*) each tribe, the moſt eminent in the expoſition of their laws, whom, after they have given us an open and juſt ſenſe of thoſe books, and an accurate interpretation of the actions therein contained, you may reward according to their deſerts, and place their verſion in a worthy place of your library, agreeable to your deſire.'

This writing being humbly preſented to the king, he gave orders to write to *Eleazar* the high-prieſt of the *Jews* about it, and to acquaint him with the intended releaſement of all the captive *Jews* in *Ægypt*. And he commanded fifty talents of gold, and an ineſtimable number of jewels to be given towards making goblets, cups, and phials. And he ordered the keepers of the caskets wherein the jewels were repoſited, to let the artificers fix their choice upon any they pleaſed. And he further commanded a ſum amounting to one hundred talents of ſilver to be given for the ſacrifices and other ſervices about the temple. I will here give a particular account of all

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(*a*) Some gather from this Paſſage, that Copies of the *Jewiſh* Law were extant in *Ptolomy*'s Library, but y imperfect; and that ſome of them were Tranſlations; and it is imagined in particular, that the whole *tateuch*, or at leaſt ſome Parts thereof, were turned into *Greek* before *Alexander*'s Time.

(*b*) It is o collected from this Place, that entire Tribes were not tranſlated into *Media*, but that from *Salmanaſar*'s me, ſome Remains of them were left behind.

the curious pieces of workmanſhip, and the faſhion and make of each, as ſoon as I have ſet down a copy of the letter wrote to *Eleazar* the high-prieſt, who took upon himſelf that office of dignity on the following account:

Upon the death of *Onias* the high-prieſt, his ſon *Simon* ſucceeded him in the prieſthood, who was ſirnamed the *Juſt*, both on account of his piety to God, and benevolent diſpoſition to his fellow-citizens: He dying, his ſon *Onias* ſurvived him, whoſe brother *Eleazar*, obtained the prieſthood; and to him *Ptolomy* wrote to this effect:

King Ptolomy *to* Eleazar *the high-prieſt*,
Greeting:

YOU certainly need no information that many *Jews* now dwell in my kingdom, whom my father, after they had been taken captive by the *Perſians* while they governed the empire, much honoured; for numbers of them he put into military employments, and others, who accompanied him into *Ægypt*, he appointed governors of caſtles to keep the *Ægyptians* in awe. And now I am come to the crown, I have not only ſhewn myſelf tender and merciful to all my own ſubjects, but have granted liberty to above one hundred thouſand captive *Jews*, and have alſo paid out of my own treaſury the price of their ranſom to the maſters in whoſe ſervice they were. But ſome of this number who were able to bear arms I have placed in my army, and others who were about my perſon, whoſe fidelity made them worthy of that honour, I have admitted into my houſhold, thinking hereby to perform what would be acceptable to God, as an inſtance of my gratitude to him, for his great care and protection of my kingdom. And that I might do a piece of ſervice not only to theſe in particular, but alſo to all other *Jews* whereſoever diſperſed over the whole world, I have reſolved to have your law tranſlated from the *Hebrew* into *Greek*, and to lay it up in my library; upon which account, 'twill not only very much oblige me, but alſo be for your intereſt, to ſend me ſix ſelect perſons, advanced in years, out of every one of your tribes, who by their age and experience may be capable of expounding your laws, and of giving an accurate and juſt interpretation of them; for I ſhall have gained the greateſt glory when this performance is finiſhed. I have ſent to communicate this affair to you *Andreas*, the captain of my guards, and *Ariſtæus*, two perſons whom I greatly eſteem, by whom I have alſo ſent one hundred talents of ſilver, as a preſent, to be uſed in your temple and ſacrifices; and you will oblige me by writing an anſwer, with your ſentiments and reſolution on theſe contents.

After *Eleazar* had received, and peruſed this letter, he returned an anſwer in the moſt civil terms, thus:

Eleazar *the high-prieſt to king* Ptolomy,
Greeting:

IF your majeſty, and queen *Arſinoe*, and your children enjoy health, I have my wiſhes. As ſoon as I had received your letter, I was extremely rejoiced at your noble intention; and aſſembling the people, I read it over to them, and openly declared your pious inclination towards God's ſervice. I received the twenty golden, and thirty ſilver phials which you ſent me, as alſo the five goblets, and the table to place the conſecrated offerings upon, and the hundred talents, for defraying the charge of the ſacrifices, and other neceſſaries about the temple, which *Ariſtæus* and *Andreas*, your moſt honoured friends, two very good honeſt and learned perſons, brought me. And I here acquaint you, that I will endeavour to gratify you, even beyond my ability; for it is reaſonable I ſhould return an anſwerable acknowledgement for the many favours you have graciouſly conferred upon my countrymen; upon which account I preſently ordered ſacrifices to be offered, and all the people to pray for you, and your ſiſter, and your children, and your friends; that you may all enjoy proſperity, and your kingdom flouriſh in peace; and that the tranſlation of our laws may anſwer your deſign and expectation, and produce an happy effect. For which purpoſe I have ſelected ſix elderly perſons out of each tribe, and ſent them to you: And I leave it to your pious and juſt diſpoſition, to take care that the law is ſent back to me, as ſoon as the tranſlation is compleated, and to indemnify the perſons who bring it to you.

Farewel.

This was the anſwer the high-prieſt ſent back; but I think there is no neceſſity to recite here the names of the ſeventy elders whom *Eleazar* ſent with the law, they being ſubſcribed to the letter. But it will not be amiſs to give an exact deſcription of the preſents ſent by the king, and the maſterly workmanſhip of the artificers, for hereby the ſingular deſire of the king to honour God will be made plain to every one: For as he was at a vaſt expence, and from time to time preſent with the workmen, and inſpected over them, ſo he ſuffered nothing to be meanly or negligently performed; the magnificence of all which I will deſcribe in as good a method as I can; not that I think my hiſtory requires ſuch an account, but that my readers may perceive the king's elegant and fine genius, and the extenſiveneſs of his liberality; and from thence form a commendable idea of his actions.

And firſt of all I will begin to ſpeak of the table. Now the king's deſire herein was to make it a work of immenſe bigneſs; for he gave orders to meaſure the ſize of the table at *Hieroſolyma*, and to ſee whether it could be made larger. And being informed of the ſize, and that there would be no difficul in making it bigger, he ſaid, he had a deſign to make it five times larger; but apprehending, if he did ſo, it would be unfit for ſervice, (for his intentions were to make his gifts not only agreeable to ſight, but alſo uſeful) and reflecting that the former table was not made ſo ſcanty for the want of gold, he reſolved not to make it of larger dimenſions than the firſt, but more excellent in variety and richneſs of workmanſhip. For *Ptolemy* had a genius fit for any thing, acute in new inventions and diſcoveries, and adapted to find out extraordinary and wonderful arts. He not only deſigned ſeveral things without any carving upon them, which he ordered the workmen to perform, but alſo gave them plans of thoſe things which were to be adorned with the ſculpture and imagery of living forms.

The workmen, being ordered to go about the table, made it in length two cubits and an half, and one in breadth, and in height one and an half, of ſolid gold, and made a border of an hand's breadth round about it, and a crown thereto round about, and placed to three ſides of it rings turned, through which paſſed a wonderful pile of carved work, reſembling a rope beautifully wreathed. As it was triangular, ſo all the corners had an equal diſtance from one another, and however it was moved, the ſame ſight ſtill allured the eyes. The lower part of the border upon the table was neatly engraved, but the outſide part excelled in curious workmanſhip, and was placed fuller to view: So that the projection, or jetting out of both parts, was very ſharp and pointed, and none of the corners, whereof there were three, as we have above obſerved, when the table was carried about, appeared diſproportionate. And they ſet gems in gold in an alternate order quite round the holes through which the carved ropes paſſed. But about the ſides of the border, which appeared moſt to view, were precious ſtones cut in an oval ſhape, for the ſake of ornament, and all round the table were repreſented branches of twigs. Under theſe ovals were curiouſly engraven a crown of all manner of fruits, according to their natures, for there were ſeen grapes hanging, corn growing, and pomegranates interſperſed amongſt them. And they made the ſtones, which repreſented the different kinds of fruits, of the ſame colour with them, and ſet them in gold upon the table. Under the crown they alſo engraved another row of ovals, like to the former, and another row of twigs: So that both ſides of the table appeared with the ſame variety and beauty of workmanſhip: And both the crown and rings, and every part of the table, was uniform, and no difference ſeen throughout the whole; but the ſame curioſity might be obſerved from the ſurface to the feet. For they laid a golden plate of four fingers breadth upon that part of the table where it was broadeſt, and carried it down to the bottom, where they ſet the feet upon it, which they faſtened with golden hinges to the table near the crown: And by this means, which way ſoever the table was turned, the ſame magnificence and richneſs of workmanſhip conſtantly appeared. There was alſo engraven upon the top of the table a winding river, in the midſt whereof were ſet precious ſtones, which diffuſed a radiant colour, like ſtars, upon the faces of the beholders, ſuch as the carbuncle and emerald; and there were ſeveral others of different kinds, very valuable, and which mankind, for the excellency of their natures, greatly endeavour to procure. Near the river was curiouſly engraven and drawn along certain lines reſembling ropes, in the middle of which was a ſpace left in the ſhape of a lozenge, wherein were fixed a chryſtal and an amber ſtone, which, by the oppoſition of their colours, afforded an agreeable ſurprize to the ſpectators ſight. The chapiters of the feet imitated lillies, the leaves of which hung beneath the table, and the white ſtalks appeared upright. The caſes of the feet were made of carbuncle of an hand's breadth, and wrought into an hollow of eight fingers breadth, upon which the plate of the feet reſted. And they made every foot to be adorned with the moſt curious foliage of ivy, palm, and vine-branches, and ſo exceedingly beautiful, that they ſeemed to be entirely natural; and were ſo fine and curious, that the ſmalleſt breath of wind moved them; and they appeared much more likely to be the production of nature, than of art. The figure of the whole table was triangular, but the parts were ſo curiouſly fixed together, that the eye could not diſcern the joining. The thickneſs of the table was full half a cubit. And in this manner was this table made by the king's liberality, repreſenting in a very lively manner the works of nature, by an admirable imitation of ſculpture, of vaſt expence, and great variety. *Ptolemy* was the deſigner of it, and if it did not exceed the firſt table dedicated to God in largeneſs, yet it certainly excelled it in art, workmanſhip, and ornament, and was in the whole much more beautiful.

There were alſo two golden goblets, adorned with curious engraving of ſcales of fiſhes, from their bottoms to their rims, and interſperſed with ſeveral ſtones; and above theſe was repreſented a meander of one cubit in height, compoſed of different ſtones of exceeding luſtre and beauty. Next to this was engraved a repreſentation of twigs; and next, in the likeneſs of lozenges, at the very brims, was carved ſome curious net-work. But in the middle they had engraven the figures of ſhields, out of ſtones of four fingers in thickneſs, and had left nothing undone to render the work complete and beautiful. The rims of the goblets were ſurrounded with the foliage of lillies, flowers, and the leaves and tendrils of vines. And thus were the golden cups made, containing each nine gallons, according to the foregoing deſcription. But the ſilver goblets in brightneſs excelled any looking-glaſs; for any perſon might ſee the figure of himſelf more clearly in them. Beſides theſe, the king ordered thirty phials to be caſt in gold, and adorned with precious ſtones, and to be engraven with fine imagery of ivy, and vine-branches. In the workmanſhip of theſe ſeveral preſents, the ſkill of the artiſts was wonderfully diſplayed; yet the king's vaſt genius and liberality was more viſibly ſeen, for by him they obtained the perfection the workmen gave them; for he not only ſupplied them with all the neceſſaries for compleating them, but alſo, laying aſide the adminiſtration of the public affairs for a while, he continued perſonally preſent amongſt them, and examined every performance all the time they were employed in it. And this made the workmen, ſeeing the king ſo very buſy and careful in the affair, ſit to their work with more than ordinary diligence and diſpatch.

The aboveſaid preſents were ſent by *Ptolomy* to *Hieroſolyma*, to *Eleazar*, who having received them, honourably entertained the perſons who brought them; and having loaded them with preſents to be carried to the king, diſmiſſed them. As ſoon as they were come to *Alexandria*, *Ptolomy* was acquainted with their arrival, and the coming alſo of the ſeventy interpreters, and immediately ſent for his ambaſſadors *Andreas* and *Ariſtæus*; who, preſenting themſelves before him, delivered the letter which the high-prieſt had ſent, and told him every thing he enquired of them. *Ptolomy*, deſirous to ſpeak with the elders who were come from *Hieroſolyma* to tranſlate their laws, ordered all the other perſons, who were then upon buſineſs with him, to be diſmiſſed; an action contrary to his uſual practice. The interpreters, five days after their arrival, had their audience of him; but the ambaſſadors within one month. When he had diſmiſſed all other company, he waited for the perſons ſent by *Eleazar*. But as ſoon as the elders were admitted, they delivered to the king the preſents which the high-prieſt had ſent, and the roll of parchment, wherein were written the laws in golden characters, upon which he asked ſeveral queſtions about them. But when they opened the cover, and ſhewed him the inſide, he ſtood for ſome time in admiration at the thinneſs of the leaves, and the bad condition they were in: After which he returned them thanks, he told them, for their coming; but was more obliged to him who had ſent them; and infinitely more to God, whoſe laws they were. Upon this the elders, and the perſons in company with them, with one voice unanimouſly prayed, that every thing might ſucceed proſperouſly with the king, who, full of joy hereat, burſt out into tears. For it is often ſeen, that the greateſt joy, and the greateſt ſorrow, produce the ſame effects. Afterwards, he ordered the books to be given into the cuſtody of thoſe whoſe buſineſs it was to keep them, and then embracing the elders, he told them, it was but juſtice he ſhould firſt talk with them of the affair he had ſent to them for, and then adviſe with them about it. He alſo promiſed to make the day wherein they came to him very remarkable; for as long as he lived it ſhould be annually kept ſacred: For the day of their arrival he ſaid happened to be the day wherein he had conquered *Antigonus* in a ſea engagement. Upon which account he ordered them to be entertained as his gueſts, and be treated in the moſt ſumptuous manner, even under the triumphal arch.

Nicanor, the perſon appointed to entertain ſtrangers who came to the king's court, called to him *Dorotheus*, the caterer, and ordered him to provide all manner of neceſſary proviſions; for the king himſelf had commanded it to be done. Now in every city, where a different method of eating was uſed, there were perſons appointed to this end, whoſe buſineſs was to entertain ſtrangers after the cuſtom of their own country, whereby they might eat with more pleaſure, and not be offended with any ſtrange cuſtom. And in this manner were the elders treated; *Dorotheus*, who was well skilled in the method of cooking, being appointed to provide their proviſions. For he himſelf, by order of the king, got ready from time to time their entertainment, and prepared two tables for them; for *Ptolomy* commanded one half of them to be ſeated near him, and the other half at a table behind him, omitting nothing that might conduce to their being honourably entertained. After they were ſat down, the king commanded *Dorotheus* to let them eat after the ſame cuſtom, which all thoſe who came out of *Judea* uſed; and diſcharging all the ſacred heralds, and other perſons whoſe buſineſs it was to ſay grace, he deſired one of the ſtrangers, named *Eliſſæus*, and a prieſt, to ſay grace. Whereupon he ſtood up in the middle, and wiſhed all health to the king and his ſubjects. After which all, with a joyful acclamation, ſhouted aloud, and then began to partake of the entertainment. And the king, after a convenient pauſe, began to ask every one ſome queſtions in natural philoſophy. And finding that they gave him very judicious and learned anſwers to all the queſtions he propoſed to them, he was ſo delighted with their converſation, that during twelve days he entertained them in the ſame manner. And they, who are deſirous to know what were the ſeveral queſtions propounded, may find them inſerted in *Ariſtæus*, who wrote a book of them.

Now not only the king was ſurprized at their wiſdom, but even *Menedemus* the philoſopher was forced to own, that a providence governed and directed all things, and that from thence they derived their force and energy of reaſoning. However, a ſudden period was put to any more enquiries of this nature. The king for his part confeſſed, that by their coming he had received the greateſt aſſiſtance; for by the advantage he had reaped from their diſcoveries, he had effectually learnt the office and duty of a king; upon which he commanded three talents to be beſtowed upon each of them, and deputed perſons to take care of their entertainment. Three days after this, *Demetrius*, taking them along with him, paſſed over the *Heptaſtadion*, a ridge of ſand in the ſea near the *Pharos*, and croſſed over the bridge, when turning to the northward, he led them into an houſe ſtanding near the ſhore, very proper for ſtudy and contemplation by reaſon of its ſolitude, where he deſired them, after they had got all things ready for carrying on the tranſlation of the *Laws*, to go about the work. In compliance with this requeſt, they ſet themſelves with the utmoſt application and care to interpret them, wherein they continued until the ninth hour of the day, when they eaſed and refreſhed themſelves, and partook of the proviſions appointed for them. Beſides, *Dorotheus* gave them a large allowance of the other things which the king had ordered them. And every morning they went to the palace to pay their compliments to *Ptolomy*, and then returned back; but firſt they waſhed their hands in the ſea, and purified themſelves, which done, they went again to tranſlate. And after the laws were tranſcribed, and the labour of tranſlating was finiſhed in the ſpace of ſeventy two days, *Demetrius* aſſembled all the *Jews* into the place where the laws had been tranſlated, and in the preſence of the interpreters, read them over to them. The whole multitude commended the elders, who had interpreted the laws, and highly approv'd *Demetrius*'s method, which had done them ſo ſignal a ſervice: They petitioned him to give a licence to their governors to read the laws; and all of them, as well the prieſt and elders of the interpreters, as the chief governors of the ſtate, deſired, that ſince the tranſlation was juſt, it might remain ſo without any alteration. And this requeſt being by all approved, they ordered next, that if any one perceived any thing in the tranſlation of the laws, either ſuperfluous or too much curtailed, that ſuch places might be again inſpected, corrected, and rendered more intelligible; which was an act of much wiſdom, and done with a deſign, that when the work was once thoroughly reviſed and perfectly compleated, it might for ever remain ſo.

The king ſeeing hir deſign ſo happily concluded, was extremely glad; but his greateſt admiration was, when he heard the laws read over to him, farther he ſtood aſtoniſhed at the genius and wiſdom of the law-giver. Whereupon he began to diſcourſe with *Demetrius* upon the reaſon why none of the hiſtorians or poets had made any mention of him, when his laws were ſo uſeful and excellent. To this *Demetrius* returned anſwer, becauſe none were able to come up with him for an holy and ſanctified life, or to copy after ſo divine a law as this was; and that many, for even attempting it, had been puniſhed by God himſelf. And he further acquainted him that *Theopompus*, for attempting to write ſomething in imitation of *Moyſes*'s law, had been diſturbed in his mind for the ſpace of thirty days; but upon an intermiſſion of his diſeaſe, he pacified God by fervent prayers, whom he ſuſpected to be the cauſe of his madneſs; for he had ſeen in a dream that he was to be tormented ſo, for endeavouring to meddle with divine things, and divulge them amongſt the vulgar. But upon his leaving off his attempt, his ſenſes were reſtor'd to him. *Demetrius* alſo told him of (a) *Theodectes* the tragic-poet, who (according to report) preſuming to mention, in one of his plays, ſome of the incidents in the ſacred books, was ſeized with a ſoreneſs in his eyes; but upon his finding out the cauſe, and imploring the pardon of God, recovered from his illneſs.

The king having received from *Demetrius* the aboveſaid books, paid great reſpect to them, and ordered diligent care to be taken of them, that they might be preſerved entire. And he exhorted the interpreters to come often from *Judea* to ſee him, for he would make their journey advantageous to them, not only by the honours he would confer upon them, but alſo by the preſents he would give them. But he told them, if they thought proper, they might now return home; but if at any time they happened to come to ſee him afterwards on their own accord, he would perform his promiſe to them, in every reſpect becoming their wiſdom and his liberality. After this he diſmiſſed them, as ſoon as he had beſtowed upon each three rich ſuits of cloaths, two talents of gold, and a goblet weighing one talent, and a table carpet. And theſe were the preſents he gave them: But he ſent by them to *Eleazar* the high-prieſt, a preſent of ten beds with ſilver feet, and their furniture, a goblet weighing thirty talents, and alſo ten garments, a purple robe, a rich crown, and an hundred ells of fine muſlin; and alſo phials, plates, cups, and two goblets, for the uſe of the temple. And he begged the high-prieſt, in a letter he ſent him, to permit any of the elders to return to him, if they were deſirous ſo to do; becauſe he delighted in the diſcourſe of perſons of their knowledge and judgment, and it would be the greateſt pleaſure to him in the world, to beſtow his riches upon ſuch men. And thus did *Ptolomy Philadelphus* reverence and honour the *Jews*.

(a) *Theodectus* was a Tragic Poet, and is mentioned by *Ariſtotle* in his Art of Poetry, Chap. xvii.

CHAP. III.

How the Kings of Aſia *honoured the* Jewiſh *Nation, and made them Denizens of the Cities which they built.*

THE *Jews* alſo were (*a*) honoured by the kings of *Aſia*, becauſe they had fought under them: For *Seleucus* (*b*) *Nicator* made them free of all the cities which he built in *Aſia* and lower *Syria*, and of *Antioch* the capital city of his kingdom, putting them upon the ſame footing with the *Macedonians* and *Greeks* placed there: Which privileges they enjoy to this day. As for example; the *Jews* refuſing to uſe any other (*c*) oil than their own, received a certain ſum of money from the managers of the *Gymnaſia*, or ſports, to defray the charge of buying ſome: And when the people of *Antioch* in the next war endeavoured to abrogate the cuſtom, *Mucianus* (who was then governor of *Syria*) oppoſed them, and retained it. And afterwards when *Veſpaſian* and his ſon *Titus* held the empire of the world, the people of *Alexandria* and *Antioch* petitioned thoſe emperors to deprive them of their right of freedom, but they refuſed it. Hence the great juſtice and magnanimity of the *Romans*, eſpecially *Veſpaſian* and *Titus*, may eaſily be obſerved, who, notwithſtanding the many labours they ſuſtained in fighting againſt the *Jews*, and the anger they conceived againſt them, at their refuſing to ſurrender themſelves, and perſiſting in their reſiſtance to the laſt extremity, would not upon any account ſuffer their aboveſaid right to be taken away, but rejected all the intreaties, both of the people of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, at the time they had pretence enough to have complied with them: Nay, they would not condeſcend to ſhew the leaſt leſſening of their eſteem and kindneſs for the *Jews*, or entertain, or give way to any hatred of a people they had beſieged, but repreſented that thoſe who had oppoſed their power, and reſiſted their government, had been ſufficiently puniſhed; but it was great injuſtice to deprive thoſe who were innocent, of their juſt rights and privileges.

And we are very ſenſible that *Marcus Agrippa* was alſo well affected to the *Jews*: For when the *Ionians*, who were at enmity with the *Jews*, petitioned *Agrippa*, that they alone might enjoy the privileges of freemen of the city, which *Antiochus*, the nephew of *Seleucus*, the ſame perſon whom the *Greeks* call God, had given them, and demanded that the *Jews*, if they were their kindred, might worſhip the ſame gods with them, which affair was referr'd to a judicial determination, the *Jews* obtained a decree to practice their own laws, and obſerve their former cuſtoms, under the patronage of *Nicholas Damaſcenus*: For *Agrippa* declared that he could make no innovation. But if any perſon has a mind to be more exactly informed of theſe matters, let him conſult the hundred and twenty third, and the hundred and twenty fourth books of the hiſtory of *Nicholas Damaſcenus*. But *Agrippa*'s decree is not at all to be wonder'd at, for at that time our nation was at peace with the *Romans*. But *Veſpaſian* and *Titus*'s generoſity is deſervedly to be admired; for after ſo many engagements, which both of them had with the *Jews*, their benevolence and humanity to them were not in the leaſt diminiſhed. But we will now reſume the thread of our hiſtory, and trace it from the place from whence we have made this digreſſion.

When *Antiochus* the Great, reign'd in *Aſia*, not only the *Jews*, (their country being laid waſte) but alſo the inhabitants of *Cœlo-Syria*, endured many hardſhips, and were ſorely oppreſſed. For in his war againſt *Ptolomy* (*d*) *Eupator*, and his ſon, ſirnamed *Epiphanes*, they were reduced to this miſerable caſe, that if he got the better, they were to be afflicted, and if he loſt the day, they were to ſuffer the ſame misfortune; ſo that they were not unlike a ſhip in a tempeſt, ſurrounded and daſhed on every ſide with waves; for they were placed in the middle of *Antiochus*'s good and bad fortune. But *Ptolomy* was beaten, and upon that *Antiochus* ſeized upon *Judea*. Some time after this, *Philopator* died, and his ſon ſent a great army under the command of *Scopas* his general, againſt the inhabitants of *Cœlo-Syria*, who took many of their cities, and reduced our nation to his obedience. Not long after, *Antiochus* overthrew *Scopas* in an engagement near the ſprings of *Jordan*, wherein he deſtroyed the greateſt part of his army. But *Antiochus* afterwards taking the cities in *Cœlo-Syria*, which *Scopas* had before won, and alſo *Samaria*, the *Jews* voluntarily ſurrendered themſelves, and admitted him into the city, and not only ſupplied his whole army and *Elephants* with all manner of proviſions and neceſſaries, but alſo gave him great aſſiſtance in beſieging the garriſon left by

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(*a*) In the Book marked N. C. and entitled *Ptolemaicon*, there are theſe Words: ' After the Death of *Philadelphus*, *Ptolomy* ſirnamed *Euergetes* ſucceeded him in the Kingdom: And after *Eleazar*, his Uncle *Manaſſes* enjoyed the Office of High-Prieſt: After the Death of *Manaſſes*, *Onias* the Son of *Simon* the *Juſt*, was High-Prieſt: Now this *Simon* was the Brother of *Eleazar*: And after the Death of *Onias*, that Dignity devolved upon *Simon*, then a Child. Now all this Time the *Jewiſh* Nation was honoured, &c.

(*b*) Some write it *Nicanor*.

(*c*) It was cuſtomary with the *Greeks* to beſtow Oil in the Dedication of their *Gymnaſia*, (Places appointed for Sports and Exerciſes) which Practice *Nero* followed, as is witneſſed by *Tacitus* in the 14th Book of Annals. ' And that Year *Nero* inſtituted the *Gymnaſium*, and gave Oil, &c.' And alſo *Suetonius*, in the Life of *Nero*, ſpeaks of the ſame Thing.

(*d*) He is conſtantly called *Philopator*, except in this Paſſage.

Scopas in the tower at *Hieroſolyma.* Upon this, *Antiochus* thought it but common Juſtice, to reward the forwardneſs and liberality of the *Jews* towards him, and therefore he wrote a letter to his officers and friends, wherein he mentioned the *Jews*, and how much he was obliged to them, and ſignified at the end the preſents he had reſolved to make them. I will here add a copy of his letter, as ſoon as I have recited what *Polybius* the *Megalopolitan* hath wrote to confirm my words. For in the ſixteenth book of his hiſtory he thus writes: Scopas *the general of* Ptolomy*'s forces, marching againſt the higher countries, in the winter time ſubdued the nation of the* Jews. And in the ſame book he ſays, *That, after* Atiochus *had defeated* Scopas, *he retook* Batanæa, *and* Samaria, *and* Abila, *and* Gadar; *and the* Jews *who dwelt about the temple at* Hieroſolyma *ſurrender'd themſelves: Of which temple we have ſeveral things to ſay, and of the preſence of God in it, but muſt defer them to another time.* Thus far *Polybius* in his hiſtory. And we will continue our hiſtory as ſoon as we have copied the letters of *Antiochus.*

King *Antiochus* to *Ptolomy, Greeting:*

W*HEREAS the Jews, as ſoon as we entered upon their frontiers, gave us an open demonſtration of their zeal for our ſervice, and magnificently received us into their city, and came forth with their magiſtrates to compliment us on our march, and ſupplied our army and elephants with all needful proviſions, and gave us their aſſiſtance in our laying ſiege to the garriſon of the* Ægyptians. *Now we have thought fit, in conſideration of theſe ſeveral ſervices, to reward them, to repair their city, now in a miſerable condition by its calamities, accidental even to mankind, and people it with its natives, by recalling into it all the diſperſed* Jews. *And firſt of all we have decreed to ſupply them, for celebrating their religion, and performing their ſacrifices, with ſheep, and wine, and oil, and frankincenſe, to the value of twenty thouſand talents of ſilver, and ſix ſacred* Artabas *of wheat, and one thouſand four hundred and ſeventy buſhels of barley, and three hundred and ſeventy five buſhels of ſalt. And theſe I command to be given them, in obedience to my decree: And alſo, that the repairs of the temple, and of the portico's, and all other things neceſſary to be done, be carried on with expedition. And 'tis my will that the materials be brought out of* Judea, *and other countries, and* Libanus; *and that no tribute be collected in my name for the ſame. And the ſame command I likewiſe give in reſpect of the more rich furniture of the temple. But let every man of the* Jewiſh *nation live according to the preſcription of his country's laws, and let the council of the elders, and the prieſts, and the ſcribes of the temple, and the ſacred ſingers, be not only exempted from* head-crown, *but from all other kinds of tribute. And to the end that* Hierorolyma *may the ſooner be peopled, I grant to all thoſe who now inhabit it, and to thoſe who ſhall remove thither until the month* Hyperberetæus, *to live tax-free for three years. And we further remit unto them from that time the third part of their tributes, to make retaliation for their ſufferings. And we order all thoſe, together with their children, to be diſmiſſed and ſet at liberty, and their poſſeſſions to be reſtored them who are now actually in ſervitude, and diſtant from their native country.*

And theſe were the contents of his letter. He beſides publiſhed proclamations throughout his kingdom in honour of the temple, which were to this effect: “Let no foreigner preſume to enter within the inner court of the temple, which is even prohibited the *Jews* themſelves, unleſs firſt purified according to the cuſtom of their country. Neither let any mares, or mules, or aſſes, whether wild or tame, or panthers, or foxes, or hares, or any other beaſt's fleſh forbidden amongſt the *Jews*, be carried within the city. Neither let any of their ſkins, nor ſuffer any ſuch beaſts to be kept alive therein; but let them be at full liberty to perform the ſacrifices accuſtomed to be offered by their anceſtors, and by which God ought to be pacified. And if any act contradictory to this command, let him pay as a fine for ſuch tranſgreſſion, three thouſand ſilver drachms.” And alſo in another letter he wrote, he gave a full teſtimony of our piety and fidelity, when he had received intelligence of ſome new commotions being raiſed in *Lydia* and *Phrygia*, being himſelf then in the upper provinces of *Perſia*. In this letter he commanded his general *Zeuxis*, who was his intimate friend, to ſend ſome of our nation from *Babylon* into *Phrygia*. The letter was written to this effect:

King *Antiochus* to *Zeuxis* my general, *Greeting:*

I*F you are in health, 'tis well, and I too am in health. As ſoon as I came to hear that ſome where endeavouring to make innovations in* Lydia *and* Phrygia, *I made it my endeavour to put a ſtop thereto. And to this end I conſulted with my friends, what was neceſſary to be done; and the reſult of it was a deſign of tranſlating out of* Meſopotamia *and* Babylonia *two thouſand families of the* Jews, *with their houſhoulds, and puting them into the caſtles and moſt neceſſary places: For I take them to be friendly guardians of our affairs, both on account of their piety towards God, and the great teſtimony of their fidelity which they gave my anceſtors, and their forwardneſs to ſerve them in every thing they required of them. Wherefore I am reſolved to give them a mark of my friendſhip, and ſuffer them to live conformably to their own laws. But as ſoon as you have ſent for them into the places I have before ſpecified, I would have you allow them a ſpot of ground to build them habitations in, and land to cultivate. I would have you grant them liberty to plant vineyards, and allow them the fruits of the earth tax-free for the ſpace of ten years. And until they can receive the fruits of the earth, let them have* *corn meaſured to them gratis, for the maintenance of their families; and let them have as many ſlaves to ſerve them, as are neceſſary to their being kindly uſed by me, whereby they may ſtill attach themſelves more ſtrongly to our intereſt. And make it your endeavour, as much as you can, that their nation receive no manner of injury from any one.*

And thus much is ſufficient to premiſe concerning the mutal friendſhip ſubſiſting between *Antiochus* the Great, and the *Jews*.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Treaty concluded between Antiochus *and* Ptolomy, *and of* Onias's *raiſing the Indignation of* Ptolomy Euergetes. *How* Joſeph, *having re-eſtabliſhed Affairs entered into an Alliance with him: And of the other Tranſactions of him, and his Son* Hyrcanus.

BUT afterwaads *Antiochus* concluded a treaty of friendſhip with *Ptolomy*, and gave him in marriage his daughter *Cleopatra*, and beſtowed as a portion with her both *Cœlo-Syria*, and *Samaria*, and *Judea*, and *Phœnicia*. And the two kings having made a diviſion of the tributes between them, farmed them out to the principal men of each country, for certain ſums of money which they were conſtantly obliged to pay them. At this time the *Samaritans*, being puffed up with their proſperity, committed ſeveral injurious acts againſt the *Jews*, ſuch as ravaging their lands, and taking many of them away by force. Now theſe things happened under *Onias* the high-prieſt: For *Eleazar* dying, *Manaſſes* his uncle ſucceeded him in the prieſthood: After whoſe deceaſe, *Onias* the ſon of *Simon*, ſirnamed the *Juſt*, enjoyed that honour. Which *Simon* was the brother of *Eleazar*, as I have before obſerved. This *Onias* was of a very ſordid diſpoſition, and an immoderate lover of money: Whereupon he refuſed to pay the tribute due from the people to the king, which his anceſtors had been accuſtomed to do, namely, an hundred talents of ſilver. This refuſal exaſperated king *Ptolomy Euergetes*, who was the father of *Philopator*. Upon this, he ſent an ambaſſador to *Hieroſolyma*, and reprimanded *Onias* for not paying the tribute, and threatn'd to divide his country, unleſs he complied, and ſend a colony of ſoldiers into it. Theſe menaces of the king coming to the ears of the *Jews*, very much terrified them: But *Onias*, governed only by his avaricious temper, did not regard them.

But *Joſeph*, a young man, but famed at *Hieroſolyma* for his gravity, and prudence, and Juſtice, whoſe father's name was *Tobias*, and mother, the ſiſter of *Onias* the high-prieſt, learning from his mother the coming of the ambaſſador, (who then reſided in a certain village named *Phichola*, to which he himſelf belonged,) went into the city, and reprimanded *Onias* for the little regard he ſhewed for his countrymen's ſafety, and his deſigns to involve his nation in troubles, by refuſing to pay that money, by means of which, he told him, he had not only obtained the government over the people, but alſo the ſacerdotal dignity: But, if he was ſo covetous of money, that for its ſake he could behold his country in danger, and his countrymen ſuffer every indignity, yet he perſuaided him to go to the king, and intreat him to remit him all, or at leaſt, ſome part of the tribute. *Onias* to this remonſtrance returning anſwer, that he was not at all deſirous of the leaſt ſhare in the goverment, and ſaying, he was ready, if it could be done, to lay down the prieſthood, but not to go to the king, for he did not care for him; *Joſeph* then replied, and asked him, if he would permit him to undertake a public embaſſy to *Ptolomy* in behalf of his nation: *Onias* telling him, that he was not againſt it; *Joſeph* immediately went up to the temple, where aſſembling the people, he exhorted them not to be uneaſy, or terrified about any thing, becauſe his uncle *Onias* had ſhewn ſo great a diſregard of them: But prayed them to baniſh from their minds all manner of ſorrow upon that account; for he promiſed them to undertake an embaſſy to the king, and uſe his utmoſt intereſt with him to prevent his committing any hoſtilities againſt them. The people, having heard theſe things from *Joſeph*, returned him their acknowledgements. And as ſoon as he deſcended from the temple, he entertained *Ptolomy*'s ambaſſador, and loaded him with many rich preſents, and for ſeveral days honourably treated him at his houſe, and then ſent him to the king before him, ſaying, he would preſently follow after. For *Joſeph* was the more inclined to go to the king, becauſe the ambaſſador had inſpired him with courage, and confirmed his hopes, by a ſtrong invitation to go into *Ægypt*, and a promiſe to obtain from *Ptolomy* any thing he deſired. For the ambaſſador was very much taken with *Joſeph*'s liberality, and grave carriage.

When the ambaſſador came into *Ægypt*, he acquainted the king with the ſordid diſpoſition of *Onias* and by many tokens ſhewe him *Joſeph*'s goodneſs; and told him, that h was coming to intercede for his countrymen diſobedience; for he was their ruler. T ambaſſador extolled the young man with ſuc extraordinary praiſes, that both the king a his conſort *Cleopatra*, were brought over his intereſt before they ſaw him. Now J*ſeph*, after he had ſent into *Samaria* to bo row money of his friends, and made all n ceſſary preparations for his journey, and p chaſed garments, goblets, and aſſes, to the v lue of twenty thouſand drachms, travell to *Alexandria*. And it fell out at this time t the princes and cheif men amongſt the *Ph ci* *cians* came to purchaſe the tributes: For the king anually ſold them to the moſt powerful men of every city. Theſe perſons, ſeeing *Joſeph* on the road, rediculed him for his poor retinue, and beggarly appearance: But when he came to *Alexandria*, and heard there that the king was at *Memphis*, he went up thither to meet him. The king, with his queen, and *Athenion* his friend, were ſiting in a chariot. *Athenion* was the ambaſſador ſent to *Hieroſolyma*, whom *Joſeph* had ſo honourably entertained; who, ſeeing *Joſeph*, immediately told the king, ſaying, *This is he of whom I ſpoke to you at my return from* Hieroſolyma, *what a good, generous, and liberal young man he was.*" Upon hearing this, *Ptolomy* ſaluted him, and begged him to come up into his chariot: And when *Joſeph* was ſeated, began to expoſtulate about what *Onias* had done. Whereupon *Joſeph* ſaid, *But pardon, Sir his age, which will one time come upon you: For it is apparent, that old men and children do not much diſagree: You ſhall then have all deference paid you by young men like myſelf, and ſhall have no occaſion to complain.* The king pleaſed with the gentile addreſs, and manly behaviour of the young man, as if he had had a long acquaintance with him, began ſo highly to admire him, that he intreated him to dwell in his palace, and be his conſtant gueſt. But when the princes of *Syria* and *Phænicia* ſaw *Joſeph* ſitting in the chariot of the king, as he returned to *Alexandria*, they were extremely diſſatisfied.

When the day came for ſelling the tributes of the cities, thoſe who were the moſt powerful in their reſpective country were admitted purchaſers. But when the taxes upon *Cœlo-Syria*, and *Phænicia*, and *Judea*, with *Samaria*, where ſaid to amount to eight thouſand talents, *Joſeph* ſtept up, and accuſed the purchaſers of combining together to give ſo little to the king for the tributes; and promiſed him to give double the ſum, and to ſend him all he goods of thoſe perſons, who rebelled ainſt his family, for they were included in e ſale of the taxes. The king willingly ſtened to this propoſal of *Joſeph*, and told im, he would grant him the ſale of the tolls, as to one who could enlarge and augent his revenues; but asked him, if he was le to find bondſmen for his ſecurity. To is *Joſeph* very politely made anſwer, *I will id he, procure good and juſt perſons, againſt hom I believe, you'll make no objections.* The g hereupon bad him tell him who they e. *Joſeph* then, replied, *I take yourſelf, ing, and your queen to be my ſecurities.* *lomy*, pleaſed at this ſmart reply, granted the tolls without any ſureties at all. ich did not a little diſpleaſe thoſe who e come from the cities in *Ægypt*, as found themſelves made his inferiors: every one of them, not without much ontent, returned into their reſpective tries.

ſeph having received from the king two ſand of the infantry, (for he had petid the king for aſſiſtance, to make him able mpel thoſe to their duty, who ſhould offer to diſobey him, in any of the cities under his juriſdiction) and borrowing at *Alexandria* of the king's friends five hundred talents, travelled into *Syria*. But when he came to *Aſcalon*, he demanded tribute of the *Aſcalonites*, who not only refuſed to pay any, but very diſhonourably treated him. Whereupon he apprehended about twenty of their principal men, and put them to death, and levied a tax out of their goods, which, amounting to one thouſand talents, he ſent to the king, and acquainted him with what he had done. *Ptolomy* admiring his reſolution, not only approved what he had done, but gave him full authority to act as he ſhould think fit. This news coming to the knowledge of the *Syrians*, they were terrified at it, and ſetting before their eyes the citizens of *Aſcalon*, who had been put to death for their diſobedience, voluntarily opened their gates and admitted *Joſeph*, and paid him the tribute. But the *Scythopolitans*, little regarding what had been acted at *Aſcalon*, and reproaching him, and refuſing to pay the tribute money, he likewiſe apprehended their principal men, and put them to death, and ſent their confiſcated eſtates to the king. But having acquired for himſelf a great deal of money, and made a vaſt advantage of the ſale of the ſeveral tributes, he applied his riches to the eſtabliſhment of the power he had obtained; judiciouſly conſidering with himſelf, that it would be a laudable action, if he could make his preſent felicity firmly depend upon his own acquiſitions. He therefore, privately ſent ſeveral valuable preſents both to the king, and his queen *Cleopatra*, and to their friends, and to all the powerful men in the king's palace, obtaining by this method their intereſt and favour.

In this happy condition *Joſeph* lived two and twenty years, and had ſeven children by one wife; and one ſon, named *Hyrcanus*, by the daughter of his brother *Solymius*, whom he married on the following account: On a certain time he went with his brother to *Alexandria*, (who carried with him his daughter, then marriageable, with a deſign to join her in marriage with ſome noble *Jew*,) where being at ſupper with the king, a very beautiful dancer came in, upon whom he caſt his eyes, and could not forbear loving her: He immediately told his brother his paſſion, and begged him, in regard it was prohibited the *Jews* by their law, to lie with a woman not of their nation, to conceal his crime, and aſſiſt him all he could to ſatisfy his deſires. The brother promiſed he would be his faithful ſervant in the affair, and adorning his own daughter, carried her in the night time to him, and laid her in his bed. *Joſeph* was in liquor, when he went to bed, and conſequently knew nothing of the deceit; he lay with his brother's daughter, and the oftner he did ſo, the more he was inflamed: For he confeſſed to his brother, that his love for the dancer would endanger his life; if the king refuſed to give him her. The brother hearing this, begged him not to be too anxious or ſolicitous about it, and told him he might enjoy the woman he loved, and make her his wife; and then he opened to him what he had done, he declared that he was much more willing his own daughter ſhould be injured, than he would ſuffer him to bring himſelf under the diſhonour he aimed at. *Joſeph* highly commending his brother's generoſity, married his daughter, and begat a ſon upon her, named *Hyrcanus*, as we have already mentioned. He was the youngeſt of all his ſons, and when but thirteen years of age diſcovered a very magnanimous ſpirit and excellent genius, which raiſed a jealouſy amongſt his other brothers, who envied him the ſuperiority given him. *Joſeph* was deſirous to learn which of them all was of the beſt diſpoſition, and had the greateſt natural inclination to virtue. To this end he placed all of them under maſters the moſt famed for their learning, and excellent method of inſtructing. But every one of them, except *Hyrcanus*, through a natural ſluggiſhneſs and averſion to labour, returned home wholly void of learning and knowledge. Some time after this, *Joſeph* ſent *Hyrcanus* the youngeſt, a two days journey into the deſart, with three hundred yoke of oxen to plough the ground, but had privately concealed the reins to join them. When *Hyrcanus* came to the place appointed, and perceived he had no reins, he rejected the advice of the drivers, who perſuaided him to ſend back ſome perſons to his father to fetch ſome, and thought he ought not to looſe ſo much time, as the men would take up in going. To prevent which, he formed a ſcheme very well contrived, and ſuitable to a perſon of elder years and more experience: For killing ten yokes of the oxen, he diſtributed the fleſh amongſt the labourers, and cutting the hides into thongs he tied them to the other oxen; and having in this manner ploughed the ground, and performed the commands of his father, he returned to him. The father, at his return was extremely well pleaſed at his preſence of mind, and great reſolution; and highly commending him, as well for his ready attempt of ſo bold on action, as his quick inventing it, he preſerved a more than ordinary affection for him, as being his lawfully begotten ſon, which the other brothers could not help obſerving, though with the greateſt envy and diſcontent.

Joſeph about this time hearing that a ſon was born to *Ptolomy*, and that all the principal men of *Syria*, and the countries about were making vaſt preparations to go to *Alexandria*, and celebrate the child's birth-day, asked his ſons (he himſelf being through old age unable to undertake the journey) which of them was deſirous to go to the king. The elder brother refuſing it, and ſaying they were too home-bred to appear amongſt ſuch a company, and adviſing him to ſend their brother *Hyrcanus* thither, he joyfully liſtened to their ſneering advice, and called *Hyrcanus*, and asked him, if he was prepared to go to the king. *Hyrcanus* aſſured him he would go with the greateſt joy and willingneſs, and told him he wanted but very little money, for he lived very ſparingly, and that ten thouſand drachms would defray his expences. This ſpeech made the father admire his moderation. And a little while after, *Hyrcanus* adviſed his father, not to ſend by him any manner of preſents, but give him a letter to his banker at *Alexandria*, to ſupply him with money, wherewith he could purchaſe there any thing he found beautiful and excellent in its kind. The father deſigning to expend ten talents in the preſents he reſolved to ſend the king, commended his ſon for the prudent advice he had given him, and wrote to *Arion* his banker, in *Alexandria*, who received all his money and effects there, amounting to three thouſand talents. For *Joſeph* remitted the money to him collected in *Syria* to *Alexandria*, and the day coming, when the tribute money was to be paid to the king, he wrote to *Arion* to do it. *Hyrcanus* having petitioned his father for this letter, and received it, he ſet forward, in his journey towards *Alexandria*: But while he was travelling thither, his brothers wrote a letter to all the king's friends to kill him.

As ſoon as he was come to *Alexandria*, he gave the letter to *Arion*, who asked him how many talents he wanted, (for he hoped he would have demanded only ten, or ſomething more:) *Hyrcanus* told him he wanted a thouſand. Upon this, *Arion* reproved him for his exorbitant demand, and remonſtrated to him, how his father with a great deal of labour and ſelf-denial had acquired his wealth, and admoniſhed him to imitate his example. And told him at the ſame time, that he would not let him have any more than ten talents, and thoſe to be laid out in preſents for the king. *Hyrcanus* enraged hereat, threw *Arion* into priſon. Hereupon *Arion*'s wife made this affair known to *Cleopatra*, and deſired that *Hyrcanus*'s arrogance might be chaſtiſed, (for *Arion* was in great eſteem with her.) She accordingly acquainted the king with it; and *Ptolomy* hereupon ſent meſſengers to *Hyrcanus*, to tell him that he very much wondered, why he, who had been ſent ambaſſador by his father, had not only delayed appearing before him, but had put his banker in chains: And therefore commanded him to come and acquaint him, what was the reaſon that had induced him to commit ſuch an action. After he had given the king's meſſenger his anſwer, it is reported that he ſaid, he was ſenſible that the king himſelf had a law which forbad his own ſon to taſte of the ſacrifice before he had entered the temple, and ſacrificed to God: And that it was upon the ſame account he had not yet appeared before him, becauſe he waited to bring him preſents ſuitable to the degree of ſo deſerving a father as his was. As to what related to his ſervant, he ſaid, he had for the ſame reaſon puniſhed him, becauſe he diſobeyed his command: For in reſpect of obedience to their commands, there was a little difference between a private perſon and a king, and if we were not to puniſh our ſervants for their diſobedience, you yourſelf muſt expect in time to be diſpiſed by your own ſubjects; the king hearing, theſe words, laughed, and highly admired the young man's courage.

Arion at laſt, finding that the king's mind was inclined to favour *Hyrcanus*, and that no body pleaded his cauſe or brought him aſſiſtance, gave him the thouſand talents, and was thereupon diſcharged out of priſon; and three days after *Hyrcanus* complimented the king and queen, who received and entertained him courteouſly, on account of his father's merit. Afterwards he made a private bargain with ſome merchants, and bought of them one hundred young men, well verſed in learning, and of forward ſpirits, for a talent each, and the ſame number of young women at the ſame price. But ſome time after he was invited by the king to an entertainment, in company with the principal men of the country, whereat he was placed in the loweſt ſeat, being diſregarded on account of his youth by thoſe whoſe buſineſs it was to aſſign the gueſts their ſeveral places according to their dignity: And when thoſe who ſat at table had placed all the bones of the victuals (as ſoon as they had picked the fleſh from them) in a heap before *Hyrcanus*, ſo that the part of the table before him was quite crouded with them, *Tryphon*, who was appointed the king's jeſter, to divert him with facetious and ſharp repartees at his entertainments, being asked for that very purpoſe, to hint ſomething about the bones when he ſtood before the king: *Do you ſee, ſaid he, my Lord, what an heap of bones lays before* Hyrcanus? *From thence you may conclude that his father hath ſtript all* Syria *as clean as he hath done them of their fleſh.* This ſpeech of *Tryphon* made the king burſt out into a laughter, and ask *Hyrcanus* the reaſon why ſuch a number of bones laid before him. *Do not be ſurprized at it, ſaid he, my Lord, for it is the nature of dogs to devour the bones with the fleſh, as thoſe (looking earneſtly upon the gueſts) have done, becauſe not a bone is to be ſeen before them; but it is the part of men, after they have eaten the fleſh, to preſerve the bones for the dogs, which I, who am a man, have done.* The king, aſtoniſhed at the cloſeneſs and ſmartneſs of his repartee, commanded all preſent to applaud his ingenious anſwer. On the next day, when all the king's friends and officers of his palace were aſſembled, he complimented each of them, but enquired of ſome of the ſervants what kind of preſents their maſters were to give the king on his ſon's birth-day? And upon their telling him that ſome would preſent twelve talents, others more, according to their dignity and riches, he pretended before every one of them to be very much concerned, that he was unable to beſtow ſuch preſents; for he ſaid, he had not above five talents to give away. When the ſervants heard this, they went and acquainted their maſters therewith, who were glad to think that *Hyrcanus* would be reproached for his niggardneſs, and turn the king's favour from him by his poor preſent. As ſoon as the day was come, ſome who were reckoned more liberal than ordinary, gave a ſum of one hundred talents: But *Hyrcanus* gave the hundred young men, and the hundred young women, each a talent, and preſented the former to the king, but the latter to queen *Cleopatra*. Every one was amazed, but eſpecially the king and queen, at his magnificent and unexpected preſent: And beſides, he diſtributed ſeveral talents amongſt the friends and ſervants of the king, for fear of any danger from them; for his brothers had written to them to aſſaſſinate him. But *Ptolomy* admiring the addreſs of the young man, bid him ask for any thing he deſir'd, and he would give it him. However, he asked for nothing more, than that he would be pleaſed to write in his behalf to his father and brothers. The king having thus very honourably entertained him, and loaded him with many rich preſents, and wrote to his father, and to his brothers, and to their officers in his behalf, diſmiſſed him. His brothers having heard of the favours the king had beſtowed on *Hyrcanus*, and that he was returning with great honour, went to meet him on the road with a deſign to kill him, with the conſent of their father: For being highly incenſed at him for conſuming all his money upon preſents, he was leſs ſolicitous about his life. Neverthleſs he diſſembled his anger againſt his ſon for fear of the king. The brothers engaging *Hyrcanus*, he not only ſlew many of their ſervants, but alſo two of them, the reſt withdrew to *Hieroſolyma* to their father. But *Hyrcanus* going to the city, and finding none willing to receive him, he began to be apprehenſive of danger, and withdrew himſelf beyond the river *Jordan*, where, compelling the *Barbarians* to pay him tribute, he fixed his habitation amongſt them.

About this time *Seleucus*, ſirnamed the *Saviour*, the ſon of *Antiochus* the Great, reigned in *Aſia*, and *Joſeph*, the father of *Hyrcanus*, died, who was not only a very good and valiant man, but alſo remarkable for extricating the *Jewiſh* nation out of a poor and mean condition, and raiſing them to a ſtate of great pomp and power, and for twenty years farming the tributes of *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Samaria*. And at this time alſo his uncle *Onias* died, his ſon *Simon* ſucceeding him in the prieſthood, who alſo dying, his ſon *Onias* enjoyed that dignity, to whom *Arius*, king of the *Lacedemonians*, ſent his ambaſſadors, and a congratulatory letter, to this effect:

Arius, king of the *Lacedemonians*, to *Onias*,
Greeting:

We have accidentally found a certain writing, in which we obſerve that the Jews *and the* Lacedemonians *are kindred to each other. and both deſcended from the family of* Abram. *For which reaſon it is but juſtice, ſince you are our brethren, to inform us, if you want our aſſiſtance in any thing: For we will willingly comply with your deſires in any thing, and eſteem what belongs to you as ours in ſome reſpect, and what belongs to us ſhall be made common among you.* Damoteles, *who brings our letter, has alſo our commands. The writing is of a ſquare figure, and the ſeal repreſents an eagle graſping a dragon.*

And theſe were the contents of the letter which the king of the *Lacedemonians* ſent. But after the death of *Joſeph*, a diſſention aroſe amongſt the people on account of his ſons. For the elder brothers proclaiming war againſt *Hyrcanus*, who was the youngeſt, the multitude divided themſelves, and the greater part eſpouſed the cauſe of the elder, and amongſt them *Simon*, the high-prieſt, on account of his nearneſs of relation to them. *Hyrcanus* obſerving theſe proceedings, durſt not afterwards return to *Hieroſolyma*; but having procured a ſeat to himſelf on the other ſide of *Jordan*, he engaged the *Arabians*, many of whom he put to the ſword, and many he took priſoners. And he built a ſtrong caſtle, raiſed from the very foundation to the cieling with white marble, which he adorned on the outſide with the ſculpture of the figures of animals of an enormous ſize, and encloſed it with a wide and deep mote. And the prominent part of the rock of the oppoſite mountain he ordered to be dug into the ſhape of caverns of ſeveral furlongs in length, ſome whereof he formed into chambers for entertainments, others for taking repoſe in, and ſome again he made for performing the neceſſary actions of life in. Beſides, he made aqueducts which conveyed water in great plenty, and proved of great uſe and ornament to his court. And the doors leading into the ſeveral caverns, he made no wider than was ſufficient to admit one perſon at a time; and this he did on purpoſe for his ſafety, leſt at any time being beſieged by his brothers, he ſhould have the ill fortune of falling into their hands. And he erected very ſpacious courts, which he beautified with pleaſant gardens; and after he had in this manner put a finiſhing hand to his building, he called it (a) *Tyre*. Now this is ſituated between *Arabia* and *Judea*, on the other ſide of the river *Jordan*, not far from *Eſſebonitis*. And *Hyrcanus* ruled this tract of land during ſeven years, being all the reign of *Seleucus* in *Syria*, after whoſe deceaſe, his brother *Antiochus* ſirnamed *Epiphanes*, obtain'd the kingdom. And about this time died *Ptolomy*, king of *Ægypt*, who was alſo named *Epiphanes*, leaving behind him two ſons very young, the elder of whom was called *Philometor*, but the younger *Phyſcon*. But *Hyrcanus*, ſeeing the great power of *Antiochus*, and apprehending he would take and puniſh him for the injuries he had done the *Arabians*, killed himſelf with his own hands; upon which *Antiochus* ſeized upon all his eſtates.

CHAP. V.

How Antiochus, *while the* Jews *were at Variance amongſt themſelves about the Prieſthood, led an Army againſt* Hieroſolyma; *and having taken the City, rifled the Temple, and committed ſeveral Hoſtilities againſt the* Jews. *How many* Jews *departed from the Inſtitutions and Laws of their Country, and the* Samaritans, *following the Cuſtoms of the* Greeks, *called the Temple of God, built in* Garizim, *the Temple of* Jupiter Hellenius.

ONIAS, the high-prieſt, (b) dying about this time, the king gave the high-prieſthood to his brother *Jeſus*; for the ſon which *Onias* had left behind him, was but a child; but what relates to him we will ſpeak of in its proper place. But the king deprived *Jeſus*, who was the brother of *Onias*, of the high-prieſthood, being incenſed at him, and beſtowed the

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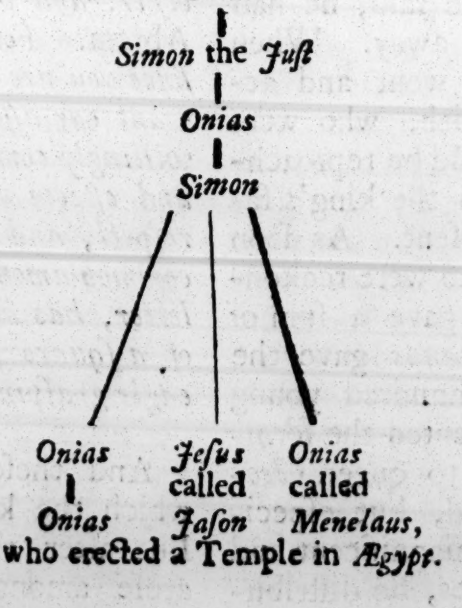
(a) As ſeveral Places in *Judea* were called *Rama*, from the Aſcent of their Situation; ſo in like Manner were many named *Tyre*, from the rocky and mountainous Ground whereon they were built. *Hudſon.* (b) Our Author's Account is widely different from this in his Book of the *Empire of Reaſon*, and he differs from the Writer of the *Maccabees*, to whom I refer the Reader in the 4th of 2 *Macc.* ver. 7, and 10. *Theodoret* upon *Daniel*, p. 683, ſpeaks of this Matter thus: ' Afterwards *Onias*, the High-prieſt, was pre-admoniſhed of ' the Rebellion of his Sons *Jeſus*, *Jaſon*, *Onias*, and *Menelaus*: For *Jaſon* firſt ran to *Antiochus*, and ſupplanted his Brother in the Prieſthood; but *Menelaus* ſending Gold and rich Preſents to *Antiochus*, procured ' to himſelf the Prieſthood again, and excluded *Jaſon*.' I ſhall here inſert the Genealogy of the High-prieſts in *Onias*'s Family.



honour upon his youngeſt brother named *Onias*; for *Simon* had three ſons, who were all of them afterwards high-prieſts, as we have mentioned above. And *Jeſus* changed his name to that of *Jaſon*, and *Onias* to that of *Menelaus*. Upon which a ſedition aroſe between the former high-prieſt *Jeſus*, and *Menelaus*, who became afterwards the high-prieſt; and the people dividing themſelves, part of them inclined to the intereſt of *Menelaus*, but the majority eſpouſed the cauſe of *Jaſon*, who proving unable to ſuſtain the force of their adverſaries, immediately went to *Antiochus*, and repreſented to him that they were deſirous to relinquiſh the laws of their own country, and practice the royal cuſtoms, wholly giving themſelves up to the inſtitutions of the *Greeks*. Whereupon they petitioned him to give them leave to erect a (*a*) *Gymnaſium* at *Hieroſolyma*; which being granted them, they concealed the circumciſion of their genitals, that even when they were naked, they might be took for *Grecians*. And having wholly relinquiſhed all other cuſtoms of their country, they imitated the actions of other nations.

Now *Antiochus* finding the affairs of his kingdom ſucceed to his wiſh, formed a deſign of making an expedition into *Ægypt*, being moved with an ambition to ſeize upon it, and little regarding *Ptolomy*'s ſons, who were very weak, and unable to govern it: With this view he led a great army to *Peluſium*, and having circumvented *Ptolomy Philometor* by ſtratagem, he ſeized upon *Ægypt*, and thence marching to *Memphis*, took it alſo: He afterwards went to *Alexandria*, deſigning to beſiege it, and reduce *Ptolomy*, who at that time reigned in it, to his obedience. But he not only met with a warm repulſe from the inhabitants of *Alexandria*, but was driven out of all *Ægypt*; the *Romans* at the ſame time threatening war againſt him, if he did not ceaſe his hoſtilities againſt that country, which we have before, and ſhall in another place, ſpeak of. But we ſhall now mention in a particular manner the actions of this king, who ſeized upon *Judea* and the temple: For ſeeing we have in the former (*b*) book of tranſactions, only ſummarily taken notice of them, I have thought it neceſſary now to treat them in a more accurate and extenſive manner.

King *Antiochus*, fearing the *Roman* power, returned out of *Ægypt*, and marched his army againſt *Hieroſolyma*, into which he entered in the one hundred and forty third year, from the time the deſcendants of *Seleucus* began to reign, and took the place without ſtriking a blow, the men of his faction opening the gates to him. As ſoon as he was maſter of the town, he killed ſeveral of the oppoſite party, and after he had violently ſeized upon a rich booty of money, he returned to *Antioch*.

After two years were elapſed, in the one hundred and forty fifth year of the reign of the family of *Seleucus*, on the five and twentieth day of the month, by our nation called *Chaſleu*, and by the *Macedonians*, *Apellæus*, in the one hundred and fifty third *Olympiad*, king *Antiochus* with a numerous army marched up to *Hieroſolyma*, and through pretence of offering peace, ſeized upon the city by artifice. His deſire of riches made him not ſpare even thoſe perſons who had opened the gates to him, and received him into the town, but led by his avaricious temper (for he had obſerved a great quantity of money in the temple, and ſeveral valuable and rich offerings hanging in it) he ſtuck not to violate the treaty he had concluded with them; and, rifling the temple, he not only carried away the holy veſſels dedicated to the ſervice of God, but alſo the golden candleſticks, and the golden table, and the golden altar, and the incenſe pots. But his ſacrilege did not ſtop here; for he alſo ſtript the temple of the fine linnen and purple veils, and all the rich ornaments, and took away all the money he could find hidden there, not ſparing any thing that was valuable or precious, ſo that the *Jews* were extremely dejected and concerned. And he alſo prohibited the *Jews* from offering their daily ſacrifices, which they had perform'd in obedience to the law; and having plundered all the city, he killed ſeveral of the inhabitants, and carried away others with their wives and children into captivity, amounting to ten thouſand priſoners. He alſo burnt the moſt beautiful places of the city, and having pulled down the walls, he built a tower in the lower city, raiſing it to a vaſt height, and making it to overlook the temple: Beſides, he ſurrounded it with ſtrong walls and ramparts, and placed a garriſon of *Macedonians* in it, many of whom being fellows of mean principles, injuriouſly treated the *Jews*, and offered many hoſtilities to the citizens. Moreover king *Antiochus*, having erected an altar upon the place where the golden one ſtood, killed ſwine upon it; in this action, neither offering up a ſacrifice agreeable to the law, or conformable to the *Jewiſh* worſhip. And he compelled them, after the worſhip of their own God was laid aſide, to pay adoration to thoſe whom he eſteemed deities, and after he had erected altars to them in every village and town, to offer ſwine to them. He beſides commanded them, under a ſevere puniſhment, not to circumciſe their ſons, and conſtituted overſeers to ſee his orders obeyed by the people. Hereupon many of the *Jews*, ſome voluntarily, others through fear of the puniſhment, obeyed the king's commands; but the more powerful and generous ſort of them gave no manner of regard to them, but preferred the laws of their country to the fear of the puniſhment threatened againſt offenders. This behaviour occaſioned their deſtruction; for being expoſed daily to troubles, and undergoing the moſt heavy torments, they in that cruel manner died. For being inhumanly beaten with (*c*) ſticks and their bodies

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(*a*) A Place wherein Men contended all naked. See *Macc.* ii. 14, 22.

(*b*) Meaning his firſt Book of the Wars of the *Jews*, which was written before the Antiquities.

(*c*) This Paſſage ſeems to relate to *Hebrews* the xith, ver. 35, 36.

mangled, while life remained in them they were faſtened to croſſes; but the women and children who were circumciſed, were by the king's order ſtrangled, and hung to the necks of their crucified fathers. And if in any place the ſacred book and law were found, they were immediately deſtroyed, and the perſons with whom they were ſo found, as if they had been wicked men, were cruelly murthered.

The *Samaritans* ſeeing the *Jews* reduced to theſe fatal extremities, would no longer own themſelves their relations, or allow that the temple on *Garizim* belong'd to the High God, as they had before confeſſed, herein verifying their true character, which we have mentioned above, and repreſenting that they were colonies of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, and deſcended from them. To this end they ſent ambaſſadors to *Antiochus*, with a letter to the following effect:

To king Antiochus *the illuſtrious god, the* Sidonians *inhabiting* Sikim, *ſend thus,* Greeting:

‘WHEREAS our anceſtors who followed an antient ſuperſtition, for the many calamities and peſtilences which fell upon their country, enacted a law to obſerve that day, by the *Jews* called their ſabbath; and to that end having erected a temple without a name on mount *Garizim*, they offer'd up ſolemn ſacrifices according to cuſtom. Now at the time you were pleaſed to treat the *Jews*, as their malicious behaviour deſerved, your officers thinking us, becauſe of our conſanguinity, to be partiſans with them, charge us with the like male-practice: Whereas we are originally *Sidonians*, as we can plainly make appear from our public records: Upon which ground we petition you, our benefactor and ſaviour, that you would be pleaſed to order *Apollonius* the ſuperintendant of our country, and *Nicanor*, your attorney-general, not to give us any more diſturbance for the future, as if we were actually accomplices with the *Jews*, from whom we differ ſo much both in morals and original. And we beſeech you, that you would ſuffer our temple, which as yet is diſtinguiſhed by no name at all, to be dignified by the title of the temple of *Jupiter Hellenius*: Which being granted us, we ſhall have reſt from our troubles, and the happineſs to carry on our ſeveral deſigns without any apprehenſions of fear; whereby we ſhall be in a condition to pay you a more conſiderable tribute.’

Upon this petition of the *Samaritans*, the king in his turn ſent the following letter to *Nicanor*.

King Antiochus *to* Nicanor.

‘THE *Sidonians* inhabiting *Sikim* having offered their petition to us, we have ſent it encloſed herein: And the ambaſſadors, whom they have ſent, have repreſented to us in a council held with our friends, that the crimes for which the *Jews* ſtand accuſed, no ways concern them, but that they are deſirous to live according to the *Greek* cuſtoms. Wherefore we not only abſolve them from the crime they are accuſed of, but are willing their temple, on account of their petition, ſhould be dignified with the name of *Jupiter Hellenius*.’

The ſame letter he wrote to *Apollonius*, the ſuperintendant of *Judea*, in the (*a*) ſix and fortieth year, on the eighteenth day of the month *Hecatambreon*.

CHAP. VI.

How Antiochus, *prohibiting the* Jews *from the Exerciſe of their Country's Laws, was diſobeyed by* Mattathias, *the Great Grand-ſon of* Aſamonæus, *who afterwards in an Engagement defeated* Antiochus's *General. Of the Death of* Mattathias, *and the Succeſſion of* Judah.

ABOUT the ſame time dwelt in *Modim*, a village of *Judea*, a certain perſon named *Mattathias*, the ſon of *John*, the ſon of *Simeon*, the ſon of *Aſamonæus*, a prieſt of the order of *Joarib*, an *Hieroſolymite*. This perſon had five ſons, *viz.* *John* ſirnamed *Gaddes*, and *Simon* called *Matthes*, and *Judas* ſtiled *Maccabæus*, and *Eleazar* entitled *Auran*, and *Jonathas* denominated *Apphus*. Now this *Mattathias*, in company with his ſons, lamented the miſerable condition of the *Jewiſh* affairs, the ſacking of the city, the rifling of the temple, and the calamities of his countrymen; and ſaid, it was far more glorious to die in defence of their country's laws, than to live with ſo much diſhonour.

The perſons conſtituted by the king to oblige the *Jews* to obey his commands coming to *Modim*, and ordering the inhabitants then preſent to ſacrifice as the king had commanded, and aſking *Mattathias*, who was very remarkable both for the glory he had purchaſed by ſeveral great actions, and alſo for his copious learning, and iſſue of children, to

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(*a*) In the Six and Fortieth Year, but I cannot comprehend from what *Æra* this Account is brought. *Uſher.* *Foy-vaillant*, in his Hiſtory of the *Syrian* Kings, p. 180, ſays, the *Samaritans* received an Anſwer to their Petition, ſent to *Antiochus* not in the 46th Year (according to *Joſephus*) but in the 146th, and on the 11th of *Hecatombreon*, or *July*.

ſhew himſelf the foremoſt in ſacrificing, for the citizens would follow his example, and he would obtain by ſuch an action the entire favour of the king, were anſwered by him, that he would on no condition at all commit ſuch an action, nor, if all the other nations obeyed *Antiochus*'s commands, whether through fear, or complacency, ſuffer himſelf and his ſons to pay obedience ſo far to his edicts as to relinquiſh the true worſhip of his country. When he had done ſpeaking, a *Jew* in the ſight of all preſent ſtept up, and ſacrificed according to the king's order. *Mattathias* beholding this, was filled with rage, and he and his ſons ruſhing upon him with their ſwords in their hands, cut off his head at the altar, and ſlew *Apelles* the prefect, who had forced him to ſacrifice, with ſome few ſoldiers; and then pulling down the altar, he raiſed his voice aloud, and ſaid, 'They who are true lovers of God, and the laws of their country, let them follow me.' Having ſpoke thus, he withdrew with his ſons into the deſart, leaving all his effects in the city behind him. Many following his example, fled with their wives and children into the wilderneſs, and dwelt in caves. But the news hereof coming to the king's officers, they took all the ſoldiers garriſoned in the tower at *Hieroſolyma*, and purſued the *Jews* into the deſart; where, coming up with them, they firſt endeavoured to perſuade them to repent of their deſigns, and not force them to commit hoſtilities againſt them. But this remonſtrance proving ineffectual, and on the contrary, their reſolutions being wholly fixed againſt them, a battle was preſently begun againſt them on the day of the ſabbath; and their fury carried to that height, as to burn all thoſe hidden in the caves, who patiently ſuſtained their calamities without ſo much as blocking up the mouths of the caves; for reflecting on the ſolemnity of the day, they refrained from returning any violence, or defending themſelves, being unwilling the ſabbath, though reduced to ſuch preſſing extremities, ſhould be prophaned by them, for our law hath firmly ordained, that we ſhould reſt from all manner of labour on that day. The number of perſons with their wives and children who were ſuffocated to death in the caves, amounted to one thouſand. But ſeveral got clear of the danger, and joining with *Mattathias*, choſe him for their leader; who encouraged them to engage even on the ſabbath, for he repreſented to them, 'That if they neglected to do ſo, which was no violation of the (a) law, they would act as enemies to themſelves, ſince it was probable their enemies might on that day only attack them when they would not offer to defend themſelves againſt their hoſtilities, whereby it was evident all of them would be maſſacred, and cut to pieces, without ſo much as returning one blow.' Having ſpoke thus, his words ſoon gained him many adherents; and the cuſtom has till now remained in our nation, to fight, on any preſſing occaſion, upon the ſabbath. *Mattathias* having collected a conſiderable number of forces, not only threw down the altars, but ſlew the revolters, as many as he could apprehend (for ſeveral through fear of him were diſperſed among the bordering nations,) and commanded the youth who were not circumciſed, to undergo that operation, driving away thoſe perſons who had been appointed to prohibit it.

After he had in this manner governed the *Jews* one year, he fell into an indiſpoſition; whereupon calling his ſons to him, he ſpoke to them as they ſtood round in this manner: 'My ſons, I am now going to perform that journey which every man muſt one time or other undertake. But before I depart, I recommend to you the advice I am going to give you, which I earneſtly beſeech you to preſerve in mind, and bear a ſacred reſpect to the laſt deſire of your father: It is, That you would inviolably conform yourſelves to your country's laws and inſtitutions, and endeavour to preſerve the eſtabliſhed form of government, which is now reduced to the laſt extremity, not yielding to the remonſtrances of thoſe, who either through fear or hopes of their own eaſe, ſuffer it to be betrayed into the hands of your enemies; but as you are my ſons, ſhew yourſelves worthy of your father, and riſe ſo much ſuperior either to compulſion or neceſſity, being conſtantly ready, if the caſe requires it, to die in defence of your law, thinking that God, if he beholds you performing ſo glorious an action, will not neglect you for it, but eſteeming your courage, will reſtore you to your loſt privileges, and reward you with liberty, that you may without any hindrance or interruption enjoy the cuſtoms of your country. It is true, your bodies are frail, and ſubject to diſſolution, but by the performance of brave actions, you are rewarded with immortal fame, and it is with this hope that I would ſtrive to animate you to glory, and encourage your ſouls to noble deeds, without fear of danger or death. But above all, I exhort you to preſerve a ſtrict union amongſt yourſelves, and if any one of you happen to be diſtinguiſhed by any extraordinary qualification, let there be no difference on that account, but each of you act undiſturbed according to the beſt of his power. But let me adviſe you to honour *Simon* your brother, who is the moſt remarkable for his prudence, as you would me your father, and conſtantly pay obedience to his commands. Let *Maccabæus*, diſtinguiſhed for his valour and ſtrength, be your leader in the wars you undertake, for he will en-

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(a) That is, the Law concerning the Sabbath, for the Danger of one's Life takes away the Obligation a ſtrict Obſervance of the Sabbath, *Cum tacitæ exceptiones pleriſque inſunt legibus, nulla eſt aut receptior juſtior quam ea quæ fluit ex neceſſitate*, that is, ſince in moſt Laws there are tacit Exceptions, none is ſter and better received than that which proceeds from Neceſſity. *Grotius* upon 1 *Macc.* chap. ii. ver. 41.

‘deavour to revenge the injuries of your countrymen, and the hoſtilities of your enemies. And my laſt deſire is, that you would gain on your ſide men of probity and religion, by which means your ſtrength will receive a conſiderable encreaſe.’

Having delivered himſelf thus to his ſons, and prayed God to give them his aſſiſtance, and reſtore the people to their antient cuſtom of living, he ſoon after died, and was buried in *Modim*. But after the people had mourn'd their loſs of him, his ſon *Judas Maccabæus* took upon him the adminiſtration of affairs, in the one hundred and forty ſixth year, and with the aſſiſtance of his brothers, and others, who chearfully joined themſelves to him, he not only drove his enemies out of the country, but put to the ſword all his own countrymen who violated the laws, and purged the whole land from all manner of abomination.

CHAP. VII.

How Judas Maccabæus *defeated the Armies of* Apollonius *and* Seron, *whom he kill'd in Battle; and not long after, having overcome* Lyſias *and* Gorgias, *he went up to* Hieroſolyma, *and purified the Temple.*

APOLLONIUS, the governor of *Samaria*, coming to hear of theſe tranſactions, raiſed an army, and marched againſt *Judas*, who met, and in an engagement overthrew him, and ſlew many of the enemy, (among whom was *Apollonius* the general, whoſe ſword he wreſted from him, and afterwards conſtantly uſed it himſelf;) and wounded ſeveral others, and took a vaſt ſpoil out of their camp. But *Seron*, prefect of *Cœlo-Syria*, underſtanding ſeveral were joined with *Judas*, and apprehending he had forces ſufficient to hazard a battle with him, reſolved to march againſt him, as thinking it his duty to puniſh rigorouſly thoſe who had diſobeyed the king's commands. With this view, having collected all the forces at hand, to which ſeveral fugitive *Jews*, and others of ruined fortunes, had joined themſelves, he marched againſt *Judas*, and coming near *Bethoron*, a village of *Judea*, he there encamped. *Judas* poſted himſelf over againſt him, with a reſolution to engage; but perceiving his men, who were few in number, and hungry, (having that day faſted) not chearfully enough inclined to an engagement, he endeavoured to inſpire them with courage by repreſenting, ‘That victory did not conſiſt in vaſt numbers of ſoldiers, but in an holy dependance upon God, which might be demonſtrated from ſeveral examples of their anceſtors, who fighting in defence of their laws and children, many times ſlew ſeveral thouſands of their enemies: For to do no manner of injury, is the ſtrongeſt motive to act vigorouſly when unjuſtly oppoſed.’ Having thus ſaid, he exhorted them not to be terrified at the multitude of their enemies, but boldly engage *Seron*. In conſequence of this remonſtrance, *Judas* attacked him, and put the *Syrians* to flight: For as ſoon as their general was ſlain, all of them immediately betook themſelves to a haſty flight, as if their entire hopes of ſafety had depended on him alone. *Judas* purſued the enemy to the very camp, and killed eight hundred of them, the reſt eſcaping into the places near the ſea ſide.

King *Antiochus*, hearing of theſe commotions, was violently enraged, and raiſing all his forces, and taking out of the ſeveral iſlands ſubject to him a great number of mercenaries, reſolved in the beginning of the ſpring to make an inroad into *Judea* But having giving them a year's pay, and perceiving his treaſury quite exhauſted, and his great want of money (the ſeditious temper of the natives laying obſtacles in the way, that all the tributes could not be collected, and himſelf being a prince of extended views, prodigiouſly liberal, and unſatiſfied with his acquiſitions,) he concluded firſt of all to march into *Perſia*, and collect the tribute of that country. With this view having left one *Lyſias* his regent, in his abſence, a perſon of great authority under him, having under his juriſdiction all the provinces reaching from the river *Euphrates*, as far as the frontiers of *Ægypt* and the lower *Aſia*, and a conſiderable body of his forces and elephants, he commanded him, until he returned, to have a watchful eye over his ſon *Antiochus*, and as ſoon as he had overthrown *Judea*, and carried the inhabitants into captivity, he gave him expreſs orders to deſtroy *Hieroſolyma*, and extirpate the nation of the *Hebrews*. This done, *Antiochus* departed for *Perſia* in the one hundred and forty ſeventh year, and having paſſed the *Euphrates*, he marched up into the higher provinces.

Now *Lyſias* ſelecting, for the performance of this undertaking, *Ptolomy*, the ſon of *Dorymenes*, and *Nicanor*, and *Gorgias*, perſons of the greateſt power and intereſt under the king, ſent them into *Judea* at the head of four hundred thouſand foot, and ſeven thouſand horſe, who marching as far as the city *Emmaus*, encamped in a champaign country, where they were joined by auxiliaries out of *Syria* and the bordering countries, and by ſeveral fugitive *Jews* and merchants, who came to buy thoſe who might happen to be taken captive, bringing with them even chains to bind them, and paying down both gold and ſilver for their purchaſe. *Judas* taking a view of their camp, and beholding the multitude of the enemy, exhorted his ſoldiers to be courageous, and placing their hopes of victory in the aſſiſtance of God, beſeech him after the manner of their country, being cloathed in ſackcloth, which had been always cuſtomary in extreme dangers for them to practice, that he would vouchſafe to give them ſtrength to conquer their enemies. After this, having diſtributed, according to the cuſtom of their country, the ranks under the tribunes and centurions, and diſcharged thoſe who had lately married, or ſucceeded to any new eſtate, leſt the deſire of enjoying them, or the longing to preſerve their life, might influence them to behave cowardly, he endeavoured to animate his men to fight in this ſpeech: ‘Now, my companions, you have a fit opportunity thrown into your hands, to diſplay your courage, and ſhew your contempt of danger; for now, if you behave valiantly, you may purchaſe that liberty, which every man naturally deſires: But this opportunity makes it much more deſireable, as you will by conqueſt procure the power of worſhipping God according to the rites of his true religion. Your affairs are reduced to this extremity, that if victory bleſs your arms, you will not only receive this great ſatisfaction, but renew an happy and peaceful life, as it will be the reſult of a juſt obſervance of your country's inſtitutions: But if you meet with a defeat, from the want of exerting yourſelves vigorouſly on this day, then you will be reduced to the moſt ſhameful condition, and your whole race entirely cut off from the earth; and entertaining theſe conſiderations in your minds, I would adviſe you to begin the onſet; for I would have you to underſtand, that if you avoid an engagement with the enemy, you will certainly be deſtroyed; but on the contrary, above the rewards already appointed for you, which you will certainly receive as the recompence of a brave defence, you will bring about the reſtoration of your liberty, country, laws, religion, and an eternal fame. Wherefore prepare yourſelves with reſolution, and be in readineſs to attack the enemy betimes in the morning.’

This was *Judas*'s harangue to inſpire courage into his ſoldiers. But the enemy in the mean time diſpatched *Gorgias* with a body of five thouſand foot, and a thouſand choice horſe, to attack ſuddenly in the night time the *Jewiſh* camp, under the conduct of ſome fugitive *Jews*. But this could not be done without the knowledge of *Judas*, who no ſooner heard of it, but he reſolved to make a ſally upon their camp; and the rather, as their forces were thus divided. With this view he ordered his men to ſup betimes, and leaving a great many fires behind him in his camp, he marched all the night to come up with the enemy poſted about *Emmaus*. *Gorgias*, finding none in the camp, imagined they had withdrawn themſelves through fear, and retired to the mountains, whither he reſolved to march, and find them out: But *Judas*, about the dawn of day, came within ſight of the enemy about *Emmaus*, with three thouſand men, but very poorly armed, and perceiving the enemy well armed, and encamped very advantageouſly, and with a great deal of foreſight, he exhorted the *Jews* not to refrain the battle though in their naked condition, but call God to their remembrance, who had formerly made them, in as bad a ſtate, defeat a greater multitude, and all as well armed, being delighted with their native bravery and reſolution. This done, he ordered the trumpets to ſound a charge; whereupon, unexpectedly attacking the enemy, and ſtriking a ſudden fear and confuſion amongſt them, they ſlew all who made any reſiſtance, and purſued the reſt as far as *Gadar*, and the plains of *Idumæa*, and of *Azotus*, and of *Jamnia*, killing in this action almoſt three thouſand men. But *Judas* exhorted his ſoldiers, not to covet the ſpoil, for they had yet to engage *Gorgias* and his army, the defeat of whom, he told them, would give them an opportunity ſecurely to plunder, as having then no other buſineſs upon their hands, nor any farther danger to fear. While *Judas* continued ſpeaking thus to his men, the *Gorgians* from the ſide of a mountain ſaw the troops, which they had left behind them in the camp, diſperſed, and their tents on fire, for the ſmoke driving towards the quarter they then were in, plainly diſcover'd what had happen'd; wherefore, as ſoon as they underſtood this diſaſter, and that the forces of *Judas* was prepared to meet them, they were ſeized with a ſudden ſurprize, and betook themſelves to a haſty flight. *Judas* finding this, as if he had overcome *Gorgias*'s men without ſtriking a blow, returned and plundered their camp, wherein he took a great quantity of gold and ſilver, and then returned home, praiſing God for the proſperous iſſue of his expedition; for this victory contributed very much to the *Jews* regaining their loſt liberty.

Lyſias, confounded at this defeat of the army he had ſent, the next year drew together another, conſiſting of ſixty thouſand choice foot, and five thouſand horſe, and made an inroad into *Judea*, and having marched up the mountains, pitched his tents at *Bethſura*, a town in that country. *Judas* marched out to meet him at the head of ten thouſand men, and perceiving the great number of the enemy, he prayed God to aſſiſt him, and then attack'd the van-guard, which he defeated with the loſs of five thouſand men, ſtriking a terrible confuſion among the reſt. *Lyſias* conſidering the reſolution of the *Jews*, and their deſire to ſuffer death rather than be deprived of their liberty, and apprehending it a thing impoſſible to reduce their deſpair to a compliance, drew off the remainder of his troops, and returned to *Antiochus*, where he continued with the auxiliaries, reſolving once more to break into *Judea* with a more powerful army.

Judas, having ſo often defeated *Antiochus*'s generals, conven'd an aſſembly, wherein he repreſented, that they ought, after ſo many victories given them by God, to go up to *Hieroſolyma*, and purify the temple, and offer up ſacrifices according to the antient cuſtom. But when he came there, attended with all the people, and found the temple quite deſolate, and the gates burnt down, and trees growing of their own accord, through the length of time it had continued unfrequented, he could not refrain from ſhedding tears at ſo melancholy a ſcene. Whereupon he ordered a body of ſelect men to beſiege the garriſon in the tower, while he was purifying the temple: Which being finiſhed with all poſſible care, he placed in it new veſſels, a candleſtick, a table, and an altar, which were all of gold; and he hung over the entrances fine veils, and placed doors in them. And he demoliſhed the old altar, and erected a new one, made of ſtones, not cut with the chiſſel. And on the twenty fourth day of the month *Chaſleu*, called by the *Macedonians*, *Apellæus*, they put lights in the candleſtick, and offered incenſe at the altar, placing the ſhew-bread upon the table, and offering burnt-ſacrifices upon the new altar. All theſe things were performed on the very day whereon three years before their religion was prophaned and corrupted: For from the time *Antiochus* had deſtroyed the temple, it had remained three years in this miſerable condition, which was brought upon it in the one hundred and forty fifth year, and on the twenty fifth day of the month *Apellæus*, in the one hundred and thirty fifth *Olympiad*. But it was rebuilt on the ſame day, being the twenty fifth of the month *Apellæus*, in the one hundred and forty eighth year, and the one hundred and fifty fourth *Olympiad*. And this deſolation of the temple happened according to what *Daniel* had propheſied four hundred and eight years before; for he declared the *Macedonians* were to deſtroy it.

Now *Judas*, with the citizens, continued eight days in performing ſacrifice in the temple, during which time he omitted nothing that might contribute to their joy, entertaining them very magnificently, and ordering hymns and pſalms to be ſung to the honour of God. The extreme gladneſs of the people for the recovery of their antient rites, and for the unexpected liberty they had once more gained, to perform their religion ſo long neglected, was ſuch, that they decreed a law, binding themſelves and their poſterity, annually to perform a feſtival of eight days for the reſtoration of the temple; and from that time to this very day we have preſerved the cuſtom of celebrating the feaſt of (*a*) *Lights*, as it is called by our nation. And this feſtival, in my opinion, took this appellation from the *Light* of liberty which now ſhone upon us. But *Judas* having ſurrounded the city with a ſtrong wall, and erected lofty towers to repel the incurſions of the enemies, put garriſons into them, and fortified the city *Bethſura*, making it in the form of a citadel to withſtand any hoſtilites of its adverſaries, if at any time it ſhould chance to be reduced to any extremity.

CHAP. VIII.

How Judas *ſubdued the bordering Nations, and* Simon *defeated the* Tyrians *and* Prolomeans. *How* Judas *overcoming* Timotheus *in Battle, forced him to fly; and of the ſeveral other Actions he performed after the Overthrow of* Joſeph *and* Azarias.

THINGS ſucceeding in this manner, the bordering nations, offended at the *Jews* recovering their ſtrength, entered into a combination, and ſlew many of them, and by ambuſcades and ſtratagems got ſeveral others into their hands. *Judas* continuing his hoſtilities againſt them, endeavoured all he could to withſtand their incurſions, and put a ſtop to the many outrages they committed againſt his countrymen. And accordingly engaging the *Idumæans*, the deſcendants of *Eſau*, he ſlew a great number of them, and plundered others. Beſides, he led his army againſt the ſons of *Baanus*, who had planted ambuſcades in the roads to entrap the *Jews* in; and having forced them to ſhut themſelves up in their caſtles, he laid ſiege to them, burning their places of defence, and at laſt put the men therein to the ſword. From hence he marched againſt the *Ammanites*, who had got together a powerful and numerous army, commanded by *Timotheus*; and having defeated them, he ſacked the city *Jazoron*, and taking all the women and children priſoners, he returned back to *Judea*: But the neighbouring nations hearing he was come back, aſſembled in *Galaad*, reſolving to attack the *Jews*, who dwelt on their frontiers. But they immediately withdrew to a caſtle, named *Dathem*, where they ſhut themſelves up, and ſending meſſengers to *Judas*, they repreſented to him that *Timotheus* was making all poſſible haſte to beſiege the place they had taken refuge in. *Judas* had ſcarcely peruſed the letter they ſent, but other meſſengers from *Galilee* appear'd, acquainting him, that the inhabitants of *Ptolomais*, *Tyre*, *Sidon*, and *Galilee*, were aſſembled together.

Judas conſidering with himſelf what he ſhould beſt do to avert the dangers which threaten'd both, gave orders to *Simon* his brother, to march with three thouſand men for the defence of the *Jews* inhabiting *Galilee*: And he himſelf taking *Jonathan*, his other brother, at the head of eight thouſand ſoldiers, marched into *Galaad*, leaving *Joſeph* the ſon of *Zacharias*, and *Azarias*, to command the remainder of his forces, with expreſs orders carefully to defend *Judea*, and not hazard a battle with any one before he returned. *Simon* arriving in *Galilee*, engaged the enemy, and forcing them to fly, and, purſuing them to the very gates of *Ptolomais*, ſlew upward of three thouſand men; and having plundere

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(*a*) It was called φῶτα *Lights*, ſays *Grotius* upon the Evangeliſt *John*, chap. x. ver. 22. becauſe Lig were conſtantly burned in their Houſes during eight Days and Nights, which may be ſeen in the *Talmu* Chapter about this Feſtival, and that of *Lots*.

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the perſons ſlain in battle, and carried off both the *Jews* which they had taken captive, and all their baggage, he returned home. But

Judas Maccabæus, with *Jonathan* his brother, having paſſed over *Jordan*, and gone about a three days march from that river, were met by the *Nabatæans*, who friendly ſaluted him, and acquainting him with the misfortunes of their brethren in *Galaad*, and the many outrages done them, being forced to ſhelter themſelves in the caſtles, and ſeveral places of defence in their country, adviſed him to haſten his march againſt the foreigners, and endeavour to revenge his countrymen upon them. *Judas* giving ear to this remonſtrance, directed his march through the deſart, and attacking the inhabitants of *Bethſura*, he took their city, putting all the males therein, fit to bear arms, to the ſword, and laying the town in aſhes. The night coming on did not hinder him from proſecuting his march to the caſtle, in which the *Jews* were ſhut up; but betimes in the morning he came up to the place, which *Timotheus*, with the forces under him, was vigorouſly beſieging. When he ſaw the enemy had made their approaches to the walls, ſome carrying their ſcaling ladders to mount them, and others their engines to batter them, he ordered a charge to be ſounded; and exhorting his ſoldiers to behave valiantly in defence of their brethren and kinſmen, and dividing his forces into three companies, he attacked the enemy in their rear. But *Timotheus*'s men, ſoon finding *Maccabæus* was behind them, and having before experienced his great courage and ſucceſs in military engagements, fled haſtily away. But *Judas* with his army purſued them, and ſlew above eight thouſand of their number. From thence marching to *Malle*, a city belonging to the foreigners, he took it by ſtorm, putting all the men therein to the ſword, and laying it in aſhes. And continuing his march farther, he came up to *Chaſphom* and *Boſor*, and ſeveral other towns of *Galaad*; all which he took and demoliſhed.

In a little while *Timotheus*, having collected a numerous army, and a great number of auxiliaries and *Arabians*, whom he had engaged with preſents to join him in this expedition, paſſed with them over the *Torrent*, and encamped over-againſt *Raphon*, where he exhorted his men to behave valiantly, and endeavour all they could, if they came to hazard a battle with the *Jews*, to hinder their retreat over the *Torrent*: For if they paſſed over, he told them their own deſtruction was inevitable. *Judas*, hearing *Timotheus* was ready for the engagement, collected all his forces, and haſtened to meet him, and having paſſed the river, he began the onſet, and ſlew all who made any reſiſtance, but a great number through fear threw down their arms and fled, ſome whereof eſcaped, while others took refuge in the temple, called *Caraai*, hoping the ſacredneſs of the place would prove ſufficient to ſave them. But *Judas*, taking the town, ſlew both them, and burnt the temple, puniſhing the enemy with ſeveral kinds of deaths.

Things ſucceeding in this manner, he collected together all the *Jews* of *Galaad*, with their wives, children, and effects, and reſolved to carry them with him into *Judea*. But arriving at a certain city, named *Ephron*, ſituated in the rout he was taking, he was hindered in his march from going any further, and being unwilling to return back, he ſent meſſengers to the citizens, praying them to open their gates, and ſuffer him to march through their city: For they had blocked up their gates with ſtones, and cut off any poſſibility of his marching further. But the *Ephronites* refuſing to comply with his requeſt, he exhorted his ſoldiers to ſurround and lay ſiege to the town: And having accordingly ſate down before it a day and a night, he ſtormed it; and having put all the males therein to the ſword, and entirely laid it in aſhes, he began to proſecute his march, but the number of the ſlain was ſo great, that his men were obliged to trample over the dead bodies. Thus paſſing over *Jordan*, they came into the great plain, ſituated in the very ſight of the city *Bethſau*, called by the *Greeks Scythopolis*; and marching from this place they arrived in *Judea*, ſinging hymns and praiſes, and demonſtrating all the mirth and gladneſs uſual after victories and triumphs: Beſides, they offered up expiatory ſacrifices for the ſucceſs of their arms, and the ſafety of their army; for not a *Jew* fell in any of theſe engagements.

In the mean time *Joſeph*, the ſon of *Zacharias*, and *Azarias*, with the forces *Judas* had left under their command, at the time *Simon* carried on the war in *Galilee* againſt *Ptolomais*, and *Judas*, and *Jonathan* in *Galaad*, being ambitious of acquiring a name ſuitable to their poſt, marched with them againſt *Jamnia*; but *Gorgias*, governor of the town, coming out to meet them, and engaging them, they loſt in the encounter two thouſand of their men, and turning their backs, retired haſtily to the very frontiers of *Judea*. Thir overthrow was owing to their neglect of the command *Judas* gave them, not to engage any one in battle before he returned: For beſide his other rigorous inſtructions, we cannot help admiring the knowledge he had of the ſoldiers being cut off under *Joſeph* and *Azarias*, upon their leaſt diſobedience of the command he had given them. But *Judas* and his brothers puſhed on the war againſt the *Idumæans* with great vigour, preſſing them on every ſide, and taking the city *Chebron*, they laid in aſhes all the fortified places in and round about it, ravaging the enemies country, and the city *Mariſſa*; and marching thence, came up to *Azotus*, which they ſtormed, and taking a great quantity of ſpoil with them, returned into *Judea*.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Death of Antiochus Epiphanes. *How* Antiochus Eupator, *leading an Army againſt* Judas, *beſieged him in the Temple; but, upon the Concluſion of a Peace, broke up and departed. Of* Alcimus *and* Onias.

KING *Antiochus*, at this time marching through the upper provinces of his kingdom, heard there was a city in *Perſia* very wealthy, named *Elymais*, and wherein was a very magnificent and rich temple dedicated to *Diana*, full of arms and breaſt-plates, ſaid to be left therein by *Alexander* ſon of *Philip*, king of *Macedon*. Spurred on by this account, he haſtened his march thither, and approaching it with his army, laid a formal ſiege thereto. But the inhabitants, neither terrified at his coming, or his beſieging them, reſolutely defended themſelves, which deprived him of his expectations: For having repulſed him from the town, they made a ſudden and vigorous ſally upon his men, whom they purſued, forcing them to withdraw into *Babylon* with the loſs of great part of his army. Vexed at this ill ſucceſs, he was alſo told his generals were defeated, whom he had ſent to engage the *Jews*, whoſe forces were conſiderably encreaſed. The report of this freſh misfortune, added to the former, cauſed a vaſt uneaſineſs in his mind, and brought him into an illneſs, which keeping him a pretty long time, and his pains encreaſing, he fancied the hour of his death was not far off, and called to him his friends, and declared to them his deceaſe muſt be very uneaſy to them, repreſenting, he thus ſuffered for the unjuſt treatment he had given the *Jewiſh* nation, rifling their temple, and contemning their God; after which words he gave up the ghoſt. From this account we cannot but wonder at what *Polybius* the *Megalopolitan* ſays, who, in other reſpects a very honeſt and juſt hiſtorian, hath tranſmitted to poſterity, that *Antiochus* periſhed for deſiring to rifle the temple of *Diana* in *Perſia*. But his only wiſhing ſuch a thing, and not putting it in execution, doth not make him worthy of ſo ſevere a puniſhment. But if *Polybius* thinks *Antiochus* died for ſuch a ſmall reaſon, it is far more likely he was cut off for his ſacrilegious rifling the temple of God at *Hieroſolyma*. But I ſhall not make any diſpute with thoſe, who prefer the *Megapolitan*'s account to what we have here mentioned. But,

Before *Antiochus* died, he called to him *Philip*, one of his companions, and conſtituted him regent of his kingdom; delivering him his diadem, royal robes, and the ring he wore on his finger, with orders to carry and reſtore them to his ſon *Antiochus*, deſiring him to take care of his education, and preſerve the kingdom for him. And thus did *Antiochus* pay his laſt debt to nature in the one hundred and forty ninth year. But *Lyſias*, having acquainted the people with his death, proclaimed his ſon *Antiochus* (who at this time was under his guardianſhip) king, and ſtiled him by the name of *Eupator*.

During this time the garriſon at *Hieroſolyma*, joined by the fugitive *Jews*, committed ſeveral hoſtilities againſt the inhabitants of the town, putting thoſe to the ſword who went up to the temple to offer ſacrifice; for the caſtle overlooked the temple. Theſe fatal misfortunes happening, made *Judas* reſolve to put a ſudden ſtop to their miſchievous deſigns: To which end aſſembling the people, he laid a vigorous ſiege to the garriſon. This happened in the one hundred and fiftieth year of the *Seleucidæ*. Having prepared all neceſſary engines of war, and raiſed his ramparts, he puſhed on the ſiege with the greateſt reſolution to take the place. But ſeveral of the deſerters, happening in the night time to get out into the country, and raiſing a number of men of the like principles and conduct, went directly to king *Antiochus*, petitioning him, *Not to forſake them at the time they were haraſſed by their own countrymen, and ſuſtained dangers for the ſake of his father; for whom they had renounced the religion of their own land, and embraced that preſcribed by him: That they were now reduced to ſuch an extremity, that* Judas *and his men were likely to take both the caſtle and the garriſon placed in it, unleſs timely ſuccour was immediately ſent to relieve them.* Theſe words enraged *Antiochus*, and ſending for his officers and friends, he ordered them to levy mercenaries, and all the men in his kingdom able to bear arms. And in a ſhort time an army, conſiſting of one hundred thouſand foot, twenty thouſand horſe, and thirty two elephants, was raiſed.

With theſe forces the king marched from *Antioch* in company with *Lyſias*, general of the whole army, and coming into *Idumæa*, and thence to *Bethſura*, a city of great ſtrength, and difficult to be won, he began a formal ſiege, by inveſting the place; but the defendants making a vigorous reſiſtance, and ſallying frequently out unexpectedly, whereby the engines he had prepared were burnt, occaſioned a great deal of time to be ſpent in the ſiege. Now *Judas*, hearing of the expedition the king had undertaken, roſe up from beſieging the caſtle, and marching to meet him, incamped in a narrow paſs, at a place called *Bethzacharias*, ſome ſeventy furlongs diſtant from the enemy. The king finding this, removed from *Bethſura*, and marched directly to the mouth of the paſs over-againſt *Judas*'s camp, and early the next morning put his men into battle-array, placing his elephants one behind another, having no room, by reaſon of the narrowneſs of the place, to range them in a direct line from the two wings of his army. Round every elephant a thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, were diſpoſed; and the elephants carried upon their backs large

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towers and archers in them. But the reſt of his forces he ordered to mount the ſeveral eminences of the mountains, placing at their head ſome of his friends. Having put things into this order, and commanded his men to give a loud ſhout as the ſignal of battle, he began the onſet, when his ſoldiers diſplaying their golden and brazen ſhields, occaſioned a prodigious ſplendor to ſtream from them. The exceeding great ſhout of his men made the mountains re-eccho the ſound. Notwithſtanding this, *Judas* was not at all terrified at the ſight, but receiving the ſhock of the enemy with great reſolution, ſlew about ſix hundred of them who firſt attacked him. *Eleazar* his brother, ſirnamed *Auran*, eſpying one of the elephants taller and bigger than the reſt, harnaſſed with royal ſpoils, and ſuſpecting the king was upon it, made a furious puſh at it, and killing ſeveral who ſurrounded it, and driving others away to clear his paſſage, wounded it in the belly, and ſlew it; but the beaſt tumbling upon him, he was cruſhed to death with the weight: And in this manner did *Eleazar*, having firſt ſlain many of his enemies, end his own life.

Judas, ſeeing the ſtrength of the enemy, retired to *Hieroſolyma*, and put himſelf in a poſture of defence to hold out a ſiege. *Antiochus*, leaving part of his army to carry on the ſiege of *Bethſura*, marched the reſt of his forces to *Hieroſolyma*. But the *Bethſurites*, terrified at the great number of the beſiegers, and ſeeing their ways of communication cut off, and their proviſions quite ſpent, ſurrendered themſelves, upon promiſe of an oath not to be ill treated by the king. *Antiochus*, thus becoming maſter of the city, inflicted no other rigorous puniſhment upon them, than driving them naked out of the town, which he afterwards ſtrengthened with a powerful garriſon. Though they met with ſuch ſucceſs at *Bethſura*, a conſiderable time was ſpent in carrying on the ſiege againſt the temple of *Hieroſolyma*, the beſieged making a reſolute reſiſtance in defence of their liberties; for againſt every engine of battery uſed by the king they oppoſed another. But at laſt, their proviſions began to fail them, the corn they had hoarded up being all uſed, and the land that year having remained uncultivated, being the ſeventh year, wherein, according to our law, our whole land has no ſeed ſown upon it: Where- ore ſeveral of the beſieged, through want of proviſions, made their eſcape, and left but few remaining in the temple.

Thoſe who continued reſolute to endure the ege, were at length relieved after the follow- g manner: *Lyſias*, the general of the enemy's rces, and king *Antiochus*, receiving intelli- nce that *Philip* was coming out of *Perſia* to im the adminiſtration of affairs to himſelf, olved to break up the ſiege, and march di- tly againſt him, but conceal, as much as poſ- le, their deſign from the knowledge as well the officers as ſoldiers. But the king gave preſs orders to *Lyſias* to muſter the army, and in an harangue, directed both to the officers and ſoldiers, but without taking the leaſt notice of *Philip*'s affair, repreſent to them the length of time the ſiege was likely to continue; and the prodigious ſtrength of the place, that their own proviſions began to fail them, and ſeveral things in the kingdom were abſolutely neceſſary to be rectified; upon which ground it would be very adviſeable to conclude a treaty with the beſieged, and enter into a league of friendſhip with their whole nation, giving them free liberty to live agreeable to their own laws and inſtitutions, the prohibition of which had occaſioned them to break out into rebellion: And after this was done, to draw off their forces, and return home. *Lyſias* having remonſtrated this, the officers and ſoldiers unanimouſly gave their aſſent thereto.

The king hereupon ſent an herald to *Judas*, and the reſt of the beſieged, to acquaint them that he was ready to conclude a peace with them, and allow them free liberty of living after their own laws. The beſieged gladly heard this meſſage, and having received an oath for the true performance of the conditions, came out of the temple. But *Antiochus* entering therein, and perceiving the prodigious ſtrength of the place, violated the oath he had given them, and ordered the forces he had with him to pull down the wall, and level it with the ground. Having thus acted, he returned to *Antioch*, carrying with him *Onias* the high-prieſt, ſirnamed *Menelaus*; for *Lyſias* adviſed him to put *Onias* to death, if he was deſirous to curb the rebellious temper of the *Jews*, and preſerve his kingdom from any freſh diſturbances. Now this perſon occaſioned all the *Jews* misfortunes at this time, by perſuading his father to uſe compulſive methods to oblige them to relinquiſh the religion of their anceſtors. Wherefore the king, having carried him in chains to *Beræa*, a city of *Syria*, ordered him to be put to death, after he had enjoyed the prieſthood ten days. He was a wicked and very impious man, having, to obtain the government to himſelf, forcibly made his nation relinquiſh the laws of their country. After his death *Alcimus*, ſirnamed *Jakim*, was conſtituted high-prieſt. But king *Antiochus*, finding that *Philip* had obtained the ſupreme government of the kingdom, gave him battle, and getting him into his power, cruelly put him to death. In the mean while *Onias*, the ſon of the high-prieſt, who was but a child at his father's death, as we have mentioned before, ſeeing the king, after the untimely death of his uncle *Menelaus*, had beſtowed the prieſthood upon *Alcimus*, who was not of the ſacerdotal race, and *Lyſias* acquainting him he would transfer the dignity to another family, fled to *Ptolomy* king of *Ægypt*, who, with his wife *Cleopatra*, honourably received him. Of theſe he begged a ſpot of ground in *Heliopolis*, where he erected a temple like that at *Hieroſolyma*. But we ſhall have a more fit opportunity to treat of thoſe things in another place.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

How Bacchides, *General of* Demetrius*'s Forces, undertaking an Expedition againſt the* Jews, *returned diſappointed of his Deſigns. And how* Nicanor, *not long after being alſo ſent againſt* Judas, *was cut off with his whole Army. Of the Death of* Alcimus, *and the Succeſſion of* Judas.

ABOUT the ſame time *Demetrius* the ſon of *Seleucus*, having eſcaped from *Rome*, ſeized upon *Tripolis* a town of *Syria*, and put the diadem upon his own head, and gathering a number of mercenaries, he enter'd the capital, where every one joyfully received him, and ſubmitted themſelves to his government. His ſoldiers apprehending king *Antiochus* and *Lyſias*, brought them alive to him, and by his command they were immediately put to death, *Antiochus* having reigned two years, as we have before hinted. In the mean while a great number of fugitive *Jews* flocking to him, among whom was *Alcimus* the high-prieſt, they accuſed their whole nation, particularly *Judas* and his brothers, repreſenting that they had put to death all his friends, and all others in his kingdom eſtabliſhed in his intereſt; that they had driven them out of their native habitations, and oblig'd them to ſeek dwellings in foreign countries: And laſtly, they conjured him to diſpatch one of their own nation, who might be a ſpy upon *Judas*'s actions, and from time to time acquaint him with them.

This account filled *Demetrius* with rage, whereupon he ſent *Bacchides* (a particular friend of king *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and a very honeſt and upright perſon, who at this time was inveſted with the government of all *Meſopotamia*) with a numerous army, recommending to him *Alcimus* the high-prieſt, and giving him an expreſs command to put to the ſword *Judas* and all his followers. *Bacchides* marching out of *Antioch* with his forces, and arriving in *Judea*, ſent word to *Judas*, and his brothers, of his deſign to treat with them: But in effect his reſolution was to take them by ſurprize. *Judas* however did not think fit to give credit to his meſſage; for he plainly foreſaw his coming with ſo numerous an army, was not the ſign of a peaceful interview, but an open argument of a deſigned war. Some, however, of the people putting confidence in the meſſage *Bacchides* had ſent by his herald, and imagining *Alcimus*, who was their countryman, would never be guilty of bringing any misfortunes upon them, readily went over to them, and receiving from both the promiſe of an oath, they would not commit any outrage to them or their companions, wholly threw themſelves under their protection. But *Bacchides* making little account of his oath, ſlew threeſcore of them, which action deterred others, deſirous to withdraw to him, from their reſolution, as he had broke his faith with the firſt. After this was done, he removed out of *Hieroſolyma*, and came to a village called *Bethzethas*, where, ſending out ſome of his emiſſaries, he apprehended ſeveral fugitive *Jews*, and ſome of the people, ordering every one of them to be put to death, and commanding the reſt inhabiting that part of the country to pay obedience to *Alcimus*, with whom he left a good body of ſoldiers, to aſſiſt him in defending his province; and after this he returned back to *Antioch* to king *Demetrius*.

Now *Alcimus* tried every method to ſecure the government to himſelf, perceiving his authority would meet with the greater approbation and obedience to it, if he gained the people's affection; and to this end he endeavoured to court every one by fair and ſmooth words, and in a ſhort time proved ſo ſucceſsful, that he ſaw a conſiderable body of forces ready at his command, the major part of which conſiſted of looſe and vagabond men, whom he uſed as his ſpies in travelling over the country, and every one he found favouring the ſide of *Judas*, he put to death. But *Judas*, ſeeing *Alcimus* conſiderably encreaſed in his forces, and how he ſlew without diſtinction a great many good and holy men of his nation, took up the ſame reſolution, and marching through the country, put to death thoſe any ways inclining to his party. *Alcimus* beholding this, and not being in a condition to withſtand *Judas*'s army, by reaſon of the inferior number of his forces, reſolved to fly to *Demetrius* for ſuccour. With this view he marched to *Antioch*, where he enraged the king againſt *Judas*, by repreſenting that he had ſuffered a great many inſults from him, and would in all probability meet with many more, unleſs he was prevented, and puniſhed, by ſending a powerful army againſt him.

This remonſtrance had its weight with *Demetrius*, who judged it not at all proper to let *Judas* remain with ſo conſiderable a body of men about him: Whereupon he ſent *Nicanor*, one of his chief friends, and in whom he could place the greateſt confidence, (for he was the ſame perſon who had made his eſcape with him from *Rome*,) with as many forces as he thought neceſſary to conquer *Judas*, at the ſame time giving expreſs orders not to ſpare one ſingle man of the *Jewiſh* nation. *Nicanor* being arrived at *Hieroſolyma*, did not reſolve to hazard a battle immediately with *Judas*, but ſuppoſing he might be able by ſtratagem to get him into his hands, he ſent him an offering of friendſhip, repreſenting, *That there was no occaſion to have recourſe to arms, or run the hazard of any danger: That he was come with a full reſolution to convince him of his faith by an oath, and that no manner of hoſtility ſhould be offered* *to him: That his arrival was with a band of friends, to acquaint them with king* Demetrius's *reſolution, and the opinion he entertained of their nation.* *Nicanor* by his ambaſſadors having given this aſſurance, *Judas* and his brothers thought they ought to believe it, and ſuſpecting no manner of treachery in the negotiation, gave a reciprocal demonſtration of their faith, and received *Nicanor* and his army. But as he was continuing the ſalute through a pretence of friendſhip, he gave a ſignal to his ſoldiers to apprehend *Judas*; but he, perceiving the treachery, leapt haſtily back, and got off to his men. *Nicanor* finding his deſign prove unſucceſsful, and his ſtratagem defeated, reſolved at laſt to proclaim open war againſt him. To which end having collected all his forces, and put them in a poſture to engage, he began the onſet at a village called *Capharſalama*, where obtaining the victory, he forced *Judas* to ſhut himſelf up in the tower at *Hieroſolyma*.

Nicanor reſolving to withdraw from the tower and deſcend into the temple, ſome of the prieſts and elders met and ſaluted him, ſhewing him the ſacrifices, which they told him, they were going to offer up to God for the ſafety of the king. *Nicanor* returned them a menacing anſwer, and threaten'd at his return to demoliſh the temple, unleſs they gave him up *Judas*. When he had pronounced this menace, he departed out of *Hieroſolyma*; but the prieſts being extremely ſorrowful at his words, could not refrain from letting fall tears; and offering up their petitions to God, they begged him to deliver them out of the hands of their enemies. *Nicanor* marching out of *Hieroſolyma*, came to a certain village called *Betheron*, where he encamped, and was joined by another army out of *Syria*: *Judas*, on his part, pitched his tents at *Adaſa*, another village, about thirty furlongs diſtant from *Betheron*, having no more than a thouſand men with him, whom he exhorted to behave valiantly, and not to be depreſſed at the multitude of their enemies, nor reflect upon the great number they were to engage, but conſider upon what views, and for what rewards, they were going to encounter danger. Upon which ground he begged them with great reſolution to meet the enemy. Having thus declared himſelf, he led them out to battle, and ttacking *Nicanor*, after a pretty ſharp reſiſtance, e overcame his advarſaries, killing ſeveral on he ſpot, and *Nicanor* after a ſtout and reſo- ute defence loſt his life in the field of battle. fter this misfortune the army was in no man- er of condition to rally, having loſt their ge- eral, but throwing away their arms, betook emſelves to a ſudden flight: *Judas* with great ſolution purſued them, making a terrible ughter of thoſe who fled, and ſounding his umpets to let all the bordering villages un- erſtand he had routed the enemy: Upon this gnal, the ſeveral inhabitants ruſhed out all in ms, and meeting thoſe who fled, let not a an eſcape after this engagement, though the mber of ſoldiers amounted to nine thouſand. This battle was fought, and victory obtained on the thirteenth day of the month, by the *Jews* called *Adar*, and by the *Macedonians* *Dyſtrus*, on which day our nation annually perform vow-ſacrifices, and make it a ſolemn feſtival. From this time the *Jewiſh* nation enjoyed a ſhort interval of reſt, but in a little time fell again into many hot diſputes and dangers.

27.

Alcimus the high-prieſt offering to pull down the antient wall of the *Adyt*, which had been erected by the holy prophets, was viſited with a ſudden plague ſent upon him by God; for his ſpeech was preſently taken away, and falling proſtrate upon the ground, after enduring great torments for ſeveral days, he departed this life, having continued in the prieſthood four years. But after his death the people conferred the dignity of the prieſthood upon *Judas*, who coming to underſtand the exceeding great power of the *Romans*, and that they had ſubdued not only *Gallatia*, and *Iberia*, and *Carthage* in *Africa*, but had reduced to their obedience all *Greece*, and overcame *Perſeus*, and *Philip*, and *Antiochus* the Great, he reſolved to enter into a league of friendſhip with them. To this end he ſent to *Rome* *Eupolemus*, the ſon of *John*, and *Jaſon* the ſon of *Eleazar*, two of his particular friends, to deſire their friendſhip, and the favour of them to write to *Demetrius*, that for the future he might give them no farther diſturbance. *Judas*'s ambaſſadors arriving at *Rome* were honourably received by the ſenate, and underſtanding the motives which had induced them to undertake their journey, they were pleaſed to enter into a league of friendſhip with them. A decree was hereupon made, and a copy of it ſent into *Judea*; but the original was engraven on tables of braſs, and repoſited in the capital. The decree was to this effect.

The decree of the *Senate* concerning the treaty of alliance and friendſhip to be obſerved with the nation of the *Jews*.

E*VERY perſon within the* Roman *empire is hereby forbidden to engage in a war with the nation of the* Jews, *or to ſupply thoſe who ſhall proclaim war againſt them, either with corn, or ſhipping, or money. And if the* Jews *chance to be invaded by any one, the* Romans *are commanded to lend them their aſſiſtance. On the other hand, if the* Romans *are invaded by any one, the* Jews *are hereby obliged to be their auxiliaries. But if the* Jews *are deſirous at any time to make any addition to, or take any clauſe from this ſocial league, let it be done with the concurrence and aſſent of the* Roman *people; and whatſoever addition ſhall or may be made, it is agreed ſhall be ratified. This decree of the ſenate was wrote by* Eupolemus *the ſon of* John, *and* Jaſon *the ſon of* Eleazar, *by order of* Judas, *high-prieſt, and* Simon *his brother, general of the* Jews.

This was the firſt league of friendſhip entered into by the *Romans* and *Jews*.

CHAP. XI.

Of the ſecond Expedition of Bacchides *againſt* Judas, *whom he defeated; and of* Judas's *Death after a valiant Reſiſtance.*

DEMETRIUS coming to learn the death of *Nicanor*, and the overthrow of his army, ſent *Bacchides* once more with other forces into *Judea*, who marching from *Antioch* and arriving in *Judea*, encamped at *Arbela* a city of *Galilee*. This ſudden motion ſtruck a great terror into many, who retiring into the caves thereabouts, he beſieged and took them; and from hence he marched to *Hieroſolyma*, where underſtanding *Judas* had encamped in *Bethzethus*, he led twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe againſt him. But *Judas* had no more than a thouſand men with him, who ſeeing the great number of *Bacchides*'s forces, were ſo terrified, that two hundred forſook their tents and fled. *Judas* thus deſerted by his men at the time the enemy was juſt upon him, and having no opportunity to procure auxiliaries, reſoved with the eight hundred remaining to give *Bacchides* battle. To this end he admoniſhed them to engage the enemy with bravery and reſolution, and ordered them to march forward to give the onſet. But they remonſtrated to him the impoſſibility of their little amy's withſtanding ſuch numerous forces, and begged him to retreat and conſult their ſafety; he, however, drew them up in order of battle, and ſaid, *Let not the ſun be witneſs of ſo much ſhame, that I ſhould turn my back on my enemies: But if the fatal hour is now come wherein I muſt die, aud that if I fight I muſt unavoidably fall, yet I will behave myſelf valiantly; for I had rather endure the worſt that can happen, than by a diſhonourable flight ſtain the reputation and glory which I have hitherto gained by my valour.* In this manner did he endeavour to inſpire his men with courage, and ſhewing them how much he deſpiſed their enemies, ſtrove to ſpur them on to a vigorous reſolution of maintaining their rights, and defending themſelves.

Bacchides in the mean time drew his forces out of the camp, in battle-array, and put them into ſuch a poſture, that the horſe were planted at the extremities of either wing, and the archers before the main body, while he himſelf remained covered in the right wing; his forces being in this ſituation, he made his approach to the enemy, and ordered a trumpeter to give the ſignal of battle; upon which the ſoldiers with a ſhout began the engagement. *Judas* followed the ſame example, and came up with the enemy; and as both ſides behaved with great bravery and reſolution, the fight continued very hot untill ſun-ſet; when *Judas* perceiving the ſtrength of the enemy lay in the right wing were *Bacchides* was covered, he took a party of his braveſt men, and made a furoius attack upon that quarter, were putting their ranks into ſome diſorder, and breaking into the midſt of his enemies, he forced them to fly, purſuing them as far as a mountain called *Aza*. The left wing ſeeing the flight and diſorder of the right wing, followed *Judas*, and quite ſurrounded him: Who, obſerving there was no poſſibility of retiring, as his enemies had encloſed him on every ſide, valiantly ſuſtained the ſhock with thoſe few of his men about him: But after a great ſlaughter of the enemies, and quite fatigued with fighting, and covered with wounds, he fell, and gave up the ghoſt, purchaſing no leſs renown from the many worthy actions we have before recited, than from his valiant behaviour at this laſt extremity. The death of *Judas* preſently changed the face of the engagement; for his men, having loſt their chief leader, and being no longer happy in ſuch a general, betook themſelves to a haſty flight. *Simon* and *Jonathan*, brothers of *Judas*, upon agreement with the enemy received his body from them, and carried it to *Modim*, where their father was buried, and entered it their, attended by the general lamentation of the whole people for ſeveral days, in this manner ſhewing how much they honoured his memory. This was the end of *Judas*, a very valiant and warlike man, who, mindful of the commands his father *Mattathias* had given, was always ready to undergo the greateſt hardſhip or danger for the defence and liberty of his countrymen. He was a perſon of ſo much courage, that he left behind him an illuſtrious character, and the greateſt glory, by reſtoring liberty to his nation, and delivering them from the *Macedonian Yoke*. He died after he had been high prieſt three years.

The *END* of the TWELFTH BOOK of the Antiquities.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
OF THE
ANTIQUITIES of the JEWS.

BOOK THE THIRTEENTH.

Containing the Space of Fourſcore and Two Years.

CHAP. I.

How Jonathan, *after his Brother* Judas, *took upon him the Government; and how, in Conjunction with his Brother* Simon, *he carried on the War againſt* Bacchides.

IN the foregoing book we took notice how the nation of the *Jews*, after the *Macedonians* had made them ſlaves, regained their liberty; we likewiſe gave a particular account of the dangers and engagments *Judas* went through to his death, always valiantly fighting in the defence of his countrymen. But after his death, thoſe perſons who had violated the laws of their forefathers, and were of looſe and wicked principles, increaſing in numbers and ſtrength, ſet upon the reſt of the *Jews*, and committed ſeveral outrages againſt them. Beſides a famine at this time raged ſo violently through the whole country, that ſeveral for want of neceſſaries, and unable to ſuſtain the calamity of the famine on one ſide, and the many injuries they received from the enemy on the other, revolted to the *Macedonians*. Now *Bacchides* aſſembling the *Jews* who had relinquiſhd the laws of their country, and preferred a heatheniſh courſe of life, conferred upon hem the government of the country: Upon hich they apprehended all the friends of *Judas*, and delivered them up to *Bacchides*, who exerciſing very ſevere torments upon them, ut every one of them to death with an unarallel'd cruelty. And thus were the *Jews* educed to a calamity more ſevere than they ad experienced ſince their return from *Baby*-. But thoſe of *Judas*'s party who yet reained, fearing the intire deſtruction of their untry, went to *Jonathan* his brother, and gged him to ſet his brother before him an example, and copy after the care and ilence he had ſhewn for his countrymen, even in ſhedding the laſt drop of his blood in defence of their liberty, and not ſuffer their nation to remain without the aſſiſtance of a leader, now it was reduced to the laſt extremity. *Jonathan*, in anſwer to this remonſtrance, told them, that he was willing to undergo death for their ſakes, and would endeavour to ſhew himſelf not any ways unworthy to ſucceed his brother; upon which he was declared general, by the unanimous conſent of the *Jews*.

Bacchides coming to hear of this, and apprehending that *Jonathan* might give the king and *Macedonians* a great deal of diſturbance, as *Judas* had done before, endeavoured to take him off by treachery. But this pernicious deſign could not be carried on unknown either to *Jonathan* or *Simon* his brother; who no ſooner heard of it, but collecting all the perſons in their intereſt, they withdrew haſtily into that part of the deſart next to the city, where coming to the lake called *Aſphar*, they there took up their abode. *Bacchides*, on his part, when he came to hear of their ſmall number, and that they were ſat down here, marched with all his forces with a deſign to give them battle, and encamped on the other ſide of *Jordan*, where he refreſhed his army. *Jonathan* thoroughly acquainted that *Bacchides* was coming againſt him, ſent his brother *John*, otherwiſe called *Gaddis*, to the *Nabatæan Arabs*, who where in friendſhip with him, deſiring them to lay aſide the preparations they were making, 'till he had engaged *Bacchides*. But as *John* was proſecuting his journey to the *Nabatæans*, he was met by the ſons of *Amaræus*, who were come out of the city *Medaba* to lie in wait for him. They not only took him and his attendants, but alſo ſeized upon the effects he had with him, and then killed him and all his companions. But they ſeverely paid for this cruelty, as it juſtly deſerved, at the hands of *John*'s brethren, as will appear in the ſequel.

Bacchides hearing *Jonathan* had encamped in the marches of *Jordan*, deſigned the ſabbath for the day of battle, and accordingly on that day marched out againſt him, ſuppoſing, through reverence of his law, he would not engage him. But *Jonathan*, with a becoming greatneſs of ſoul, exhorted his companions to behave valiantly, reminding them of the danger their lives were in, and how they were ſhut in between the enemy and the river, which made it impoſſible for them to retreat, for the enemy preſſed upon them in front, and the river was in their rear; and having begged of God to grant him victory, he began the onſet; when in a little time ſeveral of the enemy were killed upon the ſpot: But *Jonathan* ſeeing *Bacchides* endeavouring to puſh vigorouſly upon him, liſted up his right arm to ſtrike him, which he foreſeeing, warded of the blow; after which *Jonathan* with his men leaped into the river and ſwam over, retreating into a place of ſafety on the other ſide of *Jordan*. Whereupon *Bacchides* immediately roſe up and went to the garriſon at *Hieroſolyma:* He loſt however, about two thouſand of his men. After this engagement he fortified ſeveral cities of *Judea*, whoſe walls had been thrown down, to wit, *Jericho*, and *Emmaus*, and *Betheron*, and *Bethella*, and *Thamnatha*, and *Pharathon*, and *Techon*, and *Gazara*. In all theſe cities he built towers, and ſurrounded each with a ſtrong and high wall, and placed garriſons in them, with which they might make inroads into the *Jews* country, and infeſt their territories. But the garriſon at *Hieroſolyma* he moſt of all ſtrengthened, and having received from the principal men of the town, their ſons as hoſtages, he ſhut them up in the tower, which he left thus fortified.

In the mean while a certain man came to *Jonathan*, and *Simon* his brother, telling them the ſons of *Amaræus* were going to celebrate nuptials with a bride they had brought from the city *Gabatha*, being the daughter of an illuſtrious and noble *Arabian*, and, that if they had a mind to it, they might, with great eaſe, carry off the virgin, who was dreſſed in very rich and ſumptuous apparel. *Jonathan* and *Simon*, thinking they had met with a favourable opportunity to revenge their brother, and give his murtherers due puniſhment, went to *Medaba*, and hiding themſelves in the mountain, waited the coming of the enemy. But when they perceived them bringing the virgin, and ſaw the bridegroom, and a great company of friends attending upon them, as is cuſtomary upon marriages, they ruſhed out upon them from their lurking places, and put every perſon to death, except the bride, whom, together with the ſpoil that followed after the company, they took and returned with them home. And thus were the ſons of *Amaræus* puniſhed for their murther of *John*; for they, and the friends who accompanied them, as alſo their wives and children were ſlain, to the number of four hundred.

Jonathan and *Simon* after this tranſaction returned back to the marſhes of *Jordan*, and there abode. But *Bacchides*, having fortified all *Judea* with ſtrong garriſons, marched back to the king: From which time, for two years the affairs of the *Jews* continued in great tranquillity. But ſome of the renegade and ill-deſigning *Jews* ſeeing *Jonathan* and his followers, through the benefit of the peace, live ſecurely and undiſturbed, ſent ambaſſadors to *Demetrius*, deſiring him to command back *Bacchides* in order to take *Jonathan*, which they repreſented, might be accompliſhed in a certain ſteep place; and provided he and his followers were unexpectedly ſet upon, they might all, in one night's time, be ſecured and puniſhed. The king, upon this remonſtrance, ſent *Bacchides*, who coming into *Judea*, wrote to all his friends, both *Jews* and auxiliaries, to apprehend *Jonathan*, and bring him to him. But all their endeavours were ineffectual, and they were unable to take him; for, having received intelligence of their ſecret deſigns, he took all poſſible care to ſecure himſelf againſt them. *Bacchides* enraged at this diſapointment, and imagining the renegade *Jews* had been the authors of an idle tale to amuſe the king and him, took about five hundred of their principal men, and put them to death. This barbarous treatment terrified *Jonathan*, and his brother, and their followers, who apprehending the worſt, withdrew to a village in the deſart, named *Bethalaga*, which they fortified with ſtrong towers and walls, and by theſe means endeavoured to ſecure themſelves from the impending danger. But *Bacchides* receiving intelligence of *Jonathan*'s deſign drew out all the forces he had then with him, and calling the *Jews*, who had revolted to their ſide, to his aſſiſtance, marched his army againſt him, which he cauſed to approach his works, and laid cloſe ſiege to them for ſeveral days. Notwithſtanding the reſolution the beſiegers ſhewed of taking the place, *Jonathan* did not give them the leaſt advantage, but having, for a long time, made a valiant reſiſtance, he left his brother *Simon* in the town to prolong the engagement with *Bacchides*, while he privately went out in the country, and procured a powerful reinforcement from the men of his party, with which, in the night time, he made a reſolute puſh againſt *Bacchides*'s camp, and ſlew ſeveral therein. This encounter gave *Simon* plain intelligence that his brother had attacked the enemy, for ſeeing the ſudden deſtruction that was made, he ruſhed out upon them, ſetting fire to the works the *Macedonians* had erected to carry on the ſiege, and committing a great ſlaughter amongſt their men. *Bacchides* finding himſelf circumvented by the beſieged, and that one body in front, and another in his rea puſhed hard upon him, he fell into a deſperate concern, ſeeing the ſiege ſucceed ſo contrary to his expectations. However, he turned his anger upon the renegades, who ha broug brought him from the king, as if he had been deceived by them; for he was extremely deſirous, if it was poſſible, to end the ſiege advantageouſly, and return back with honour.

Jonathan, acquainted with his ſentiments, ſent ſome perſons to treat with him, to make a ſurrender of the priſoners taken on each ſide. *Bacchides* liking the propoſal, concluded a treaty with him, to obſerve which both parties bound themſelves by oath, and agreed not to commit any further hoſtilities againſt each other; after which they made an interchange of priſoners. *Bacchides* immediately drew off his army, and returned to *Antioch*, and after this retreat never made another inroad into *Judea*. *Jonathan* having obtained this ſecurity, inhabited the city *Machma*, where he exerciſed the ſupreme authority over the *Jews*, and by inflicting exemplary puniſhments upon rebels and malefactors, in a great meaſure reduced his nation to its primitive and happy condition.

CHAP. II.

Of Alexander*'s great Generoſity to* Jonathan, *during his Expedition againſt* Demetrius: *Of his conferring the Dignity of the Prieſthood upon him, and procuring his Alliance, at the Time* Demetrius *endeavoured to purchaſe it with a greater Offer. Of the Death of* Demetrius.

IN the one hundred and ſixtieth year, *Alexander* the ſon of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, marched up into *Syria*, and ſeized upon *Ptolomais*, by the treachery of the ſoldiers garriſoned there, who were not ſtrict in their allegiance to *Demetrius*, on account both of his exceſſive pride, and the difficulty of acceſs to him, having ſhut himſelf up in a palace fortified with four very ſtrong towers, and built not a great way from *Antioch*, into which he ſcarcely ſuffered any one to enter. Beſides, he was very indolent and remiſs in the public adminiſtration of affairs, which was a greater ſtep to procure him the hatred of his ſubjects, as we ſhall make appear in the ſequel: But upon receiving intelligence that *Alexander* was at *Ptolomais*, he took all his forces and marched out to meet him; and alſo ſent ambaſſadors to *Jonathan*, to deſire his alliance and friendſhip, apprehending, that unleſs he was very expeditious in making this requeſt, *Alexander* might obtain it before him. And to deſire this, he had yet ſtronger motives, as he imagined *Jonathan*, remembring the late injuries he had done him, might join with *Alexander* to ſatisfy his revenge upon him; to hinder which deſign, he gave him liberty to raiſe forces, make martial preparations, and receive back the *Jewiſh* hoſtages, whom *Bacchides* had ſhut up in the tower at *Hieroſolyma*. As ſoon as *Jonathan* received theſe orders from the king, he went to *Hieroſolyma*, and in the preſence and hearing as well of the inhabitants of the town, as the perſons in the garriſon, read over the letter he had received: The recital of which ſtruck the renegade *Jews* in the tower with a great terror, as they now apprehended him commiſſioned by the king himſelf to raiſe forces and receive back the hoſtages, whom he would return to their reſpective parents. Moreover *Jonathan* took up his reſidence at *Hieroſolyma*, which he repaired very much, and ordered every thing to be done according to his own will and pleaſure; for he commanded the walls to be rebuilt of large ſquare ſtones, to defend the town more vigorouſly againſt the aſſaults of its enemies. The men placed in the ſeveral garriſons throughout *Judea* hearing what had been done, withdrew out of their fortifications, and retired to *Antioch*: The garriſons, however, at *Bethſura* and *Hieroſolyma*, kept poſſeſſion of their caſtles, being the major part renegade *Jews* of very looſe principles.

Now *Alexander* receiving advice of the promiſes *Demetrius* had made *Jonathan*, and what a valiant man he was, and hearing alſo of the many difficulties to which in ſeveral engagements he had put the *Macedonians*, and likewiſe how in his turn he had ſuffered many hardſhips from the hands of *Demetrius*, and *Bacchides* his general, took occaſion to repreſent to his friends, there was not at that time a more proper perſon to be made his ally than *Jonathan*, whoſe courage had been ſufficiently tried againſt his enemies, and whoſe hatred to *Demetrius* was very apparent from the many indignities he had received from him, and the ſeveral hoſtilities he had returned him by way of retaliation. Upon which grounds, if they entertained the ſame ſentiments with him, which were to invite *Jonathan* into an alliance with them againſt *Demetrius*, there was no properer time than the preſent to do it in. *Alexander* and his friends concurring in the ſame reſolution, to procure *Jonathan* their ally, the king wrote him a letter to this effect:

King *Alexander* to *Jonathan* our brother,
Greeting:

‘WE have a long time been acquainted with your fidelity and courage, which ‘has now induced us, to ſend to you perſons to ‘court your friendſhip and alliance. Moreover, ‘from the date hereof, we conſtitute you high-‘prieſt of the *Jews*, and order you to be ſtiled ‘our friend: We have ſent you a purple robe, ‘and a crown of gold as a preſent, and our de-‘ſire is, you would behave towards us anſwer-‘able to the favour we have ſhewn you.’

Jonathan, upon receiving this letter, dreſt himſelf in the prieſtly garment *Alexander* had ſent him, the feaſt of tabernacles then being very near, which was four years from his brother *Judas*'s death; for none had perform'd the ſacerdotal office in all that time. Beſides he collected a numerous army, and ordered many inſtruments of war to be forged and made, which preparations coming to the ears of *Demetrius*, he was ſomewhat troubled, and began to blame his indolence and inactivity, in not preventing *Alexander*, by a more advantageous offer of kindneſs to *Jonathan*, to procure his alliance, and ſuffering him to gain time enough to ſupplant him in his deſigns. He wrote, however, a letter to *Jonathan* and his countrymen, to the following effect:

King *Demetrius* to *Jonathan* and the *Jewiſh* nation, *Greeting*:

‘SINCE you have inviolably preſerved the alliance enter'd into with us, and to our enemies, who have made trial of your fidelity, you have not revolted, I commend this ſteady principle of yours, and exhort you to perſevere, in the ſame good intentions, which will procure you the favour of our kindneſs. From the ſeveral tributes and penſions, which many of you have been accuſtomed to pay the kings my predeceſſors, and myſelf, I diſcharge you. And I now eaſe you from thoſe taxes which have been always cuſtomary to be paid. And moreover, I forgive you the price of (*a*) ſalt, and the (*b*) crowns, which have from time to time been diſcharged by you: And from this day for ever I remit to you the thirds of your harveſts, and the halfs of your fruits, which legally belong to me. And alſo from this day for ever, I diſcharge you from the tribute cuſtomarily paid for every perſon inhabiting *Judea*, and the three toparchies adjoining thereto, namely, *Samaria*, *Galilee*, and *Perſia*. And my deſire is, that the city *Hieroſolyma*, and the lands thereto belonging, be preſerved ſacred and inviolable, and be freed from tenths and other impoſitions of that nature. And I give up the caſtle there to *Jonathan* your high-prieſt, whom I empower to defend it for us, and place therein his own friends and acquaintance. And farther, I ſet at liberty all thoſe *Jews* now actually priſoners in our dominions, and give orders that the beaſts of the *Jews* be not compelled to do ſervile employments; and that their ſabbaths, and all other feſtivals, and the three days immediately preceding ſuch feſtivals, be allowed the *Jews* as days of reſt. Alſo all the *Jews* inhabiting in my kingdom, I freely diſcharge, without offering any manner of injury to them. And I grant to all thoſe, willing to enter into my ſervice, liberty to inliſt themſelves to the number of three thouſand, who ſhall conſtantly receive the ſame pay with my own men: Some of them I will place in my garriſons, others ſhall ſerve as my body-guards, and thoſe who are immediately employed in my palace, ſhall be advanced to prefectures and governments. I permit them alſo to live after the laws of their own country, and be guardians of their own liberties, and give them the government of the three toparchies adjoining to *Judea*, and give the high-prieſt full authority to ſee that no *Jew* have any other temple to worſhip God in, than that in *Hieroſolyma*. I likewiſe give, for the defraying the expence of the ſacrifices, an annual ſum of one hundred and fifty thouſand drachms to be paid out of my treaſury, and the overplus ſhall revert to your own uſes. And I remit to you the ten thouſand drachms, uſually expended by the prieſts in their ſacrifices, and which the kings, my predeceſſors, uſually took out of the temple; and whoſoever ſhall take refuge in the temple at *Hieroſolyma*, or its incloſure, for non-payment of debts due to my treaſury, or for any other account, I order them to be diſcharged, and their effects indemnified. Moreover, I command the temple to be rebuilt, and my treaſury ſubject to defray the charges of its building, and I alſo order the walls to be new built, and high towers to be raiſed upon them, the expences whereof ſhall be paid out of my own revenues. And laſtly, if there is any caſtle, which for the defence of *Judea* ought to be fortified, all the repairs and fortifications ſhall be made at my own particular coſt.’

This was the ſubſtance of the letter *Demetrius* ſent to the *Jews*, whom he was deſirous to gain to his intereſt by large promiſes. *Alexander*, in the mean while, having raiſed a numerous army, conſiſting not only of mercinaries, but other ſoldiers who flocked to him out of *Syria*, put himſelf at their head, and marched them againſt *Demetrius*. When the engagement was begun, *Demetrius*'s left wing put thoſe who oppoſed it to flight, and purſued them a long time, killing a great number, and rifling their camp; but his right wing, in which he himſelf was, was entirely routed, which the reſt of his army ſeeing, immediately gave ground and fled. *Demetrius* notwithſtanding, fought valiantly, and ſlew a great number of the enemy; but purſuing ſome of them on horſeback, he happened to come to a deep bog, very difficult to be paſſed, where falling from his horſe, and unable to get out, he was ſlain. For the enemy, ſeeing the unfortunate condition to which he was reduced, turned back, and ſurrounding him, covered him with their darts, whereby he died. *Demetrius*, though on foot, made a valiant reſiſtance, but at length fainting with the many wounds he had received, and unable to make any longer defence, he fell. Thus did *Demetrius* pay his laſt debt to nature, in the eleventh year of his reign, as we have mentioned in the foregoing.

(*a*) Meaning that he was willing to let them have Salt out of the Salt-pits in *Judea*, without the uſual Payment. See *Grotius* upon 1 *Macc.* chap. x. ver. 29. and chap. xi. ver. 34.

(*b*) The *Jews* annually were accuſtomed to make a Preſent of Crowns to their Kings, but afterwards the *Aurum*, or Gold, which was paid in lieu of the Crowns, was called *Coronarium*, or the *Crown Tax*. See *Grotius*, *ibid.*

CHAP. III.

Of the Friendſhip between Onias *and* Ptolomy Philometor; *and of* Onias's *erecting a Temple in* Ægypt, *like that at* Hieroſolyma.

THE ſon of *Onias* the high-prieſt, named after his father, and the ſame perſon who had went over to *Ptolomy*, named *Philometor*, and took up his abode at *Alexandria*, as we have already taken notice of, ſeeing *Judea* reduced to great calamities by the continual hoſtilities and ravages of the *Macedonians* and their kings, and deſiring to procure himſelf an everlaſting name and character, reſolved to ſend ambaſſadors to king *Ptolomy* and queen *Cleopatra*, with a petition for leave to erect a temple in *Ægypt* like that at *Hieroſolyma*, and conſtitute in it *Levites* and prieſts of his own nation. To which performance he was influenced by a great faith he had conſtantly placed in a prophecy of *Eſaias*, who, ſix hundred years before, had foretold that a temple ſhould be built in *Ægypt*, to the honour of the moſt high God, by a *Jew*. *Onias*, encouraged by this prophecy, and animated with a deſire of fulfilling it, wrote the following letter to *Ptolomy* and *Cleopatra*:

‘Foraſmuch as, through the aſſiſtance of God, I have performed, to your mutual advantages, ſeveral military exploits, and have gone through *Cœlo-Syria* and *Phœnicia*, and in company with the *Jews*, have viewed *Leontopolis*, a city in the prefecture of *Heliopolis*, and ſeveral other places belonging to that nation, and have obſerved great numbers of their people to have temples which they ought not, the number whereof occaſions great animoſities amongſt them, as is ſeen amongſt the *Ægyptians*, the multitude of whoſe temples, and the different opinions they entertain about religion, create great feuds and broils amongſt them; I have therefore found a very convenient place in the tower, dedicated to *Diana* the rural, which abounds in materials of various ſorts, and is well ſtocked with ſacred animals. Wherefore my petition to you is, that you would grant me leave to purify the temple there, not yet dedicated to any deity, and ready to tumble down for want of repairs, and to make of it a temple like that at *Hieroſolyma*, for the ſervice of the moſt high God, with the ſame dimenſions every way, for yourſelf, wife and children, that the *Jews* inhabiting *Ægypt*, meeting there with an unanimous conſent, may prove beneficial to your kingdom by their obedience. For *Eſaias* the prophet, foretold that an altar was to be built in *Ægypt*, dedicated to God the Lord, and propheſied ſeveral other things of the like nature in the ſame paſſage.’

This was the letter *Onias* ſent to king *Ptolomy*, of whoſe devout inclinations, as alſo *Cleopatra*'s, his ſiſter and wife, a thorough conjecture may be made from the letter they returned in anſwer to *Onias*'s petition, for they made his tranſgreſſion of the law fall upon his own head. The epiſtle they wrote back, was to the following effect:

King Ptolomy *and Queen* Cleopatra, *to* Onias, Greeting:

‘WE have peruſed the petition you ſent us, wherein you deſire a grant to purify the temple, called *Bubaſtis*, and ready to fall down, at *Leontopolis* in the prefecture of *Heliopolis*. We are full of wonder how a temple you ſay you are deſirous to rebuild, can be acceptable to God, which ſtands in an impure place, and is filled with ſacred animals. But ſince you acquainted us, *Eſaias* the prophet, a long time ago, propheſied this ſhould be done, we grant you licence to perform it, on condition it be done conformably to the law, whereby all appearance of tranſgreſſion on our ſide may be taken away, and we may ſeem innocent in the affair.’

Onias having procured a grant of the place, erected a temple and altar to the honour of God, much like that at *Hieroſolyma*, but far ſhort as to the dimenſions and richneſs of it. It will be needleſs in this place to give a particular account, either of its dimenſions, or the veſſels dedicated to its ſervice, ſince in the ſeventh book of the *Jewiſh* wars, I have taken notice of ſome of them. Beſides *Onias* found certain *Jews* of the ſame principles with himſelf, who officiated as prieſts and *Levites* in his new erected temple, and performed the ſacrifices, and other divine offices due to God. But this is ſufficient at preſent.

Amongſt the *Jews* and *Samaritans*, who had introduced a religion in the temple erected on mount *Garizim*, under the reign of *Alexander* the Great, there happened a great ſedition at *Alexandria*, which grew to ſuch a height, that *Ptolomy* was made judge between them in their different diſputes about their temples. The *Jews* maintained the temple at *Hieroſolyma* was built according to the preſcription of *Moyſes*; and the *Samaritans*, on the other hand, ſtood up for that built on *Garizim*. They ſtrenuouſly petitioned the king to let their cauſe be tried before a committee of their reſpective friends, under a condition that the ſide loſing the diſpute ſhould ſuffer death. *Sabbæus* and *Theodoſius* defended the ſide of the *Samaritans*; but for the *Hieroſolymites* and *Jews*, *Andronicus* the ſon of *Meſſelamus*, was council: Each party ſwore by God and the king to produce all their vouchers out of the law, and earneſtly begged the king to puniſh with death that perſon who was found to violate his oath. Upon this *Ptolomy* carried a great many of his friends into the court, and ſat down to hear their cauſe; the *Jews* of *Alexandria* were extremely diſtruſtful of thoſe who were council to defend the rights of the temple at *Hieroſolyma*; for they ſuggeſted mighty fears to themſelves, leſt a temple of ſo great antiquity, and whoſe fame had been ſpread over all the world, ſhould be diminiſhed in its authority and repute. *Sabbæus* and *Theodoſius* having granted *Andronicus* liberty to open his diſcourſe firſt, he accordingly began his harangue from the law, and endeavoured to confirm the truth of his words by irrefragable arguments deduced from thence, namely, how in a conſtant ſucceſſion from father to ſon the high-prieſts had enjoyed their dignity, and preſided in the temple, and how the kings of *Aſia* had conſtantly paid an high veneration to its ſolemn worſhip, by many magnificent and rich donations; that, on the contrary, the temple at *Garizim*, as if it had never been, was ſo far from being taken notice of, that not one perſon could be produced either a patron or benefactor to it. While *Andronicus* was enlarging on theſe words, and many more to the like purpoſe, the king was induced to give judgment, that the temple at *Hieroſolyma* was built according to the inſtitution of *Moyſes*, and *Sabbæus* and *Theodoſius* deſerved to ſuffer death. And theſe are the tranſactions concerning the *Jewiſh* affairs, under the reign of *Ptolomy Philometor*.

CHAP. IV.

Of Alexander's *great Eſteem for* Jonathan, *and of the Alliance entered into with him by* Demetrius, *Son of* Demetrius, *after he had defeated* Alexander.

DEMETRIUS, as we have juſt before obſerved, having loſt his life in battle, *Alexander* ſeized upon the kingdom of *Syria*, and wrote to *Ptolomy Philometor*, requeſting his daughter in marriage, and repreſenting the juſtice of ſuch a proceeding, in order to eſtabliſh a friendſhip between them, after he had recovered the government of his anceſtors, being led thereto by the providence of God, who had made him conqueror over *Demetrius*, and that in all other reſpects he was not unworthy of ſuch an alliance. *Ptolomy* gave a favourable ear to this demand, and wrote back an anſwer, repreſenting the great joy he conceived for his having regained the kingdom of his father, and withal promiſed to give him his daughter in marriage: To which end, he ordered him to come and meet him at *Ptolomais*, whither he would bring his daughter from *Ægypt*, to have the nuptials celebrated. *Ptolomy*, according to his letter, made all neceſſary preparations, and came to *Ptolomais* with his daughter *Cleopatra*, where he met *Alexander*, according to the command he had given him in his epiſtle, to whom he gave his daughter in marriage, and beſtowed in dowry with her as much gold and ſilver as was agreeable to the generoſity and liberality of a king.

After the nuptial ſolemnities were over, *Alexander* wrote a letter to *Jonathan*, with orders to come to *Ptolomais*, who arriving and appearing before the two kings, and beſtowing on each ſeveral magnificent preſents, he was received with great marks of honour and eſteem. For *Alexander* ordered him to pull off his own cloaths, and be dreſſed in purple; and after having placed him on his throne with him, he commanded his officers to take him along with them into the midſt of the city, and proclaim it unlawful for any one to charge him with any crime, or to offer him any manner of injury in any reſpect. The officers having put their order in execution, his enemies, and thoſe who were prepared to accuſe him, finding their deſign fruſtrated, and obſerving the edict which enjoined them to honour him, fled away, apprehending the conſequence would prove fatal to them. *Alexander*'s inclinations to ſerve *Jonathan* were ſo great, that he ſet him down as the chiefeſt of all his friends.

In the one hundred and ſixty fifth year, *Demetrius*, ſon of *Demetrius*, with a numerous body of mercenary troops, given him by *Laſthenes* the *Cretan*, paſſed over from *Crete* into *Cilicia*, the news of which gave *Alexander* a great deal of concern, but recollecting himſelf, he marched out of *Phænicia* to *Antioch*, to put affairs there in a poſture of defence, before the arrival of *Demetrius*. To guard *Cælo-Syria*, he left *Apollonius Daus*, who marching with a numerous army to *Jamnia*, he ſent a letter to *Jonathan*; wherein he repreſented, ‘The diſhonour of his living at his eaſe and pleaſure, exempted from any ſubjection to the king, the thought of which muſt needs prove very diſagreeable to all honeſt men. Do not then, *ſaid he*, ſit down in the mountains, and flatter yourſelf with a vain opinion of your ſtrength, but if you rely on your native courage, come down into the plain, and make trial with our men, that it may appear on whom victory ſhall fall, and by that means prove which party is moſt valiant. Let me, however, acquaint you that the very ſtouteſt men of every city fight under my banner, for they are ſuch as have conſtantly defeated your anceſtors. Beſides, you will now have an opportunity to engage with us in a country, remarkable for fighting with martial weapons, and not with ſtones, and where the vanquiſhed will be entirely hindered from making a retreat.’

Jonathan, nettled at this inſulting meſſage, with ten thouſand choice men, aided by his brother *Simon*, marched out of *Hieroſolyma*, and coming to *Joppa*, the cities of which town had ſhut their gates upon him, there being a garriſon therein placed by *Apollonius*, he encamped before it. But when he was preparing to lay ſiege to the place, the inhabitants apprehending he would take it by ſtorm, opened ed their gates to him. *Apollonius* finding the town had ſurrendered to *Jonathan*, with three thouſand horſe and eight thouſand foot, came to *Azotus*; whence, marching with a ſlow and eaſy rout, he recover'd an aſcent before *Joppa*, where, pretending a retreat, he drew *Jonathan* into the plain, placing his confidence and hopes of conqueſt in his cavalry. *Jonathan* followed him as far as *Azotus*, but perceiving the enemy drawing out in the plain, he faced about, and began the engagement. *Apollonius* had planted a thouſand horſe in ambuſcade at a certain river, to fall upon the enemy's rear. *Jonathan* ſoon came to underſtand this, but was not in the leaſt diſpirited, but placed his army in a quadrangular form, and exhorted his men boldly to repel the enemy's force on all ſides, having marſhalled his ſoldiers in ſuch a poſture, that they might with eaſe defend themſelves againſt any attack either in front or rear. The battle continuing 'till evening, *Jonathan* gave part of the army to *Simon* his brother, with orders to attack the enemy's main body, while he commanded his own party, to receive the ſhowers of the adverſaries darts on their ſhields, which orders were immediately put in execution. The enemy's horſe in the mean while threw all their darts, without doing *Jonathan*'s men any manner of injury, for they never touched their bodies, but falling upon their ſhields, which by reaſon of their many doubles being very thick, their force was broke, and their execution rendered ineffectual. The enemy continuing to throw their darts from morning till evening, by which time they began to be weary, *Simon* obſerved their ſtrength failed them, and making a proper uſe of the opportunity, immediately ordered his men to puſh upon their main body, which they did with great reſolution, and in a little time forced their enemies to fly. The cavalry no ſooner ſaw the infantry give ground and retreat, being unable any longer to make any reſiſtance, by reaſon of their wearineſs, and all the hopes they had placed in their main body being by that ſudden flight fruſtrated, they ſhamefully and in great confuſion turned their backs, diſperſing themſelves all over the plain. *Jonathan*, thus obtaining the victory, purſued thoſe who fled as far as *Azotus*, a great number of whom he put to the ſword, and the reſt, deſpairing of ſafety, he forced to take refuge in the temple of *Dagon*, which was at *Azotus*. *Jonathan* taking the town at the firſt aſſault, laid it and the neighbouring villages in aſhes: The temple of *Dagon* did not eſcape his fury, for he ſet fire to that alſo, and deſtroyed by the flames all thoſe who had taken ſanctuary therein. Now the number of the enemy, which fell in battle, and periſhed in the flames of the temple, amounted to eight thouſand perſons. After this remarkable victory, he marched from *Azotus*, and went to *Aſcalon*, the inhabitants whereof met him with preſents and garlands. After he had commended their loyalty, he departed from them, and went to *Hieroſolyma*, with a great ſpoil taken from his vanquiſhed enemies. *Alexander* receiving intelligence of the overthrow which his general *Apollonius* had received, ſeemed under no great concern, becauſe, contrary to his expectations, he had given battle to *Jonathan*, who was in alliance with him; and to ſatisfy *Jonathan* that his friendſhip was not leſſened, he ſent him, as a preſent and mark of honour, a chain of gold, ſuch as kings uſually give to perſons of their own blood; and beſides, he beſtowed the toparchy of *Accaxon* upon him and his heirs for ever.

In the mean while king *Ptolomy*, ſirnamed *Philometor*, with deſign to aſſiſt *Alexander*, ſailed into *Syria* with a fleet of ſhips, having on board a numerous body of infantry: He was father-in-law to *Alexander*, and was at this prince's command joyfully received by every city, the inhabitants whereof eſcorted him to *Azotus*, where numerous complaints were made to him concerning the temple of *Dagon*'s being burnt; beſide, they accuſed *Jonathan* of having laid the temple in aſhes, and ravaged the country with fire, and put great numbers of them to the ſword. *Ptolomy* gave ear to all their complaints, but did not think fit at that time to return any anſwer to them. *Jonathan* in the mean while met *Ptolomy* at *Joppa*, and was received by him with rich preſents, and great marks of honour; but after he had accompanied the king as far as the river called *Eleutherus*, he returned back to *Hieroſolyma*.

King *Ptolomy* at laſt, beyond all manner of hopes, got to *Ptolomais*, for he was near loſing his life by the treachery of *Ammonius* his own friend, who had been hired for that purpoſe by *Alexander*. But as ſoon as he had made a diſcovery of the plot, he ſent *Alexander* a letter, demanding him to deliver *Ammonius* up to puniſhment, ſaying, he had laid in wait for his life, and therefore required he might be chaſtiſed as his wickedneſs deſerved. But *Alexander* refuſing to ſurrender him, *Ptolomy* was violently enraged, and imagined that he was at the bottom of the conſpiracy. Indeed *Alexander* at this time was not upon very good terms with the citizens of *Antioch*, and their complaints were occaſion'd wholly on account of this *Ammonius*, who had treated many of them with great indignities. But at length he received a meritorious puniſhment for his villanies, being put to death ſhamefully like a woman, having committed an action, which obliged him to hide himſelf in woman's apparel. But this we have mention'd in another place.

Ptolomy, in the mean time, reflecting with great uneaſineſs on his having given *Alexander* his daughter in marriage, and entered into an alliance oppoſite to the intereſts of *Demetrius*, broke off the league of affinity with him; and having taken away his daughter from him, he immediately ſent ambaſſadors to *Demetrius*, with offers of friendſhip and alliance, and a promiſe to give him his daughter in marriage, and reſtore him to the kingdom of his father. *Demetrius* was extremely well pleaſed with the abaſſadors propoſals, and readily embraced both the alliance and marriage, notwithſtanding *Ptolomy* had one difficulty to remove, which was, to engage the citizens of *Antioch* to open their gates to *Demetrius*, being out of his intereſts on account of the wrongs his father *Demetrius* had done them. However, this was eaſily accompliſhed; for the people of *Antioch* entertained a very great hatred againſt *Alexander*, for his ſiding with *Ammonius*, as we have juſt now mentioned, ſo that they were eaſily induced to expel him from their city; after which diſgrace he withdrew into *Cilicia*. But *Ptolomy* was no ſooner come into their city, than he was declared king by the unanimous voice of the citizens and army; upon which they put two diadems upon his head, the one repreſenting *Aſia*, the other *Ægypt*. But *Ptolomy* being a prince naturally of a good and mild diſpoſition, not covetous of another perſon's right, and withal having a juſt thought of what might probably happen, ſhould he take upon him the government of *Aſia*, that it would infallibly give the *Romans* an opportunity of ſhewing their jealouſy, he reſolved to drop his pretenſions, and aſſembling the citizens of *Antioch*, he deſired them to receive *Demetrius*, repreſenting, 'That he being now well aſſured of their loyalty, would no longer regard the hatred they had born him on his father's account; that he would alſo be their leader and general; and promiſed to give them his aſſiſtance in redreſſing the wrongs they ſhould at any time ſuffer: And added, that he himſelf was very well ſatisfied with his kingdom of *Ægypt*.' This ſpeech had ſuch an effect upon them, that they voluntarily admitted *Demetrius* into their town.

Alexander having raiſed a numerous and powerful army, marched out of *Cilicia*, and made an inroad into *Syria*, where he ravaged all the country about *Antioch* with fire and ſword. *Ptolomy* and *Demetrius*, his ſon-in-law, (for he had married *Ptolomy*'s daughter) marched an army againſt him, obtained a complete victory over him, and forced him to fly, whereupon he withdrew into *Arabia*. In this battle *Ptolomy* had an unhappy miſchance, which was thus: His horſe hearing the roar of an elephant, was frighted at the noiſe, and threw *Ptolomy* off from his back to the ground; which the enemy perceiving, furiouſly charged upon him, and having given him ſeveral wounds upon his head, he was near to loſing his life: But his guards by good fortune delivered him from the enemy, but not before he had received ſo much hurt, that for four days ſucceſſively he had loſt both the uſe of his ſenſes and ſpeech. In the mean time *Zabelus*, the *Dyneſt* of *Arabia*, cut off the head of *Alexander*, and ſent it to *Ptolomy*, who, on the fifth day, having ſome eaſe from his wounds, and coming to himſelf, ſeemed to be very glad at hearing the news; and when the head was brought before him, he took an extreme pleaſure in looking upon it, but having ſome ſhort time gratified his deſire in gazing thereat, he himſelf gave up the ghoſt. *Alexander* enjoyed the *Aſian* empire five years, and was firnamed *Balas*, as we have mentioned in another place. But

Demetrius, ſirnamed *Nicator*, having thus obtained the kingdom, out of his inhuman diſpoſition, began to treat the army of *Ptolomy* with great cruelty, not regarding the alliance he had made with him, or ever reflecting he was his ſon-in-law, having married his daughter *Cleopatra*. This uſage made the ſoldiers, fearing his cruelty, withdraw to *Alexandria*; but their elephants fell to *Demetrius*'s ſhare. During theſe tranſactions, *Jonathan* the high-prieſt raiſed an army out of all *Judea*, and marched it with a deſign to lay ſiege to the tower at *Hieroſolyma*, defended by a garriſon of *Macedonians*, and a company of fugitive *Jews*, who had relinquiſhed the laws of their country. At firſt the beſieged, relying on the ſtrength of the place, ſeemed to deſpiſe the works prepared by *Jonathan* to carry on the ſiege: But in the night time ſeveral within the tower made their eſcape, and went to *Demetrius* to acquaint him that the tower was beſieged, the news whereof exaſperating him, he put himſelf at the head of an army, and marched from *Antioch* to go and encounter *Jonathan*. But arriving at *Ptolomais*, he wrote him a letter, wherein he ordered him to come immediately to him thither: This meſſage, however, made him not break up the ſiege, but taking the elders of the people and the prieſts, and carrying with him gold and ſilver, a rich robe, and other preſents, he went to *Demetrius*, and preſented them to him, whereby he pacified him: Nay, *Demetrius* received him with ſo much reſpect, that he conferr'd the dignity of the prieſthood upon him, as had been done by his predeceſſors, and confirmed it to him. And beſides, when certain malicious perſons endeavoured to accuſe him, *Demetrius* was ſo far from giving credit to their complaints, that, upon *Jonathan*'s bare petition, he order'd that all *Judea*, and the three toparchies, *to wit*, *Samaria*, *Peræa*, and *Galilee*, ſhould only pay three hundred talents; and to confirm this, he ordered a letter to be wrote, to publiſh his decree to all, to this effect:

King Demetrius *to* Jonathan *our brother, and the reſt of the* Jews, Greeting:

'A Copy of the letter we have written to *Laſthenes* our father, we have here ſent you for your information and ſatiſfaction.

King Demetrius *to* Laſthenes *our father,* Greeting:

'TO the *Jews* our beloved, who preſerve the rights of alliance with us, I have decreed to return a ſingular mark of my favour and kindneſs. To which end, therefore, I remit to them the three prefectures, *viz.* *Apherium*, *Lidda*, and *Ramatha*, taken out of *Samaria*, and added to *Judea*, and all thereunto belonging, beſides what was cuſtomarily paid to the kings my anceſtors, by thoſe who performed ſacrifices at *Hieroſolyma*. And moreover, I diſchage them for ever from all manner of tribute raiſed out of the fruits of the earth, or the fruits of trees, and all other arrears of taxes due from the ſalt-pits, and the cuſtomary pre-

‘ ſent of crowns. Wherefore let it be your eſpecial care, to procure a copy to be tranſcribed of this my letter, which I would have given to *Jonathan*, to the end it may be poſted up in the moſt conſpicuous part of the holy temple.’

This was the ſubſtance of this king's letter. As ſoon as *Demetrius* perceived every thing in tranquility, that the late danger was over, and his apprehenſion of war removed, he diſbanded his men, firſt diſcharging their pay. But he leſſened his ſoldiers pay, and only gave thoſe a full reward whom he had brought from *Crete*, and the other iſlands, and continued their pay after they were diſbanded, but gave his own ſoldiers nothing. This very much incenſed his own men, who, not brooking the difference made between them, immediately conceived an implacable hatred againſt him. For the kings, his predeceſſors, in the time of peace, had continued their ſoldiers pay, in order to have them ready and willing to undertake any expedition, which was neceſſary to be carried on.

CHAP. V.

How Tryphon, *having defeated* Demetrius, *eſtabliſhed* Antiochus, *Son of* Alexander, *in the Kingdom, and entered into an Alliance with* Jonathan. *Of his Military Exploits and Embaſſies.*

ONE of *Alexander*'s generals, named *Diodotus*, and ſirnamed *Tryphon*, by nation an *Apamenian*, underſtanding the difference between *Demetrius* and his ſoldiers, went to *Malchus* the *Arabian*, under whom *Antiochus*, the ſon of *Alexander*, had received his education, and having acquainted him with the mutiny of *Demetrius*'s ſoldiers, and the bad underſtanding between that prince and them, he adviſed him to put *Antiochus* into his hands, as being ready to make him king, and place him on his father's throne. At firſt *Malchus* ſeemed very unwilling to comply with this advice, as putting not ſufficient truſt in him; but upon *Tryphon*'s earneſt ſollicitations and many intreaties, he was induced at length to grant him his requeſt. Now the actions of this perſon will be plainly deſcribed in the ſequel.

In the mean while *Jonathan* the high-prieſt, deſiring to draw out of the tower at *Hieroſolyma* thoſe in poſſeſſion of it, *to wit*, the many renegade and fugitive *Jews* ſhut up therein, as alſo to clear all the other garriſons planted up and down the neighbouring country, ſent ambaſſadors with very magnificent preſents to *Demetrius*, deſiring him to eject out of the ſeveral garriſons the ſoldiers quartered in them. To this repreſentation the king return'd anſwer, that he would not only perform what he had requeſted, but a great deal more, after an end was put to the war then upon his hands, which at that time took up all his time to carry it on; and he begged him to ſend him a number of auxiliary troops, repreſenting that all his own men had revolted from him. *Jonathan* in compliance with this requeſt ſent him three thouſand choice men.

The people of *Antioch*, on no good terms with *Demetrius*, for the ſeveral indignities he had offered them, and alſo being offended at him, for the many affronts they had received from his father *Demetrius*, only waited an opportunity wherein they might moſt conveniently ſet upon him. But finding *Jonathan* had ſent him a conſiderable ſupply of men, and imagining he might in a ſhort time be able to raiſe a numerous army, unleſs neceſſary means were made uſe of to hinder his deſigns, they unanimouſly took up arms, and ſurrounded his palace, as if they had reſolved to lay ſiege to it, and having guarded all the avenues leading thereto, they made a vigorous endeavour to get the king into their hands. But he finding the citizens of *Antioch* his declared enemies, and in arms, took his mercenaries and the *Jewiſh* auxiliaries, and began a ſharp conflict with the citizens, but finding himſelf unable to withſtand their numbers, being ſeveral thouſands, he was forced to ſubmit himſelf to their ſuperior power. The *Jews*, ſeeing the *Antiochians* conquerors, withdrew into the rooms of the king's palace, from whence they threw their darts upon the enemy below, who were too far off to do any execution amongſt them, by reaſon of the height of the place. As they fought ſo high, which in effect proved of very great advantage to them, they not only much annoyed and galled the citizens underneath, but with great eaſe drove them from the adjoining houſes, to which they preſently ſet fire, which ſpreading itſelf over all the city, the houſes of which, for the moſt part being built of wood, all the town immediately was in a terrible blaze. The *Antiochians* finding themſelves not only unable to bring any aſſiſtance, but deſtitute of power to extinguiſh the flames, fled: Upon which the *Jews* jumping from houſe to houſe, in that manner purſued them, whereby a moſt aſtoniſhing and bloody ſcene of murther was obſerved. For the king ſeeing the citizens buſied in endeavouring to ſave their wives and children, and no ways deſirous to continue the encounter, attacked them in ſeveral narrow paſſes, by which means he made a terrible ſlaughter amongſt them, and compelled them to throw down their arms, and ſurrender themſelves to him; after which he pardon'd their rebellion, and put a ſtop to the preſent ſedition. But he ſent back to *Jonathan* the auxiliary *Jews* laden with ſpoils, and amply gratified them, as if they had been the real authors of the victory, ordering them, on their arrival at *Hieroſolyma*, to acquaint the high-prieſt with the acknowledgment he made for his having ſent ſo timely a ſuccour. But *Demetrius* ſhortly after appeared very ungrateful, for he deceived *Jonathan* in the promiſes he had made him, and denounced open war againſt him, if he did not pay the ſeveral tributes uſually due to the kings of *Syria* his predeceſſors. He had actually done thus, if *Tryphon* had not prevented him, and made the forces prepared againſt *Jonathan* revolt and engage themſelves in his intereſts; for returning out of *Arabia* into *Syria* with *Antiochus*, who was yet but a youth, he placed the diadem upon his head, upon which all thoſe ſoldiers who had not received their pay, made an entire revolt from *Demetrius*. With theſe he engaged him in an open battle, wherein he obtained a complete victory, not only winning his elephants, but reducing to his obedience the city of *Antioch*.

Demetrius after this defeat withdrew into *Cilicia*. But the youth *Antiochus*, ſent ambaſſadors with a letter to *Jonathan*, deſiring his friendſhip and alliance, and confirmed him in the prieſthood, and ſurrendered up to him the four prefectures, or governments, adjoining to *Judea*. To theſe he added a preſent of golden veſſels and cups, and a purple robe to be freely made uſe of. Beſides, he made him a gift of a gold chain, and ordered him to be placed in the liſt of his beſt friends. He conſtituted his brother *Simon*, general of all his forces in the countries between *Tyre* and *Ægypt*. *Jonathan*, extremely rejoiced at the preſents *Antiochus* had made him, ſent ambaſſadors to him and *Tryphon*, promiſing them his friendſhip and alliance, and readineſs to engage in a war againſt *Demetrius*; repreſenting, the ill return that prince had made him for the many favours and advantages he had received in his extremities from him, inſtead of requiting which, with an honourable return, he had repaid him ignominy and an unhandſome treatment.

Antiochus having granted him leave to raiſe a numerous army out of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, in order to engage the generals of *Demetrius*, he immediately ſet out upon his march to the ſeveral cities, ſome of which received him with marks of diſtinction, but waved giving him ſoldiers. But marching from theſe, he came to *Aſcalon*, the inhabitants of which town rnnning out to meet him, and endeavouring to outdo one another in the preſents they carried to him, he adviſed them, and all the other cities of *Syria*, to revolt from *Demetrius*, and join themſelves to the intereſts of *Antiochus*, with whom, at ſo favourable a time, they might have an opportunity of revenging themſelves upon *Demetrius* for the ill treatment they had formerly received at his hands: For, if they were inclined to engage in ſuch an action, they might but think a little, and a great many juſt reaſons would preſent themſelves to favour the juſtice of ſuch a deſign. After he had uſed all his methods to induce the ſeveral cities to promiſe *Antiochus* their friendſhip and alliance, and be confederates in the war he was going to undertake, he went to *Gaza* to gain for *Antiochus* the ſame favour from the citizens there. But theſe he found of quite different ſentiments from what he had formed in his mind; for they ſhut their gates upon him, and refuſed to eſpouſe the cauſe of *Antiochus* by relinquiſhing that of *Demetrius*. This refuſal ſo provoked *Jonathan*, that he laid ſiege to their town, and ravaged the country round about; for he employed one part of his army in carrying on the ſiege againſt the town, and with the other he made inroads into their territories, laying them waſte with fire and ſword. The men of *Gaza* ſeeing themſelves involved in, and ſuffering theſe calamities, and finding no relief coming from *Demetrius*, and the danger of remaining long in their preſent unhappy condition; that the ſuccour they expected might be for ſome time delayed, and the arrival of the king was uncertain, they at length concluded it would be the beſt piece of prudence to relinquiſh *Demetrius*, and endeavour to procure *Jonathan*'s favour by a ready ſubmiſſion. To this end they ſent a meſſenger to him, to offer him their alliance, and give him a promiſe of their aſſiſting him with their arms. This is but too commonly the caſe with mankind, who, before they experience to their coſt, croſſes and difficulties, are little ſenſible what is for their advantage. For it is often ſeen when they fall into any calamity, then it is, that they alter their reſolutions, which it had been prudence in them to have done before their troubles had fell upon them, which pouring down upon their heads, they at length come to underſtand their ill-timed perverſneſs and obſtinacy. *Jonathan* having concluded a league of friendſhip with them, and received hoſtages for the faithful performance of the treaty, ſent them to *Hieroſolyma*, and travelled all the country over as far as *Damaſcus*.

Jonathan having heard that the generals of *Demetrius* were marched to the city *Cedaſa*, lying between *Tyre* and *Galilee*, with a numerous army (for they thought to have drawn him out of *Syria* into *Galilee*, imagining he would not let ſlip any opportunity to come to the aſſiſtance of the *Galileans*, under his juriſdiction) went to meet them, leaving his brother *Simon* in *Judea*; who, having raiſed as numerous an army as he could out of the country, and encamped before *Bethſura*, one of the beſt fortified towns in all *Judea*, laid ſiege to it, in which *Demetrius*, as we have mentioned above, had placed a very ſtrong garriſon. *Simon* having raiſed his ramparts, and fixed his engines, and ſhewing plain ſigns of carrying on the ſiege with all poſſible vigour and reſolution, the garriſon began to apprehend, that if he took the place, they ſhould be put to death: To prevent which, they ſent a meſſenger to *Simon*, to beg (upon the aſſurance of his oath to indemnify them,) leave to withdraw out of the country, and retire to *Demetrius*. Having ſworn to perform what they demanded, he drove them out of the town, and fortified it with a garriſon of his own.

Jonathan breaking up his camp fromb efore *Cedaſa*, by the waters of *Gennaſar*, went and ſat down with his army at the plain of *Aſor*, little thinking the enemy was ſo near him; for the generals of *Demetrius* having learned the day before, that *Jonathan* was marching againſt them, planted ambuſcades up and down the mountains, and they themſelves at the head of a numerous army, endeavoured to meet him in the plain. *Jonathan*, ſeeing them prepared to give him battle, put his men into the beſt order of defence he was able: But the men, placed by *Demetrius*'s generals in ambuſcade, making a ſudden puſh upon the rear-guard of the *Jews*, ſo aſtoniſhed them, that apprehending their being hemmed in by the enemy, they immediately fled away in great confuſion. The other *Jews*, following their example, left *Jonathan*, except a few, to the number of about five hundred, who ſtood their ground; amongſt whom were *Mattathias* the ſon of *Abſolom*, and *Judas* the ſon of *Chapſæus*, the head officers of the whole army, who reſolutely, and as if they had deſpaired of ſafety, ruſhed upon the enemy, and made ſo furious an attack, that in the utmoſt conſternation they fled. When *Jonathan*'s men, who had fled, perceived the enemy give ground, they rallied their ſcattered body, and purſued them as far as *Cedaſa*, where they had encamped.

Jonathan, having obtained ſo remarkable a victory, and put two thouſand of the enemy to the ſword, returned back to *Hieroſolyma*. When he perceived all things, through the providence of God, had received a proſperous iſſue, he ſent ambaſſadors to *Rome* to renew the alliance, which had formerly ſubſiſted between the two nations, and ordered his ambaſſadors, in their return from *Rome*, to make *Sparta* in their way, the citizens of which place he expreſsly charged them to remind of the antient friendſhip and kindred alſo between them. When they were come to *Rome*, and admitted into the ſenate-houſe, they opened the commiſſion *Jonathan* the high-prieſt had given them, which was to confirm the former alliance. The ſenate, having ratified the decree they had formerly made with the *Jews*, concerning a mutual league of defence, and given them letters of ſafe-guard to all the kings of *Aſia*, of *Europe*, and governors of cities, they ſet forward on their return home; but in their journey called at *Sparta*, to the citizens whereof they delivered the letter they had received from *Jonathan*: A copy of which is as follows.

Jonathan High-prieſt of the *Jews*, and the Senate, and Commonality of the *Jews* to the *Ephori*, Senate, and People of the *Lacedemonians*, our brothers, *Greeting*:

I*F your public and private affairs are bleſt with that proſperity which we wiſh, we have the utmoſt ſatisfaction. When* Onias *our high-prieſt ſome years ago received the letter about the alliance between us, which* Arius *your king ſent by* Demoteles, *a copy of which is here underwritten, we not only with great gladneſs received the ſaid letter, but ſhewed great reſpect to* Demoteles *and* Arius; *not that we wanted any teſtimony to confirm this, being ſufficiently aſſured of the truth of it by our ſacred books. And indeed we did not think it prudence to give the firſt teſtimony of kindneſs, leſt we ſhould ſeem to take the glory out of your hands. It is now a long time ſince our alliance was renewed between us, yet in our ſolemn worſhip and ſacrifices, we have offered up our prayers to God, to give you both health and victory: And although we have engaged in ſeveral expeditions, on account of the ambitious thirſt of our neighbours to extend their conqueſts, yet we were unwilling to be troubleſome either to you, or any other of our friends and allies. But now having put an happy period to our ſeveral wars, and ſubdued our enemies, we have ſent to the* Romans Numenius *the ſon of* Antiochus, *and* Antipater *the ſon of* Jaſon, *two perſons of ſenatorial dignity with us, to whom we have given our letter to you, in order to renew the antient alliance between us. Wherefore you will pleaſe us, and we hope oblige yourſelves too, if you return us an anſwer in writing to this our letter, and inform us if you ſtand any way in need of our aſſiſtance, well aſſuring yourſelves we ſhall be always ready to ſerve you in all caſes, to the utmoſt of our power.*

The *Lacedemonians* not only received the ambaſſadors very honourably, but made a decree of friendſhip and alliance, and ſent it to them.

About this time were three ſects of the *Jews*, whoſe opinions about human affairs were very different: The firſt of them was called the *Phariſees*, the ſecond the *Sadduces*, and the third the *Eſſenes*. The *Phariſees* maintain ſome things, but not all, are the immediate production of fate, and that certain things are in our own power to do, or not to do. The *Eſſenes*, on the other hand, affirm all things are in the power of fate, and nothing can happen to mankind beyond its decree. The *Sadduces*, laſt of all, ſay, fate has nothing to do in human actions, but that we are governed by our own wills alone in every thing: By which tenet we are made to believe our good fortunes depend upon ourſelves alone, and our ill fortunes are always the conſequences of our own follies. But of theſe different opinions I have given a more full and accurate account in my ſecond book of the *Jewiſh* wars.

In the mean while the generals of *Demetrius*, deſiring to make amends for their late overthrow, collected a more numerous army than before, and laid them againſt *Jonathan*; who no ſooner heard of their march, but with deſign to meet them he went into the country of *Amathitis*, being unwilling, by any delay, to give them an opportunity to make inroads into *Judea*. When he had ſat down about fifty furlongs from the enemy, he ſent out ſpies to take a view of their camp, and ſee in what poſture they were. When the ſpies had acquainted him with every thing they had done, and how they had taken ſome of the enemy in the night time, who had told them the enemy were prepared for battle, *Jonathan* began to think of means how to conſult his own ſafety; to which end, he planted ambuſcades out of his camp, and ordered his ſoldiers to watch all the night in their arms, and be ready to give the enemy battle in the night time, if occaſion required it, for fear the perſon's advice ſhould be found fallacious at the bottom. *Demetrius*'s generals finding *Jonathan* had received knowledge of their ſtratagem, were no longer able to ſupport their ſpirits, but ſtruck with fear, and in a great confuſion, that the enemy had found out their deſigns, they deſpaired of all hopes of conqueſt, now their ſtratagems had met ſo bad ſucceſs; for they imagined, ſhould they venture to give *Jonathan* open battle, they ſhould be in no condition, having ſo unequal a number of forces, to withſtand his arms. And ſhortly after, to verify the opinion they entertained, they conſulted meaſures how to make their eſcape, and having made ſeveral fires in their camp, that the enemy, at the ſight of them, might be induced to believe they ſtill remained within their tents, they withdrew privately away. *Jonathan*, early the next morning, moving near their camp, found the tents all forſook, and imagining the enemy fled, purſued, but could not get up with them, for having paſſed over the river *Eleutherus*, they were clear of any danger. *Jonathan* finding this, turned his march thence to *Arabia*, where giving the *Nabatæans* a deſeat, and taking a great number of priſoners, and a rich ſpoil, he went to *Damaſcus*, and ſold all his booty there. About the ſame time *Simon* his brother, made a tour throughout all *Judea* and *Paleſtine*, as far as *Aſcalon*, which he fortified with ſeveral caſtles and garriſons, and then withdrew to *Joppa*, which he took, and planted a ſtrong garriſon in it, having received intelligence that the people of *Joppa* deſigned to ſurrender the town to the generals of *Demetrius*.

Jonathan and *Simon* having put affairs into this poſture, returned back to *Hieroſolyma*, where *Jonathan* convened an aſſembly of all the people in the temple. When the aſſembly was met, he ſet forth his reſolution to rebuild the walls of *Hieroſolyma*, and repair the encloſure of the temple, which was in a manner demoliſhed, and raiſe up towers of a conſiderable height to defend the adjoining places, and draw a wall through the midſt of the city, to hinder the men in garriſon from the privilege of the market, which would entirely prevent them from purchaſing proviſions, and thereby reduce them to their obedience: Laſtly, he ſaid, he would make the fortified places up and down the country of much greater ſtrength than they were before. This reſolution meeting with the general approbation of the people, he, according to his deſign, beautified the city with new walls and buildings; but his brother *Simon* he ſent into the country, who fortified it with ſeveral ſtrong places of defence. In the mean while *Demetrius* paſſing over the river, came into *Meſopotamia*, with deſign to ſeize upon that country and *Babylon*, for having once got into his power the higher provinces, he imagined he ſhould be able to wreſt into his own hands the whole empire; for the *Greeks* and *Macedonians* inhabiting thoſe countries, ſent him ſeveral meſſages by their ambaſſadors, giving him aſſurance, provided he came to them, to ſurrender themſelves to him, and take up arms with him againſt *Arſaces*, the king of *Parthia*. This aſſurance gave him great hopes, and accordingly he went to them, thinking that if he overcame the *Parthians*, they would give him aſſiſtance to attack *Tryphon*, and drive him out of *Syria*. The men of that country received him with great joy, upon which he collected an army, and gave *Arſaces* battle, in which, loſing all his army, he was taken priſoner alive, as we have mentioned in another place.

CHAP. VI.

How Jonathan *being ſlain by the Treachery of* Tryphon, *the* Jews *conſtituted* Simon *their General and High-prieſt. Of his valiant Actions, eſpecially againſt* Tryphon.

TRYPHON no ſooner came to hear of the period put to the affairs of *Demetrius*, than breaking his allegiance to *Antiochus*, he began to conſult meaſures, now he was removed out of the way, how he ſhould manage himſelf ſo as to wreſt the kingdom into his own hands; for his apprehenſions of *Jonathan*, who was in alliance with *Antiochus*, were ſo many inſurmountable obſtacles, thwarting the deſigns he had formed. To rid himſelf from his fears, he firſt of all reſolved to take him out of the way, and then declare himſelf openly againſt *Antiochus*. Having thus laid the deſign of putting him to death by treachery, he marched out of *Antioch* to *Bethſana*, by the *Grecians* called *Scythopolis*, where *Jonathan* met him with forty thouſand ſoldiers. *Tryphon* began to think he was come with a reſolution to engage him, and coming to be thoroughly acquainted that *Jonathan* was prepared to give him battle, he tried firſt underhand, what would be the effect of preſents and flattering ſpeeches, and gave his officers expreſs orders, to behave themſelves towards him, as if they were obeying himſelf. With this ſpecious pretence, *Tryphon* endeavoured to gain *Jonathan*'s belief that this ſhew of kindneſs was real, which was only counterfeit at the bottom, and to take from him all manner of ſuſpicion, that at a favourable opportunity, when he was diſengaged from the company of his guards, he might with the more eaſe, and when he leaſt thought of it, get him into his hands. His perſuaſions grew ſo powerful at laſt, that he induced him to diſband his army, under a pretence that he had raiſed it at a time when there was no manner of neceſſity for it, the war being happily concluded, and every thing put into a peaceful condition. He adviſed him, however, to retain a ſmall number about his perſon, and accompany him to *Ptolomais*, the government of which city, and the other fortified places, he told him, he would put into his hands; to perform which, he was then very ready.

Jonathan, apprehending no manner of deceit in theſe friendly expreſſions and kind promiſes, but, on the contrary, placing a great confidence in them, and in *Tryphon*, whom he looked upon as a perſon, who, out of a ſincere friendſhip, and diſintereſted kindneſs, had perſuaded him to conſent to theſe things, readily diſbanded his army, retaining only three thouſand men, two thouſand whereof he left behind in *Galilee*, and with one thouſand he went to *Ptolomais* with *Tryphon*: Into which city he had ſcarcely entered, but, according to *Tryphon*'s orders, the citizens ſhut their gates faſt, upon which he took *Jonathan* priſoner alive, and commanded the thouſand men, who had accompanied him, to be put to the ſword. And not ſatisfied with this beginning, he diſpatched his own ſoldiers to perform the ſame villainy upon the two thouſand left in *Galilee*: But theſe, having heard of *Jonathan*'s caſe before thoſe whom *Tryphon* had ſent could come up to them, withdrew, all armed, immediately out of the country. *Tryphon*'s men ſeeing thoſe whom they purſued ready to defend their lives, without committing any manner of hoſtilities, returned back to their maſter.

The citizens of *Hieroſolyma* receiving the news of *Jonathan*'s being taken priſoner, and the ſlaughter of his men, were extremely ſorrowful for his ill fortune, every one ſeeming to want his preſence and aſſiſtance. They now began to entertain terrible apprehenſions, which violently afflicted them, leſt, being now deprived of *Jonathan*'s good government, and exceeding valour, the bordering nations, who had remained quiet hitherto through fear of his arms, ſhould infeſt their country by frequent inroads, or an open war, which would compel them to ſuffer the greateſt hardſhips and indignities. And indeed their apprehenſions were not without foundation, for the nations had no ſooner heard of *Jonathan*'s death, but they began to commit hoſtilities againſt the *Jews*, as ſtanding in need of a general. *Tryphon* alſo having raiſed a numerous army, reſolved to march into *Judea*, and give battle to thoſe *Jews* then reſiding in the country. But *Simon* perceiving the *Hieroſolymites* very much terrified and dejected at the report of this deſign, and willing to animate them with courage and reſolution to withſtand the attacks of *Tryphon*, convened an aſſembly of the people in the temple, to whom he delivered himſelf in the following oration:

'My countrymen, you muſt certainly know how my father, I, and my brothers, have faced death ſeveral times, in defence of your ineſtimable liberties. I need not give you any examples of this behaviour, believing you are ſufficiently ſenſible of it: But one inſtance I cannot help mentioning, which is, our family's decree to undergo death in defence of your laws and religion. Now our family having made ſo brave and noble a reſolution, I ſhall never entertain ſo much fear and cowardice, as to baniſh out of my breaſt this heroic deſign, and place in its room a mean deſire of prolonging my life, or womaniſh contempt of glory and renown. Wherefore be not dejected, or think you want a leader, ready to undergo the greateſt calamities, and perform the braveſt exploits for your ſakes, but follow me courageouſly whither I ſhall conduct you; for neither am I better than my other brothers, that I ſhould ſtrive to ſpare my own life, nor yet am I worſe, that I ſhould endeavour to refuſe dying in the defence of your laws, and the religion of the high God, which they accounted the moſt glorious. It is my duty to ſhew myſelf their true brother; and upon that account I will behave myſelf not unworthy of their alliance and kindred: And I am very well perſuaded I ſhall revenge you upon your enemies, and deliver you, and your wives and children, from their hoſtilities; and, if God gives me his aſſiſtance, I ſhall be able, I do not queſtion it, to preſerve the ſacred temple from being plundered and deſtroyed; for I ſee the nations round you, becauſe you want a leader, offer their inſults, and begin to expreſs their deſire of bringing their arms againſt you.'

This remonſtrance of *Simon* gave the people immediate hopes, and raiſed them ſo much from their deſponding condition, that they began to revive with courage, and with an unanimous voice ſhouted aloud, and proclaimed *Simon* their general, and that he, in the room of *Judas*, and *Jonathan* his brothers, ſhould be inveſted with that authority; and that they would pay a ready ſubmiſſion to all his commands. *Simon* finding this ready inclination of theirs, muſter'd up all of them able to bear arms, and made all neceſſary preparations to rebuild the walls of the city, which he fortified with towers of exceeding ſtrength and height. This done, he diſpatched one of *Abſalom*'s ſons, a particular acquaintance of his, with an army to *Joppa*, with expreſs orders to drive the citizens out of it, having apprehenſions of their ſurrendering it to *Tryphon*, while he himſelf remained at *Hieroſolyma*, to take care of its defence.

Tryphon marching from *Ptolomais* with a numerous army, went directly into *Judea*, carrying along with him *Jonathan* bound in chains. *Simon*, on the other hand, made all poſſible expedition to meet him with his forces at *Addida*, a city in the mountains, having under its juriſdiction all the champaign country below. *Tryphon* no ſooner received intelligence of his march, and his being declared the general of the *Jewiſh* forces, but he ſent meſſengers to him, deſigning to take him off by ſtratagem; and giving him a command, if he entertained any inclinations for his brother *Jonathan*'s being ſet at liberty, to ſend him an hundred talents of ſilver, and two of *Jonathan*'s ſons as hoſtages, to prevent him, when ſet at liberty from drawing *Judea* to revolt from the king; for he continued in confinement for not paying the money which the king ought to receive for his ranſom. This cunning remonſtrance had no influence upon *Simon*, who was too vary not to ſee into his artful deſigns, for he plainly obſerved, he ſhould, if he complied with his demands, not only loſe his money, and ſee his brother ſtill a priſoner, but if he ſent his ſons, they would be given up to the mercy of the enemy. On the other hand, he had apprehenſions of his own men putting him to death, if he perſiſted to refuſe ſending the money, or his ſons, for his brother's ranſom. In this nice circumſtance he called a council of war, wherein he diſcloſed the meſſage *Tryphon* had ſent, and aggravated to them the ſnares and deceit at the bottom of it, yet that he thought it more prudence to ſend him the money and his brother's ſons, than give him any ſuſpicions to believe he was unwilling to ſave his brother's, by an open rejection of the propoſals he had made. In ſhort, he ſent him the ſum demanded, and *Jonathan*'s two ſons. But *Tryphon* having received them, neither preſerved his faith with *Simon*, nor ſet *Jonathan* at liberty; but immediately marched his army throughout all the country of *Idumæa*, and then reſolved on a deſign of going up to *Hieroſolyma*; and in effect, he marched until he came to *Adora*, a city in *Idumæa*. *Simon*, with his forces, obſerving all his motions, came up with him, and encamped over againſt him, as he always had done before.

In the mean time the garriſon at *Hieroſolyma* ſent word to *Tryphon*, begging him to come immediately to their aſſiſtance, and ſend them proviſions. *Tryphon* prepared a body of horſe for the journey, as if he had intended that very night to go to *Hieroſolyma*; but a deep ſnow falling in the night time, blocked up the roads, and made it impoſſible for the horſes to travel, ſo that his deſign was prevented. *Tryphon* finding this, moved from thence and march'd into *Cœlo-Syria*, and having made a ſudden inroad into *Galaaditis*, where he put *Jonathan* to death, and having ordered him to be interred, he returned back to *Antioch*. *Simon* upon this ſent certain perſons to the city *Baſca*, who took thence the bones of *Jonathan* and brought them away; theſe he decently buried in *Modim*, his native country, being attended by an univerſal lamentation of the whole people. And *Simon*, in memory of his father and brothers, erected a very magnificent monument of white and poliſhed marble, which he raiſed to a very conſiderable height, ſurrounding it with portico's raiſed upon pillars of one entire ſtone, which appeared very beautiful. Beſides, he erected ſeven *Pyramids*, in honour of his parents and brothers, who, in all, made ſeven in number. Theſe were admirably well built, and were extremely beautiful and very large, and are ſtill to be ſeen to this very day. This account of *Simon*'s brotherly care for *Jonathan*'s interment, and the duty he ſhewed in erecting an handſome monument for him and the reſt of his family, we are well acquainted with. *Jonathan* paid his laſt debt to nature, having performed the functions of the prieſtly office, and continued in the adminiſtration of affairs four years.

Simon by the unanimous conſent of the people was conſtituted high-prieſt, who, in the firſt year of his prieſthood, freed his countrymen from the ſervitude of, and paying any more tribute to the *Macedonians*. They obtained this liberty and exemption from tribute, when the kingdom of the *Aſſyrians* had continued a hundred and ſeventy years, from the time *Seleucus*, ſirnamed *Nicator*, took poſſeſſion of *Syria*. The nation of the *Jews* entertained ſo great reſpect and honour for this generous action of *Simon*, that not only in the beginning of their private contracts, but public acts they wrote theſe words, *In the firſt year of* Simon *the benefactor and governor of the* Jews. Beſides, under his adminiſtration they enjoyed tranquility and peace, and carried their arms victoriouſly over the neighbouring nations their enemies; for not only *Gazara*, *Joppa*, and *Jamnia*, ſubmitted to him, but laying ſiege to the tower at *Hieroſolyma*, he ſtormed and levelled it with the ground, to prevent its being any more a receptacle to the enemy, who having got poſſeſſion of it, had ſeveral times very much annoyed the *Jews*, as they had too fatally experienced. Having performed thus far, he took into his conſideration, which he thought, from the nature of the thing, was of very great importance, the levelling the mountain, on which the tower ſtood, which made it overlook the temple. For this purpoſe he convened the people, and adviſed them to give him leave to do it, firſt bringing to their minds the many calamities they had ſuffer'd from the garriſon, and the other renegade *Jews*, and the probability of their undergoing more, if a foreign power ſhould chance to ſeize upon their kingdom, and put a garriſon in it to defend it. Theſe remonſtrances, ſeemingly calculated for the real advantages of the people, readily induced them to give their conſent. Every one immediately went briſkly about the work, ſo that the mountain was quite levelled, three whole years, without any intermiſſion of labour either day or night, having been employed in the accompliſhment of it, whereby they took away the hill to the very bottom, and made the place whereon it ſtood, a plain and even field. The temple afterwards overlooked every thing, the tower and mountain on which it was built being reduced to nothing. Now theſe are the moſt material tranſactions of *Simon*.

CHAP.

[illegible]

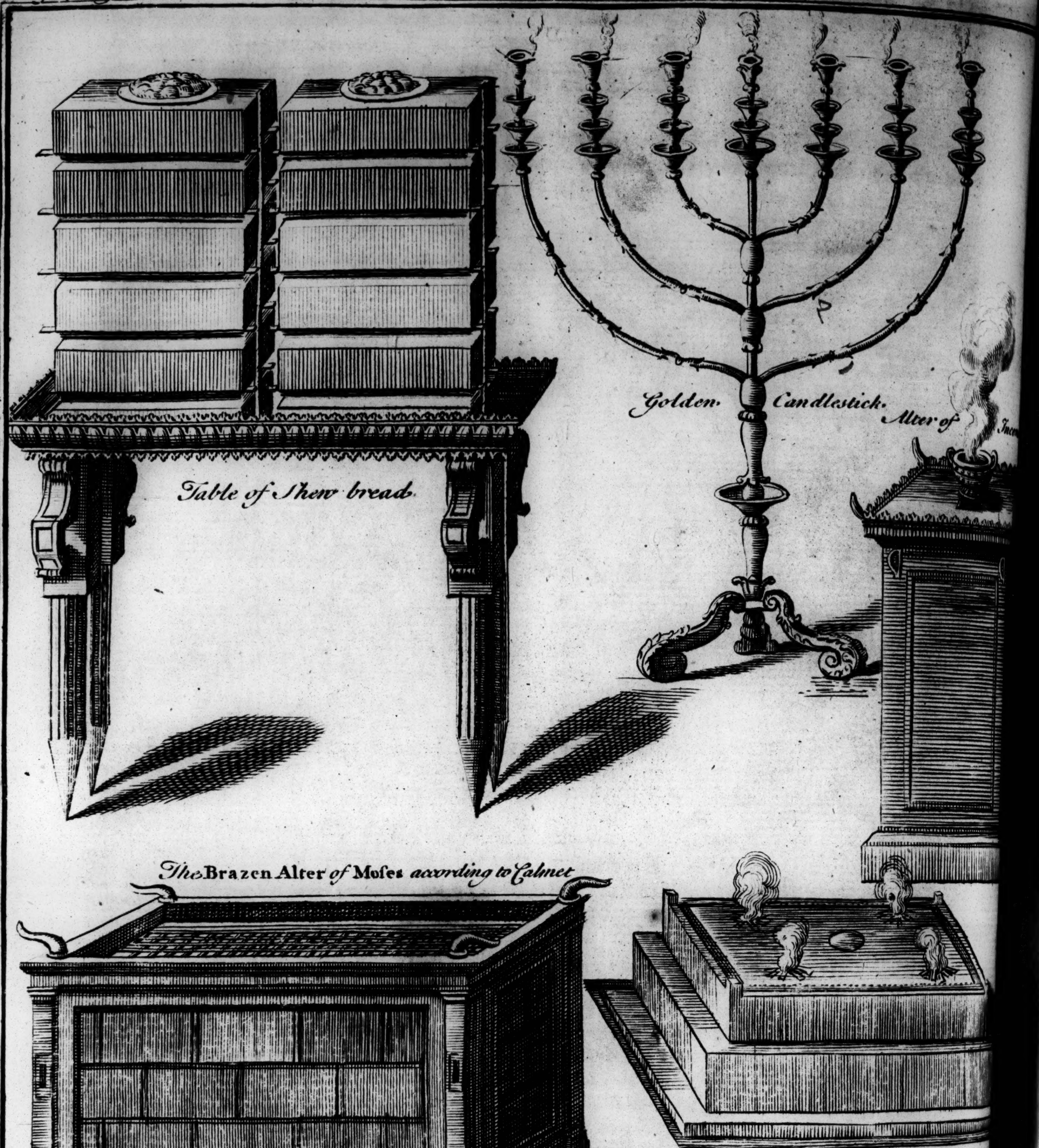
Table of Shew bread
Golden Candlestick
Alter of Incen
The Brazen Alter of Moses according to Calmet
The Brazen Alter of Solomon according to the Jews
The same according to Lamy

Part of the Furniture of the Temple of Solomon

J. Basire Sculp.

CHAP. VII.

Of the League of Friendſhip between Simon *and* Antiochus Pius. *Of the War he waged againſt* Tryphon, *and the Expedition, which not long after, he undertook againſt* Cendebæus, Antiochus*'s General. Of his treacherous Death by his Father-in-law* Ptolomy.

NOT long after the captivity of *Demetrius*, *Antiochus*, ſirnamed *Deus*, the ſon of *Alexander*, was put to death by *Tryphon*, his tutor, when he had reigned four years. Now *Tryphon* gave out that he died under his guardianſhip, but underhand ſent ſome of his particular friends and creatures, in whom he could confide, with promiſes of large ſums of money to his ſoldiers, provided they would elect him their king; and repreſented to them how *Demetrius* was taken priſoner by the *Parthians*, and if his brother *Antiochus* ſeized upon the kingdom they might expect nothing from him but ſevere uſage, as a puniſhment for their revolting. Highly pleaſed with theſe promiſes, and thinking they ſhould roll in riches, if *Tryphon* was once advanced to the kingdom, they unanimouſly choſe him their king. But *Tryphon* finding himſelf in poſſeſſion of the chief authority, could not help giving proofs of his diſpoſition. While he continued in his private condition, he humoured and flattered the people, making an artful ſhew of moderation, by which artifice he wrought their inclinations to be ſubſervient to his own will and pleaſure: But no ſooner was he arrived to a crown, and the poſſeſſion of a kingdom, but he threw of the maſk, and ſhewed himſelf in his proper colours. Thus in a little time his enemies became too powerful for him; for his ſoldiers, entertaining great hatred againſt his proceedings, revolted to *Cleopatra*, wife of *Demetrius*, who had ſhut herſelf up with her children in *Seleucia*. *Antiochus*, brother of *Demetrius*, he who was ſirnamed *Soter*, having travelled all over the kingdom, and not a city daring to receive him through fear of *Tryphon*, *Cleopatra* ſent to him, giving him an offer of her bed and kingdom: Now *Cleopatra* was influenced to ſend this offer to him on two accounts; the firſt was, her friends having adviſed her to it; the latter was her apprehenſions, leſt ſome of the *Seleucians*, who had actually made an attempt of that kind, ſhould ſurrender the city into *Tryphon*'s hands.

Antiochus being arrived at *Seleucia*, found his forces conſiderably increaſe every day, upon which he marched thence, with a reſolution to give *Tryphon* battle; and having defeated him in an engagement, he drove him out of the higher *Syria* into *Phœnicia*, and purſuing him as far as *Dora*, where he ſhut himſelf up, he inveſted the place, but by reaſon of the ſtrong garriſon in it, it was very difficult to be won. He therefore ſent ambaſſadors to *Simon* the high-prieſt of the *Jews*, to make a league of friendſhip with him. *Simon* readily embraced the propoſal, and ſent *Antiochus* a conſiderable ſupply of money and proviſions, whereby the men employed in carrying on the ſiege were very much aſſiſted. *Simon* by this generous act of friendſhip procured a place amongſt *Antiochus*'s beſt friends. *Tryphon*, withdrawing out of *Dora* to *Apamia*, was taken priſoner in the ſiege of that place, and put to death, after a ſhort reign of three years.

Antiochus, in the mean time agreeable to his natural diſpoſition, and covetous temper, entirely baniſhing from his remembrance the favours *Simon* had done him in his low circumſtances, put his friend *Bendefæus* at the head of an army, and ſent him into *Judea* to ravage the country, and take *Simon* priſoner. But he, coming to hear of his diſhonourable deſign, though now in an advanced old age, yet encouraged by a juſt motive of indignation, at the continual injuſtice and wrongs offered by *Antiochus*, aſſumed courage far above his years, and with a youthful ardor led out an army to give him battle. He ſent his ſons before him with the braveſt body of his forces, and with the reſt of the army took another rout: And having planted ſeveral parties of his men in ambuſhes in the narrow paſſages of the mountains, he gave ſignal proofs of his great foreſight and valour; for in every place he proved victorious over the enemy. The reſt of his days he enjoyed in an uninterrupted peace, having made an honourable alliance with the *Romans*.

Simon continued eight years at the head of the *Jewiſh* affairs: But was at length ſlain at a banquet, by the treachery of his ſon-in-law *Ptolomy*: Who alſo apprehended his wife and two of his ſons, and threw them into chains. He ſent likewiſe ſome perſons to put a third ſon of his to death: This youth was called *John*, and ſirnamed *Hyrcanus*: But he had the good fortune to receive timely intelligence of the men ſent to take him, which gave him an opportunity to avoid the danger that threatened him; for he got to the city, and threw himſelf into the protection of the inhabitants, who were under ſeveral obligations to his father, and entertained great hatred againſt *Ptolomy*'s proceedings. And indeed they gave the young man certain proofs of their inclinations to ſerve him, for upon *Ptolomy*'s endeavouring to get into the city by another gate, they drove him from it, as they had promiſed *Hyrcanus* their protection.

CHAP. VIII.

Hyrcanus *takes upon him the Prieſthood, and drives* Ptolomy *out of the Country.* Antiochus *leads an Army againſt* Hyrcanus, *but at length enters into an Alliance with him.*

PTOLOMY, diſappointed of his aim, withdrew into a certain tower, named *Dagon*, ſituated above *Jericho*: *Hyrcanus*, on the other hand, having obtained the prieſthood of his anceſtors, and offered up ſacrifices to God, made an expedition againſt *Ptolomy*. And having laid cloſe ſiege to the place, in which he had ſhut himſelf up, no motive would have been prevalent enough to have made him break it up, except a natural pity and concern for his mother and brothers ſafety: For *Ptolomy* brought them upon the wall of the town, and in a conſpicuous part of it put them to great torments, and threatened to caſt them headlong down thence, if he did not immediately leave of the ſiege. *Hyrcanus* upon this, reflected that the leſs inclination he ſhewed to take the place, the more love and compaſſion he ſhould demonſtrate to thoſe whoſe lives he deſired moſt. Upon which ground, that they might not ſuffer greater hardſhips, he abated ſomething of his reſolution to continue the ſiege. Notwithſtanding this, his mother with extended arms begged him not to ſhew ſo much favour for her ſake, but moved to greater indignation at their baſe menaces, to endeavour with more vigour to ſtorm the place, and reduce the enemy to his obedience, and then make them ſeverely pay for the villainous barbarity exerciſed upon his deareſt relations: For it would be the greateſt ſatisfaction and pleaſure to them, to undergo any kind of torments, provided the author of their inhuman treatment, met with a due chaſtiſement for his treachery. Upon this remonſtrance of the mother, *Hyrcanus* was inflamed with greater reſolution to puſh on the ſiege, and take the town: But when his eyes became the melancholy witneſſes of the ſtripes, and torments ſhe received, he could no longer contain himſelf, but was overcome with pity and compaſſion at her ill-uſage. This ſiege continuing a long time in this manner, the year drew near, in which the *Jews* are accuſtomed to reſt from all manner of labours, which is obſerved every ſeventh year, as likewiſe every ſeventh day. *Ptolomy*, by means of this, was freed from the ſiege, and put the mother and brothers of *Hyrcanus* to death: After which he fled to *Zeno*, ſirnamed *Cotylas*, the governor of a city of the *Philadelphians*.

Antiochus, in the mean while, not thoroughly ſatisfied with the behaviour of *Simon* towards him, invaded *Judea* in the fourth year of his reign, the firſt of *Hyrcanus*'s prieſthood, and the one hundred and ſixty ſecond *Olympiad*: And having terribly ravaged the country, he compelled *Hyrcanus* to ſhut himſelf up in the city, which he inveſted with a *ſevenfold camp*. At firſt he gained little or no advantage, meeting with a ſtout reſiſtance, not only from the ſtrength of the walls, but from the valour of the beſieged. Beſides his army was in great want of water, from which, however, he was delivered by a brisk ſhower of rain, which fell from the *North-weſt*. On the north ſide of the wall, where was a piece of ground ſtretching into a plain, he raiſed an hundred towers each three ſtories high, into which he put armed men: From theſe towers he made continual attacks upon the walls, and drew a double ditch, of great depth and breadth, quite round the city. The inhabitants however often ſallied out upon the enemy; and at all times, when they perceived them unprepared, committed great ſlaughter among them, retiring back conſtantly, if they found them ready to receive them, without receiving much damage on their ſide. *Hyrcanus*, notwithſtanding theſe advantages, ſoon perceived the multitude of the citizens was rather an obſtacle to his deſigns, then any real benefit, and that a decreaſe of proviſions began to be occaſioned by their numbers, and no conſiderable action, worthy to be taken notice of, was likely to be performed by ſo many hands; to remedy which inconvenience, he ſeparated all thoſe who were incapable of action, and put them out of the city, retaining with him only thoſe of ſtrength and ability to aſſiſt him in defending the town. *Antiochus*, finding this, hindred thoſe whom *Hyrcanus* had ſet aſide from coming out: Whereupon they, being compelled to wander up and down the walls in a ſtarving condition, were almoſt periſhed: But the feaſt of tabernacles being come, thoſe who were in the city, taking compaſſion upon them, received them within. Moreover, *Hyrcanus* having ſent to *Antiochus* to deſire a truce for ſeven days, on account of the feaſt, he, honouring God, granted it, and ſent a magnificent ſacrifice to *Hyrcanus*, of *Bullocks*, whoſe horns were gilt with gold, beſides veſſels of gold and ſilver, and all manner of aromatic ſpices. The *Jews* within the town took the ſacrifice at the gates from thoſe who brought it, and conveyed it to the temple. *Antiochus* in the mean while feaſted his army, acting very different from *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who, upon taking the city, ſlew ſwine upon the altar, and ſprinkled the temple with their blood; in that action violating the laws and religion of the *Jews*, who, for the tranſgreſſion, roſe up in arms againſt him, and never afterwards were reconciled to him. This ſingular inſtance of *Antiochus*'s piety procured him, from all, the ſirname of *Pius*.

Hyrcanus having approved of *Antiochus*'s religious inclination, and in this action having ſufficient arguments to convince him of his readineſs to honour God, ſent ambaſſadors to deſire leave for an uninterrupted performance of their country's laws and inſtitutions. Some perſons about *Antiochus*, improving the opportunity from this remonſtrance, adviſed him to aboliſh a nation, as ſingular in itſelf, and having no manner of commerce with any other people: However juſt this councel might be, the king rejected it, and did not thing fit to take any ſuch meaſures. On the other hand, he thought himſelf under a neceſſity of acting uprightly, and conſonant to the dictates of a pious inclination. To which end he returned the ambaſſadors an anſwer, that provided the beſieged would lay aſide their arms, and pay the ſeveral tributes for *Joppa*, and the other cities about *Judea*, and receive a garriſon he ſhould ſend them, they might expect to be delivered from the ſiege. The *Jews* complied with all the terms propoſed, except the clauſe about the garriſon, which they refuſed to admit among them, on no other account than their unſociableneſs, as having no manner of communication or commerce with any other people. In lieu of the garriſon they gave hoſtages, and five hundred talents of ſilver, of which they paid down three hundred to *Antiochus*, upon his receiving the hoſtages, among whom was the brother of *Hyrcanus*. As ſoon as the fortification of the walls were taken away, *Antiochus* broke up the ſiege and departed.

Hyrcanus opening the ſepulchre of *David*, who excelled all other kings in riches, took from thence three thouſand talents of ſilver, and with this great wealth became very much puffed up, he began to entertain a foreign army in his pay: Beſide, he entered into an alliance with *Antiochus*, and received into the city both him and his army, to whom he gave an honourable reception, and adminiſter'd a ſupply of all manner of proviſions. Moreover *Hyrcanus* accompanied *Antiochus* in his expedition againſt the *Parthians*; which is confirmed by *Nicholaus* of *Damaſcus*, who thus writes: *But* Antiochus, *having erected a trophy at the river* Lycus, *for the victory he had obtained over* Indates, *the* Parthian *general, halted there two days, at the intreaty of* Hyrcanus *the* Jew, *becauſe a certain feaſt happened to fall out at this time, wherein the* Jews *were prohibited from making any journey.* *Nicholaus* ſpeaks nothing but the truth in this aſſertion, for the feaſt of *Pentecoſt* fell out now, after the ſabbath, and it is unlawful for us to undertake any journey, either upon a ſabbath, or any other feſtival. *Antiochus* in the engagement with *Arſaces* the *Parthian*, had the unhappineſs to loſe great part of his army, and his own life. He was ſucceeded in the *Syrian* kingdom by his brother *Demetrius*, being ſet at liberty by *Arſaces*, when *Antiochus* carried his arms into the *Parthian* kingdom, as we have obſerved in another place.

CHAP. IX.

How after the Death of Antiochus, Hyrcanus *made an Expedition into* Syria, *and entered into an Alliance with the* Romans. *Of the Death of King* Demetrius *and* Alexander.

HYRCANUS receiving the news of the death of *Antiochus*, preſently undertook an expedition againſt the cities of *Syria*, ſuppoſing (which really happened) to find them deſerted by the garriſons. The firſt place he took was *Medaba*, which, with the extreme toil of his army, he won in ſix months. Next to this city he reduced *Samega*, and the places adjoining, to his obedience: And after this *Sicim* and *Garizim*, and the nation of the *Chutheans*, who worſhiped in a temple erected like that at *Hieroſolyma*, *Alexander* having given *Sanaballet*, the general, licence to build it in favour of his ſon-in-law *Manaſſes*, who was the brother of *Jaddus* the high-prieſt, as we have mentioned before: Now this temple was deſtroyed, after it had ſtood two hundred years. *Hyrcanus*, beſides theſe acquiſitions, took *Ador* and *Mariſſa* two cities of *Idumæa*, and extended his victorious arms over all that country, the people of which he reduced to his obedience, permitting them, however, to remain unmoleſted in their own country, provided they would ſuffer themſelves to be circumciſed, and live in conformity to the *Jewiſh* laws. The *Idumæans*, through a love of their native country, conſented to the circumciſion, and to a method of living in every reſpect agreeable to the *Jews*: And from this time they took upon them the name of *Jews*.

Now *Hyrcanus* the high-prieſt, deſiring to renew the alliance formerly made with the *Romans*, ſent an embaſſy to them. The ſenate, upon receiving the letter he ſent, renewed the league in this manner: Fanius *the Pretor, ſon of* Maraus *aſſembled the ſenate in the* Comitium, *on the eighth day of the* Ides *of* February, Lucius Manlius, *ſon of* Lucius Mentina, *and* Caius Sempronius, *ſon of* Caius Falerna *being preſent, to conſult upon the matters which* Simon *ſon of* Doſithaus, Apollonius *ſon of* Alexander, *and* Diodorus *ſon of* Jaſon, *three juſt and honeſt men, ſent ambaſſadors by the* Jews, *having communicated to us. At the ſame time theſe honourable perſons concerted meaſures to renew the league of friendſhip and alliance which formerly ſubſiſted between them and the* Romans, *and acted in reſpect of other publick affairs, namely, that* Joppa, *and the havens, and* Gazara, *and the fountains, and every other city and place taken by* Antiochus, *in his laſt campaign againſt them, without the decree of this ſenate, may be reſtored to them; and that the king's ſoldiers, and forces may be prohibited from taking their rout through their, or their ſubjects frontiers. And further, that all the acquiſitions of* Antiochus

chus *in the ſaid campaign be made void, and that upon the* Jews *ſending their ambaſſadors, all* Antiochus's *conqueſts and ſpoils be reſtored them; and that an eſtimate be made of the country plundered by him in his ſaid campaign: And that laſtly, letters of ſafeguard be wrote to the reſpective kings and nations, to indemnify them in their return home, and this is the decree which the ſenate has thought proper to make, of renewing the league of friendſhip and alliance with the ſaid three good men, ſent from a juſtly and friendly Nation.* They alſo returned anſwer to the letter the *Jews* ſent them, that they would take it into their conſideration as ſoon as the hurry of the ſenate's buſineſs was over, and uſe their endeavours to prevent for the future, the commiſſion of the like hoſtilities and injures, and give orders to *Fanius*, to ſupply them out of the treaſury with money ſufficient to defray the charges of their return home. And in this manner did *Fanius* the prætor diſmiſs the *Jewiſh* ambaſſadors, giving them money out of the treaſury, and a copy of the decree of the ſenate to ſhew to thoſe, who were ordered to give them ſafeguard in their journey homeward.

In this ſituation ſtoood the affairs of *Hyrcanus* the high-prieſt. *Demetrius* all this while had great inducement to give *Hyrcanus* battle, but could never obtain a favourable time or opportunity, to put his projects in execution; for, he was as much, and as juſtly hated by his own ſoldiers as the *Syrians*, on account of his great tyranny; inſomuch, that they ſent ambaſſadors to *Ptolomy*, ſirnamed *Phyſon*, petitioning him to give them a prince of the *Seleucian* family, whom they might inveſt with the regal authority. *Ptolomy* gave ear to their petition, and ſent them *Alexander*, ſirnamed *Zenibas*, at the head of an army, who giving *Demetrius* battle, entirely routed him. Upon this overthrow he withdrew to *Ptolomais* to his wife *Cleopatra*, who refuſing him admittance into the town, he went to *Tyre*, where he was apprehended, and there, ſuffering many indignities from his enemies, paid his laſt debt to nature. *Alexander*, in the mean while, ſeizing upon the kingdom, made an alliance with *Hyrcanus* the high-prieſt, but *Antiochus* ſirnamed *Gripus*, the ſon of *Demetrius*, at length gave him battle, in which engagement he loſt his life.

CHAP. X.

While the two Brothers Antiochus Grypus, *and* Antiochus Cyzicenus, *are contending for the Kingdom,* Hyrcanus *ſeizes upon* Samaria, *and utterly demoliſhes it. Of his declining from the Side of the* Phariſees, *and taking Part with the* Sadduces.

THOUGH *Antiochus* had thruſt himſelf into the poſſeſſion of the kingdom, yet he did not dare to march an army into *Judea*, having received certain intelligence, that his brother by the mother's ſide, (who was alſo named *Antiochus*) was at the head of a ſelect body of forces at *Cyzians* to oppoſe him. Wherefore, keeping himſelf within his own frontiers, he reſolved to make preparations to withſtand the incurſions of his brother, who was ſirnamed *Cyzicenus* from the city *Cyzius*, where he had received his education. His father was *Antiochus Soter*, who was ſlain in *Parthia*, and he was brother of *Demetrius* father of *Grypus*. Beſides, *Cleopatra* had married herſelf to the two brothers, as we have already mentioned. As to *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, he for many years waged war againſt his brother in *Syria*, during all which time *Hyrcanus* enjoyed great peace and tranquility; for after the death of *Antiochus*, he revolted from the *Macedonians*, and acted nothing in their intereſt, either as a ſubject or ally; but made uſe of his own fortunate and flouriſhing condition to ſupport himſelf during the reign of *Alexander Zebuias*, and while the pretenſions of theſe two brothers were kept on foot: For the war carried on between them, gave *Hyrcanus* a fine opportunity of ſecurely enjoying *Judea*, by which means he amaſſed together a prodigious ſum of money. And when *Cyzicenus* laid his brother's country waſte, he did not diſſemble his own power, but ſeeing *Antiochus* not likely to be aſſiſted by the *Ægyptians*, and he and his brother in ſtrong contention with each other, deſpiſed them both.

Hence he made a reſolution to lead an army into *Samaria*, a city of the greateſt ſtrength: Of which place, as it was again rebuilt by *Herod*, and called *Sebaſte*, we will ſpeak in it's proper place. He inveſted it with a numerous army, beiug offended at the *Samaritans* for the injuries and hoſtilities they had, by the command of the kings of *Syria*, done the *Mariſſenes*, colonies and allies of the *Jews*. Having drawn a ditch, and double wall for eighty furlongs ſpace round the town, he gave the command of the ſiege to his ſons, *Antigonus* and *Ariſtobulus*, who preſſing hard upon the city, the beſieged were reduced to that extreme hunger, that they lived upon food not uſually eat by men, and were obliged to implore the aſſiſtance of *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, who coming to their ſuccour, was defeated by *Ariſtobulus*; and being purſued by the brothers as far as *Seythopolis*, he, with great difficulty eſcaped. After this, they turned back upon the *Samaritans*, and forced them again within their walls, who ſending a ſecond meſſage to the ſame *Antiochus*, brought him again to their aſſiſtance at the head of ſix thouſand men, ſent by *Ptolomy Lathurus*, againſt the will of his mother, by whom he was in great danger of being thruſt out of the government. With theſe *Ægyptians* he committed ſeveral ravages and robberies in the territories of *Hyrcanus*, but durſt not engage him in open battle, having not an equal number of forces with him: However, he had the aſſurance to believe this ravaging of *Hyrcanus*'s country would oblige him to break up the ſiege from before *Samaria*: But falling into the ambuſhes laid for him by the enemy he loſt a great number of his men, upon which he withdrew to *Tripolis*, leaving *Callimander*, and *Epicrates* to carry on the war againſt the *Jews*. But

Callimander with more courage than prudence, preſuming to engage the enemy, was immediately put to flight and loſt his life. As for *Epicrates*, being of a covetous temper he betrayed *Scythopolis*, and the other places adjoining, into the hands of the *Jews*, being unable to throw any ſuccour into *Samaria*, or force the *Jews* to break up the ſiege. *Hyrcanus*, by this means, took the city, after having ſat down before it one year; but not being ſatisfied with taking the place only, he laid it even with the ground, and brought the rivers to it, which overflowing its ruins, buried it ſo far under water, that not the leaſt remain was to be ſeen of it. There goes a very incredible ſtory about *Hyrcanus* the high-prieſt, which is, as if God had met and talked with him: For according to the ſtory, on the very day his ſons give *Antiochus* battle, while he himſelf remained alone in the temple offering incenſe, he heard a voice, which told him his ſons had that moment defeated *Antiochus*, which victory, upon his going out of the temple, he made known to all the people, which accordingly proved true. In this ſituation were the affairs of *Hyrcanus*.

At this time, not only the *Hieroſolymites*, and the *Jews* in the other cities of the country, remained in perfect peace, but thoſe at *Alexandria*, in *Ægypt*, and *Cyprus*, enjoyed the ſame happineſs. *Cleopatra* the queen, raiſing a faction in oppoſition to her ſon *Ptolomy*, named *Lathurus*, made *Chelcias*, and *Ananias*, ſons of *Onias*, generals over her party: This was that *Onias*, who, in imitation of the temple at *Hieroſolyma*, built one in the province of *Heliopolis*, as we have before mentioned. *Cleopatra* having put theſe two officers at the head of her troops, acted every thing in conformity to their advice: Of which *Strabo* the *Capadocian* is a ſufficient witneſs, in the following words. “A great number, beſides thoſe who accompanied us to *Cyprus*, and thoſe whom afterwards *Cleopatra* ſent thither, immediately revolted to *Ptolomy*, but the *Jews* of *Onias*'s faction were the only men who ſtood firm, becauſe the queen preſerved *Celcias*, and *Onanias*, two of their own citizens in her greateſt favour.” And thus ſpeaks *Strabo*.

In the mean while *Hyrcanus*'s proſperous fortune, could not ſecure him from the hatred of his own countrymen the *Jews*. His greateſt enemies, and who were the moſt incenſed againſt him, were the *Phariſees*, one of the *Jewiſh* ſects, as we have already obſerved. Theſe men have ſo much authority and influence over the meaner ſort of people, that let them ſpeak any thing, either againſt the king, or the high-prieſt, their words obtain an implicit belief. *Hyrcanus* was a follower of them, and in great repute among them; and having upon a certain time invited them to an entertainment, at which he received them with marks of great reſpect; and ſeeing them in a pleaſant humour, he began to tell them, “That they knew his diſpoſition was to follow juſtice ſtrictly, and perform every thing pleaſing to God, which was the ſum of their own doctrine and philoſophy; however, he deſired them, if they knew him any ways in an error, or turning out of the path of righteouſneſs, to reprove him, and bring him back in the right way.” This declaration was attended with a general approbation of his virtue; and *Hyrcanus* ſeemed over rejoiced at the commendations given himſelf. But one of the gueſts, named *Eleazar*, a man of a turbulent and ſeditious ſpirit, ſaid; “Becauſe you deſire to know the truth, if you are willing to be called a juſt man, relinquiſh the prieſthood, and ſatisfy yourſelf with your government over the people.” Upon *Hyrcanus*'s aſking the reaſon, why he ſhould relinquiſh the prieſthood; becauſe, ſaid *Eleazar*, our anceſtors have told us, that during the reign of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, your mother was a captive. This was a charge full of falſhood, and made *Hyrcanus* violently enraged at him, as it did all the *Phariſees* preſent.

Jonathan, a particular friend of *Hyrcanus*, and one of the *Sadduces*, an oppoſite ſect to the *Phariſees*, remonſtrated to *Hyrcanus*, that *Eleazar*, with the connivance of all the *Phariſees*, had caſt his reproachful words at him, which would plainly appear, if he demanded of them, what puniſhment *Eleazar* deſerved for his ſcandalous inſinuation. Upon this, *Hyrcanus* aſked the *Phariſees*, what puniſhment, in their opinion, he deſerved (for he imagined they would not be found ſecret abettors of *Eleazar*'s reproachful ſpeech, when they were made his judges to inflict upon him a puniſhment agreeable to his offence,) *they returned anſwer*, that he was worthy to be ſcourged and put in chains, but did not think his tranſgreſſion amounted to a capital crime. By this ſeeming indulgent anſwer the *Phariſees* gave too viſible a proof of their partiality in this affair. *Hyrcanus* was extremely incenſed at this procedure, as being now throroughly convinced *Eleazar* had abuſed him, at the tacit inſtigation of the *Phariſees*. But the perſon moſt enraged was *Jonathan*, who took ſuch ſpeedy meaſures to open the eyes of *Hyrcanus*, that he influenced him to turn from the ſide of the *Phariſees*, and eſpouſe the party of the *Sadduces*, nay, wrought ſo far upon him, that he openly repealed all the laws of the *Phariſees*, any ways regarding the people, and inflicted exemplary puniſhments upon all thoſe who paid obedience to them; from this arbitrary proceeding, aroſe a great hatred of all the people againſt him and his ſons. But of this we ſhall ſpeak in another place; for the preſent I ſhall confine myſelf to ſhew, that the *Phariſees* never delivered any laws to the people, which they pretended they received from their forefathers. But what are to be found among the inſtitutions of *Moyſes*. And upon this account the whole body of the *Sadduces* reject them, and ſay, that thoſe are only to be accounted laws, which are written, but to thoſe received by tradition, no manner of reſpect or difference ought to be given. The differences about theſe opinions proved the ground of a great controverſy and contention; the *Sadduces* winning over to their ſide all the wealthier ſort of people, and the *Phariſees* building their hopes of ſuperiority upon the crouds of the vulgar ſort, who maintained their opinions. But of theſe two ſects, and a third named the *Eſſenes*, we ſhall take an opportunity to ſpeak more at large in our ſecond book of the *Jewiſh* wars.

Hyrcanus, having put an happy period to this ſedition, lived in great peace, and after a glorious adminiſtration of one and thirty years, died, leaving behind him five ſons. God had bounteouſly beſtowed upon him three ſpecial favours, namely, the chief adminiſtration of the affairs of his nation, the ſacerdotal honour, and the gift of prophecy: For the ſpirit of God was in him, and inſtructed him to foretel things to come, as appears from his prophecy about his two eldeſt ſons, whoſe ſhort adminiſtration in the government happened according to his prediction. It will not be amiſs to ſay ſomething concerning their different cataſtrophes, ſince thereby we may obſerve the exceeding great felicity, in this particular, their father enjoyed in compariſon of them.

CHAP. XI.

How Ariſtobulus, *having obtained the Kingdom, was the firſt who placed a Crown upon his Head. Of the Cruelty he exerciſed upon his Mother and Brothers. Of his Death, after he had murthered* Antigonus.

AFTER the death of their father, *Ariſtobulus* the eldeſt, having taken meaſures to change the government into a monarchy, was the firſt who placed a diadem upon his head, four hundred eighty one years, and three months, from the people's return to their native country, from the captivity of *Babylon*. *Antigonus*, the next in age to him of his brothers, was in great eſteem with him, and enjoyed almoſt the ſame honours; but the other brothers he threw into priſon, as he did alſo his mother, for endeavouring to diſpute the right of government with him, *Hyrcanus* having left her miſtreſs of every thing: Nay, he carried his barbarity to her to that height, that ſhe died of hunger. In the room of his mother he made *Antigonus*, whom he ſeemed ardently to love, his colleague in the kingdom; againſt whom ſeveral endeavours had been made to alienate the king's affection from him, by malicious inſinuations. At firſt he gave no credit to the many reports brought him, having a great affection for his brother, and ſuppoſing they might be ſpread through an envious and malicious view. Some time after this, *Antigonus* returned from the army with a magnificent retinue, juſt at the time the feaſt of the tabernacles was going to be celebrated, but unfortunately *Ariſtobulus* was forced to keep his bed through illneſs. *Antigonus*, in the mean while with great pomp and ſplendor, went up to the temple, attended with his men in armour, to celebrate the feaſt, but in effect to make his vows for the recovery of his brother. Now thoſe perſons who only waited an opportunity, to diſſolve the union and affection between the two brothers, thought they could make this grand appearance of *Antigonus*, a fit occaſion to execute their malicious deſigns: To which end they went to the king, and by many artful and cunning inſinuations, ſuggeſted to him the extraordinary preparations of the feaſt, and the uncommon magnificence of *Antigonus*, every one of whoſe actions they extremely miſrepreſented, and remonſtrated that they were not agreeable to a private man and a ſubject, but to one who aſpired to the regal authority, and that he ought to have apprehenſions of his own life, ſince he was come, attended with ſuch a numerous body of armed men; for it was not to be doubted, but *Antigonus* would ſet little value upon him, having now in his hands ſufficient power to eſtabliſh himſelf, without the mortification of a rival in the government.

Ariſtobulus was with great reluctance brought to believe theſe remonſtrances; but that he might avoid any ſuſpicion, and put himſelf into a condition to defend himſelf, he put his guards into a certain obſcure place under ground, (for he kept his bed in the tower called *Antonia*,) giving them expreſs orders not to touched any one who came unarmed, but to put every one to death who appeared in armour, though it happened to be *Antigonus* himſelf. In the mean time, he ſent ſome perſons to bid him come unarmed. But the queen, and the reſt who conſpired againſt his life, bad the meſſengers tell him quite contrary; *namely*, that his brother having heard of the martial preparations he had made, deſired he would come to him armed, that he might ſee him in armour. *Antigonus*, not in the leaſt ſuſpecting any treachery, but putting his confidence in the kindneſs his brother had conſtantly ſhewed him, in the armour he then had on, went to him, in order to let him have a full view of it. But when he was come to the tower, called *Straton*, the paſſage to which place is exceeding dark, he was ſlain by the guards. The death of this perſon is a plain demonſtration, that nothing is more prevalent than envy and calumny, and that nothing ſooner diſſolves the neareſt tie of natural affection, and entirely changes our temper, though naturally benevolent. And in this place we cannot but greatly wonder at the ſurprizing predictions of one *Judas*, an *Eſſene*, which always came to paſs: This perſon ſeeing *Antigonus* going out of the temple, ſhouted aloud in the midſt of his companions and followers, who, on account of learning his method of foretelling things to come, were conſtantly about him, and ſaid, that he wiſhed death to himſelf much rather than he ſhould be found guilty of uttering a falſhood, while *Antigonus* was chief: At the ſame time he foretold *Antigonus* was to die that day in the tower of *Straton*. He ſaw him paſs by him, and the place where he ſtood and propheſied of his death was ſix hundred furlongs diſtant from the tower, and the better part of the day was paſt; ſo that he run a very great riſque, if his propheſy had been found falſe. But while *Judas* was ſpeaking of it with great concern, news was brought him, of *Antigonus* being ſlain in the ſubterraneous place, there called by the name of the tower of *Straton*, after the ſame manner, that the maritime places have the name of *Ceſarea*. And indeed this murther put the prophet into extreme grief.

Ariſtobulus, in the mean while, became full of repentance for this murther of his brother, the continual compunction of his conſcience at length threw him into a diſtemper, which, and his immoderate grief ſtill the more increaſing, cauſed his body to corrupt, through whoſe parts the blood flowed out, which, one of the boys who attended upon him, carrying juſt to the place which ſtill remained ſtained with the murther of *Antigonus*, fell down, I preſume, by ſome divine providence, and ſpilt it. Thoſe who were ſpectators of this action immediately ſet up a great noiſe, as if the boy had purpoſely ſpilt the blood; which coming to the ears of *Ariſtobulus*, he enquired what was the matter: But they, unwilling to tell him any thing about the affair, made him but the more eager to know it. This is uſually the caſe with mankind in reſpect of accidents, for any thing endeavoured to be preſerved in ſecrecy, occaſions a ſtricter enquiry, and very often worſe conſtructions to be put, than the thing merits. *Ariſtobulus*, having at length, by many threatenings and menaces, extorted the whole ſecret from them, from the torments of his conſcience, and his diſtracted mind, he let fall a flood of tears, and with a deep groan ſaid, 'It was impoſſible 'my impious and abominable wickedneſſes 'ſhould eſcape the knowledge of God, or I go 'unpuniſhed for the inhuman murther of my 'brother. And how long, O moſt impudent 'body, wilt thou retain my ſoul doomed to the 'ſhades of my mother and brothers? Why doſt 'thou not diſcharge thyſelf of it all at once? 'But I will ſacrifice, and pour out in drops my 'blood, to expiate the murther of thoſe whom 'I have inhumanly ſlain.' At the cloſe of theſe words he gave up the ghoſt, having reigned but one year. He was called *Philelle*, or *the lover of the* Grecians; and during his reign his country received conſiderable advantages; for he reduced *Itura*, and added a great part of that country to *Judea*, and gave the inhabitants, willing to remain in their native habitations, power to do ſo, provided they would be circumciſed, and live agreeably to the *Jewiſh* ſyſtem of government. He was (a) naturally of a juſt diſpoſition, and very modeſt, as *Strabo*, from the authority of *Timagenes*, witneſſes in the following words: 'This perſon ſhewed 'himſelf of a very juſt temper, and equally beneficial to the *Jews*, for he extended their territories, by adding to them part of the nation 'of the *Ituræans*, under an engagement of their 'being circumciſed.'

CHAP. XII.

How Alexander, *having obtained the Kingdom, made an Expedition againſt* Ptolomais; *but, through fear of* Ptolomy Lathurus, *broke up the Siege. How* Ptolomy, *upon his ſending* Cleopatra *againſt him, and the pretended Alliance he made with him, gave him Battle, and defeated the* Jews.

ARISTOBULUS being now dead, his wife *Salome*, whom the *Grecians* call *Alexandria*, immediately releaſed his brothers, (*Ariſtobulus*, as we have taken notice above, having confined them in priſon) and created *Jannæus*, otherwiſe named *Alexander*, king, who was of a fit age and capacity to take the government into his hands. This prince had the unfortunate lot, from the very moment of his birth, to be hated by his father, and never in all his life-time to appear within his ſight. The ground of this hatred is reported to have been this: *Hyrcanus* having ſet a more than ordinary affection upon *Antigonus* and *Ariſtobulus*, two of his eldeſt ſons, he aſked God (who was uſed ſometimes to appear to him in his dreams) which of his ſons he deſigned him for his ſucceſſor? And upon God's ſhewing him the likeneſs of this *Alexander*, he conceived an inexpreſſible concern at the reflection of his becoming heir to all his poſſeſſions: And as ſoon as he was born, he ſent him to be brought up in *Galilee*, which, however, did not fruſtrate the purpoſe of God, declared to *Hyrcanus*. And thus did this *Alexander*, after the death of *Ariſtobulus*, obtain the kingdom, but, one of his brothers, preſuming to diſpute the right of the crown with him, he put to death, and the other, being of a more philoſophic temper, and ſtudious to live in peace, he kept in much honour.

(a) Queſtion may be made, Whether this Mention of *Ariſtobulus* be the Reſult of *Joſephus*'s own Opinion, or whether it depends entirely upon the Authority of *Timogenes*. An Anſwer may be made for *Joſephus*, though he hath written him naturally of a mild and modeſt Diſpoſition; for it is often the Caſe that we are compelled, out of a Neceſſity, or a too great Fear, to do many Things, repugnant to our natural Temper. *Montacute App.*

Having put his new government into the beſt ſituation he could, he undertook an expedition againſt *Ptolomais*, the citizens whereof he defeated in an engagement, and forced them within their walls; and advancing with his army to the town, he laid ſiege to it; for of the maritime cities, *Ptolomais* and *Gaza* were the only places that held out againſt him. Beſides, *Zoilus*, the petty prince, who was in poſſeſſion of the tower of *Straton*, and *Dor*; while *Philometor Antiochus*, and his brother *Antiochus*, ſirnamed *Cyzicenus*, were employing their arms againſt each other, and diminiſhing the forces of one another, the citizens of *Ptolomais* received no manner of ſuccour from either of them: But while *Alexander* was puſhing on the ſiege with more than ordinary vigour, and the defendants were reduced to extreme hardſhips, *Zoilus*, who had ſeized upon the tower of *Straton*, and *Dor*, came to their aſſiſtance, with a legion of men in his own pay; for, having taken advantage of the diſputes, and engagements, mutually carried on between the two kings, he had affected a kind of ſovereignty to himſelf. With the forces he brought he gave the inhabitants ſome little aſſiſtance, who were not upon ſo good terms with either of the kings, as to give them ſufficient hopes of their ſending them any forces to relieve them. For the king's might, with good ſhew of reaſon, be compared to a couple of wreſtlers, who, quit ſpent, and wearied with continually exerciſing their ſtrength, yet ſcorn to deſiſt, and only take a ſhort breathing-time to renew the combat with more vigour. However, they had one reſource left, which was the king's of *Ægypt*, and *Ptolomy and Lathurus*, than in poſſeſſion of *Cyprus*, who, after his mother *Cleopatra* had thruſt him out of the government, withdrew to that iſland. To him they ſent ambaſſadors, deſiring his ſuccour and aſſiſtance, to deliver them out of *Alexander*'s hands, now they were reduced to the laſt extremity. The ambaſſadors giving him hopes, that if he paſſed over into *Syria*, he would be joined by the *Gazæans*, and *Zoilus*, who where actually in the intereſts of the citizens of *Ptolomais*, and telling him, the *Sidonians* and others would come to their aſſiſtance, he was at length induced to favour the undertaking, and made all neceſſary preparations to fit out a fleet of ſhips.

In the mean while, one *Demænetus*, a perſon of great popularity, and eloquence, and of equal intereſt with the inhabitants of *Ptolomais*, made them change their reſolutions, by repreſenting, *That it was much more preferable, conſidering the uncertainty of the event, to run all manner of riſque with the* Jews, *than ſubject themſelves to a manifeſt ſlavery, by ſurrendering themſelves up to a maſter: That they had a war then upon their hands to manage, and they had reaſon to expect much greater work from the* Ægyptians. *That it was not likely* Cleopatra *would be ſo remiſs in the management of her own intereſts, as to let* Ptolomy *encreaſe his forces on the very frontiers of her kingdom; but would uſe all neceſſary precautions againſt it, and endeavour to repel his deſigns with a powerful army; for ſhe had given plain ſigns of her attempts to drive him out of* Cyprus. *That* Ptolomy *might, if he was deprived of the hopes he had formed, return back to* Cyprus, *and they be left to bear their own unhappy condition.* *Ptolomy* coming to hear that the inhabitants of *Ptolomais* had altered their ſentiments, did not however ſtop, but purſued his voyage, and being driven on that part of the country called *Sycaminus*, he made a deſcent their with his forces, conſiſting of horſe and foot about thirty thouſand fighting men, and marching them up as far as *Ptolomais* he encamped not far from the place, but the citizens refuſing either to admit his ambaſſadors, or hear any propoſitions, he was extremely enraged.

Some time after this, the men of *Gaza*, and *Zoilus*, came and begged him to aſſiſt them, *Alexander* and the *Jews* having, they ſaid, ravaged all their country. *Alexander*, hearing of this conjunction, through fear of *Ptolomy*, inſtantly broke up the ſiege, and drew off his army. After this, he acted a very cunning part, for privately ſending *Cleopatra* againſt him, he made an open ſhew of entering into an alliance with him; and agreed to give him five hundred talents of ſilver, provided *Zoilus* was put to death, and his country added to *Judea*. *Ptolomy*, without heſitation, made the alliance with him, and put *Zoilus* into his hands. But hearing ſhortly after, that *Alexander* kept up a ſecret correſpondence with *Cleopatra*, he broke the oath he had ſwore to him, and marching up to *Ptolomais*, which had denied him admittance, he laid ſiege thereto, and leaving ſome officers, and part of his forces to carry on the ſiege, he marched the remainder into *Judea*, in order to lay the country waſte: But *Alexander* apprized of his deſign, collected fifty thouſand of the inhabitants, or as ſome authors ſay, fourſcore thouſand; with whom he marched out to give *Ptolomy* battle. *Ptolomy* in the mean time attacked *Aſochis*, a city of *Galilee*, on a ſabbath at unawares, of whoſe inhabitants he put about ten thouſand to the ſword, and took beſides a very large booty.

After this action he made an attempt upon *Sepphoris*, nor far diſtant from the city he had plundered, but loſing ſeveral of his men before this place, he went back to *Ptolomais*, with a deſign to give battle to *Alexander*, who met him at a certain place called *Aſophus*, ſituated near *Jordan*, where he encamped, not far from the enemy. The front of *Alexander*'s army conſiſted of eight thouſand fighting men, called *Hecatontomarchi*, uſing ſhields covered over with plates of braſs. In like manner *Ptolomy*'s van had ſhields covered with plates of braſs, but his men in other accoutrements were far inferior, and conſequently more timerous to undergo danger: Notwithſtanding theſe diſadvantages, *Philoſtephanus*, the officer appointed to marſhal them, did not fail to animate them with freſh courage, by bidding them to paſs boldly over the river between the two camps. *Alexander* offered no manner of reſiſtance to hinder them from paſſing over; for he imagined, ſhould they have the river in the rear, he ſhould have the greater advantage over them, and be in a much better capacity to defeat them, they being then deprived of the means of retreating. At firſt the battle was doubtful, and victory ſeemed for a long time to incline to neither ſide, each receiving a terrible ſlaughter, and loſing a vaſt number of men. But *Philoſtephanus* ſeeing *Alexander*'s men ſuperior in ſtrength, divided his forces, and came up to the aſſiſtance of thoſe who gave ground; but the *Jews* who were forced to fall back, having none ready to ſuccour them, immediately fled, as *Ptolomy*'s army had lately done; and the enemy preſſed ſo vigorouſly upon them, that they killed many of them in the purſuit, and the ſlaughter was ſo great and terrible, that the edges of their weapons were blunted, and their arms wearied with it. For 'tis ſaid, thirty thouſand were ſlain in this battle, (though *Timagenes* makes the number fifty thouſand) beſides a great number taken priſoners, and others who eſcaped home by flight.

Ptolomy, after this victory, ravaged the country in a terrible manner, but the evening coming on, he took up his abode in ſome villages of *Judea*, which he found full of women and children. He commanded his ſoldiers to kill them, and having cut them into ſeveral pieces, to throw the parts into boiling pots. This terrible command was given, with a deſign to ſtrike a terror into the enemy that had made their eſcape, and make them imagine they eat human fleſh. Both *Strabo* and *Nicholaus* agree in the account I have given of this cruel action. Beſides theſe tranſactions, he took *Ptolomais* by ſtorm, as we have mentioned in another place.

CHAP. XIII.

How Alexander, Cleopatra *having made an Alliance with him, undertook an Expedition againſt* Cœlo-Syria, *and entirely demoliſhed the City of the* Gazæans, *and ſlew, on Account of a Sedition raiſed againſt him, ſeveral thouſand* Jews. *Of* Antiochus Grypus, Seleucus, Antiochus Cyzicenus *and* Pius, *and others.*

CLEOPATRA, during theſe tranſactions, ſeeing her ſon's affairs receive a proſperous run of ſucceſs, and that he committed his ravages in *Judea* in a very arbitrary manner, and the city of the *Gazæans* reduced to his obedience, reſolved in time to put a ſtop to his proceedings, and not ſuffer him, now he was at the very gates, to encreaſe his forces any more, for fear he might entertain a deſign of carrying his arms into *Ægypt*, and endeavour to win that kingdom. To put her deſigns in execution, ſhe immediately with a numerous body of naval and land forces marched againſt him, giving the command of the whole army to *Chelcias* and *Ananias*, two *Jews*. She depoſited the greateſt part of her wealth, and left her nephews and will at *Coos*: And, having commanded her ſon *Alexander* to ſail into *Phœnicia* with a numerous fleet, which country readily ſurrendered itſelf to him, ſhe went to *Ptolomais*, but the inhabitants refuſing to admit her, ſhe laid ſiege to the place. *Ptolomy*, in the mean time, marching out of *Syria*, made great expedition to get into *Ægypt*, which he thought to have found without an army in it, and ſo have attacked it at unawares, but he was deceived in his expectations. During theſe tranſactions, *Chelcias*, one of *Cleopatra*'s generals died, while he was purſuing *Ptolomy*. But

Cleopatra receiving intelligence of her ſon's deſigns, and that his affairs in *Ægypt* had not met with the ſucceſs he expected, diſpatched thither part of her army, and drove him out of the country. *Ptolomy* returning this ſecond time out of *Ægypt*, took up his winter quarters at *Gaza*, while *Cleopatra* continuing the ſiege againſt *Ptolomais*, in a ſhort time took both the town and garriſon. *Alexander* had now no other reſource left but *Cleopatra*, the miſfortunes he had received from *Ptolomais* were too great to be preſently blotted out of his memory. He therefore went to *Cleopatra* at *Ptolomais*, carrying rich preſents with him, and attended with a retinue ſuitable to his quality. He was no ſooner arrived, but ſome of *Cleopatra*'s friends adviſed her to receive the preſents he brought, but to carry her arms into his country, and ſeize upon it; for it was not prudence to permit one man to exerciſe dominion over ſo numerous and brave a body of *Jews*. This advice was different from the ſentiments of *Ananias*, who gave her other counſel, and repreſented, *The injuſtice of depriving a perſon in alliance with her of his juſt right, who was his relation and countryman; I would have you conſider well of it*, added he, *if this man ſuffers any injury unjuſtly, we, who are* Jews, *will certainly revenge the outrage, and prove your enemies. Cleopatra* was won over by this admonition of *Ananias*, not to uſe any violence againſt *Alexander*, with whom, on the contrary, ſhe made an alliance at *Scythopolis* in *Cœlo-Syria*.

Having by this proceeding, freed himſelf from any further apprehenſions of *Ptolomy*, he immediately led an army into *Cœlo-Syria*, and ſat down before *Gadara*, which he took after a ten months ſiege: He alſo ſeized upon *Amatho*, one of the ſtrongeſt places of defence about the river *Jordan*: Here *Theodorus* the ſon of *Zeno*, kept his moſt valuable and rich effects, who ſuddenly ſet upon the *Jews*, and ſlew upwards of ten thouſand of their number, beſides ſeizing upon *Alexander*'s baggage. However mortifying theſe diſadvantages were, *Alexander* ſtill kept up his reſolution, and marching to the ſea-coaſts againſt *Raphias* and *Anthedones*, afterwards called *Aggrippiades* by *Herod*, he took both of them by ſtorm: And perceiving now that *Ptolomy* had withdrawn from *Gaza* to *Cyprus*, and his mother *Cleopatra* into *Ægypt*, he was enraged at the *Gazæans*, for imploring *Ptolomy*'s aſſiſtance; upon which he laid ſiege to their town, and ravaged the country round about in a terrible manner. *Apollodotus*, the general of the *Gazæans*, with two thouſand foreigners, and ten thouſand of his own people, ſallied out in the night upon the *Jewiſh* camp, and during the dark reaped a conſiderable advantage over the enemy, who imagined they were attacked all the while by the forces of *Ptolomy*: But the day light appearing, ſoon convinced them of their miſtake; whereupon collecting themſelves into one entire body, they made a furious attack upon the *Gazæans*, of whom they ſlew about a thouſand. Notwithſtanding this loſs, the *Gazæans* maintained their ground with great reſolution, and though they were oppreſſed with famine, and ſo large a number of them were ſlain, reſolved to undergo the ſevereſt hardſhips, rather than ſubmit to the enemy: Beſides, they were animated with courage to hold out, from the aſſurance *Aretas*, the *Arabian* king, had given them, to ſend a reinforcement to their aſſiſtance; but an accident happened which diſappointed their hopes; for *Apollodotus* their general, was ſlain before their arrival. His brother *Lyſimachus*, burning with envy at the good underſtanding between him and the citizens, which he attributed as a prejudice to himſelf, killed him, and collecting the forces together, ſurrendered the place up to *Alexander*. Upon his entering the town, he uſed the citizens with great clemency, but ſhortly after he gave leave to his ſoldiers to fall upon them. Upon this, the ſoldiers ſeparated themſelves up and down, and put the *Gazæans*, in whatever place they found them, to the ſword. On this occaſion the *Gazæans* ſhewed extraordinary courage; for, deſpairing of any ſafety, they made ſuch a furious reſiſtance againſt the *Jews*, that, to the number of their own body, who were killed at this time, they ſlew an equal number of their enemies. Some, however, had the fortune to retreat into the houſes, to which they immediately ſet fire, to take from the enemy all hopes of enriching themſelves with plunder; alſo ſome, with their own hands, put their wives and children to death, reſolving rather to do ſo, than let them fall into the hands of the *Jews*. Five hundred of the ſenators eſcaping into the temple of *Apollo* (for when the city was taken, the ſenate was ſitting) were, by order of *Alexander*, put to death. At length having demoliſhed the town, he returned back to *Hieroſolyma*, having ſat down before *Gaza* one year.

About this time alſo *Antiochus Grypus* loſt his life by the treachery of *Heracleon*, having lived five and forty, and reigned nine and twenty years. *Seleucus* his ſon ſucceeding him in the kingdom, carried on the war, againſt *Antiochus*, ſirnamed *Cyzicenus*, his father's brother, and defeating him in a pitched battle, put him to death. Shortly after this overthrow, *Antiochus*, ſon of *Cyzicenus*, ſirnamed *Pius*, coming to *Aradus*, placed there the diadem upon his own head, and gave *Seleucus* battle, giving him an entire defeat, and driving him out of *Syria*. He fled into *Cilicia* and withdrew into the city *Moponeſtia*, from the inhabitants of which place he exacted a ſum of money: The citizens, enraged at this arbitrary proceeding, ſet fire to his palace, and the king, together with his friends, were burnt to death in the flames. *Antiochus*, the ſon of *Cyzicenus*, having obtained the kingdom of *Syria*, was attacked by *Antiochus*, the brother of *Seleucus*, who, receiving an entire overthrow, in the engagement loſt his life, and the whole body of his army. *Philip* his brother, after this defeat, placed the crown upon his own head, and reigned over part of *Syria*. In the mean while *Ptolomy Lathurus*, recalled *Demetrius*, ſirnamed *Eucærus*, his fourth brother out of *Cnydus*, and crowned him king of *Damaſcus*. *Antiochus* having made a ſhort, but valiant reſiſtance againſt theſe two brothers, died; for going to the aſſiſtance of *Laodice*, queen of the *Galadenians*, at this time at war with the *Parthians*, he loſt his life bravely; upon which the two brothers, *Demetrius* and *Philip*, ſeized upon *Syria*, over which they reign'd, as I have ſhewn in another place.

Alexander at this time had the misfortune of a violent and raging ſedition of his own ſubjects againſt him; for the whole nation roſe up againſt him, during the feaſt of tabernacles, and at a time when he was ſtanding at the altar, ready to ſacrifice. They proceeded ſo far in their malignant diſpoſition againſt him, that they ſmote him with citron branches, (the *Jews* having a cuſtom amongſt them at this feaſt, of enjoining every one to carry branches of palm and citron trees in their hands, as is ſhewn in another place,) and reproached him with being born of a captive woman, and on that account unworthy either to enjoy the prieſtly office, or perform ſacrifice. This action ſo enraged the king, that ſix thouſand of them fell a ſacrifice to his indignation. Beſides, he raiſed an encloſure of wood about the altar and temple, even to the encloſure, into the inſide of which the prieſts were only admitted to enter, whereby he effectually hindered the people from coming to him. He alſo kept in his pay foreign ſoldiers, ſuch as *Piſidians* and *Cilicians*; for he made no uſe of the *Syrians*, whom he hated, in any of his engagements. He then ſubdued the *Arabians*, and laid a tribute on the *Moabites* and *Galaadites*; after which he demoliſhed *Amathe*, *Theodorus* not daring to reſiſt him. He alſo engaged *Obed*, king of the *Arabians*, but falling into an ambuſh laid for him, in a rocky and difficult place of acceſs, he was forced, by the great number of the enemy's camels, into a deep valley near *Gadara* in *Galaad*, out of which he had much difficulty to extricate himſelf. But having got clear of the danger, he returned to *Hieroſolyma*. Beſides the ſlaughter made of his own nation before-mentioned, he continued hoſtilities againſt them during the ſpace of ſix years, in which time, upwards of fifty thouſand *Jews* loſt their lives. All his endeavours and fair ſpeeches to induce them to peace, were ſo far from prevailing with them, that the remembrance of the ſufferings he had made them endure, only ſerved to encreaſe their hatred againſt him. And upon his asking them, what they thought would free them from their troubles, they, with an unanimous voice, anſwer'd, *His death:* Soon after which they ſent to *Demetrius Eucærus*, to beg his aſſiſtance to relieve them.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Victory Demetrius Eucærus *obtained over* Alexander, *and his Departure ſhortly after through Fear of the* Jews. *Of* Alexander'*s great Slaughter of the* Jews, *and the Period he put to the Seditions raiſed againſt him. Of the Death of* Demetrius.

D*EMETRIUS* taking his forces, and the others who joined his army, marched with them to the city *Sicim*, before which place he encamped. *Alexander*, with a deſign of meeting him, put himſelf at the head of ſix thouſand and two hundred mercenary troops, being joined by twenty thouſand *Jews*, who ſtill were in his intereſt. His whole army conſiſted of three thouſand horſe, and forty thouſand foot. Many endeavours were uſed on both ſides to weaken each other. *Demetrius*, on his part, was very earneſt to induce the mercenaries, who were *Grecians*, to revolt to him, while *Alexander* was endeavouring to engage the *Jews*, in the intereſt of *Demetrius*, to eſpouſe his quarrel. But each, at length, finding their ſeveral deſigns had no effect, they came to an engagement, which gave *Demetrius* the advantage. Every one of *Alexander*'s men behaved with great bravery, but were entirely cut off: The loſs on *Demetrius*'s ſide alſo was very conſiderable.

Alexander, after this defeat, retired to the mountains, where he was joined by a reinforcement of ſix thouſand *Jews*, who were very much concerned at his ill ſucceſs. *Demetrius* finding this, began to be apprehenſive of danger, and withdrew. And the *Jews* themſelves, ſhortly after, proclaimed war againſt *Alexander*, but, in the ſeveral engagements they had with him, fortune always was againſt them. And now having obliged the moſt powerful of them to ſhut themſelves up in the city *Bethoma*, he laid ſiege to it; and having won the place, and taken them into his power, he carried them to *Hieroſolyma*, and there gave a remarkable inſtance of his barbarity. For while he ſat at an entertainment among his concubines, in a place from which he could ſee what was done, he commanded theſe perſons, in number about eight hundred, to be crucified, and before they were half dead, ordered their wives and children, in their ſights, to be ſlain; in this manner taking revenge on, and puniſhing them for the injuſtice they had done him: Though, certainly this puniſhment was too ſevere and barbarous, and unbecoming human nature, notwithſtanding the extreme hardſhips which he ſuffer'd, by their riſing in rebellion againſt him, and putting both his life and kingdom to the utmoſt danger; for finding their own forces inſufficient to withſtand his arms, they called in a foreign aid to their aſſiſtance; and by their ſucceſſes over him, obliged him at length to ſurrender, into the hands of the *Arabian* king, all his acquiſitions in *Moab* and *Galaad*, and the ſeveral fortified places in thoſe countries, to hinder his entering into an alliance with them againſt him, not to inſiſt on numberleſs other injuries and affronts he had received from them. Yet *Alexander* might have reſtrained his hand from committing this bloody ſcene; ſo that for his extraordinary cruelty, the *Jews* juſtly called him *Thrakidas*. The forces, his enemies, to about eight thouſand men, withdrew in the night time, and, while *Alexander* lived, remained in a voluntary exile. *Alexander* having, by this means, got clear of theſe troubleſome tumults, enjoyed for the future a ſtate of great ſerenity and peace.

Demetrius, in the mean while, marching out of *Judea* to *Beræa*, into which his brother had withdrawn, laid ſiege to him, with an army, conſiſting of ten thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe. *Straton*, prince of *Beræa*, and *Philip*'s ally, ſent for *Zyzus*, the general of the *Arabians*, and *Mithridates Sinaces*, general of the *Parthians*, to come to his relief. Theſe bringing a numerous army, beſieged *Demetrius* in his camp, and at length forced his men, partly with the continual ſhowers of darts thrown among them, and partly with the thirſt that afflicted them, to ſurrender themſelves at diſcretion. Having obtained a great plunder, and taken *Demetrius*, they ſent him to *Mithridates*, at that time king of *Parthia*. But to as many *Antiochians* as were taken priſoners, they generouſly gave back their liberty. *Mithridates* the *Parthian* king, while *Demetrius* lived, entertained him with great honour: *Philip*, after this engagement, marched up to *Antioch*, and took it, by which he ſecured to himſelf the kingdom of *Syria*.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Expedition undertook againſt Judea, *firſt by* Antiochus Dionyſus, *and after him by* Aretas. *Of* Alexander's *winning ſeveral Cities, and returning to* Hieroſolyma. *Of his Death after three Years Illneſs, and his Advice to* Alexandra.

ANTIOCHUS, ſirnamed *Dionyſus*, and *Philip*'s brother, making his pretenſions to the kingdom, came to *Damaſcus*, and procured himſelf to be declared king; the firſt thing he did, was the expedition he made againſt the *Arabians*, which *Philip* his brother no ſooner heard of, but he poſted to *Damaſcus*, which *Mileſius* (who was left captain of the garriſon) and the *Damaſcenes* voluntarily ſurrendered to him; but *Mileſius*, diſguſted at his ingratitude, and the backwardneſs he ſhewed to perform the promiſes made him, for admitting him into the city, and the inclinations he expreſſed to have it thought he had given up the place to him through fear, began to entertain ſentiments of ſuſpicion at his behaviour, and at length became the occaſion of wreſting it out of his hands; for, as he went out on a time into *Circus*, he ſhut the gates upon him, and preſerved it for *Antiochus*; who no ſooner heard of the actions of *Philip*, but he marched out of *Arabia*, and took his rout immediately into *Judea* with an army of eight thouſand foot, and fourſcore thouſand horſe. *Alexander*, terrified at his march, threw up a ditch of great depth, reaching from *Chabarzada*, now called *Antipatris*, as far as the ſea of *Joppa*, where was a paſſage made. He alſo raiſed a wall of an hundred and fifty furlongs in length, and built towers and battlements of wood to ſecure it; and by this means *Antiochus* was quite covered. All theſe great preparations, notwithſtanding, were burnt by him, after which he paſſed over into *Arabia* with his forces. The king of *Arabia* at firſt made a pretence to withdraw, but ſhewing himſelf immediately at the head of ten thouſand men, he was oppoſed by *Antiochus*, who preſently gave him battle. For ſome time he fought with great reſolution, but, endeavouring to ſuccour a party of his men in great diſtreſs, he had the ill fortune to loſe his life. His army ſeeing him killed, immediately fled into a village called *Caras*, where the greateſt part periſhed with hunger.

After him, *Aretas* ſucceeded in the kingdom who reigned in *Cœlo-Syria*; for the *Damaſcenes* entertaining great hatred againſt *Ptolomy Mennæus*, inveſted him with the regal authority. From this place, at the head of a numerous army, he marched into *Judea*, where he gave *Alexander* a defeat at *Addida*, a place of great ſtrength, and having made a league with him, left the country.

Alexander, in his turn, marched up to the city *Dion*, and took it, and from thence led his army to *Eſſa*, where *Zeno* kept his moſt valuable effects. This city was ſurrounded with a triple wall, notwithſtanding which, having taken it, he marched againſt *Gaulana* and *Seleucia*, both which he won, and then reduced to his obedience the valley called *Antiochus* and *Gamala*, a garriſon of great defence. Againſt *Demetrius*, the governor of theſe places laid a ſevere charge of miſdemeanours, and then diveſted him of his government. At length having ſpent three years in this expedition, he returned home, where the *Jews*, for the proſperous ſucceſs of his arms, received him with marks of great gladneſs.

The *Jews*, at this time, were poſſeſt of almoſt all the cities in *Syria*, and *Idumea* and *Phœnicia*. Towards the ſea they had the tower of *Straton*, *Apollonia*, *Joppa*, *Jamnia*, *Azor*, *Gaza*, *Anthedon*, *Raphia*, *Rhinocobira*. In the inland country towards *Idumea*, they poſſeſt *Ador*, *Mariſſa*, and *Samaria*, mount *Carmel*, and mount *Itabyrius*, *Scythopolis*, *Gadar*, *Gaulanitis*, *Seleucia*, *Gabala*, the provinces in *Moab*, *Eſſebon*, *Medaba*, *Lemba*, *Oronas*, *Telithon*, *Zara*, the *Cilician Valley*, and *Pella*: (But this place they demoliſhed, becauſe the inhabitants refuſed to live after the conſtitutions of the *Jews*.) Beſides theſe, they poſſeſſed ſeveral other cities in *Syria*, which they in like manner overturned.

Some time after this, *Alexander*, through his immoderate drinking, fell into a quartan ague, which continued three years; notwithſtanding, his deſire for martial employments did not abate, till quite worn out by his illneſs, he died at the ſiege of *Rabatha*, a place of great ſtrength in the mountains of the *Geraſenians*, on the other ſide of *Jordan*. His queen, ſeeing him upon the point of death, and that all hopes of his recovery were vain, ſhed a flood of tears, and with extreme ſorrow in her eyes lamenting him and his ſons, who were going to be deprived of his ſight, thus ſaid: 'And to whom do you thus leave me and your children, deprived of any other aſſiſtance, when you are ſenſible of the enmity the *Jews* bear you.' After ſhe had ſpoke thus, he gave her this advice: 'To mind the admonition he gave her, to preſerve the kingdom, and her ſons in ſafety, but to keep his death concealed from his ſoldiers, 'till ſhe had taken the place; and then in a triumphant manner return to *Hieroſolyma*, and allow the *Phariſees* a greater liberty than uſual; for they, he told her, would, for the favour conferred upon them, reconcile the nation to her intereſt; that they had a powerful influence over the *Jews*, and were in a capacity to prejudice thoſe they hated, and ſerve thoſe they loved: That the meaner ſort of people were ſo thoroughly bigotted to their opinions, that their words always gain'd credit, though enviouſly ſpoken, to the detriment of any one; and that his own miſunderſtanding with the people, was the pure effect of his ill-treating them.

‘Upon which ground, added he, when you come to *Hieroſolyma*, aſſemble the chief of the *Phariſees*, and after you have ſhewn them my body, make them large conceſſions. Tell them they are at liberty to uſe me as they pleaſe; nay, to prohibit my body from being interred with the ſacred rites of burial, or to inflict any other puniſhment upon me, as having proved the cauſe of all their wrongs: But, above all, aſſure them under a ſolemn promiſe, that you'll act nothing in the government without their advice and concurrence. If you follow this counſel, they'll perform my funeral with greater magnificence than I can expect from you, becauſe, having the power to treat my corpſe with indecency, they will not only abſtain from ſuch an action, but be the true cauſe of your reigning in your kingdom in ſafety.’ He had no ſooner made an end of admoniſhing his wife in this manner, than he gave up the ghoſt, after a reign of twenty ſeven, and a life of fifty one years.

CHAP. XVI.

How Queen Alexandra, *having procured the Friendſhip of the* Phariſees, *govern'd the Kingdom nine Years; and after a ſucceſsful Courſe of ſeveral Exploits, died with Honour.*

ALEXANDRA in the mean time, having taken the place, agreeable to the advice of her husband, and ſpoken to the *Phariſees*, and put every thing into their hands, which either reſpected the deceaſed king, or the kingdom, not only entirely baniſhed the hatred they had conceived againſt *Alexander*, but eſtabliſhed them faithfully in her intereſts. Now the firſt act of friendſhip they ſhewed, was their going about among the people, and openly commending the actions of *Alexander*, and remonſtrating with how much honour he died, and their encomiums of him were enlarged to that degree, that the people expreſſed extreme ſorrow for him; ſo that greater veneration was paid to his memory, than ever any of the kings his predeceſſors had obtained. He left behind him two ſons, *Hyrcanus* and *Ariſtobulus*, but left the government of the kingdom to his wife *Alexandra*, by his laſt will and teſtament. Of his two ſons, *Hyrcanus* was the leaſt qualified to undertake any public employment, being of a genius more adapted to the enjoyment of a peaceful and retired life: *Ariſtobulus*, on the contrary, had ambitious views, and was of a cunning and inſinuating temper. Their mother was in great reſpect among the people, for the ſorrow ſhe expreſſed at the miſcarriages of her husband. *Alexandra* conſtituted *Hyrcanus* high-prieſt, both on account of his years, and the native indolence of his temper; but to the *Phariſees* he entirely gave up the adminiſtration of af- irs, and enjoined the people to pay obe- ience to their commands. Moreover, what- ever laws of the *Phariſees* her father *Hyr- nus* had repealed, which they pretended ey received by tradition from their an- ſtors, ſhe reſtored to their full force. Up- which ground ſhe retained the title of een, while the *Phariſees* were inveſted ith the adminiſtration of the kingdom, for ey recalled all who had been baniſhed, priſoners at liberty, and acted in every ſpect like ſo many ſovereigns. Notwithſtanding, the queen managed the affairs of the kingdom, kept a great number of ſoldiers in her pay, whoſe valour ſhe ſo well approved, that the bordering princes were kept in awe, and forced to give hoſtages for their good behaviour: Her ſubjects, and kingdom, except the *Phariſees*, were preſerved in the utmoſt tranquility. Theſe latter gave her a great deal of diſturbance, and adviſed her to put to death all who had been *Alexander*'s counſellors, whereby, no leſs than eight thouſand perſons loſt their lives. Some time after, one *Diogenes*, and after him ſeveral others, were put to death; which ſome of the principal *Jews* taking notice of, went to the palace, accompanied by *Ariſtobulus*, who ſeemed very uneaſy at the late arbitrary management, and only waited an opportunity to encreaſe his intereſt, and put a ſtop to his mother's proceedings. ‘They remonſtrated to her the glorious actions they had atchieved, and the dangers they had undergone, in which they had always ſhewed the greateſt marks of loyalty and fidelity, and deſerved not only praiſe, but a reward; and begged that the hopes they had entertained, might not be fruſtrated; for that thoſe who had eſcaped out of the dangers plotted againſt them by their enemies, were now ſlain at home like ſo many ſheep, without any one's offering to redreſs the wrongs. Moreover, they ſaid, if they were ſatisfied with the number of their enemies already put to death, they would yet, for the affection ſtill remaining in them for their miſtreſs, paſs by what they had hitherto ſuffered; but if they continued in the ſame ſteps in which they had begun, they begged in the firſt place, they might be diſmiſſed, which, if not granted them, they were ready to ſacrifice their lives that very inſtant in the palace, as being unable to enjoy any comfort without the participation of their queen and mother: That it would be a great diſhonour both to her and them, if ſhe caſt that ignominy upon them, as to number them among the enemies of her husband. But ſhe would do an action of the greateſt importance, to aſſemble together *Aretas* the *Arabian*, and the other potentates, whoſe very names carried a terror in them, which if not timely condeſcended to, ſhe was at liberty to place every one of them in the garriſons, provided ſhe was reſolved to continue the *Phariſees* in the ſame high poſts; for, *they added*, if the ſame evil ſpirit perſiſted to reign in the houſe of *Alexander*, they would not repine to change their preſent condition for a worſe.’

While they were thus pathetically inſiſting on theſe and a great many more things, and invoking the departed ſoul of *Alexander*, to commiſerate their dead friends, and their own ſad condition, every one who ſtood by, could not refrain from ſhedding a flood of tears. But *Ariſtobulus* gave the plaineſt ſign of the temper he was in, by the reproachful words he caſt upon his mother. In the main, they themſelves were the authors of their own misfortunes, by entruſting the reins of government to a woman, immoderately fond of ſway, and that to a greater length than was lawful, at a time when the king's ſons were come to an age, capable of action. *Alexandra*, however, won by their remonſtrances, but having not wherewithal to reward them handſomely, gave them the government of the fortified places, but reſerved to herſelf *Hyrcania*, *Alexandrium*, and *Machæro*, where ſhe had depoſited her moſt valuable effects. And not long after this, ſhe ſent her ſon *Ariſtobulus* to *Damaſcus*, at the head of an army againſt *Ptolomy Mennæus*, who was a terrible neighbour to that city. But he returned without performing any thing remarkable.

About this time news was brought that *Tigranes*, king of *Armenia*, had entered *Syria*, with a deſign to attack *Judea*, at the head of five hundred thouſand men. This account, as was very likely, terrified the queen, and all the *Jews*, who, immediately ſent ambaſſadors with preſents of great value to him, as he laid ſiege to *Ptolomais*. *Selene*, otherwiſe called *Cleopatra*, was at this time queen of *Syria*, and adviſed the inhabitants to ſhut their gates upon *Tigranes*. In the mean time the *Jewiſh* ambaſſadors arrived, and implored him to act no hoſtilities either againſt their queen or countrymen; he, on the other hand, commending their loyalty, and the long journey they had taken to pay him their reſpects, diſmiſſed them full of hopes. *Tigranes* had ſcarcely made himſelf maſter of *Ptolomais*, but news was brought him, that *Lucellus* had purſued *Mithridates*; but hearing he had withdrawn amongſt the *Iberians*, had deſiſted from his purſuit, and turned his arms againſt *Armenia*, which he waſted in a terrible manner. *Tigranes*, upon this report, broke up his camp, and returned home.

After this, the queen fell into a violent illneſs, which gave *Ariſtobulus* great hopes of obtaining the kingdom. Upon which, taking a ſervant with him, he went privately in the night-time to the garriſons where his father's friends were impriſoned. He had for a long time entertained great hatred againſt his mother's proceedings, but now his apprehenſions were the more encreaſed, as ſuggeſting terrible fears, leſt the *Phariſees* ſhould engroſs an abſolute authority over the whole nation; for he was very well acquainted with his brother's little capacity for undertaking the government, who was to have the kingdom after her. His wife was the only perſon privy to his deſigns, whom, with his children, he had left there. The firſt place he had recourſe to was *Agaba*, into which he was admitted by *Galæſtes*, one of the principal *Jews*: But the queen ſoon perceived his retreat in the morning; for ſome time ſhe had no ſuſpicion he was gone with a deſign to attempt any revolution in the kingdom: But ſeveral perſons, immediately, one after another, coming and acquainting her that he had ſeized upon the firſt place of defence; then the ſecond; and at length all the garriſons, (for his eſtabliſhing himſelf in one, readily induced the others to eſpouſe his intereſts) created a prodigious uneaſineſs in the queen and the nation; for they plainly ſaw now *Ariſtobulus* was in a fair way to eſtabliſh himſelf in the kingdom, and were in the utmoſt apprehenſions, fearing he would revenge himſelf upon them, for their rebellious behaviour againſt his family. Upon this account they thought it the ſafeſt way for them to lodge his wife and children in the caſtle above the temple. In a ſhort time ſo numerous a multitude flocked to *Ariſtobulus*, that he had actually all the attendance and magnificence of a king; for in fifteen days he had ſecured to his party two and twenty caſtles, out of which having taken a great quantity of wealth, he collected an army out of *Libanus* and *Trachon*, and from the princes of theſe countries; for the men following the ſtronger party, were eaſily induced to give their conſent. Beſides, they had the aſſurance to hope, if they aſſiſted him in his preſent circumſtances, they ſhould reap conſiderable advantages from his adminiſtration, as being the ſole cauſe of eſtabliſhing him in it. The *Jewiſh* elders, and *Hyrcanus* went to the queen, whom they begged to adviſe about their preſſing neceſſities, for *Ariſtobulus*, having ſeized upon ſo many ſtrong holds, was in a manner ar the head of affairs. They ſaid, it was not fit they ſhould do any thing, as ſhe was yet alive, tho' ſick, without her conſent, but that apparent danger now hung over their heads. She bad them take ſuch meaſures as ſhould be thought beneficial to all their intereſts; that there was a large treaſury, a valiant nation, and a powerful army, to further their deſigns; but that, through her great weakneſs and ill ſtate of health, ſhe had not capacity enough to look to the affairs of her kingdom.

She had no ſooner delivered herſelf thus, but in a very ſhort time afterwards ſhe died, having reigned nine, and lived ſeventy three years,

years. She was a woman, who, in all her actions, never betrayed the weakneſs of her ſex; for as ſhe conſtantly entertained ambitious hopes, and a violent deſire of managing a kingdom, ſo in all her actions, ſhe gave ſufficient teſtimonies how capable ſhe was of executing the great charge committed to her, and how ridiculous was ſometimes that notion which men entertain, of their being the ſole perſons capable to diſcharge the important truſt of a kingdom. She always preferred the preſent conjuncture to any future accident, and baniſhing all other conſiderations ſhe would ſometimes exerciſe her authority with more than ordinary ſeverity, little regarding the juſtice or equity of any proceeding, merely for its being ſo. Notwithſtanding this, ſhe contributed ſo far to the happy eſtabliſhment of her own family, that ſhe preſerved, for a long time, that power and grandeur, which ſhe had acquired with vaſt toil and indefatigable labour, to which ſhe had been puſhed, by the deſigns of thoſe which thwarted her own views. Beſides, ſhe had the ready addreſs to fall in with the ſchemes and counſels of thoſe who were not well affected to the royal blood; and ſhe left the kingdom entirely deſtitute of the aſſiſtance, or rebellion of its own principal men, which occaſion'd, after her death, a great many commotions and troubles. Notwithſtanding ſhe governed in this manner, her nation enjoyed a continual ſeries of peaceful and happy days. And this is the period of *Alexandra's* adminiſtration.

The *END* of the THIRTEENTH BOOK of the Antiquities.

FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
OF THE
ANTIQUITIES of the JEWS.

BOOK THE FOURTEENTH.

Containing the Space of Thirty Two Years.

CHAP. I.

The War between Ariſtobulus *and* Hyrcanus, *about the Government of the Kingdom: Of their Agreement at laſt, that* Ariſtobulus *ſhould enjoy the Kingdom, and* Hyrcanus *live privately. How* Hyrcanus, *by the Advice of* Antipater, *ſhortly after went over to* Aretas.

IN the foregoing book we have recited the actions of queen *Alexandra*, and concluded with her death: We will now continue the thread of our hiſtory, and ſpeak of the things ſucceeding upon this change; always ſetting before us this as a principal maxim, not to omit any thing through a pretence of ignorance, or want of memory. To this end, we have undertaken this hiſtory of antiquities, unknown to many, in which we have endeavoured to give it as fine a turn of diction as the nature of it would bear, that our readers might have ſomething of ornament in it, and in the peruſal at once receive pleaſure and knowledge. In writers there ſhould be a principal care to advance no facts but what are true, that thoſe who are not acquainted with the occurrences they read, may be induced to give their aſſent to them.

Hyrcanus, in the mean while, having entered into the prieſthood, in the third year, of the one hundred and ſeventh *Olimpiad*, and in the conſulſhips of *Quintus Hortenſius*, and *Quintus Metellus* at *Rome*, who was alſo named *Cretians*, his brother *Ariſtobulus* immediately proclaimed war againſt him, and engaging him at *Jericho*, a great many of *Hyrcanus*'s men revolted from him. Upon this, *Hyrcanus* retired into the caſtle, where *Ariſtobulus*'s wife and children had, as we have ſaid above, been put by *Alexandra*, and beſieged his enemies, withdrawn within the encloſure of the temple. At length he offered his brother to forbear any further hoſtilities, provided *Ariſtobulus* would content himſelf with the government of the kingdom, and let him live in private, and enjoy his own poſſeſſions in peace. This agreement was made in the temple, by mutual oaths, and joining of hands, and reciprocal embraces, all the people being preſent and ſpectators of it; after which they departed, *Ariſtobulus* to his palace, and *Hyrcanus*, as a private man, to the houſe of *Ariſtobulus*.

Hyrcanus had a particular friend, an *Idumean*, named *Antipater*, a very wealthy perſon, and by nature formed to ſow ſedition: He was of a quite different temper from *Hyrcanus*, and through the extraordinary eſteem he bore him, endeavoured by every method to bring him over to his deſigns. *Nicholaus* of *Damaſcus*, however, brings the original of this *Antipater* from the antient *Jews*, who came from *Babylon* into *Judea*: But this aſſertion was only to gain favour with *Herod* his ſon, whom fortune thought fit to place on the *Jewiſh* throne, of which we ſhall ſpeak in its proper place. *Antipater* at firſt had the ſirname of *Antipas*, whoſe father had the ſame name: This perſon being conſtituted by king *Alexander* and his wife, governor of all *Idumea*, 'tis ſaid, he entered, during his government, into a league with the *Arabians*, *Gazæans*, and *Aſcalonites*, whom he had brought into his intereſts by many rich and valuable preſents. Upon this ground it was that *Antipater*, while a young man, looked with jealous eyes upon the great power of *Ariſtobulus*, and apprehending he might one time or other be puniſhed for the hatred he expreſſed againſt him, he endeavoured by ſeveral ſecret inſinuations to draw the affections of the principal *Jews* from him, repreſenting the great injuſtice they acted, in ſuffering *Ariſtobulus* wrongfully to hold the kingdom, in prejudice to his elder brother, who had a right to it in reſpect of his ſeniority of age. He was alſo continually amuſing *Hyrcanus* with theſe plauſible ſpeeches, and telling him the dangers, to which he expoſed himſelf, unleſs he took ſome effectual method to put *Ariſtobulus* away. For, *he told him*, his brother's friends omitted no opportunity to adviſe him to put him to death, as being the ſureſt way to ſecure the government to himſelf. Theſe remonſtrances had no effect upon *Hyrcanus*, who was naturally of a meek diſpoſition, and not eaſily brought to give credit to words in calumny; for his withdrawing from the fatigues of buſineſs, his mild temper, and eaſy forgiveneſs of injuries, make him appear in the eyes of all perſons, as one of a week and degenerate ſpirit. But *Ariſtobulus* had a very different bent of genius, being formed for the accompliſhment of great deſigns, and of an addreſs fit to undertake any thing.

When *Antipater* found his remonſtrances gained no manner of credit with *Hyrcanus*, he began daily to prefer ſeveral feigned accuſations againſt *Ariſtobulus*, as watching every opportunity to take away his life; and in his earneſt ſolicitations to provide for his ſafety, he adviſed him to withdraw to *Aretas* the *Arabian* king; for he aſſured him, if he would follow his counſels, to eſpouſe his intereſts. *Hyrcanus* having liſtened to what he ſaid, *anſwered*, that there was a neceſſity to withdraw to *Aretas*. Now *Arabia* borders upon *Judea*. In the concluſion, *Hyrcanus* ſent *Antipater* before him to the *Arabian* king, to receive his word, not to give him up to his enemies, provided he came to implore his aſſiſtance. *Antipater* having gained the king's promiſe returned back to *Hieroſolyma* to *Hyrcanus*. Not many days paſt before he took and carried him away with him in the night time, and after a long journey, conveyed him to *Petra*, where *Aretas* kept his palace. He then entreated the king, as he was one of his principal friends, to return with *Hyrcanus* into *Judea*. He continued his ſollicitations on this head ſeveral days without giving over, till *Aretas*, won by the preſents he made him, gave his conſent. Notwithſtanding, *Hyrcanus* had not ſucceeded in his deſigns, if he had not promiſed *Aretas*, upon his being reſtored to the kingdom, to give back to him the lands and cities, which his father *Alexander* had taken from the *Arabians*. The names of theſe cities were *Medaba*, *Naballo*, *Livias*, *Tharabaſa*, *Agalla*, *Athone*, *Zoara*, *Orome*, *Mariſſa*, *Rydda*, *Lyſſa*, and *Oryba*.

CHAP. II.

How Aretas *and* Hyrcanus *led an Army againſt* Ariſtobulus, *and laid Siege to* Hieroſolyma: *How* Scaurus *the* Roman *broke up the Siege. Of the Death of* Onias.

ARETAS, upon theſe promiſes, made an expedition againſt *Ariſtobulus*, with fifty thouſand horſe and foot, and defeated him; great numbers, after this overthrow revolting to *Hyrcanus*, *Ariſtobulus* was obliged to ſhut himſelf up in *Hiereſolyma*. *Aretas*, then muſtering together all his forces, marched up to the temple, and laid ſiege to *Ariſtobulus* within it, all the citizens being in the intereſts of *Hyrcanus*, and aſſiſting him in carrying on the ſiege. The prieſts were the only perſons with *Ariſtobulus*. *Aretas* finding this, joined the *Arabian* and *Jewiſh* camps together, and puſhed on the ſiege with more vigour. Theſe tranſactions happening during the feaſt of the paſſover, the principal *Jews* retired out of their country, and withdrew into *Ægypt*. *Onias*, a certain good and religious man, and favoured of God, (for in a time of very great dearth, praying to God to put a ſtop to the immoderate heat, the Almighty was pleaſed to hear his prayers, and ſend rain) finding the ſedition likely to continue, hid himſelf; but being brought into the *Jewiſh* camp, he was demanded, as he had put a ſtop to a great dearth by his prayers, to curſe *Ariſtobulus*, and the perſons of his faction. Tho' he deteſted ſuch a proceeding, he was even compelled, againſt his will, to humour the multitude: Upon which, ſtanding up in the midſt of them, he ſaid thus, *Oh God, king of the univerſe, ſince theſe men who ſtand with me, are thy people, and theſe they beſiege, are thy prieſts, vouchſafe neither to regard the wiſhes of the beſiegers againſt the beſieged, nor to liſten to the important deſires of theſe latter againſt the former.* After he had made an end of this prayer the inhuman *Jews* who ſtood round him, took and ſtoned him to death.

But God ſoon after ſeverely puniſhed them for this cruelty; the revenge he took upon them for this murther of *Onias* was brought about after the following manner. *While the ſiege was carrying on againſt the prieſts and* Ariſtobulus, *the feaſt of the paſſover happened to fall out: But the beſieged wanting victims, asked their countrymen, the beſiegers, to ſupply them with ſacrifices; for which, they told them, they would pay ſuch a ſum of money as they deſired. Accordingly they demanded a thouſand drachms for every victim they were deſirous to have, which agreement* Ariſtobulus *and the prieſts very readily conſented to, and preſently gave them down by the wall the ſum demanded. But when they had received the money, they abſolutely refuſed giving them the ſacrifices; and ſhewed, at length, ſuch an open mark of their diſhoneſt deſigns, that they broke the promiſe they had made, and* *ſined againſt God, in not providing thoſe things for the ſacrifices, for which their was an abſolute neceſſity.* The prieſts finding themſelves thus deceived, begged the Almighty to revenge their cauſe, and puniſh their perfidious countrymen; accordingly, God did not long defer the puniſhment he deſigned them; for by a vaſt and violent wind which he ſent down, he deſtroyed all the fruits any where growing in the country, ſo that at this time a buſhel of barley was ſold for eleven drachms.

During theſe tranſactions *Pompey* ſends *Scaurus* into *Syria*, while he himſelf remained in *Armenia*, where he was carrying on the war againſt *Tigranes*. *Scaurus* coming to *Damaſcus*, met *Lollius* and *Metellus*, who had juſt before taken the city; with theſe he marched into *Judea*, where he was no ſooner arrived, than *Hyrcanus* and *Ariſtobulus* ſent him their ſeveral ambaſſadors to implore his aſſiſtance: *Ariſtobulus* making him an offer of a preſent of four hundred talents, and *Hyrcanus* ſhewing himſelf not in the leaſt behind him as to his ſum of money; he was induced, at length to accept of the promiſe *Ariſtobulus* made him, whom he looked upon as the more wealthy man, more magnificent, and whoſe cauſe ſeemed to him the juſter: Beſides, he took *Hyrcanus* to be poor and neceſſitous, and had an inſtance of the impoſſibility of his ever performing his engagements, when he made him a larger demand. Moreover, he found it would be no little difficulty to win a city of ſo great ſtrength, and drive out of it thoſe who had withdrawn thither for refuge, eſpecially with a raw and undiſciplined company of *Nabatæans*. Theſe ſeveral reaſons preſenting themſelves to him, made him conclude an engagement with *Ariſtobulus:* After which, having received the ſum agreed upon, he broke up the ſiege, commanding *Aretas* either to draw off his troops, or, on refuſal, to declare himſelf an enemy to the *Romans*. *Scaurus* having concluded matters thus, went back to *Damaſcus*, while *Ariſtobulus* led an army againſt *Aretas* and *Hyrcanus*; whom he engaged at a place called *Papyron*, and entirely defeated, killing of the enemy about ſeven thouſand, among whom fell *Phalion* the brother of *Antipater*.

CHAP. III.

How Ariſtobulus *and* Hyrcanus *went to* Pompey, *and mutually inſiſted on their Rights to the Kingdom. How* Ariſtobulus *withdrawing in the Caſtle* Alexandrius, Pompey *led his Army againſt him, and ordered him to ſurrender up the ſeveral fortified Places to him.*

POMPEY had not been long at *Damaſcus*, or in *Syria*, before ambaſſadors from all parts of *Syria*, *Ægypt*, and *Judea* came to him: *Ariſtobulus* ſent him a preſent of great value, which was a golden vine weighing five hundred talents. *Strabo*, the *Cappadocian*, takes notice of this preſent in the following words; *From Ægypt there came an embaſſy, with a crown weighing four thouſand gold talents, and from* Judea, *a vine or a garden; which piece of workmanſhip was called* τερπωλὴ, *or* the delight. *Of this preſent we ourſelves have been ſpectators in the temple of* Jupiter Capitolinus *at* Rome: *The inſcription was, Alexander* king of the *Jews*. *It was valued at five hundred talents: And it is ſaid* Ariſtobulus *the* Dynaſt *ſent it.*

Not long after this, *Antipater*, in behalf of *Hyrcanus*, and *Nichodemus*, for *Ariſtobulus*, came in quality of ambaſſadors to him: They preſented *Pompey* with an accuſation againſt *Galinius*, and *Scaurus*; the one for receiving five hundred, and the other three hundred talents; and which was the worſt, fomenting a violent enmity between their two maſters. *Ptolomy* ordered the ambaſſadors, who managed this affair, to come to him again in the beginning of the ſpring, and drawing his army out of their winter quarters, he marched into the country about *Damaſcus*; but in his way demoliſhed the caſtle of *Apamia*, which had been fortified by *Antiochus Cyzicenus*; and did not forget the kingdom of *Ptolomy Mennæus*, who had behaved himſelf no better than *Dyoniſius* of *Tripolis*, his relation, had done; *Ptolomy*, however, was obliged, to attone for his diſloyalty, to pay a ſum of a thouſand talents to *Pompey*, with which he paid his army: Moreover, he took the garriſon of *Lyſias*, commanded by *Silas* the *Jew*. Having taken his rout through the cities of *Heliopolis* and *Chalcis*, and marched over the mountain bounding *Cœlo-Syria*, he went from *Pella* to *Damaſcus*, where he gave audience to the *Jews* and their leaders, *Hyrcanus* and *Ariſtobulus*, whoſe pretenſions were not eaſily to be reconciled; their differences was very great, and the nation in general ſeemed to favour neither: For they remonſtrated to *Pompey*, how they were not accuſtomed to be obedient to a regal government; that the inſtitutions of their country, enjoined them to be ſubjects to the prieſts of the God they worſhiped; and that theſe two brothers being deſcended from the ſacerdotal race, had endeavoured to bring a change into the government, with no other view than to make them ſlaves. *Hyrcanus*, in anſwer to this charge, complained, that *Ariſtobulus* had unjuſtly ſupplanted him in his juſt pretenſions, when he was his elder brother, and his ſeniority pleaded ſo ſtrongly in his behalf; that he had but a ſmall parcel of ground to live upon, *Ariſtobulus* having forcibly taken the reſt from him; and that he was the ſole perſon guilty of the ſeveral incurſions made into the bordering countries, and of the piracies committed at ſea; and that the *Jewiſh* nation were not to be charged with any rebellion, unleſs at ſuch times when he ſhewed himſelf tyrannical and abſolute. Above a thouſand of the principal *Jews*, who had been ſubborned by *Antipater*

tipater in this affair, atteſted the truth of theſe remonſtrances. *Ariſtobulus*, in his defence, urged the neceſſity he was under of depriving him of the kingdom, on account of his natural inactivity and indolence, which made him the dupe of every one: That he had taken the government into his hands, *he added*, through an apprehenſion, which ſeemed well grounded, of the kingdom's being transferred to another, and that he had taken upon him ſelf no other name, then what his father *Alexander* had uſed before him. Of theſe aſſertions he produced as witneſſes ſeveral young men, of bold addreſs, who had adorned themſelves with purple, combed their hair in a very gay manner, and dreſſed themſelves with an affected ſhew of gentility, not ſo much to urge the cauſe of *Ariſtobulus*, as to diſcover the ridiculous grandeur and pomp of their gaudy trappings.

Pompey, having heard the remonſtrances of both parties, condemned *Ariſtobulus* of tyranny; after which he diſmiſſed the audience in a very obliging manner, telling them at their departure, he would come into their country, and endeavour to ſettle every thing to their mutual ſatisfactions; after he had firſt taken ſome care of the affairs of the *Nabatæans*: And in the mean while, he adviſed them to preſerve peace among themſelves, ſtill honouring *Ariſtobulus*, for fear he ſhould make the kingdom revolt, and hinder him from coming over to their aſſiſtance. *Ariſtobulus*, however, little minded what had been done, for forgetting every thing *Pompey* had given in charge, he withdrew to the city *Delius*, and from thence went into *Judea*.

This behaviour of *Ariſtobulus* enraged *Pompey*, who taking the army he had deſigned againſt the *Nabatæans*, and the ſoldiers out of *Damaſcus*, and the other parts of *Syria*, and the *Roman* legions he had with him, marched out to meet *Ariſtobulus*. Having paſſed by *Pella* and *Scythopolis*, he came to *Corſæa*, a city on the very frontiers of *Judea*, as you travel through the inland country. Near this place was a mountain, upon which ſtood the caſtle of *Alexandrius*, into which *Ariſtobulus* had withdrawn. *Pompey* ſent word to him here, ordering him to come to him. Several perſons adviſing him not to hazard a battle with the *Romans*, he, at length, yielded and came down to him. Diſputes were again revived by the two brothers, concerning their different pretenſions to the kingdom. But *Ariſtobulus* again, by permiſſion of *Pompey*, went up into the caſtle, which he did the ſecond and third time, ſuffering himſelf to be flattered with hopes of obtaining the kingdom, and pretending obedience to every thing *Pompey* commanded: But in fact he withdrew into the caſtle, fearing he ſhould loſe it, and put himſelf in a poſture to defend himſelf, apprehending he would transfer the kingdom to *Hyrcanus*. But *Pompey* taking upon him to command him to ſurrender up his ſeveral caſtles, and writing with his own hand to the ſeveral governors of the garriſons to that end, which, if not complied with, he would effectually hinder any one from withdrawing to them, he was obliged at laſt, though with great reluctance, to obey the ſummons. After this he retired to *Hieroſolyma*, where he made neceſſary preparations to defend himſelf. Shortly after this, *Pompey*, as he was marching his army againſt him, received news in the road, from ſome perſons who came from *Pontus*, that *Mithridates* was dead, having been ſlain by his ſon *Pharnaces*.

CHAP. IV.

Of Pompey'*s beſieging and taking* Hieroſolyma, *upon the Citizens ſhutting their Gates upon him. Of his other Actions in* Judea.

POMPEY having encamped at *Jericho*, (at which place palm trees grow in abundance, and the beſt balſam in the world is found, which by cutting the fruit with the ſharp edge of a ſtone, ſtreams out in the nature of juice,) the next morning marched to *Hieroſolyma*. *Ariſtobulus*, terrified at his approach, changed his reſolution, and went to him, promiſing him a large ſum of money, and to admit him in the city, provided he would lay aſide his deſigns of making war againſt him, aſſuring him likewiſe o perform any thing he inſiſted upon, on con-ition he would grant him peace. *Pompey* hav-ng allowed his petition, ſent *Gabinius* and his rmy to receive the money, and take poſſeſſion f the city: But none of theſe agreements ere performed. *Gabinius* finding the gates hut againſt him, was obliged to return without ceiving the money agreed upon, for the ldiers of *Ariſtobulus* abſolutely rejected the onditions. *Pompey* enraged at this proceeding, aving firſt ordered *Ariſtobulus* into cuſtody, arched up to the city, which was in every place exceedingly well fortified, except on the north-ſide, where it was not ſo ſtrongly defended. A broad and deep ditch ſurrounded it, which comprehended the temple, and a ſtone wall of great ſtrength encloſed all the town.

The citizens within were grievouſly tormented with a ſedition amongſt themſelves, entertaining ſeparate opinions about what was to be done in this their emergency. Some were for ſurrendering up the city to *Pompey* as the ſafeſt method; others, on the contrary, who were in the intereſts of *Ariſtobulus*, adviſed keeping the gates ſhut againſt him, and preparing for battle, becauſe *Pompey* had put *Ariſtobulus* in chains. Thoſe of this latter opinion ſeized upon the temple, and broke down the bridge leading thence into the city, reſolving to hold out the ſiege: But the former letting in *Pompey*'s army ſurrendered to them the city and palace. *Pompey*, however, ſent *Piſo* his general with an army to ſecure the city and palace, with a good garriſon, and fortify the houſes, and other places adjoining to the temple. The perſons within at firſt made offers to conclude a peace, but their refuſing to accept the conditions made them obliged *Piſo* to throw up a wall quite round the places, *Hyrcanus*, all the time, induſtriouſly giving his aſſiſtance. Beſides, *Ptolomy* encamped without, on the north-ſide of the temple, where it was the eaſieſt to be attacked. Several large towers were erected here, and a very deep ditch encloſed it. The ſteep part which faced the city, and the bridge between, were over againſt the place where *Pompey* lay. The *Romans*, continuing daily to hew down the trees round about their camp, were in great forwardneſs with their works; but after they had completed their undertaking, they found a prodigious deal of labour in filling up the ditch, which was exceeding deep. *Pompey* having now fixed his engines, which he had brought with him from *Tyre*, reſolved to batter the temple with ſtones: But our nation had certainly hindered the *Romans* from bringing their works to any perfection, if a ſeven days feſtival, at this very time, by our law appointed to be kept, had not tied up their hands. Our law does not order its ſubjects to ſit ſtill and be idle ſpectators, while an enemy commits its hoſtilities upon them; but on the contrary permits them to repel their attacks, but abſolutely forbids them to do any thing elſe.

The *Romans* coming to underſtand this, refrained, on thoſe days we call the ſabbaths, from throwing their darts, or making any attacks upon the *Jews*; and only raiſed their ramparts and towers, and placed their engines, in order the following day to make uſe of them. From hence it is pretty eaſy to conceive the extraordinary affection our nation expreſſed on this occaſion for the ſervice of God, and the great regard they paid to a due obſervance of our laws; for the ſiege was ſo far from filling them with any apprehenſions, or cauſing them to deſiſt from their holy worſhip, that twice every day, which was in the morning, and at the ninth hour, they ſacrificed at the altar. And though at the taking of the temple, in the third month, on a day of faſting, in the one hundred and ſeventy firſt *Olympiad*, *Caius Antonius*, and *M. Tulley Cicero* being conſuls, the enemy violently entered and put to the ſword all within, yet thoſe attending on the ſacrifices were ſo far from deſiſting from the action they were about, or fearing to loſe their lives, or entertaining any thoughts of flying away, at the ſight of the number that were ſlain, that they eſteemed it more honourable to undergo any kind of danger, which they reſolved to ſuſtain at the altar, rather than be found guilty of the leaſt tranſgreſſion againſt their laws. And that this account is not fabulous, or calculated with no other deſign, than to give a commendation of falſe piety, the tranſactions of *Pompey*, as delivered by *Strabo*, and *Nicholaus*, and *Titus Livy*, the *Roman* hiſtorian, are a ſufficient proof.

As ſoon as the engines began to play, greateſt part of the towers ſhock, and tumbled down, whereby a large breach was made, through which the enemy ruſhed in great fury, *Cornelius Fauſtus*, the ſon of *Sylla*, was the firſt who mounted the wall with his band of ſoldiers. He was ſeconded by *Furius* the *Centurion*, with his body of men, and then came *Fabius* the *Centurion* with his forces. Every place was full of bloodſhed. The *Jews* fell in heaps, numbers of them being ſlain by the *Romans*, and numbers by the hands of their own countrymen; ſome caſt themſelves headlong down from ſteep places, and others ſetting fire to their houſes, burnt themſelves in the flames, chuſing rather to die ſo, than undergo the calamities that might happen. About twelve thouſand *Jews* ſuffered death at this time, and but very few of the *Romans*. *Abſalom*, uncle of *Ariſtobulus*, was taken priſoner. The ſacredneſs of the temple did not receive a ſmall perjudice now, which before was inacceſſible, either to feet or eyes. For *Pompey* and a great number of his train went into the *Adyt*, or *Holy of Holies*, and ſurveyed thoſe things which no man, excepting the prieſts, who were the only perſons authorized to ſee, had beheld. Though *Pompey* ſaw the gold table, and the ſacred candleſtic, and the libation veſſels, and the great quantity of *Aromatics*, and two thouſand talents of holy money, repoſited in the treaſury, yet, through a motive of devotion, he forbore laying his fingers upon any thing there; by which act of moderation he ſinglized himſelf according to his reputed great virtue. The next day he ordered the temple to be purified, and libations offered to God as the law preſcribed, reſtoring at the ſame time the prieſthood to *Hyrcanus*, (not only on account of ſeveral kindneſſes he had received from him, but the vigour he had ſhewed, in hindering the *Jewiſh* citizens from giving *Ariſtobulus* any aſſiſtance,) and beheading the authors of the war, *Pompey* handſomely rewarded *Fauſtus* and the reſt, who firſt mounted the wall, and made the city *Hieroſolyma* tributary to the *Romans*. The ſeveral cities the *Jews* had taken in *Cœlo-Syria*, he put under the government of a *Roman* prætor, and included all the kingdom within its own bounds. He rebuilt *Gadara*, which had been demoliſhed a little time before, to honour his freed-man *Demetrius Gadarenſis*. As to the cities *Hippus*, and *Scythopolis*, and *Pella*, and *Dius*, and *Samaria* and *Mariſſa*, and *Azotus*, and *Jamnia*, and *Arethuſa*, he reſtored them to their native inhabitants. Theſe inland towns, beſides thoſe which had been deſtroyed, and the citizens on the ſea coaſts, as *Gaza*, and *Joppa*, and *Dor*, and the tower of *Straton*, (afterwards by *Herod* called *Ceſarea*, and magnificently adorned with fine portico's and temples) he ſuffered to remain free, and made them part of the province of *Syria*.

Hyrcanus and *Ariſtobulus*, by the vigorous reſolution they mutually ſhewed to maintain their pretenſions, was the ſole cauſe of the late terrible ſlaughter; for, beſides the calamities our nation ſuffered thereby, the foundation of our liberties was undermined, and the *Romans* became maſters of us and that country, which we had before wreſted out of the hands of the *Syrians*, to whom we were compelled to reſtore it again. This was not all; for in ſhort time the *Romans* exacted of us ten thouſand

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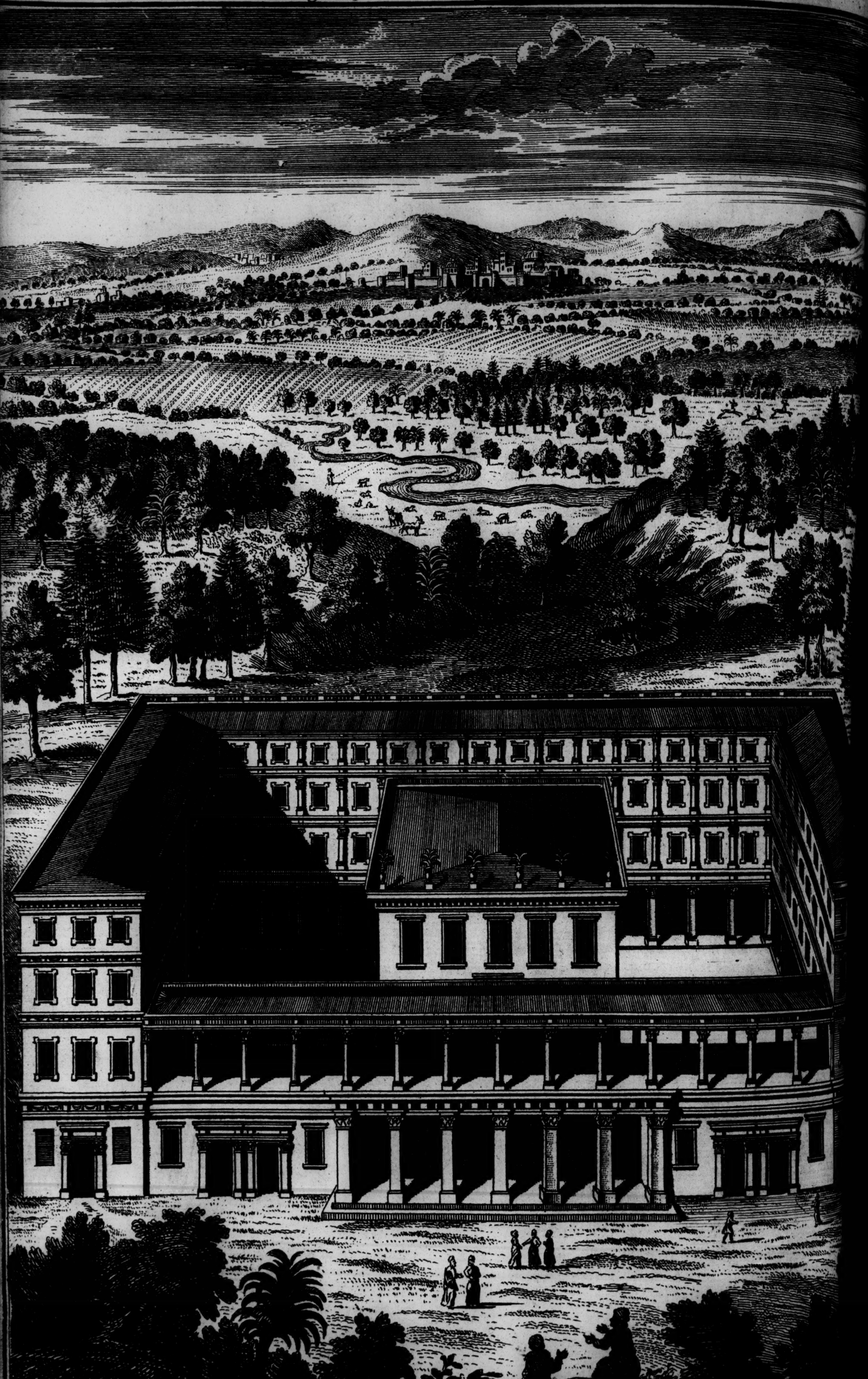
The House of the Forest of Lebanon.



thouſand talents of money, aboliſhing the regal authority, which had ſucceeded the ſacerdotal government, and placing in its room a democratic form of adminiſtration. But of theſe things we ſhall ſpeak in their proper places. After *Pompey* had inveſted *Scaurus* with the government of *Cœlo-Syria*, as far as the river *Euphrates* and *Ægypt*, he marched with two legions of *Romans* into *Celicia*, deſigning to uſe his utmoſt expedition to get back to *Rome*, and carry *Ariſtobulus* and his children priſoners with him. There were two ſons and two daughters; one of them named *Alexander*, found means to make his eſcape, but *Antigonus* the younger, in company with his ſiſters, was carried to *Rome*.

CHAP. V.

Of the League made by Scaurus *with* Aretas, *and the Actions of* Gabinius *in* Judea, *after he had defeated* Alexander *the Son of* Ariſtobulus.

SCAURUS making an expedition againſt *Petra*, a country in *Arabia*, found his army reduced to great extremity of hunger by reaſon of the difficulty of his paſſage, and the country round him being entirely ravaged. *Antipater* by order of *Hyrcanus*, who had heard of the ſtreights he was put to, ſent him a ſupply of corn and other neceſſaries. *Scaurus* ſent *Aretas* an ambaſſador, reminding him of their former friendſhip, and ſoliciting him for a ſum of money to refrain from waſting the country, which he thought he would ſurely comply with for three hundred talents. *Scaurus*, by propoſing this, ended the war to the mutual ſatisfaction of both, who were equally deſirous of it.

Shortly after this, *Alexander* the ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, making inroads into *Judea*, *Gabinius* the general, came from *Rome* into *Syria*, to put a ſtop to his progreſs; and he came very opportunely to repreſs *Alexander*, whoſe ſtrength *Hyrcanus* was in no condition now to withſtand, having ſeveral times reſolved to rebuild the walls of *Hieroſolyma*, pulled down by *Pompey*: But the *Romans* garriſoned in the town hindered him from putting his deſign in execution. However, *Alexander* travelled over the country of *Judea*, and in a ſhort time raiſed an army of *Jews*, conſiſting of ten thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred horſe. He alſo fortified *Alexandrius* (a caſtle near the city *Corea*) and *Machæro*, in the mountains of *Arabia*. *Gabinius* went out in purſuit of him, *Mark Anthony*, and the other officers, being ſent before with the *Romans* they had brought with them, and the *Jews* under their obedience, who were commanded by *Pitholaus* and *Malichus*; they were joined with the forces *Antipater* brought, and with theſe ſuccours they went to meet *Alexander*, *Gabinius* with his heavy armed troops marching after them. *Alexander* had withdrawn within a little way of *Rome*, and when both armies were near one another, the battle began, in which the *Romans* ſlew upwards of two thouſand of the enemy, and took a great number of priſoners.

In the mean time *Gabinius* marched up to *Alexandrius*, to the garriſon of which, he offered terms of compoſition, and aſſured them, before hand, to indemnify them from the puniſhment due to them for their diſloyalty. Part of the enemy had encamped before the caſtle, which was attacked by the *Romans*. *Mark Anthony*, by the bravery and reſolution he ſhewed on this occaſion, ſeemed to ſnatch the palm from all the reſt. *Gabinius*, leaving part of his army to carry on the ſiege, marched with the remainder into *Judea*, and all the cities he found there deſtroyed he ordered to be rebuilt. By this means *Samaria*, *Azotus*, *Scythopolis*, *Anthedon*, *Raphia*, *Dora*, *Mariſſa*, and *Gaza*, and ſeveral others, were rebuilt or repaired. Theſe towns had been for a long time quite abandoned; but while their ſeveral inhabitants paid obedience to the orders of *Gabinius*, they enjoyed great peace, and remained unmoleſted.

Gabinius having put the affairs of the country into this promiſing ſituation, went back to *Alexandrius*, and while he was intent upon the ſiege, ambaſſadors came to him from *Alexander*, ſoliciting a peace in behalf of their maſter, who was ready to ſurrender to him *Hyrcania* and *Machæro*, two caſtles of defence, and after them *Alexandrius*. Now *Gabinius* deſtroyed theſe places. *Alexander*'s mother, favouring the ſide of the *Romans*, on account of her huſband and children's being kept priſoners at *Rome*, came to *Gabinius*, who honourably granted her requeſts, and after he had made an end of her negotiation, he carried *Hyrcanus* to *Hieroſolyma*, to take upon him the care of the temple. After this, he appointed five judicial courts to try cauſes in, and divided the nation into as many parts, by which means ſome might try their pleas at *Hieroſolyma*, ſome at *Gadara*, ſome at *Amatho*, ſome at *Jericho*, and others at *Sepphora* of *Galilee*. Thus the *Jews* loſt their regal government, and became ſubject to an ariſtocracy.

CHAP. VI.

How Gabinius *ſent* Ariſtobulus *back to* Rome, *from whence he had made his* Eſcape, *and being taken. Of the Victory* Gabinius *obtained over* Alexander *and the* Nabatæns, *after his Return out of* Ægypt.

ARISTOBULUS having made his eſcape from *Rome* into *Judea*, and given open ſigns of his intentions to refortify *Alexandrius*, which had been lately demoliſhed, obliged *Gabinius* to ſend an army againſt him, commanded by *Siſenna*, *Anthony*, and *Servilius*, to whom he gave ſtrict orders, to hinder, by all poſſible means, his ſeizing upon the place, and to watch every opportunity to take him. Great numbers of *Jews* flocked to *Ariſtobulus*, pleaſed with the ſentiments they entertained of his former grandeur, and the deſire he ſhewed to work ſome revolution. One *Pitholaus* went from *Hieroſolyma* at the head of a thouſand men, and joined him, but the major part of his followers were raw and unexperienced ſoldiers. *Ariſtobulus* making a reſolution to withdraw to *Machæro*, diſcharged this number of undiſciplined men, (apprehending they would be ſo many impediments to his martial deſigns) and reſerving thoſe who had arms, who were about eight thouſand in number, he began his march. But the *Romans* meeting them on the road, began a vigorous engagement, in which the *Jews* received a remarkable defeat, a great number over-powered by the *Roman* ſtrength, being compelled to fly. Five thouſand were killed on the ſpot, and the reſt diſperſing themſelves, endeavoured, as well as they were able, to ſecure themſelves by flight. *Ariſtobulus* got off with a thouſand men or more, and ſhut himſelf up in *Machæro*, which he prepared to fortify, and in ſpite of his ill-fortune, ſtill entertained chearful hopes. But having held out the ſiege two days, and received ſeveral wounds, he was taken with his ſon *Antigonus*, who had eſcaped with him from *Rome*, and brought before *Gabinius:* Thus, in conſequence of his ill fortune, he was ſent again to *Rome*, and there put in chains, after he had been a king, and a high prieſt three years and ſix months, being a prince of great addreſs and courage. The ſenate, however, ſet his children at liberty, upon *Gabinius* ſending them a letter, wherein he ſaid he had promiſed that favour to their mother upon her ſurrendering to him the caſtles in her poſſeſſion. By this means his children returned back into *Judea*.

Gabinius, in the mean while, having fixed upon an expedition againſt the *Parthians*, croſſed his army over the *Euphrates*, but ſuddenly changing his reſolution, he marched back into *Ægypt*, having a deſign of reſtoring *Ptolemy* to his kingdom. Now theſe tranſactions are mentioned by other hiſtorians. *Gabinius*, in his expedition againſt *Archelaus*, received from *Antipater* a conſiderable ſupply of corn, arms, and money. Moreover, he procured the ſame kindneſs for him, from the *Jews* garriſoned above *Peluſium*, in the ſeveral paſſes leading into *Ægypt*. Theſe alſo offered him their alliance. In his return out of *Ægypt*, he found *Syria* overwhemed in a very hot ſedition, for *Alexander*, the ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, having forcibly wreſted the government again into his hands, compelled ſeveral *Jews* to revolt, and with a powerful body of forces, making inroads into the heart of the country, he put to death every *Roman* he met with. But thoſe who had the fortune to eſcape, withdrew to mount *Garizim*, where he laid cloſe ſiege to them.

Gabinius finding the affairs of *Syria* in this melancholy ſituation, ſent *Antipater*, a very prudent and ſkilful commander, before him to the rebels, to try if he could bring them to a ſenſe of their diſobedience, and reſtore them to their duty. According to the directions given him, he marched among them, a great number whereof he reſtrained by his good advice, and thoſe, who neglected his counſel, he reduced by force; but all his endeavours were ineffectual to put a ſtop to the progreſs of *Alexander*. This prince being at the head of thirty thouſand men, went out to meet *Gabinius*, whom he engaged, but was defeated, loſing ten thouſand of his men at the mountain *Itabyrius*.

After this, *Gabinius* having put, according to *Antipater*'s deſire, the affairs of *Hieroſolyma* in a promiſing condition, marched againſt the *Nabatæans*, whom he overthrew. *Mithridates* and *Arſanes*, two fugitive *Parthians*, who had withdrawn to him for refuge, upon a report being ſpread, that they had eſcaped from him, he kept nearer his perſon. And at length, having performed a number of famous and great actions, he returned to *Rome*, ſurrendering firſt the government of his province to *Craſſus*. Of theſe expeditions of *Pompey* and *Gabinius* againſt the *Jews*, *Nicholaus* of *Damaſcus*, and *Strabo* the *Cappadocian*, make ample mention, both their accounts agreeing in the ſeveral facts as near as poſſible.

CHAP. VII.

Of Craſſus's *March into* Judea, *and rifling the Temple. Of his Battle with the* Parthians, *wherein he loſt his Army and his own Life. Of his obtaining* Syria, *and driving out the* Parthians, *and his going back into* Judea.

CRASSUS, deſigning an expedition againſt the *Parthians*, came into *Judea*, where taking away out of the temple the money which *Pompey* had left untouched, (being two thouſand talents) he, at laſt, took upon himſelf to ſtrip the temple of all the gold in it, amounting to eight thouſand talents. But not contented with this rich ſpoil, he took a beam of maſſy gold, weighing three hundred minas, each mina containing with us two pounds and an half. *Eleazar* the prieſt, who was the treaſurer of the ſacred money, gave *Craſſus* this beam. This action was not the reſult of any baſe deſign, *Eleazar* being too good and honeſt a man to be guilty of any diſhonourable thing. He had the cuſtody of the veils of the temple, and all the other curious and coſtly furniture, which were hung upon this beam. *Craſſus* accidentally eſpied him buſied in collecting the gold. This made *Eleazar* fear loſing all the furniture of the temple; upon which ground, to ſave the reſt, he gave him the golden beam, firſt extorting an oath from him not to ſeize upon any thing elſe in the temple, but remain ſatisfied with what he had given him, being of the value of ſeveral thouſand pounds. This beam was repoſited in an hollow wooden caſe, which kept the reſt out of ſight; but *Eleazar* was the only perſon privy to this ſecret. However, *Craſſus* ſeized upon this too, though bound by oath not to meddle with any thing in the temple beſide, and took all the gold he could find.

Let no man, from the account I have given of this matter, take occaſion to wonder, that ſuch a prodigious quantity of riches ſhould be lodged in our temple, when he is informed, that all the *Jews*, as well *Europeans* as *Aſiatics*, who worſhipped our God, had for ſeveral ages backwards, ſent their ſeveral donations thither. Nor is this account of this vaſt wealth, without witneſſes to confirm what we have here aſſerted; neither have we, out of a vain oſtentation, or to enlarge our ſubject with empty words, been induced to write a falſhood: For ſeveral hiſtorians ſufficiently teſtify the truth of what we have related, but eſpecially *Strabo* the *Cappadocian*, in theſe words: 'Certain perſons, by order of *Mithridates*, were ſent into *Cos*, to bring away thence the money which *Cleopatra* the queen had repoſited there, as alſo eight hundred talents of the *Jews*.' Now we have no public money but what is dedicated to God. And from hence it is plain, that the *Jews* inhabiting *Aſia*, imagined *Mithridates* had transferred this money into *Cos*; for it ſeems very improbable, that the *Jews* living in *Judea*, who had a city and temple in their own country, ſo very well fortified and guarded, ſhould ſend their money to *Cos*. Nor is it eaſily to be believed, that the *Jews* at *Alexandria* ſhould do thus; for they had no occaſion to be any ways doubtful of *Mithridates*. Beſides *Strabo*, in another place, makes for us in this affair, where he ſpeaks of *Sylla*'s paſſing over into *Greece*, to give *Mithridates* battle, and ſending *Lucullus* into *Cyrene*, to put a ſtop to a ſedition of our nation, at that time very populous over all the world. His words are theſe, 'In the city *Cyrene*, were four claſſes or degrees of men, *namely*, citizens, huſbandmen, foreigners, and *Jews*. Theſe laſt had puſh'd themſelves almoſt into every city, and it's no eaſy matter to find any place over the whole world, wherein this nation hath not procured habitations, and fixed itſelf: For both *Ægypt* and *Cyrene*, which are ſubject to the ſame government, and ſeveral other countries, give particular liberties to the *Jews*, great numbers of whom they entertain, and not only practice their cuſtoms and laws, but enrich them with their own wealth; for it cannot be denied but that great multitudes of *Jews* live in *Ægypt*, the major part of the city *Alexandria* being ſet a part for them; beſides, they have a particular governor of their own, who is inveſted with the adminiſtration of their affairs, determines all their judicial proceedings, makes decrees and edicts, and in every reſpect acts as the chief of a perfect and modelled republic. The *Jews*, in reſpect of their deriving their original from the *Ægyptians*, and their departing out of their country, and continuing their near neighbours, have great power and authority in *Ægypt*. As for *Cyrene*, the neareſt place bordering upon *Ægypt*, it is in like manner as *Judea*, or a place filled with *Jews*, or rather it was a part of the old *Ægyptian* kingdom.' Thus far *Strabo*.

Craſſus having acted in every thing juſt as he thought fit, marched into the country of the *Parthians*, where he was routed with the loſs of his whole army, and his own life, as ſhall be treated of in another place. *Craſſus* withdrew into *Syria*, out of which he drove the *Parthians*, who harraſſed the country by often making incurſions into it, being encouraged by the victory they had obtained over him. After he had the ſecond time viſited *Tyre*, he marched up into *Judea*, and making an attack upon *Trachee*, he took it at the firſt aſſault, taking above thirty thouſand of the enemy priſoners. *Craſſus* then by advice of *Antipater* put to death *Pitholaus* the ſucceſſor, and fomenter of the ſedition raiſed under *Ariſtobulus*. *Antipater*, at this time, had great authority under *Craſſus*; and not only ſo, but the *Idumæans*, (from whom he had taken a wife, named *Cypron*, deſcended from a noble *Arabian* family, by whom he had four ſons, *Phaſael*, *Herod*, who afterwards came to be king, *Joſeph*, and *Pherora*, and a daughter named

Salome,) very much eſteemed him. Beſides, he had procured the alliance and friendſhip of ſeveral other princes, and eſpecially, of the *Arabian* king, with whom he had placed his children during his campaign with *Ariſtobulus*. *Craſſus* about this time, decamped and march'd directly to the *Euphrates*, deſigning to put a ſtop to the ravages of the enemy thereabouts, as is mentioned by other hiſtorians.

Some time after this *Cæſar*, having ſeized upon *Rome*, after *Pompey* and the ſenate had withdrawn beyond the *Ionian* ſea, diſcharged *Ariſtobulus* out of his confinement, deſigning to ſend him into *Syria*. Accordingly, he put him at the head of two legions, as thinking him a fit perſon to put an end to the troubles in that country. But *Ariſtobulus* was entirely deceived in the hopes he had receiv'd from *Cæſar*, for, before he could put his deſign in execution, *Pompey*'s men took him out of the way by poiſon, and the *Cæſareans* buried him, his body was covered with honey, and remained ſo, till *Anthony* ſent it into *Judea*, where it was interred in the ſepulchre of the kings. *Scipio*, in obedience to a letter he received from *Pompey*, wherein he ordered him to put the ſon of *Ariſtobulus* to death, having brought an accuſation of ſeveral enormous crimes againſt the young prince, which, as he alledged, he had committed to the prejudice of the *Romans*, took off his head, which was performed at *Antioch*. *Ptolomy*, ſon of *Mennæus*, the governor of *Chalcis* under mount *Libanus*, received his brothers into his protection. He ſent, beſides, his ſon *Philippion* to *Ariſtobulus*'s queen then at *Aſcalon*, deſiring her to ſend with him her ſon *Antigonus* and two daughters, one of whom named *Alexandra*, *Philippion* falling deeply in love with, he married her. But *Ptolomy* his father, ſome time after put him to death, and took *Alexandra* to himſelf, ſhewing a particular reſpect for her brothers.

CHAP. VIII.

The Jews *aſſiſt* Cæſar *during his Campaigns in* Ægypt. *The famous Actions of* Antipater; *and the Friendſhip between him and* Cæſar. *The Honours beſtowed upon the* Jews *by the* Romans *and* Athenians.

CÆSAR, after the death of *Pompey*, and the victory he had obtained over him, received conſiderable helps from *Antipater*, the governor of the *Jews*: Though nothing was done without the orders of *Hyrcanus*. As *Cæſar* was marching to the relief of *Mithridates Pergamenus* with a body of auxiliaries, with which he was not able to paſs through *Peluſium*, but forced to ſtop at *Aſcalon*, *Antipater* came up with him, at the head of three thouſand *Jewiſh* foot ſoldiers, and brought over the *Arabian* princes to eſpouſe his cauſe; the *Syrians* alſo, to oblige him, lent *Cæſar* their aſſiſtance. Among the number that came to give him ſuccour, were *Jamblichus* the *Dynaſt*, and *Ptolomy* his ſon, and *Tholomy*, ſon of *Soem*, princes of mount *Labinus*. *Mithridates* decamping, marched out of *Syria*, and came to *Peluſium*, the inhabitants whereof refuſing him admittance he laid ſiege to them. On this occaſion *Antipater* behaved himſelf in a very brave manner, for he was the firſt, who pulling down part of the wall, made a breach, through which the army paſſed, and took the town. *Mithridates* and *Antipater* going to *Cæſar*, were repulſed by the *Ægyptian Jews*, inhabiting the country called *Onias*. *Antipater* endeavoured to perſuade them to the ſame ſentiments entertained by their countrymen, and for this purpoſe he ſhew'd a letter wrote by *Hyrcanus* the high-prieſt, wherein he adviſed them to procure *Cæſar*'s friendſhip, and gratify his army with preſents, and all manner of neceſſaries. The *Jews*, finding *Antipater* and *Hyrcanus* in the ſame opinion, were at length induced to obey *Mithridates*. The citizens of *Memphis* hearing of *Mithridates*'s arrival at their city, admitted him within, and after a ſhort ſtay, they joined his army.

After he had marched round *Della*, he attacked the enemy at the place called the *Jewiſh Tents*, *Mithridates* commanded the right, and *Antipater* the left wing. The ſignal of battle being given, *Mithridates*'s wing immediately gave ground, and had unavoidably been cut to pieces, if *Antipater* with the wing he commanded, had not made all imaginable haſte to the banks of the river, and freed him from the hands of the victorious *Ægyptians*, whom he now defeated and put to flight. In the purſuit he took their camp, and called back *Mithridates*, who, by the repulſe he had receiv'd, had got off at a pretty diſtance. *Mithridates* loſt eight hundred, but *Antipater* only fifty of his men: *Mithridates* wrote a letter with his own hand to *Cæſar*, wherein he acknowledged that the victory he had obtained, and the preſervation of his life, were owing to the gallant behaviour of *Antipater*. *Cæſar*, receiving this account, openly commended his actions, and during the campaign made uſe of his bravery in the greateſt dangers, till he had the ill fortune to be wounded.

Cæſar having finiſhed the campaign, ſail'd into *Syria*, where he heaped great honours upon *Antipater*, making him a free denizen of *Rome*, and granting him as ſuch, all the liberties of that famous city; he alſo confirmed the prieſthood to *Hyrcanus*. Several hiſtorians ſay, *Antipater* was an ally in this expedition, and came on that account into *Ægypt*, and to corroborate this aſſertion, *Strabo* the *Cappadocian*, from the authority of *Aſinius*, ſpeaks thus in the following words: ' After ' *Mithridates*, in conjunction with *Hyrcanus* ' the high-prieſt of the *Jews*, had invaded ' *Ægypt*.' The ſame hiſtorian from the authority of *Hypſicrates*, ſpeaks in another place thus: ' *Mithridates* took his march by himſelf, but ſent for *Antipater*, who came to ' him to *Aſcalon*, at the head of three thouſand ſoldiers, and influenced ſome other

‘ princes to follow his example, beſides *Hyrcanus* the high-prieſt was concerned in this expedition.’ Thus far *Strabo*.

About this time came *Antigonus*, the ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, to *Cæſar*, to whom he complain'd of his father's misfortune, of his being poiſoned, and of *Scipio*'s beheading his brother, and begged him to pity his own unjuſt fate in being deprived of his father's kingdom, and accuſed *Antipater* and *Hyrcanus* of governing tyrannically, and of uſing him in a very unjuſt manner. *Antipater*, who was preſent at this charge, returned a ſuitable anſwer to the articles alledged againſt him, and proved manifeſtly that *Antigonus*'s deſign was to raiſe a ſedition, and attempt a revolution of affairs. He enlarged much upon the labours he had ſuſtained to ſerve him, and the great aſſiſtance he had been to him in his military affairs, of which he gave him a ſhort account, and of which, he ſaid, he had been an eye witneſs.

As to *Ariſtobulus*, he added, that he had, with great juſtice, been remanded back to *Rome*, as manifeſting himſelf a declar'd enemy of the *Romans*, and never eaſy but when he was committing hoſtilities againſt them. That *Scipio*, having taken his brother in a robbery, did no more than puniſh him as his crime deſerved, and therefore a charge of violence or injuſtice could not be laid to that *Roman* for beheading him.

Antipater having made an end of his defence, *Cæſar* not only pronounced the prieſthood as the ſole right of *Hyrcanus*, but alſo gave *Antipater* liberty to chooſe as much authority as he was willing to be inveſted with; and at laſt made him procurator of all *Judea*. *Hyrcanus*, upon his deſiring to rebuild the walls of *Hieroſolyma*, which had remained in ruins from the time of *Pompey*'s pulling them down, had his requeſt granted him. *Cæſar*, to do them the greater favour, ſent a letter to the conſuls at *Rome*, to order this affair to be recorded in the capitol. Upon this a *Senatus Conſultum*, or decree of ſenate, was made in this manner:

Lucius Valerius, *Son of* Lucius, *Prætor, had his Conference with the Senate, on the* Ides *of* December, *in the Temple of* Concord.

‘ AT writing the decree were preſent *Lucius Coponnis*, ſon of *Lucius*, of the tribe *Collina*, and *Papirius* of the tribe *Quirina*. The contents of the ſaid decree were managed by *Alexander*, ſon of *Jaſon*, *Neumenius*, ſon of *Antiochus*, and *Alexander*, ſon of *Dorotheus*, ambaſſadors ſent from the *Jews*, three good men and allies. Their negotiation was about renewing the antient friendſhip and alliance between the *Romans* and their nation, in teſtimony of which they brought a golden ſhield out of the number of five thouſand of the ſame metal. They petitioned for credential letters to be given them, in order to ſhew them to the free cities and the kings, that, without any injury being offer'd to their perſons, they might ſecurely travel through their ſeveral countries and harbours. Upon which ground the ſenate was pleaſed to confirm their petition to us, in token of which they accepted the golden ſhield.’

This ratification was made in (*a*) *Panemus*, the ninth year of the prieſthood of *Hyrcanus*. Moreover *Hyrcanus* met with a very honourable return from the *Athenians*, for the favours he had conferred upon them, and they ſent a decree made by them to this effect:

Prytanes *and the Prieſt* Dionyſius. *On the fifth Day of the Month* Aſclepiades, Panemus *being then paſt, was delivered this Decree to the Generals of the* Jews, Agothocles *being then* Archon.

‘ *ENCLES Alimuſius*, ſon of *Menander*, was ſcribe, and the council of the elders was held in the theatre upon the eleventh day of *Prytanes* in the month *Munychion*. *Dorotheus*, the high-prieſt, and the reſt of the elders, his colleagues, ſent to have the votes of the people. *Dionyſius*, ſon of *Dionyſius*, propronounced this decree: Whereas *Hyrcanus*, ſon of *Alexander*, high prieſt and *Ethuarc* of the *Jews*, doth not only in a publick but a private manner, from time to time, heap his favours and kindneſſes on every one of the *Athenians*, who either in quality of ambaſſadors, or on any other private affairs, go to him, always demonſtrating his extreme inclination to ſerve them, and to take care, in their return homeward, that they receive no interruption or injury, of which we have had a ſufficient teſtimony before now; we upon this ground, and upon the report which *Theodoſius*, the ſon of *Theodorus Sunienſus*, has made to the *Athenians*, of *Hyrcanus*'s great virtue, and his readineſs to oblige them on all occaſions, have thought fit to preſent him with a golden crown, and to erect, to his honour, a brazen ſtatue in the temple of *Demus* and the *Graces*, and to make known our gift to the crown, we will order it to be proclaimed in the theatre, at the *Dionyſia*, when the new tragedies are to be acted, at the *Panathemeæ*, at the *Elenſinia*, and in the *Gymnia*. And further to ſignify our good intentions, we will take care, provided *Hyrcanus* inviolably performs the agreements made between us and him, and keeps up the alliance now made, to ſhew reciprocal favours on our ſide, to his ambaſſadors for the honourable treatment he has ſhewed to the *Athenians*, whereby he ſhall perceive they are not inſenſible of favours received, or ſlow in making an honourable return where merit claims the reward. Beſides, we will appoint ambaſſadors to be choſen out of the whole body of the people, who ſhall be impowered to carry this decree to him, and relate the

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(*a*) *M. Dodwel* begins this Month from the 20th Day of *June*, according to the *Julian* Account.

‘ favours we have done him, in order to his future obtaining the ſame friendſhip, by a generous behaviour and good will to our city.’

This account is ſufficient to give an idea of the honours *Hyrcanus* received from the *Roman* and *Athenian* people.

CHAP. IX.

How Antipater *inveſted* Herod *with the Government of* Galilee, *and* Phaſael *with that of* Hieroſolyma. *And how* Herod, *the* Jews *entertaining malicious Deſigns againſt* Antipater, *was accuſed before* Hyrcanus.

CÆSAR, having ordered the affairs of *Syria*, embarked to return to *Rome*. *Antipater*, upon his leaving *Syria*, marched into *Judea*, where with great expedition he rebuilt the walls of *Hieroſolyma* which *Pompey* had pulled down; and making a tour throughout the country, he put an effectual ſtop to a ſedition that was ſpread throughout it, partly by threatnings, and partly by fair ſpeeches. He repreſented to them the happy life they would enjoy under *Hyrcanus*, and how peaceably they would poſſeſs their effects under his adminiſtration: That if they went about to ſhew any ſigns of innovation in the government, inſtead of having *Antipater* for their præfect, he would prove their lord *Paramount*, *Hyrcanus* in the room of a king would become a tyrant, and the *Romans* and *Cæſar*, inſtead of being their generals, would be themſelves their profeſſed enemies: For they would never allow a prince of their own electing to be removed from his government. Having made this remonſtrance, he put himſelf in a condition to adminiſter affairs by his ſole management.

Perceiving *Hyrcanus* of an indolent temper, and incapable of action, he inveſted his eldeſt ſon *Phaſael* with the government of *Hieroſolyma* and the adjoining country: His ſecond ſon *Herod*, who was but a youth, he placed in the government of *Galilee*, being no more than fifteen years of age. Notwithſtanding, his youth was no diſadvantage to him, for as he was a young man of a toward and generous ſpirit, he was not long in finding an opportunity of ſhewing his talents to advantage. For happening to apprehend *Ezekias*, the captain of a numerous gang of robbers, who committed their villanies and robberies up and down *Syria*, he put him and a great number of his diſſolute followers to death. This early action of his gained him great eſteem with the *Syrians*, for he entirely ſcoured their country of theſe pernicious men. The *Syrians*, to reward in ſome meaſure the benefit hereby done them, made frequent reports throughout the ſeveral cities and villages, of his being the reſerver of their peace, and the cauſe of the happy and ſafe condition of life they enjoyed. Theſe reports ſoon came to the ears of *Sextus Cæſar*, a relation of the Great *Cæſar*, who was procurator of *Syria*. This glorious beginning of *Herod*, fired his brother *Phaſael* with an emulation, not to be outdone in point of honour. To which end he made it his diligent ſtudy, by an eaſy and good government, to gain the affections of the *Hieroſolomites*, which he ſhortly accompliſhed by adminiſtring the affairs of the kingdom committed to him, in the moſt juſt manner, and uſing his power and authority to the protection, rather than the injury of any one. *Antipater*, by this glorious behaviour of his ſon, procured the extreme love of the people, who honoured him as if he had been their king; for they paid ſuch a deference to him, as would have ſuited well with one who was Lord of all. This prodigious ſplendour, to which he was arrived through his own bountiful fortune, did not, however, change his mind, as is often the caſe, with reſpect to the friendſhip and kindneſs he bore *Hyrcanus*.

Notwithſtanding, the principal amongſt the *Jews*, obſerving *Antipater* and his ſons conſiderably enrich themſelves out of the revenues of *Hyrcanus* and *Judea*, and that the favour the people ſhewed them daily encreaſed, began to be very diſcontented at their government. *Hyrcanus* had made a ſtrict alliance with the *Roman* general, to confirm which, in a manner forcibly obliged *Hyrcanus* to ſend a ſum of money, the honour of which he had attributed to himſelf, ſending the money as his own, and not as the preſent of *Hyrcanus*. This affair was diſcovered to *Hyrcanus*, who, inſtead of ſhewing any concern at it, ſeemed rather more glad. However, the *Jews* could not conceal their apprehenſions, when they had occular demonſtrations of *Herod*'s violent and haſty proceeding, and the great deſire he expreſſed to graſp at unlimited power; but full of uneaſineſs went to *Hyrcanus*, to whom they made their remonſtrances, and openly accuſed *Antipater*: ‘ And how long, *ſaid they*, will you tamely ſubmit to what is daily acted? Do you not ſee *Antipater* and his ſons have the real enjoyment of a kingdom, and yourſelf only flattered with the name of king? You ſhould not ſuppoſe yourſelf out of danger, while you live in this indolence and careleſſneſs of yourſelf and kingdom. *Antipater* and his ſons are no more your guardians and protectors. Be no longer flatter'd with ſuch deluſive thoughts, they are in effect become their own maſters and lords. For *Herod* his ſon hath put *Ezekias* and his accomplices to death againſt the law: For let a man be never ſo criminal, the *Jewiſh* conſtitution abſolutely forbids his being put to death before he has been tried by the (*a*) *Synedrin*, and judicially there condemned for his crime. And

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(*a*) Otherwiſe called *Sanhedrim*.

‘ yet *Herod*, without receiving commiſſion from ‘ you, has preſumed to do thus.’

Hyrcanus hearing this pathetic remonſtrance, was induced to credit it. The mothers of the perſons put to death by *Herod*, raiſed his paſſion to a great height; for every day they came into the temple ſolliciting him and the people to make *Herod* appear, and anſwer for his actions before the *Synedrin*. *Hyrcanus*, at length, wearied out with their continual petitions, ſummoned *Herod* to anſwer to the crimes alledged againſt him. *Herod* conſented to obey the ſummons, at the advice of his father, who bad him, after he had put the affairs of *Galilee* into a poſture of ſafety, go to *Hyrcanus*, not in the condition of a private man, but attended with a body-guard about his perſon, that he might not have any apprehenſions from the power of *Hyrcanus*, or hazard himſelf before the court in a naked and defenceleſs condition. *Sextus* the præfect of *Syria*, ſent a letter to *Hyrcanus*, wherein he admoniſhed him, under pain of his diſpleaſure, to hinder *Herod* from being tried. *Sextus*'s epiſtle proved of vaſt ſervice to *Herod* at this conjuncture, for the *Synedrin* diſmiſſed him without determining upon the puniſhment due to his crimes. *Sextus*, indeed, loved him as his ſon. When he came with his guards, and ſtood before the court, every one was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, and thoſe who had been, a little before, loud in their invectives againſt him, durſt not offer the leaſt accuſation. On the contrary, there was a deep ſilence among the audience, and every one ſeemed in the greateſt doubt and ſuſpence in what manner to act. Things being in this ſituation, one *Samæus*, a very juſt man, and one of an undaunted courage, ſtood up, and made a ſpeech to this effect: ‘ My fellow ‘ judges, and you, O king; I cannot ſay that ‘ I ever ſaw, nor do I believe you are able ‘ to name one ſingle man, who ever ſtood ‘ before this court in the manner *Herod* does. ‘ Perſons coming to be tried before the *Synedrin*, conſtantly appear in an humble ‘ and ſuppliant condition, with ſorrow and ‘ fear in their countenances, their hair careleſly hanging down, and dreſt in a very ‘ plain manner. On the contrary, this *good* ‘ *man* Herod, guilty of the murther for which ‘ he ſtands accuſed, preſents himſelf before ‘ us in purple, and with an head of hair ‘ beautifully combed out and adorned, and ‘ ſurrounded with a body of armed men: So ‘ that if we proceed to convict him according to the direction of the law, he will not ‘ only put us to death, but, violating the ‘ law, make his eſcape alſo. Then *Herod* ‘ will not be the man to be apprehended, ‘ if he declares himſelf of better ſervice ‘ than the laws. You and the king, who ‘ have afforded ſuch an handle for impunity, ‘ will be the only ſufferers. Notwithſtanding, be well aſſured of the omnipotence of ‘ God, and that this man, whom at the intreaties of *Hyrcanus* you are inclined to ‘ diſcharge, will, at ſome opportunity, puniſh ‘ deſervedly both you and the king.’ *Samæus* was not out in his conjectures, while he ſpoke thus: For *Herod*, when he had fixed himſelf in the kingdom, ſlew every one preſiding in this court, nay, and *Hyrcanus* himſelf, but excepted *Samæus*, whom, for his extraordinary moderation and juſtice, he had in great honour; and becauſe, when *Herod* and *Soſſius* laid ſiege to *Hieroſolyma*, he was the only perſon who admoniſhed the citizens to receive *Herod*, repreſenting, that as they were ſo very wicked, it was next to an impoſſibility to eſcape falling into his power. But of this we will ſpeak in another place.

Hyrcanus obſerving the hot temper of thoſe who preſided in the *Synedrin* againſt *Herod*, and that they were reſolved to take away his life, deferred his trial till another day, and privately ſent to give him notice to retire out of the city, as the only way to ſecure himſelf. According to this admonition he withdrew, as if he had fled from the king, to *Damaſcus*. When he came to *Sextus Cæſar*, and had put his affairs in a tolerable condition of ſafety, he began to be more emboldened, and reſolved, if the *Synedrin* offer'd to ſend him a ſummons again to take his trial, to diſobey it.

Now the judges of the *Synedrin* were extremely mortified at his eſcape, and endeavoured to awaken *Hyrcanus* from his lethargy, and convince him, that all his actions were repugnant to his true intereſt. *Hyrcanus* was not inſenſible of this, but his eaſy temper and native indolence were the cauſes of his weak management. *Sextus Cæſar* having made *Herod* governor of *Cœlo-Syria*, (the adminiſtration of which *Herod* was obliged to purchaſe with a large ſum of money) put *Hyrcanus* into a terrible fear, apprehending *Herod* would bring his arms againſt him; and indeed it was not long before his apprehenſions of this matter proved real. For *Herod*, at the head of an army, march'd againſt him, incenſed at him and the *Synedrin*, for putting him to a formal trial. On this occaſion, his father *Antipater*, and brother *Phaſael*, were not backward in their ſollicitations, to hinder him from offering hoſtilities againſt *Hieroſolyma*. They went out to meet him on his march, and openly declar'd againſt his expedition, adviſing him much rather to lay aſide his hoſtile intentions, and only proceed with threats and menaces againſt *Hyrcanus*, by whoſe favour and kindneſs he enjoyed his preſent dignity. They begged him, notwithſtanding the juſt cauſe he had to be enraged at his being ſummoned to take his trial in public court, to conſider that he had been diſmiſſed by *Hyrcanus*, and on that account had obligations to think favourably of the indulgence, and not return the gift of his life with ſeverity, which would argue him both ungrateful and ungenerous. That he ought to reflect, that as the events of war are in the power of God alone, the period of the expedition he was going to undertake, was the more uncertain, and victory leſs to be depended upon, becauſe his arms were deſigned againſt his king and friend, who had heaped upon him ſeveral favours. That *Hyrcanus* his benefactor, had done him no prejudice, and the articles alledged againſt him, very probable, were the reſult of bad counſel given him. That of himſelf he had given no manner of ſuſpicions, nor acted any thing, that could poſſibly influence him juſtly to any hard conceptions againſt him. By this remonſtrance *Herod* was prevailed upon, who ſuppoſed he had given ſigns evident enough of the hopes he entertained, and of the power and authority he had over his nation. In this ſituation at this time was *Judea*.

CHAP. X.

The Romans *and other Nations do extraordinary Honours to the* Jews, *and enter into Alliances with them.*

CÆSAR being returned from *Syria* to *Rome*, ſent a fleet of ſhips for *Africa*, where he deſigned to give battle to *Scipio* and *Cato*. *Hyrcanus*, in the mean time, ſent to renew and confirm his former friendſhip and alliance with him. It will not be amiſs here to recite the ſeveral honours conferred on our nation by the *Roman* generals, and the alliances they made with us, that every one may know the exceeding great regard both the princes of *Aſia* and *Europe* had for our nation on account of their fortitude and fidelity. There are many, who through their hatred to us, cannot be induced to believe the account tranſmitted down by the *Perſian* and *Macedonian* hiſtorians concerning us. The reaſon they give for this, is, that theſe accounts diſagree very much in ſeveral particulars, that they are not to be found in any publick records, and are only preſerved in ſome hiſtory of our own people, and a few *Barbarians*. However juſt this charge may be, the *Roman* decrees are inconteſtable, being repoſited in the public records of ſeveral cities, and in the capitol itſelf, where they are engraven on columns of braſs. Beſides *Julius Cæſar*, on a brazen column at *Alexandria*, gave ſufficient teſtimony in writing, that the *Jews* were denizens of that city; and from this I will alſo make it appear ſo. But before I proceed to this, I will prefix the decrees made by the ſenate and *Julius Cæſar*, in favour of *Hyrcanus* and our nation.

Caius Julius Cæſar, *General, High-prieſt, and ſecond time Dictator, to the Magiſtrates, Senate, and People of* Sidon, Greeting:

‘IF you are in health, ’tis well; we and our army are in health. I have ſent you a copy of the decree, relating to *Hyrcanus*, the ſon of *Alexander*, high-prieſt and *Ethuarc* of the *Jews*, in order to its being placed among your public records I would have you inſcribe it on tables of braſs in *Greek* and *Latin*. Now this is the decree. I *Julius Cæſar*, general, and high-prieſt, in obedience to the reſolution of the ſenate, have decreed thus: Whereas *Hyrcanus* the *Jew*, ſon of *Alexander*, both now and formerly, as well in peace as in war, hath demonſtrated his fidelity and kindneſs to the *Romans*, which ſeveral *Roman* generals can ſufficiently witneſs, and that very lately in the *Alexandrian* war, in which he came with a body of fifteen hundred auxiliaries, at the head of which being ſent by me to *Mithridates*, he gave proofs of the greateſt courage; ’tis my will, for thoſe reaſons, that *Hyrcanus* ſon of the ſaid *Alexander*, and his ſons, be *Ethuarcs* of the *Jews*, and enjoy the prieſthood of the *Jews* perpetually after the cuſtom of their country, and that he and his ſons be in alliance with us, and always eſteemed our friends. That all the immunities of the prieſthood, or other conceſſions granted formerly to it, be reſtor'd to them. And if at any time any diſputes or controverſies happen to ariſe among the *Jews*, I grant *Hyrcanus* liberty to determine them, but enjoin him not to winter in *Judea*, or exact ſums of money from the inhabitants.

The Reſolution, Decrees, and Grants of Caius Cæſar, *are to this Effect:*

THAT the ſons of *Hyrcanus*, without moleſtation, enjoy the government and all the places formerly granted them. That he, being high-prieſt and *Ethuarc* of the *Jews*, have power to defend thoſe, who are any ways injured; that ambaſſadors be ſent to him to enter into an alliance with him; and that the table of braſs containing it be dedicated, both in the capitol, and at *Sydon*, and *Tyre* and *Aſcalon*, and be inſcribed in *Greek* and *Roman* characters in the temples; that this decree be conveyed to all quieſtors of cities and their prætors and friends, to the end that this embaſſy and decree may be known abroad.

CAIUS Cæſar, general dictator, conſul, for the ſake of honour, and virtue, and love, hath granted, as of advantage to the ſenate and people of *Rome*, that *Hyrcanus*, ſon of *Alexander*, and his ſons, be high-prieſts and prieſts of the *Hieroſolymites*, and their whole nation, in the very ſame manner and cuſtom that their anceſtors held the prieſthood.

CAIUS Cæſar, fifth time conſul, hath decreed, that they poſſeſs and have liberty to fortify *Hieroſolyma*, and that *Hyrcanus*, ſon of *Alexander* the high-prieſt and *Ethuarc* of the *Jews*, enjoy that city in what manner he ſhall judge moſt proper. And that they have power to make a gathering from the *Jews* in the ſecond year of laying up their fruits out of their returns. But that none be at liberty to redeem this tribute by ſervice, nor that this tribute be made cuſtomary.

C*AIUS Cæſar*, hath again ordained, that on account of the city *Hieroſolyma*, all the lands of the *Jews*, except *Joppa*, ſhall, every year, unleſs there happens a ſeventh year, called the ſabbath, wherein it is not cuſtomary either to gather fruits or ſow ſeed, pay a tribute. That the *Sidonians* every ſecond year pay a tribute of the fourth parts of their fruits; and that *Hyrcanus* and his ſons receive the tenths, as cuſtomarily paid by their anceſtors. And that no body, whether a governor, or general, or an ambaſſador, take upon him to raiſe auxiliaries in the countries dependant on the *Jews*. And that all ſoldiers be prohibited from exacting any money through a pretence of winter quarters, or by any other artifice; But that the *Jews* be exempt from all impoſitions. And that whatſoever they now poſſeſs, or hereafter may poſſeſs or buy, remain to them and their heirs without any let or impediment. Moreover, that the city *Joppa*, formerly in poſſeſſion of the *Jews*, at the time the alliance between the *Jews* and the *Romans* was firſt made, belong to them in the very ſame manner as at that time: and that *Hyrcanus*, ſon of *Alexander*, and his ſons, on account of the annual exportations of Corn to *Sydon* from *Judea* and its ports, levy a tribute from the huſbandmen of twenty thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy five buſhels of corn: Excepting always every ſeventh year, wherein the *Jews* neither plow or gather any fruits. The ſenate alſo grants *Hyrcanus* and his ſons liberty to enjoy, as formerly, with all the uſual immunities and priviledges, the ſeveral villages in the great plain. And that the ſeveral rights ſubſiſting between the *Jews* and prieſts, and the ſeveral liberties granted each by the people and ſenate of *Rome*, be ratified to them. And that they have the ſame exemption in common with the people of *Lydia*. And that the ſeveral places, and villages, and lands formerly belonging to the *Syrian* and *Phænician* kings, allies of the *Romans*, the grants whereof they received from the *Romans*, be under the juriſdiction of *Hyrcanus* the *Ethuarc*, and the *Jews*. And that the ſaid *Hyrcanus* and his ſons, and the ambaſſadors he ſhall ſend, ſhall have liberty to ſit among the ſenators, to ſee the gladiators, and the engagements with beaſts. And that at all times when they ſhall petition the dictator, or his maſter of the horſe, to appear in public, upon being introduced into the ſenate-houſe, an anſwer ſhall always be returned to their petition within ten days, whereupon a *ſenatus conſultum*, or decree of ſenate, ſhall be made.

Caius Cæſar, *General, fourth Time Dictator, fifth time Conſul, and declared perpetual Dictator, decrees thus about the Right of* Hyrcanus, *Son of* Alexander, *High-prieſt and* Ethuarc *of the* Jews.

FORASMUCH as the generals my predeceſſors have teſtified their eſteem of *Hyrcanus*, High-prieſt of the *Jews*, and their love to the *Jews*, both in the ſeveral provinces of the *Roman* empire, and alſo before the ſenate and people of *Rome*, we deem it but juſtice that we take into our conſideration, and endeavour to return grateful acknowledgments to *Hyrcanus* and the *Jewiſh* nation, and the ſons of *Hyrcanus*, for the many kindneſſes and favours conferred by them upon the ſenate and people of *Rome*.

Caius Julius *General, Conſul of the* Romans, *to the Magiſtrates, Senate, and People of the* Parſians, Greeting:

THE *Jews* aſſembled to me in *Delos*, in company with ſome foreign *Jews*, the ambaſſadors ſent by you being then preſent, their complaint was, that by a decree, you had prohibited them from the free exerciſe of their lawful rites and cuſtoms. Upon this account I am not well pleaſed at your making ſuch a decree, in prejudice to people my friends and allies, which hinders them from living conformable to their own laws, and from gathering money towards the maintenance and ſupport of their ſacrifices; which even *Rome* itſelf offers not to forbid. *Caius Cæſar*, our general, and conſul, by a decree, indeed forbade any aſſemblies of them in the city; but theſe were the only things prohibited in his decree: His command not extending to their gathering money, or celebrating their feſtivals. In like manner I enjoin them from ſuch meetings, and confine them to ſuch aſſemblies only as are preſcribed by the direction of their own laws. Wherefore, the decree you have made in prejudice to our friends and allies, you will do well to repeal, as we now inform you that we are under ſeveral obligations to them.

After the death of *Caius Cæſar*, *M. Anthony*, and *P. Dolabella* being conſuls, they aſſembled the ſenate, and introducing the ambaſſadors of *Hyrcanus* into the houſe, the fathers were acquainted with their petition, who thereupon entered into an alliance with them, and granted them every thing they requeſted. I ſhall perfix here the decree, that my readers may have before them a full proof of this aſſertion. The decree of the ſenate was to this effect:

The Senatus Conſultum, *Extracted out of the* Ærarium *from the firſt and ſecond public queſtorial Tables,* Quintus Rutilius *and* C. Cornelius *being city Quæſtors*.

BEFORE the third day of the *Ides* of *April*, in the temple of *Concord*, at writing this decree were preſent *Lucius Calphurnius Piſo* of the tribe *Menenia*, *Servius Patinius Potitus*, of the tribe *Lemonia*; *Caius Caninius Rebilius*, of the tribe *Terentina*; *Publius Tidetius*, *Lucius Apulinus*, ſon of *Lucius*, of the tribe *Sergia*; *Favius*, ſon of *Lucius*, of the tribe *Lemonia*; *Publius Platius*, ſon of *Publius*, of the tribe *Papiria*; *Marcus Acilius*, ſon of *Marcus*, of the tribe *Mecia*; *Lucius Erucius*, ſon of *Lucius*, of the tribe *Stellatine*; *Marcus Quintius Placillus*, ſon of *Marcus*, of the tribe *Pollia*; *Publius Serius*: And *Publius Dolabella* and *Mark Anthony* were the ſpeakers; a debate aroſe concerning the decree made by *Caius Cæſar* in favour of the *Jews*, which had not been repoſited in the *Ærarium*, wherefore we conſent, in conformity to the former opinion of our conſuls, *Publius Dolabella* and *Mark Anthony*, that the ſame be carried to the city queſtors, and be by them ordered to be engraven on two tablets. This was done before the fifth day of the *Ides* of *February* at the temple of *Concord*. Now the ambaſſadors ſent by *Hyrcanus* were *Lyſimachus* ſon of *Pauſanias*, *Alexander* ſon of *Theodorus*, *Patrolus* ſon of *Cluereas*, and *Jonathan* ſon of *Onias*.

Dolobella, at this time governor of *Aſia*, received one of theſe ambaſſadors ſent from *Hyrcanus*, who petitioned him to diſcharge the *Jews* from their military ſervice, and give them liberty to live according to the direction of the laws of their country. *Dolabella* receiving *Hyrcanus*'s letter, without any deliberation upon it, wrote, in this behalf, not only to all the cities in *Aſia*, but to *Epheſus*, at this time the metropolis: A copy of which epiſtle, I have here added.

Arlemon *being* (1) Prytaneis, *on the firſt day of* Lemeon, Dolabella, *general, to the ſenate, magiſtrates and people of* Epheſus, Greeting.

ALEXANDER the ſon of *Theodorus*, ambaſſador ſent by *Hyrcanus*, ſon of *Alexander*, High-Prieſt and Ethuarc of the *Jews*, hath made his remonſtrance to me, that his countrymen cannot ſerve in the wars becauſe they muſt not bear arms, or undertake marches, on the days of their Sabbaths; and the great difficulty, to which they have lately been expoſed, in procuring ſuch proviſions as they are accuſtomed to eat; wherefore, after the example of my predeceſſors, I grant them an immunity from performing military ſervice, and permit them to exerciſe their own laws at ſuch times, when they are aſſembled to celebrate their religion, and perform ſacrifice. Of which occaſions I require you to ſend circular letters to the ſeveral cities round you.

And thus did *Dolabella*, upon *Hyrcanus*'s ſending his ambaſſador to him, honour our nation.

Lucius Lentulus the conſul, alſo made a decree, that the *Roman* citizens in *Epheſus* who were *Jews*, and practiſed the *Jewiſh* cuſtoms, ſhould, by order of court, be diſcharged, on account of their religion, from the performance of military ſervice before the twelfth day of the calends of *October*. *Lucius Lentulus* and *Caius Marcellus* being conſuls, there were preſent *Titus Appius Balgus* the ambaſſador, ſon of *Titus* of the tribe *Horatia*; *Titus Tongius* ſon of *Titus* of the tribe *Cruſtumina*; *Quintus Rheſius*, ſon of *Quintus*; *Titus Pompeius Longinus*, ſon of *Titus*; *Caius Servilius Bracchus*, military tribune, ſon of *Caius* of the tribe *Terentina*, *Publius Claſius Gallus* ſon of *Publius* of the tribe *Veturia*, *Caius Sectius* ſon of *Caius* of the tribe *Sabatina*.

Titus Atilius Bulbus *ſon of* Titus, *ambaſſador and Proprætor to the Magiſtrates, Senate, and People of* Epheſus, Greeting.

LUCIUS *Lentulus* the conſul, at my interceſſion, hath diſcharged the *Jews* inhabiting *Aſia* from the performance of military ſervice. When I petitioned the ſame favour from *Faminius* the general, and *Lucius Antonius* the Proquæſtor, I obtained their conſent. Wherefore 'tis my will that you offer the *Jews* no manner of diſturbance.

The Decree made by the Delians.

BOETIUS being *Archon*, upon the twentieth day of the month *Thargelion* the prætors anſwered: *Marcus Piſo* the ambaſſador at the time he reſided in our city, aſſembled us and a great number of our citizens, to whom he gave orders, if any *Jews* inhabited amongſt them not to give them any moleſtation upon their refuſing the military ſervice, becauſe *Cornelius Lentulus* the conſul, on account of their religion, had diſcharged them from it: Wherefore you ought to pay obedience to the prætor. Such an other decree did the people of *Sardis* make in favour of the *Jews*.

Caius Fannius *ſon of* Caius, *General and Conſul, to the magiſtrates of* Cos, Greeting.

I Here let you know that ambaſſadors from the *Jews* are come to me, petitioning to have the decree of your ſenate, made already in their favour, a copy of which is hereunto annexed. In regard of the *Senatus Conſultum* you have been pleaſed to make, I would have you be very careful over the *Jews*, any where reciding in your country, that they be conveyed back into their own land in ſafety and without harm.

LUCIUS *Lentulus* the conſul ſays, that the *Roman* citizens *Jews*, who appear to me to practice the *Jewiſh* rites and cuſtoms in the city *Epheſus*, are on account of their religion diſcharged from military ſervice. This is done before the thirteenth day of the calends of *October*.

Lucius Antonius *ſon of* Marcus, *Proqueſtor and Proprætor, to the Magiſtrates, Senate, and People of the* Sardians, Greeting.

THE *Jews* our citizens appearing before me ſhewed, that the aſſemblies they now uſe are conformable to the direction of their own laws, as from the begining, as alſo the place, wherein they determine the ſeveral cauſes brought before them. And upon their petition to have the free exerciſe of them continued to them, I have been pleaſed to decree that they be permitted the uſe of ſuch aſſemblies and place as aforeſaid, without any injury.

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(1) From antient Coins the learned have found that *Epheſus* had Magiſtrates called either Ἀρχιε or Γραμματεῖς. And in like manner it appears both from ſeveral Coins and Writers that at *Rhode* preſided Officers named Πρυτάνεις, or *Prytaneis*.

MARCUS *Publius* ſon of *Spurius*, and *Marcus* ſon of *Marcus*, and *Lucius* ſon of *Publius* ſay, that upon going to *Lentulus* the proconſul, we informed him of what *Doſitheus Alexandrius* ſon of *Cleopatridas* had done, namely, that the *Roman* citizens *Jews*, accuſtomed to practice the *Jewiſh* laws, on its appearing ſo to him, be diſmiſſed on account of their religion; and accordingly he diſmiſſed them before the thirteenth day of the calends of *October*.

In the month *Quintilis*, *Lucius Lentulus* and *Caius Marcellus* being conſuls, the perſons preſent were *Titus Appius Balbus* ſon of *Titus*, ambaſſador, and of the tribe *Horatia*, *Titus Tongius* of the tribe *Cruſtumina*, *Quintus Rhæſius* the ſon of *Quintus*, *Titus Pompeius* the ſon of *Titus*, *Cornelius Longinus*, *Caius Servilius Bracchus*, military tribune, ſon of *Caius* and of the tribe *Terentina*, *Publius Claſius Gallus* ſon of *Publius* of the tribe *Veturia*, *Caius Tatius*, military tribune, ſon of *Caius* of the tribe *Æmilia*, *Sextus Atilius Servanus* ſon of *Sextus* of the tribe *Æſquilina*, *Caius Pompeius* ſon of *Caius* of the tribe *Sabatina*, *Titus Appius Menander* ſon of *Titus*, *Publius Servilius Strabo* ſon of *Publius*, *Lucius Paccius Capito* ſon of *Lucius* of the tribe *Collina*, *Aulus Furius Tertius* ſon of *Aulus*, and *Appius Menas*: Theſe ſenators being preſent *Lentulus* pronounced a decree, that the *Roman* citizens *Jews*, accuſtomed to practice the *Jewiſh* rites, ſhould be diſmiſſed.

The Magiſtrates of Laodicea *to* Caius Rabilius *Son of* Caius, *Conſul*, *ſend* Greeting.

SOPATER, ſent ambaſſador from *Hyrcanus* the high-prieſt, gave us a letter from you, wherein mention was made, that certain perſons, came from *Hyrcanus* high-prieſt of the *Jews*, had brought a letter concerning his nation, the ſubſtance of which was to deſire, that the *Jews* might have the free exerciſe of their ſabbaths, and be at liberty to perform their ſacrifices according to their own inſtitutions and laws without any hindrance, as being our friends and allies: And that no ſort of injuſtice be done them in our province, in regard the *Trallianians* had ſhewed their diſcontent at thoſe favours which we had granted them. Beſides, we were importuned in the ſaid letter to take into our ſerious conſideration the ſaid matters; we therefore, obeying your commands, received the ſaid letter, and repoſited it among our publick acts, the contents of which, according to your orders, we will take extraordinary care to execute in their fulleſt meaning.

Publius Servilius Galba, *Son of* Publius, *Proconſul, to the Magiſtrates, Senate and People of the* Mileſians, Greeting.

PRYTANES, ſon of *Hermes*, your citizen, came to me at the city *Trallia*, where I convened a council, and acquainted me of your treating the *Jews* different from what I commanded you; that you prohibited them from celebrating their ſabbaths, from performing their ſacrifices, or collecting their accuſtomed fruits, and that he himſelf was the cauſe of obtaining this decree. I require you, therefore, upon this declaration being made to me, to give obedience to the edict I here make, which is, that you do not preſume to give the *Jews* any interruption in the free practice of their own laws and cuſtoms.

The Decree of the Governors of the Pargamenians.

FORASMUCH as the *Romans*, copying after the examples of their anceſtors, ſhew their conſtant zeal to preſerve in ſecurity mankind in general, but more eſpecially to keep their allies and friends in peace, the *Jewiſh* nation and *Hyrcanus* their high-prieſt, ſent to us their ambaſſadors, namely, *Straton* the ſon of *Theodorus*, *Apollonius* ſon of *Alexander*, *Æneas* ſon of *Antipater*, *Ariſtobulus* the ſon of *Amyntas*, *Socipater* the ſon of *Philippus*, honeſt and juſt men, who having explained the cauſe of their embaſſy, the ſenate decreed that *Antiochus* the king, ſon of *Antiochus*, preſume not to offer the *Jews*, in alliance with the *Romans*, any offence or injury; and that he reſtore to them all the garriſons, ports, and countries, taken by him from them. That they have free liberty to export out of any of their harbours, what goods or merchandizes they ſhall think fit; but that every *Jew*, from the king down to the loweſt claſs of the people, ſo exporting, either out of the land or the ſaid ports, be obliged to pay duty for it, excepting always *Ptolomy* king of the *Alexandrians* our friend and ally. That the garriſon of *Joppa* be removed from thence as they have petitioned, and as *Lucius Pettius* one of the ſenators, hath deſired in the execution of this decree; and that the ambaſſadors have a ſafe conduct to return home. After we had given leave to *Theodorus* to be introduced into our ſenate, of whom we received the letter and decree, which he extolled in a great manner, and after he had made an ample declaration of the great virtue and magnanimity of *Hyrcanus*, whoſe humanity and generous behaviour to all public and private perſons he ſo much inſiſted on, we are induced to repoſite the letter among our public records, and on account of your being allies of the *Romans*, decreed to grant every thing the ambaſſadors demanded in obedience to the decree of the ſenate. Beſides, *Theodorus* who gave us the letter, petitioned the members of our ſenate, to ſend a copy of our decree to *Hyrcanus*, and ambaſſadors, to declare the good will of our people towards him, and alſo farther intreated us to give ſuch ambaſſadors licence to confirm the alliance, which would turn to their advantage, and be beneficial in its conſequences; and to put them in mind, that even in the days of *Abraham*, who was the father of all the *Hebrews*, our anceſtors were their allies, as we have found it related in our public acts.

The Decree of the Halicarnaſſeans, Memnon *Son of* Oreſtes, *and of* Enonymus *by Adoption, being Prieſt, on the Day of* Autheſterion, Marcus Alexander *making his Declaration, the People were pleaſed*, &c.

WE, at all times having a due regard to the honour of God and his religion, in which we follow the example of the *Romans*, to whom mankind in general are much indebted, and taking into our conſideration the letter wrote by them to us, concerning the *Jews* friendſhip and alliance, which is to let them have the free exerciſe of their own worſhip, and liberty to perform their accuſtomed ſacrifices and oblations, are pleaſed to grant to all the *Jews*, who are willing to accept of the indulgence, whether they be men or women, power and authority, not only quietly to celebrate their ſabbaths, but according to the direction of their own laws, to perform their ſolemn ſacrifices, and to make their cuſtomary ſupplications at the ſea; in the execution of which, if either any magiſtrate or private ſubject ſhall any ways obſtruct them, he ſhall be obliged to pay a fine to our city.

The Decree of the Sardians.

UPON a motion being made by the prætors, with the conſideration that the *Jews*, inhabiting this city, from the firſt time of their reſiding among us till now, have through the friendſhip of our citizens received conſiderable favours, and upon their coming now to petition us in regard of the reſolution of the free exerciſe of their laws, and the enjoyment of their liberties by the ſenate of *Rome*, to grant them peaceable licence of meeting in ſuch aſſemblies as have been conſtantly preſcribed by their own laws, and that we would give them no moleſtation, but aſſign them a place, wherein with their wives and children they may, without any hindrance, perform their ſacrifices, and the worſhip due to their God; we, upon theſe remonſtrances, taking their petition into our conſideration, are pleaſed by the conſent of our ſenate and people, to allow them, on their appointed days, to meet and perform every thing in obedience to their own laws. And that the prætors have power to aſſign them a place, which they ſhall think convenient; in which they may build themſelves houſes to dwell in, and that it be left to the city *Ædiles* to furniſh them with ſuch proviſions as ſhall be found neceſſary for their ſubſiſtance.

The Decree of the Epheſians.

MENOPHILUS being *Prytanes*, on the firſt day of the month *Artemiſius*, it pleaſed the people, *Nicanor*, ſon of *Euphemus*, upon motion made by the fathers, decreed: Foraſmuch as the *Jews*, under *Marcus Julius Pompeius*, ſon of *Brutus*, the pro-conſul, had liberty given them to keep their ſabbaths, and perform every thing in conformity to their own laws, without the hindrance or interruption of any perſon; for the ſaid reaſon, we the ſenate and people of *Epheſus*, in conſideration of the *Romans* being intereſted in this affair, are reſolved to be no hindrance to any *Jews*, in the free celebration of their ſabbaths, nor to exact any fines from them, but to give them free power to do every thing in conformity to their own laws.

Several other decrees of the ſame nature are extant, which, in favour of *Hyrcanus* and our nation, the ſenate and people of *Rome* made. Beſides, ſeveral cities publiſhed their decrees, and ſeveral governors made their anſwers to ſeveral letters ſent from *Rome* to them in our favour. Of all which, thoſe eſpecially which may be, as to their veracity, depended upon, we have inſerted in this place, for the entertainment of our courteous readers. But ſince we have, we preſume, in the fulleſt manner, made appear the ſacred alliance made between us and the *Romans*, and have even mentioned the ſeveral brazen columns and tablets in the capitol, on which the ſame may be ſeen engraved, remaining to this day, we have thought, that to give a particular account of them here, would appear ſuperfluous and needleſs, and rather a trouble than a pleaſure to our readers. We cannot be induced to think that any one, after the ample account made here, of our alliance with the *Romans*, will heſitate, in giving credit to what we have advanced on this head; but, on the contrary, when he has conſidered of the ſeveral decrees recited here, and made in our favour, he will readily agree, that we have ſpoken nothing but what is agreeable to truth. And thus have we given a faithful declaration of the friendſhip and alliance agreed and confirmed between us and the *Romans* in the manner related above.

CHAP. XI.

How, after Baſſus *had treacherouſly ſlain* Sextus, Marcus *ſucceeded him in the Government; and how, after* Cæſar's *Death,* Caſſius *came into* Syria, *and afflicted the* Jews. *How* Malichus *ſlew* Antipater, *and* Herod *ſlew him.*

ABOUT this time *Syria* was harraſſed with a violent ſedition, and this was the cauſe of it: *Baſſus Cecilius*, one of *Pompey*'s partizans, watching his opportunity to put *Sextus Cæſar* to death, at length ſlew him, and ſeizing upon the army he commanded, eſtabliſhed himſelf in his government. This was the ground of a cruel war, which was fought at *Apamia* by the officers of *Cæſar*, who attacked him with all the horſe and foot under their ſeveral commands. Beſides, *Antipater*, not forgetting the obligations he was under to *Cæſar*, and thinking his cauſe was very juſt, and he under an indiſpenſible neceſſity, not only to vindicate the wrong done him, but to puniſh, if poſſible, his murtherer, ſent his ſons with a body of forces to their aſſiſtance. This war continuing for ſome time, *Marcus* marched from *Rome* to take upon him *Sextus*'s government, and *Cæſar* was murthered in the ſenate houſe by *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, after he had reign'd three years and ſix months. But this account is related by other hiſtorians.

The war, after *Cæſar*'s death, being renewed, and all the principal *Romans* buſied in collecting forces, *Caſſius* came into *Syria* to command the army which was at *Apamia*, the ſiege of which place he raiſed, and brought at length *Marcus* and *Baſſus* to an accommodation. This done, he took a ſurvey of the city, out of which having collected great ſtore of arms, and a numerous body of forces, he impoſed an heavy tribute upon the ſeveral other cities. *Judea* felt the greateſt load on this occaſion, *Caſſius* levying out of it ſeven hundred talents of ſilver. *Antipater* in the mean while, ſeeing things in a bad ſituation, and that nothing but confuſion and fear was in every body's looks, divided the levying of the tax, which he gave to both his ſons, and part of it to *Malichus*, in no good underſtanding with him, and part to ſome others. *Herod* having the firſt collected out of his government of *Galilee* the ſum he was commanded to raiſe, procured thereby great intereſt with *Caſſius*. For he judged it, the greateſt prudence to gain the *Romans* favour, and procure their eſteem, though at the hazard and expence of others. As well the governors as the inhabitants of the other cities were ſold, and four cities were abſolutely reduced to ſlavery by *Caſſius*: The moſt opulent of which were *Gophna* and *Emmaus*, and the others *Lydda* and *Thamna*; nay, *Caſſius* in his rage and fury had certainly put *Malichus* to death, if he had not been hindered in his deſign by *Hyrcanus*, who ſent *Antipater* with an hundred talents of his own money, to bribe him from his cruel purpoſe.

Caſſius, after this, marching out of *Syria*, *Malichus* laid in wait for *Antipater*, whoſe death he ſuppoſed would effectually ſecure *Hyrcanus*'s government. However, this deſign was not ſo ſecretly concerted, but that *Antipater* came to the knowledge of it. He had no ſooner received the news of this plot, but he withdrew beyond *Jordan*, where, from the *Arabians* and foreigners, he raiſed a body of forces. *Malichus*, who was a perſon of great inſinuation, diſowned the plot, and by an oath endeavoured to clear himſelf to *Antipater* and his ſons, of the imputation of it, repreſenting, the impoſſibility of his entertaining in his mind ſuch a deſign, when *Phaſael* was governor of the garriſon at *Hieroſolyma*, and *Herod* in poſſeſſion of all the arms. But *Malichus* finding his aim diſappointed, came, at length, to a reconciliation with *Antipater*, which was brought about, while *Marcus* was prætor of *Syria*; for *Marcus* hearing of the attempts *Malichus* was forming to create troubles in *Judea*, in all probability would have ſlain him, if he had not been prevented by the intreaties of *Antipater* to give him his life.

Antipater little thought, by this generous action, he had ſaved the life of the murtherer. *Caſſius* and *Marcus* gave *Herod* the entire command of the army they had raiſed, and made him governor of *Cœlo-Syria*, at the ſame time giving him a good fleet of ſhips, well mann'd, and fill'd with horſe and foot forces. The *Jews* had even promiſed him, after the concluſion of the war, at this time begun between *Anthony* and young *Cæſar*, to make him king of *Judea*. *Malichus* entertained nothing but ſuſpicions of *Antipater*, whom he was reſolved, at any rate, to take out of the way. Accordingly promiſing the cupbearer of *Hyrcanus*, with whom both of them uſually dined, a ſum of money to execute his deſign; *Antipater* was poiſoned. *Malichus* having a body of forces ready, ſoon quieted the tumults of the city. *Herod* and *Phaſael* coming to hear of their father being murthered, were extremely enraged, but *Malichus* abſolutely denied every thing, and diſowned he had any hand in his death. And thus was the death of *Antipater* brought about, who very much excell'd in the qualifications of piety and juſtice, and an extreme deſire to ſerve his country. *Herod* his ſon, reſolving to revenge his death, led an army againſt *Malichus*. But *Phaſael* took a different courſe, imagining ſtratagem the ſafer way, which would remove the imputation of raiſing a civil war in the bowels of his country. To this end he magnificently adorns his father's ſepulchre, and pretends to believe *Malichus* had no indirect hand in the murther of *Antipater*. *Herod*, in the mean time, coming to *Samaria*, found the city in a violent commotion, which he happily appeaſed, and reduced the inhabitants, to their former good underſtanding.

Shortly after this, a feſtival happening at *Hieroſolyma*, *Herod* came thither at the head of his army. Upon this, *Malichus* apprehending the worſt, adviſed *Hyrcanus* not to let him be admitted into the town. *Hyrcanus* was eaſily brought to this, and pretended he did it becauſe the army being compoſed of foreigners and ſtrangers, could not lawfully mix amongſt a purified multitude. But *Herod*, ſhewing no regard to what the meſſengers ſuggeſted, got into the city by night, and put *Malichus* into the greateſt fear and conſternation; however, he ceaſed not to continue his diſſimulation, and weep for *Antipater*, whom in all public places he mentioned as his particular friend, but it was only to preſerve his own perſon in ſafety. *Herod* ſeeing this, judged it improper, as the caſe was then, to tax him with his flattery and artifice, but to remove all manner of ſuſpicion to ſeem inclinable once again to be reconciled to him.

Notwithſtanding this, *Herod* wrote to *Caſſius* about his father's death, who returning an anſwer to his letter, mentioned in it the artful temper of *Malichus*, and adviſed him to revenge his death. The tribunes at *Tyre* had private orders ſent them to aſſiſt *Herod*, ſo far as the juſtice of the cauſe required. *Caſſius* having taken *Laodicea*, the citizens, with preſents of ſheep and money, went to him, entertaining great hopes, as ſoon as *Herod* arrived there, *Malichus* would receive his deſerved puniſhment. But he, full of ſuſpicions of every thing, reſolved at ſomething of a higher nature; for, knowing his ſon was kept an hoſtage at *Tyre*, he reſolved to enter the city, and take him out of it privately, and marching into *Judea* with him, endeavour, while *Caſſius* was buſied, to go and meet *Anthony*, to draw the nation to revolt, and by that means ſeize upon the government for himſelf. But God oppoſed his deſigns, and *Herod*, who was alſo of an inſinuating addreſs, having ſounded the bottom of his intentions, ſent a ſervant to him under a pretence of inviting him to an entertainment, to which he had given a general welcome; but in fact to adviſe the tribunes to fall upon *Malichus*, and put him to death. In execution of this meſſage, they caught him on the ſhore by the city, and run him through with their ſwords. This action ſo aſtoniſh'd *Hyrcanus*, that he was ſpeechleſs for ſome time, but by degrees coming to himſelf, he asked *Herod* what had happened, and who had ſlain *Malichus?* He telling him *Caſſius* had commanded it to be done, *Hyrcanus* ſeemed to commend the action, and to inſinuate, that he had been a wicked man, and a traitor to his country. And this was the puniſhment which *Malichus* ſuffered for his murthering *Antipater*.

Caſſius no ſooner had left *Syria*, but *Judea* was involved in a ſedition. *Felix* being left at *Hieroſolyma* with an army, attack'd *Phaſael*; whereupon the citizens, to defend him, took up arms. *Herod* was now with *Fabius* the governor of *Damaſcus*, and hearing of this tumult, reſolved to go and aſſiſt his brother, but was prevented in his march with illneſs. *Phaſael*, in the mean time, got the better of *Felix*, and obliged him to ſecure himſelf in a tower, out of which he let him go by compoſition, and accuſed *Hyrcanus*, who was under ſeveral obligations to him, of openly abetting and aiding his enemies: For *Malichus's* brother having brought over ſeveral fortified places, among which was *Maſſada*, a caſtle of the greateſt ſtrength, to a revolt, kept garriſons of his own in them. But *Herod*, recovering from his indiſpoſition, marched quickly againſt him to this place, and having diſpoſſeſſed him of the ſeveral holds he had won, ſuffered him, after he had compounded, to depart.

CHAP. XII.

Herod *drives* Antigonus, *the Son of* Ariſtobulus, *out of* Judea, *and with a large Preſent of Money obtains* Anthony'*s Favour, when he came into* Bythynia, *who, on Account of the Sum given him, would not hearken to the Accuſations brought againſt him. Of the Letter* Anthony *wrote, in Favour of the* Jews, *to the* Tyrians.

PTOLOMY, the ſon of *Mennæus*, on account of the affinity between him and *Antigonus*, the ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, the brother of *Hyrcanus*, brought him, now he had procured *Fabius's* favour with money, and raiſed an army, back into *Judea*. *Marion*, whom *Caſſius* had left governor of *Tyre*, joined him. *Caſſius*, upon his ſeizing on *Syria*, had inveſted him with this government. *Marion*, firſt of all made an irruption into *Galilee*, which was contiguous to him, where ſeizing upon three caſtles, he put garriſons into them. *Herod*, however, attacking him, ſoon took from him all his acquiſitions, but very generouſly diſmiſſed the garriſons, to ſome of which he gave preſents on account of his kindneſs to the city. This done he met *Antigonus*, whom he engaged and defeated, and upon his attempting to enter the frontiers of *Judea*, drove him quite out. When he came to *Hieroſolyma*, *Hyrcanus* and the citizens crowned him with garlands; for by marriage he was nephew to *Hyrcanus*, having married the daughter of *Alexander*, the ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, by whom he afterwards had three ſons and two daughters. He had married before this a *Plebeian* wife, named *Doris*, by whom he had his eldeſt ſon, named *Antipater*.

Cæſar and *Anthony*, in the mean while, defeated *Caſſius* in the plains of *Philippi*, as is mentioned by other hiſtorians. After this victory *Cæſar* marched into *Gaul*, and *Anthony* into *Aſia*. When he came to *Bithynia* ambaſſadors from all parts paid their complimen to him, the *Jews* alſo ſent their ambaſſadors with accuſations againſt *Phaſael* and *Herod*; repreſenting that *Hyrcanus* had only the empty title of a kingdom, and they enjoyed all the power and authority of it. *Herod*, who was at this time with *Anthony*, was in great favour with him, and conſequently little regarded his accuſers; nay, the ambaſſadors were not able to procure an audience, in which they might offer their remonſtrances. *Herod*'s money, however, was the cauſe which induced *Anthony* to favour him in this particular manner. When he came to *Epheſus*, *Hyrcanus* the high-prieſt, and the whole body of our nation, deputed other ambaſſadors, with a preſent of a gold crown, to go and petition him to write to his provincials, to ſet at liberty all thoſe *Jews*, whom *Caſſius*, not by the laws of arms, had made priſoners, and to reſtore to them the lands which *Caſſius* had taken from them. *Anthony* judging their demands honourable and fair, immediately wrote to *Hyrcanus* and the *Jews*, and alſo to the *Tyrians*, to the following effect:

Marc Anthony, *General, to* Hyrcanus *the Prieſt, and Ethuarc of the* Jews, Greeting:

IF you are in health, 'tis well; I and my army are alſo in health. *Lyſimachus* the ſon of *Pauſanias*, *Joſephus* the ſon of *Memneus*, *Alexander* the ſon of *Theodorus*, your ambaſſadors, appeared before me at *Epheſus*, and renewed the ſame embaſſy which they undertook before at *Rome*, and faithfully executed the commands you gave them, with the teſtification of your good will towards us. Now ſince I am fully perſuaded, not only by your words, but alſo your actions, that you are cordially affected towards us, and I have always obſerved your behaviour and piety to be conſtant and unalterable, I judge myſelf obliged to do ſomething for you. And ſince the enemies of us, and our people have by their frequent inroads, committed great ravage and waſte over all *Aſia*, neither ſparing the cities, or keeping their hands from the very temples of the Gods, nor preſerving the ſacredneſs of their oaths ſo ſolemnly ſworn to, we, not ſo much regarding our own ſafety as the ſecurity and tranquility of our people in general, have in ſeveral encounters endeavoured to puniſh thoſe who have either injured men, or diſhonoured the gods; for the enormities of which crimes, and the perfidious action committed on *Cæſar*, the very ſun itſelf looked down with no auſpicious eye. Moreover, by the aſſiſtance of the gods to revenge unjuſt attempts, we have been able to defeat the deſigns of thoſe, who ſeemed to threaten even heaven, and which were broached in the *Macedonians*; and alſo to break in pieces that wicked band of men, raging with civil diſcord in their breaſts, and openly ſhewn in the plains of *Philippi*, by ſeizing on every place to further their rebellious deſigns, and fortifying the mountains to the very ſea, that we might have but one way left to eſcape. *Brutus*, when he fled to *Philippi*, and was ſore preſſed by our beſieging him, received one common death with *Caſſius* by our means. Theſe two being thus deſervedly puniſhed, we are of opinion that peace will flouriſh for the future, and *Aſia* be delivered from the hazards and vexations of war. The peace granted us, by the favour of the gods, we mutually enjoy with our friends, ſo that all *Aſia*, by our victorious arms, is now recovering itſelf from its late dreadful ſtate. It ſhall be my care always remembring you, and the friendſhip of your nation, to favour you to the utmoſt of my power, in any demands you ſhall or may make for the future. I have proclaimed the contents of your letter in every city, to the end all freemen and ſervants who have been ſold for ſlaves by order of *Caſſius*, or his officers, may have their liberty. And I ratify and confirm all herein granted either by me or *Dolabella*. I alſo prohibit the *Tyrians* from offering any injury to you, and command them to reſtore every thing they have already taken from the *Jews*. The crown, which you ſent me, I received.

Marc Anthony, *General, to the Magiſtrates, Senate, and people of the* Tyrians, Greeting:

WHEREAS the ambaſſadors ſent from *Hyrcanus*, high-prieſt and *Ethuarc* of the *Jews*, made their declaration to us at *Epheſus*, and repreſented, that you had ſeized upon the lands in his juriſdiction, during the time our enemies bore the ſway; we have now ſent to inform you, that in conſideration of our undertaking this war, for the defence of the empire, and our puniſhing, through a tender regard to piety and juſtice, a band of rebellious men, not only highly ungrateful, but alſo perjured to the laſt degree, 'tis our will that you preſerve peace with our allies, and every thing our adverſaries conferred upon you not to keep to yourſelves, but give back to the right owners from whom they were taken. For the ſenate never inveſted one man among them either with the government of a province, or the conduct of an army, ſo that every thing they obtained is purely owing to rapine and violence: And the gifts made to the inſtruments of their own injuſtice are the conſequences of the ſame outrageous behaviour. And as they have been already deſervedly puniſhed, ſo we eſteem it but an act of natural juſtice, that without any man's oppoſing it, they ſhould be reſtored to their lawful rights. Beſides, if you retain at preſent in your hands any lands belonging to *Hyrcanus* the *Ethuarc* of the *Jews*, even but one day before *Caſſius*, by an unjuſtifiable war, invaded our province, we require you to reſtore them back, that, without any moleſtation or injury, they may enjoy them peaceably. But if you have any plea to offer in your defence, you are at liberty, when we ſhall come to thoſe places, to exhibit to us your ſeveral remonſtrances, for it is our pleaſure, that all our allies be maintained in their juſt rights and poſſeſſions.

M. Anthony, *General, to the Magiſtrates, Senate, and People of the* Tyrians, Greeting:

I Have ſent you my decree, which I require you to comply with, and ſee it engraved on public tables in *Greek* and *Latin* characters, and fixed up in the moſt conſpicuous place, to the end, that every one may have liberty to inſpect it.

M. Anthony, *General, one of the Triumvirs conſtituted for the Management of publick Affairs, hath thus ordained, That*

WHEREAS *Caius Caſſius*, during this revolt, hath ſeized upon a province, well garriſon'd, but not belonging to him, and hath committed his ravages upon the nation of the *Jews*, allies of the *Roman* people; we having, at laſt, by our victorious arms, put a ſtop to his inſolent behaviour, and by our decrees rectified the diſorders his arms have made, are now reſolved that our allies be reſtored to their former poſſeſſions; and that the perſons or goods of any *Jews* ſold be reſtored; that is, that their bodies have their former liberty, and their goods be returned to the right owners. Whoſoever ſhall preſume to act repugnant to this our decree, our will is, that he be puniſhed: And if he happen to be apprehended, we ſhall take care that due correction be given him according to the particular nature of his contumacy and offence.

Anthony wrote in the ſame manner to the *Sidonians*, *Antiochians*, and *Aradians*, (*a*) which, in our opinion, we think very proper to be taken notice of here as being inconteſtible ſigns of the great honour the *Romans* have conſtantly done our nation.

CHAP. VIII.

Herod *and* Phaſael, *in Spite of the Accuſations of their Enemies, are conſtituted* Tetrarchs, *by* Anthony. *The* Parthians *bring* Antigonus *back into* Judea, *and take* Hyrcanus *and* Phaſael *Priſoners. The Flight of* Herod *and Deſtruction of* Hyrcanus *and* Phaſael.

ANTHONY, after this, coming into *Syria*, was met in his journey by *Cleopatra* in *Cilicia*, the ſight of whom inflamed his heart with love. Beſides an hundred of the moſt powerful among the *Jews*, bringing with them the moſt able men to defend their cauſe, came again to him, to offer their accuſations againſt *Herod* and his followers. *Meſſala* oppoſed their inſinuations in defence of the young men, *Hyrcanus* alſo being preſent, who was now *Herod*'s father-in-law. *Anthony* having heard this debate at *Daphne*, asked *Hyrcanus* who of the two had the better qualifications to govern the nation? *Hyrcanus* anſwering, *Herod* and his followers; *Anthony*, who entertained not a little kindneſs for them on account of the familiarity contracted with their father, when he joined with *Gabinius*, made them both *Tetrarchs*, and entruſted them with the adminiſtration of the *Jewiſh* affairs. He alſo wrote ſeveral letters in their favour, and impriſoned fifteen of their perſecutors, whom he had in all probability put to death, if *Herod*, by his interceſſion, had not moderated his anger.

However they could not reſt ſatisfied after they were returned from their embaſſy: But collecting a thouſand men of their own ſeditious principles, went to meet *Anthony* at *Tyre*, whither they had heard he was to come. *Anthony*, who had been bribed by a large ſum of money given by *Herod* and his brother, charged the governor of that place, to puniſh the *Jewiſh* ambaſſadors, whoſe only deſign was to raiſe new troubles and diviſions, commanding him at the ſame time to confirm his authority to him. *Herod*, in the mean time (for the perſons were collected together on the ſands before the city,) took *Hyrcanus* at this time with him, and marching out to them, adviſed to depart, for if any contention or diſturbance was created, it would be attended with very fatal conſequences. But though they were forewarned by this remonſtrance, they would give no manner of regard to what he ſaid; upon which a body of *Roman* ſoldiers ſallied out upon them, ſlaying ſome, and wounding others, thoſe who eſcaped fled haſtily home, and apprehending the worſt, preſerved themſelves for the future very quiet. The people, notwithſtanding, were very loud in their murmurs againſt *Herod*, at which *Anthony*, in a great rage, commanded thoſe in priſon to be put to death.

In the ſecond (*b*) year *Pecorus*, ſon of the king of the *Parthians*, and *Barzapharnes*, a prince of that country, ſeized upon *Syria*. And about this time died *Ptolomy*, the ſon of *Mennæus*; and his ſon *Lyſanias*, having thruſt himſelf into the government, contracted a friendſhip with *Antigonus* the ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, making uſe of *Barzapharnes*'s intereſt, who had much credit with *Antigonus*, to that end. *Antigonus* had engaged himſelf to pay a thouſand talents and five hundred women, provided they turned *Hyrcanus* out of the government, and ſettled him in it, and put to

death

(*a*) *Gronovius* in his Book intitled *Decreta. Romana & Aſiatica pro Judeis*, in 8vo. to which I refer the Reader, may ſee there the Paſſages that ought to follow here.

(*b*) Meaning from the coming of *Anthony* into *Aſia*.

death *Herod* and his followers. The money agreed for, was depoſited; notwithſtanding, the *Parthians* taking *Antigonus* with them, marched into *Judea*. *Pacorus* taking the rout of the ſea coaſts, and *Barzapharnes* of the inland towns. The *Tyrians* ſhut their gates upon *Pacorus*, but the *Sidonians* and citizens of *Ptolomais* received him. *Pacorus*, in the mean time, diſpatched a body of horſe to ſurvey the country, and aſſiſt *Antigonus*, placing at the head of this troop, the king's cup-bearer, whoſe name alſo was *Pacorus*. The *Jews* inhabiting mount *Carmel*, finding this, flock'd to him, and ſhewed themſelves ready to join with him in making an irruption. *Antigonus* from this, began to entertain hopes he might be able to recover part of the country where he was, which was called *Drymus*. Others who joined him, induced the reſt privately to march to *Hieroſolyma*, where being aſſiſted by a ſtrong reinforcement, they went up to the palace and beſieged it. *Phaſael* and *Herod* were immediately upon their guard, and a battle was fought in the market place, in which the young men got the better, obliging their enemies to ſecure themſelves in the temple. After this they ſent armed men to guard the houſes adjoining, into which they entered, and finding the defendants deſtitute of all manner of aſſiſtance, they ſet fire to them, and burnt them, together with the enemy within, to aſhes. But it was not long, before *Herod*, with a great ſlaughter, took a ſevere revenge for this injurious treatment.

Both ſides continued their ſkirmiſhes; but the enemy was in great expectation of the pentecoſt, which is a *Jewiſh* feſtival, at which time a vaſt multitude of people meet together from all parts of the country. And, indeed, when the day of this feaſt was come, ſeveral thouſands of perſons met together about the temple, part of whom were armed, and part unarmed and defenceleſs. This great number poſſeſſed themſelves of the temple and the city, except the palace, which *Herod*, with a ſmall party of ſoldiers defended, while *Phaſael* was entruſted with the cuſtody of the walls, *Herod* in the mean time with his party, ſallied out upon the enemy in the ſuburbs, and fought with ſo much bravery and reſolution, that ſome thouſands were forced to fly before him, ſome taking refuge in the city, ſome in the temple, and others behind the outward ditch or rampart, which was there. Nor was *Phaſael* ſlow in giving proofs of his courage on this occaſion, *Pacorus*, the general, ſeeing this, at the intreaty of *Antigonus*, went into the city, with a few of his men, under a pretence of quieting the ſedition, but in effect to obtain the government for *Antigonus*. *Pacorus* meeting *Phaſael* in his way, was kindly received by him, upon which he artfully adviſed him in his own perſon to undertake an embaſſy to *Barzapharnes*. *Phaſael*, little ſuſpecting any underhand deſign in his advice, conſented, without ever once minding what his brother *Herod*, who was too well acquainted with the treachery of the *Barbarians*, had ordered, which was, to ſet upon *Pacorus*, and all the reſt, who came along with him.

Hyrcanus, in the interim, and *Phaſael*, went upon the embaſſy, and *Pacorus* leaving a guard of two hundred men, and ten of thoſe they call freedmen, with *Herod*, conducted them. Upon their arrival at *Galilee*, the inhabitants of the cities there came out in their arms to meet them; but *Barzapharnes* was the firſt in ſhewing them reſpect. He courteouſly received, and loaded them with preſents; but theſe outward ſigns of friendſhip were only ſhewn to put his treacherous deſigns more effectually in execution. *Phaſael*, with his horſe, being quartered near the ſea coaſt, coming to hear how *Antigonus* had promiſed the *Parthians* a preſent of a thouſand talents, and five hundred talents for diſpatching them, began to ſuſpect the *Barbarians*: Nor were his fears without foundation; for a man came and told him that there was a deſign formed againſt him that very night, and a guard planted to ſecure his perſon; and in all probability he and his followers had been apprehended, if the *Parthians* had not waited to hear of *Herod*'s being taken at *Hieroſolyma*: For if *Hyrcanus* and *Phaſael* had been ſlain firſt, *Herod* coming to hear of it, might have found an opportunity to make his eſcape. In effect, the matter proved to be ſo as was feared, for the guards were preſently diſcovered. Upon this diſcovery ſeveral adviſed *Phaſael* to mount on horſeback and make his eſcape by flight without any delay; but particularly *Ophelius*, who had received intelligence of this plot from *Saramella*, one of the richeſt men amongſt the *Syrians*, who had alſo promiſed him the aſſiſtance of ſome ſhips to ſecure his retreat, as being then on the coaſt: But *Phaſael* was too generous to abandon his friends, or leave *Hyrcanus* and his brother *Herod* in ſo much danger. He therefore went himſelf to *Barzapharnes*, and repreſented to him the diſhonour of his deſign, in baſely attempting ſuch an action againſt them; for if it was money he wanted, he was able to give him a much larger ſum than *Antigonus* could do. Beſides, it was a moſt diſhoneſt action to attempt putting to death ambaſſadors who were innocent, and were come to him on the aſſurance of his honour. But the *Barbarian*, having liſtened to this remonſtrance, ſwore his ſuſpicions were without foundation, and that he was in the wrong to trouble him with ſuch vain ſuſpicions; after which he went his way to *Pacorus*.

After he was gone, ſome of the *Parthians* ſeized upon *Hyrcanus* and *Phaſael*, who loudly exclaimed againſt the perfidy of the *Parthians*. The cup-bearer, in the mean time was diſpatched away to *Hieroſolyma* to *Herod*, with poſitive orders to draw him by ſome means or other without the walls, and there apprehend him. But *Phaſael* had beforehand ſent meſſengers to acquaint him with the diſhonourable uſage of the *Parthians*, who had the misfortune to be taken in their way by the enemy. Upon this *Herod* went to expoſtulate the matter with *Pacorus*, and the principal leading men of the *Parthians*; but they, all the while privy to the deſign, cunningly diſſembled all, and told him, it was his buſineſs to go out of the walls with them, and meet the perſons who brought his brother's letters, for that the enemy had not ſeiz'd them by the way, but they were coming to let him underſtand the ſucceſs of his brother *Phaſael*. However, *Herod* gave no ear to their ſpecious pretences, having received news by other perſons of his brother being apprehended. His ſuſpicions of the *Parthians* treachery were now very much increaſed by *Alexandra*, the daughter of *Hyrcanus*, (whoſe daughter he was engaged to marry) though other people ſeemed to give no credit to her words, yet he remained fixed in his belief of what ſhe had told him.

While the *Parthians* were conſulting what meaſures to take, (for they were not of opinion it was prudence to attack openly ſuch a perſon as *Herod* was) and had put off the buſineſs till next day, *Herod*, more and more alarmed with the news of his brother's impriſonment, and the treacherous deſigns of the *Parthians*, reſolved, as ſoon as it was dark, to make his eſcape, and not tarry any longer, as if there was no danger to be apprehended from the enemy. With this view he took all the ſoldiers he had, and having placed the women upon aſſes, with his mother and ſiſter, and the daughter of *Alexander* the ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, whom he was to marry, and her mother, the daughter of *Hyrcanus*, and his youngeſt brother, together with his houſhold, and a numerous company of other perſons, without letting the enemy know a word of it, he marched towards *Idumea*. Any man at ſuch a ſight, muſt have had an heart of ſteel, not to have lamented their condition, the women carrying their babes along with them, and with floods of tears in their eyes, and deep ſighs leaving their native country, and their friends in confinement, and having no room to expect any better fortune.

Herod, all the way, with a ſoul above the rage of cruel fortune, and though danger hung all the while over his head, yet behaved himſelf like a man of true courage. He exhorted all his company to be undaunted, and, not in the leaſt to give any way to ſorrow, which would be of no advantage to them, but only hinder them in their flight, in which alone was placed their entire hope of ſafety; encouraged by this admonition, they endeavour'd to ſtifle their uneaſineſs, and bear up againſt the ſtrong tide of their misfortunes. But *Herod* had the ill fortune to meet with an accident, which was very near making him lay violent hands upon himſelf; for the chariot in which he rode, happening to turn over, his mother was in danger of loſing her life by it. His concern for her put him into a prodigious fright; and he apprehended this accident would occaſion a long delay, whereby his enemies would gain time enough to come up with him, and apprehend him. He drew his ſword, and was upon the point of ſtabbing himſelf, when a number of his followers ſurrounding him, hindered him from his attempt, and told him it was not a time for him to leave them expoſed to the power of their enemies; for a brave man would never endeavour to deliver himſelf alone out of danger, and leave his friends in the ſame extremity. Upon this remonſtrance, *Herod*, partly through ſhame at what was hinted to him, and partly through the number of perſons who hindred him from executing his deſign, was in a manner forced to deſiſt from his purpoſe; his mother recovering herſelf, and remedies being applied to her, as well as the neceſſity of the time would allow, he proſecuted his intended journey, and haſtened his march to the caſtle *Maſſada*: But in his paſſage had ſeveral skirmiſhes with the *Parthians*, over whom he conſtantly got the victory.

But during his flight he was not ſafe from the very *Jews* themſelves; for having got clear of *Hieroſolyma* not above ſixty furlongs, they ſet upon him in the road. However, he had the good fortune to defeat them, making them retreat in diſorder, and ſhewing on his part, all the form and exactneſs of good diſcipline, and not as if he had done it through neceſſity or deſpair. When he came afterwards to be king, he built in the very place where he had thus overcome the *Jews*, a moſt ſtately and magnificent palace, ſutrounding it with a city, and giving it the name of *Herodias*. Upon his arrival at a certain place in *Idumea*, named *Thraſſa*, his brother *Joſeph* comes to him, to conſult on what meaſures were neceſſary to be taken in their preſent condition, ſince ſo prodigious a multitude, excluſive of the mercenary troops, had followed him, that *Maſſada*, to which they intended to retreat, would not be large enough to contain them. In the concluſion he diſmiſſed above nine thouſand, (the major part of them) ordering them to diſperſe themſelves up and down *Idumea*, and ſhift for themſelves, but at departing he gave them money to defray their expences in travelling. After this, he ſingled out all who were of greateſt ſervice, and marched with them to the caſtle, which was well ſtored with proviſions, water, and other neceſſaries, in which placing the women, and his friends, about eight hundred in number, he directed his rout to *Petra* in *Arabia*. In the mean time, as ſoon as it was day, the *Parthians*, without controul, rifled every thing they met with in *Hieroſolyma*, and the palace; only *Hyrcanus*'s money, amounting to about three hundred talents, eſcaped their hands. *Herod*'s effects alſo, which he had prudently taken with him into *Idumea*, were happily preſerved at this time. However, when the *Parthians* found not ſpoil enough to ſatisfy their avarice, they went out of the city, and ravaged all the ſuburbs, and laid *Mariſſa*, a very rich city, level with the ground.

Antigonus in this manner, by the aſſiſtance of the king of the *Parthians*, was brought back into *Judea*, whereupon he received *Hyrcanus* and *Phaſael* in chains; he was in great perplexity at the women's eſcaping him, for theſe he deſigned for the *Parthians*, as part of the promiſe he was under to them. He had apprehenſions of *Hyrcanus*, who was guarded by the *Parthians*, being aſſiſted by the people, and reſtored to the kingdom, wherefore he cut off his ears, thinking by that means to deprive him of any hopes to enjoy the prieſthood for the future, becauſe the law expreſly ſays, that no perſon, but who is perfect in all his members, ſhall enjoy that office. But *Phaſael*'s greatneſs of ſpirit cannot but ſurpriſe any one who hears it; for when he was acquainted that he was to die, he never made any emotions, as if death had been terrible, or had torments in it: He, indeed, judged death inflicted upon him by his enemies as very baſe and diſhonourable; and therefore, by reaſon of his chains, not having liberty enough to lay hands upon himſelf, he daſhed his head againſt a ſtone, and by that means put an end to his life; thinking it much more honourable, in the circumſtances he was then in, to ſnatch out of their hands the power of killing him according to their own will. It is ſaid, that having given himſelf a conſiderable wound, *Antigonus* hired phyſicians, who, under colour of curing him, killed him, by applying poiſonous plaiſters to his wound. Notwithſtanding, he had the ſatisfaction, before he gave up the ghoſt, to hear the agreeable news from a certain woman, that his brother *Herod* had eſcaped out of the hands of the enemy: Upon which he ſeemed to bear the laſt moments of his life with chearfulneſs, as leaving behind him one who would revenge his death, and who had the power to take due puniſhment upon his enemies.

CHAP. XIV.

Of Herod'*s Retreat from the King of* Arabia, *his haſtening into* Ægypt, *and going thence to* Rome; *of the great Sum of Money he promiſed* Anthony; *and of his being created King of* Judea *by the Senate, and* Cæſar.

HEROD, though ſurrounded by misfortunes, ſtill maintained his ground, and inſtead of deſpairing, was rather inſpired to find out opportunities of exerting greater fortitude, and ſhewing marks of more ſurprizing courage. He went to *Malchus*, king of the *Arabians*, who was under ſeveral obligations to him, with a deſign either to borrow a ſum of money, or receive it of him by way of conſideration for the many ſignal favours he had done him. He was ſtill in great uncertainty how his brother's affairs went, and therefore he was very ſollicitous to get him out of the hands of his enemies, though his ranſom ſhould coſt him even three hundred talents: With this view he took with him *Phaſael*'s ſon, about ſeven years of age, in order to pledge him to the *Arabians*. But *Malchus*, to prevent his coming, ſent him a meſſenger to order him to return back, being charged by the *Parthians* not to receive him (this was done under colour not to return the pledge which *Antipater* had depoſited in their hands, and of this it was believed, ſome of the principal *Arabians* were the cauſe:) *Herod* returned anſwer that he came with no view of giving any diſturbance, but only to negotiate an affair with the king, which concerned him in a principal manner.

Herod judging it prudence to depart, acted with a great deal of caution, and made *Ægypt* his rout; but in his journey he took the way of a certain temple, where he had left ſeveral of his *Partizans*. The day following, arriving at *Rhinocolura*, he received the melancholy news there of his brother's fate. *Malchus*, in the mean time, repenting himſelf of what he had done, travelled after *Herod*, but all in vain, he being near *Peluſium*, which was at too conſiderable a diſtance from him to come up with him. When he came here, the ſhips deſign'd for *Alexandria*, would not take him aboard, upon which he went to the magiſtrates of the place, who, with great marks of honour and reſpect, conducted him into the city, where he was detained by *Cleopatra*. Notwithſtanding, ſhe could not prevail upon him to ſtay, being eager to go to *Rome*, though the weather was very tempeſtuous, and frequent reports ſpread about of great commotions and troubles raiſed in *Italy*.

Fixed in his reſolution he weighed anchor thence for *Pamphylia*, but in his paſſage met with ſo violent a ſtorm, that with great difficulty he got into *Rhodes*, the lading of the ſhip being forced to be caſt overboard. Here he met with two of his particular friends, which were *Sappinas* and *Ptolomy*. He found the town reduced to a miſerable condition by the war carried on againſt *Caſſius*, which though his circumſtances were then low, he endeavoured to repair, by contributing towards that end even more than he could well ſpare. Immediately after this, he ordered a veſſel to be built, in which weighing anchor for *Italy*, he came to *Brunduſium*: Whence travelling to *Rome*, he went to *Anthony*, the firſt perſon to whom he diſcovered the misfortunes he had undergone in *Judea*, and the impriſonment of his brother by the *Parthians*, who had put him to death. He told him alſo of the captivity of *Hyrcanus*, and *Antigonus* being created king, through a promiſe of giving them a thouſand talents, and five hundred women of noble extraction, nay, of his own blood, whom he had conveyed away in the night time, and delivered from their enemies, after a ſeries of ſeveral cruel hardſhips and misfortues. Laſtly, he acquainted him, that his *Partizans* were in extreme danger in the place they now were in, being cloſely beſieged. That for his part, he had ſailed through the midſt of tempeſts, and diſpiſed all manner of danger on no other account than to haſten to him, in whom he had placed his only hope of ſafety, and who was the maſter of his good or bad fortune.

Anthony was too compaſſionate to diſregard the chang'd condition of *Herod*, reflecting with himſelf on the inſtability of fortune, and that even great rulers and governors are oftentimes made her ſport; he brought to his remembrance the memory of *Antipater*, whoſe friendſhip and kindneſs he had experienced; and conſidered the ſum of money he was to have upon advancing *Herod* to the kingdom, as he had before made him a *Tetrarch*; but he was more moved by his hatred to *Antigonus*, whom he looked upon as a dangerous perſon to the *Roman* ſtate, full of ſedition, and its profeſt enemy. Upon the concluſion of all theſe conſiderations, he was inclined to relieve *Herod* in all his demands. Nor was *Cæſar*, who bore a thorough ſenſe in his own breaſt of the military engagements *Antipater* had performed with his father, and of his profound reſpect and cordial friendſhip to him in all things, and alſo that he might oblige *Anthony*, ſtudious to promote *Herod*'s intereſt, leſs zealous to gratify him in the ſeveral demands he came to make. In ſhort, the ſenate was aſſembled, and *Meſſala* and *Atratinus* introduced *Herod*, and each made a ſpeech, in which they recounted the ſignal favours they had received from his father, and his vaſt reſpect and regard for the *Roman* ſtate, accuſing at the ſame time, and repreſenting *Antigonus* as an enemy to the *Romans*, not only on account of his former misbehaviour to them, but the late contempt he had ſhewed of them, in receiving the kingdom at the hands of the *Parthians*. The ſenate, upon this remonſtrance, ſeeming not very well pleaſed, *Anthony* ſtept into the midſt of the fathers, and reminded them of the neceſſity there was to make *Herod* king, in order to finiſh the war with the *Parthians*. This propoſition meeting with a general approbation, the fathers decreed it accordingly.

Anthony's reſpect to *Herod* in this affair was very remarkable, not only becauſe he procured him this high honour beyond his own hopes or expectations (having had no deſign by his journey to *Rome* to obtain the kingdom for himſelf, for he did not in the leaſt imagine the *Romans* would have granted ſuch a requeſt, had he made it, having always given ſuch dignities to perſons of royal extraction, but only to procure it for the brother of his wife *Mariamne*, the nephew of *Ariſtobulus* by the father's ſide, and *Hyrcanus* by the mother's,) but accompliſhed it in ſeven days, and that ſo effectually, that he was at liberty to go out of *Italy* when he pleaſed. But *Herod* afterwards, as we ſhall ſhew in its proper place, put this young man to death. Upon the breaking up of the ſenate, *Anthony* and *Cæſar* leading *Herod* in the middle of them, went, accompanied with the conſuls and other magiſtrates, to perform ſacrifice, and repoſited the decree in the capitol; and *Anthony*, in the firſt year of *Herod*'s reign, gave him a very magnificent entertainment. In this manner did *Herod* obtain the kingdom in the one hundredth and eighty fourth *Olympiad*, *Caius Domitius Calvinus*, a ſecond time and *Aſinius Pollio*, being conſuls.

All this time *Antigonus* laid vigorous ſiege to *Maſſada*, which was in want of nothing but water, the ſcarcity of which was ſo great, that *Joſephus*, *Herod*'s brother, with a party of two hundred men, was upon the point of withdrawing to the *Arabians*, having received intelligence that *Malelius* was ſorry for his ingratitude: But God, by ſending down a large ſhower of rain, hindred him from the deſign he had formed; for having filled all their ciſterns with water, they laid aſide their reſolution of making their retreat; and taking heart from what had unexpectedly happened to them, concluding it was ſent by divine providence, they made frequent ſallies upon *Antigonus*'s men, ſometimes openly, and at other times privately, whereby they ſlew a great number of them; in the mean while *Ventidius*, the *Roman* general, being diſpatched to drive the *Parthians* out of *Syria*, went afterwards to *Judea*, where he pretended to aſſiſt *Joſephus*, but his artifice was to extort a ſum of money from *Antigonus*; to this end encamping very near *Hieroſolyma*, he got a pretty large ſum from *Antigonus*, and moved off with the major part of his army; but that his deſign might not be diſcovered, he left *Silo* to command a party of his men, whom *Antigonus*, to outward view, entertained very reſpectfully, apprehending otherwiſe he might be of great prejudice to him, whilſt he waited for the *Parthians* coming once more to his aſſiſtance.

CHAP. XV.

Herod *ſails out of* Italy *into* Judea, *and encounters* Antigonus. *Of the other Accidents which happened about this Time in* Judea.

HEROD being now returned from *Italy* to *Ptolomais*, and joined by a numerous army, conſiſting of auxiliaries, and men of his own country, marched with all the haſte he could through *Galilee*, to meet *Antigonus*: He was alſo joined by *Silo* and *Ventidius*, according to the commands they had received from *Anthony* by *Dellius*, to give *Herod*, on his return, all poſſible ſuccour. But *Ventidius* at this time was buſied in quieting a ſedition fomented by the *Parthians* in ſeveral cities, and *Silo*, biaſſed by the preſents of money *Antigonus* made him, remained quiet in *Judea*. Notwithſtanding, *Herod*, all the way he marched, conſiderably increaſed the number of his forces, all *Galilee*, excepting a very inſignificant party, eſpouſing his intereſts. *Joppa* was the only hindrance he found in his march againſt thoſe who were ſat down before *Maſſada*, which place he thought himſelf under an indiſpenſible duty to relieve, as the garriſon conſiſted of his own relations and kindred. Now as *Joppa* declared againſt him, he thought it abſolutely neceſſary to take it, that his enemies, while he beſieged *Hieroſolyma*, might not have a place of defence behind him to fortify themſelves in. *Silo*, finding a favourable opportunity to retire, marched off, and was vigorouſly purſued by the *Jews*; upon which *Herod* charged them with a ſmall party of his men, put them to flight, and ſaved *Silo* upon the point of being taken;

Having taken *Joppa*, he made all poſſible haſte to relieve his friends in *Maſſada*. A great number of ſtrangers joined his army, ſome through the kindneſs they bore to his father, ſome through reſpect of his valour, and others on both accounts, but the majority through the hopes they entertained of his becoming their king.

As he marched at the head of a powerful ſupply of forces, *Antigonus* planted ambuſhes in all the avenues and paſſes of any importance, but all his precaution was of no uſe; for *Herod*, having drawn his friends out of *Maſſada*, and taken the fortreſs of *Threſſa*, marched directly to *Hieroſolyma*, followed by *Silo*'s forces, and a great number of the *Hieroſolymites*, who were afraid of his encreaſing power. Upon his arrival he encamped on the weſt ſide of the city, but the guards poſted in that quarter, ſhowered their darts and arrows upon him: nay, ſeveral times they ſallied out upon him, and did him a great deal of injury. *Herod* order'd proclamation to be made about the walls, 'That he came with no 'other motive than the ſole benefit of the people 'and the welfare of the city, his intentions being far from puniſhing thoſe who had been his 'moſt open enemies, or to call to an account 'the malicious deſigns of his moſt inveterate 'adverſaries.' *Antigonus* to this repreſentation made anſwer, by addreſſing himſelf to *Silo* and the *Roman* army, 'That it would be acting in 'oppoſition to equity, and the conſtant cuſtom 'of the country, to inveſt *Herod* with the government of the kingdom, who was a private 'man, and an *Idumean*, that is, but half a '*Jew*, when the right of ſucceſſion to the regal honours belong'd to perſons only of a royal deſcent: And that if they had any diſlike 'to him, and were reſolved, becauſe he had received the kingdom from the *Parthians*, to dethrone him; yet, there were ſeveral of his relations, who had an inconteſtible claim to the 'ſucceſſion, and having been found guilty of no 'miſdemeanor againſt the *Roman* ſtate, and 'being prieſts, it would be great injuſtice to 'deprive them of that honour.' While theſe things were diſputing, in which matters ran to a great height, *Antigonus* ordered his men to drive the enemy from the walls. The darts flew in ſhowers, and the defendants plied the beſiegers ſo warmly from their towers, that they ſoon put them to flight.

ilo now gave a plain demonſtration that he had been bribed by money and preſents; for he had wrought ſo effectually with a great number of his ſoldiers, that they made loud complaints of the ſcarcity of proviſions, and demanded money to purchaſe ſome, and inſiſted on being drawn off to ſome convenient winter quarters, *Antigonus* having ravaged all the country about the city, by which every thing was taken from them neceſſary to their ſubſiſtance. Upon theſe complaints, *Silo* roſe up with his army, and made a ſhew of marching away. *Herod* finding this, was very importunate with the officers under *Silo*, and the ſoldiers, not to leave him in his preſent neceſſity, being ſent by *Cæſar*, *Anthony*, and the Senate; and that he would ſee and ſupply them with neceſſary proviſions, and afford them an abundance of every thing they were in want of. After he had uſed theſe intreaties *Herod* ſent ſome of his men immediately over the country to fetch proviſions, ſo that *Silo* could not now without great diſhonour offer to depart; for they brought back ſuch ſtores of proviſions, as exceeded every man's expectation. Beſides, he ordered his friends who were at *Samaria*, to lay up ſtores of corn and wine, oil and ſheep, and all other neceſſaries at *Jericho*, that the army for the time to come might have no room to complain of wanting any thing. *Antigonus* ſoon came to hear of theſe tranſactions, upon which, with all poſſible haſte, he ſent ſeveral detachments into the fields, to hinder and annoy the foragers. *Antigonus*'s orders were put in execution, and a numerous body of his army laid about *Jericho* and the mountains to watch the motions of the convoys. Nor was *Herod* idle while theſe things were in agitation; but taking ten troops of ſoldiers, five of which were *Romans*, and the other five *Jews*, with a great number of other mercenaries, and a ſmall party of horſe, he marched to *Jericho*, which he found deſerted by the inhabitants, and five hundred men, who with their wives and children had fled to the tops of the mountains, he took and diſmiſſed. But the *Romans* entered into the town, which they rifled, and plundered the houſes, well ſtored with all manner of valuable effects. *Herod* leaving a garriſon in *Jericho*, returned back, having firſt aſſigned thoſe places, which had ſurrendered to him, to the *Roman* army to winter in. On the other hand, *Antigonus*, by the preſents he made *Silo*, obtained, that part of the *Roman* army might be quartered in *Lydda*, thinking hereby to procure *Anthony*'s favour. And thus the *Romans*, being now at peace from any hoſtilities, lived in great plenty of all things.

Herod, however, had no deſigns to live without action, but ordered his brother *Joſephus* into *Idumea* with an army of two thouſand foot and eight hundred horſe. In the mean while he marched himſelf into *Samaria*, where placing his mother and the reſt of his kindred, whom he had brought from *Maſſada*, he went directly into *Galilee*, deſigning to lay ſiege to ſome places in which *Antigonus* had put garriſons. Upon coming up, in a deep ſnow to *Sepphoris*, he found the garriſon privately withdrawn, which *Antigonus* had left there, and a prodigious quantity of proviſions. Afterwards, upon finding a gang of robbers ſkulking and reſiding in dens and caves, he diſpatched a troop of horſe, and three regiments of foot againſt them, to reduce them to a better behaviour: Now the places they inhabited adjoined to *Arbela*. Forty days after this he marched himſelf againſt them, at the head of all his army; upon which the enemy, with great reſolution, charged upon him, whereby the left wing of his forces was obliged to give ground; but he, appearing at the head of the troop which he commanded, preſently put his enemies to flight, and rallied again his ſcattered troops, and purſued the enemies through ſeveral paſſes, as far as the river *Jordan*. By this means all *Galilee*, except a few who took ſhelter in their caves, was reduced to his obedience. After this, he gave every common ſoldier in his army an hundred and fifty drachms of ſilver as a reward, and to his officers in proportion, and then diſmiſſed them into their winter quarters. In the mean time *Silo* and his officers came and told him that *Antigonus* had refuſed to allow them proviſions any longer than one month: Beſides that, he had ordered ſome of his men to go and acquaint the inhabitants of the neighbouring country to take every thing out of the fields, and carry it up to the mountains, whereby the *Romans* would be reduced to a neceſſity of periſhing with hunger. *Herod*, to prevent this, gave orders to his youngeſt brother *Pheroras* to inſpect into this affair, and repair the fortreſs of *Alexandrium*, which he performed with ſo much diligence and diſpatch, that the army was ſupplied with all manner of proviſions, and the fortreſs of *Alexandrium* rebuilt.

Anthony was at this time at *Athens*, and *Ventidius* in *Syria*, where he ordered *Silo* to join him againſt the *Parthians*, but bad him in the firſt place to aſſiſt *Herod*, and then employ his forces to the relief of his own affairs. But *Herod*, marching with all imaginable haſte to drive the remainder of the robbers out of their lurking holes, ſent *Silo* to *Ventidius*: Theſe caves were in the moſt rocky mountains, having very narrow and ſteep entrances, and ſurrounded on every ſide with ſharp and pointed craggs; and they ſerved not only for places of retreat to the robbers, but alſo for a conſtant habitation for them and their families. The king made ſeveral cheſts, and tying them to iron chains, let them down from the top of the mountain by the aſſiſtance of an engine provided for that purpoſe: For, upon ſurveying the place, he found it impracticable to creep up from the bottom to the top of the mountain, by reaſon of its prodigious ſteepneſs, or to deſcend from the top to them. Theſe cheſts he filled with armed men, and gave large crooks of iron to draw out thoſe who made reſiſtance, and throw them headlong down. The letting down of theſe cheſts, conſidering the vaſt depth of the mountain, was a very dangerous action; beſides, the men within the caves were provided with all manner of neceſſaries. As ſoon as the cheſts were let down, not a man of them who were in the caves, durſt ſhew his head, but apprehending the worſt, kept themſelves quietly pent up within. One of the armed men, ſeeing this, and vexed at the delay they made to reſiſt them, took his ſword, and catching hold with both his hands of the chain to which his cheſt hung, he leapt to the mouth of one of the caves, where with his darts he forced a great many to retire farther in; ſome who offered to ſtand upon their defence he pulled out with his iron crook, and threw headlong down; and ſeveral others, who had planted themſelves at ſome diſtance within their holes, he attacked and cut off their heads. And having performed thus much, he got again into his cheſt; the cries and lamentations raiſed on this occaſion extremely terrified the reſt, who could hardly hope for any ſafety. But the night coming on put a ſtop to a concluſion of this action: Upon which, the king proclaiming an indemnity to all who would ſurrender themſelves, great numbers came out accordingly.

The day following, they uſed the very ſame manner of attack, but fought from their cheſts with more reſolution, and plied the mouths of the caves with greater fury, caſting fire into them, by which they were put in a blaze; for they put a great deal of combuſtible matter into them. There was in one of the caves an old man with his wife and ſeven children, who deſiring he would give them leave to go out and ſurrender themſelves into the hands of their enemies, ſtood in the mouth of his den, and ſtabbed every one of his ſons as they followed one another out, and after them his wife, and having thrown them headlong down the rock, threw himſelf laſt of all upon them, preferring death by this action, to an ignoble ſervitude. Before he committed this act of deſpair, he caſt ſeveral reflections on *Herod*, on account of his mean birth, though the king (who was an eye witneſs of what he did) reached out his hand, and by ſigns endeavoured to make him ſenſible, that he might expect all manner of ſecurity. And thus were all the caves deſtroyed.

The king having made *Ptolomy* general over the men in this quarter, marched into *Samaria* with ſix hundred horſe and three thouſand foot, with a reſolution to give *Antigonus* battle; but *Ptolomy* met with very ill fortune in his government; for a party of thoſe people, who had given *Galilee* ſo much diſturbance, made a furious ſally upon him, and killed him, and then withdrawing into the fenny and inacceſſible places, committed their ravages over all the country. *Herod* at his return, puniſhed them all according to their deſerts, killing ſome, beſieging others, who had ſhut themſelves up in the fortified places, putting them to death, and razing their fortreſſes to the ground. And having thus quieted the ſedition, he laid a tribute of an hundred talents on their cities.

In the mean time, *Pacorus* having loſt his life in battle, and the *Parthian* affairs being in a bad ſituation, *Ventidius*, at the inſtigation of *Anthony*, ſent *Machæras* to *Herod* with a reinforcement of two legions and a thouſand horſe. But *Machæras*, ſome way or other biaſſed by *Antigonus*, or bribed by his money, inſiſted againſt *Herod*'s advice, to go and make a diſcovery of his deſigns. *Antigonus* was too cunning not to underſtand upon what errand he came; whereupon he refuſed to admit him, and kept him back with ſlings and ſtones, plainly ſhewing him how he ſtood affected to him. *Machæras*, finding by this, that he had refuſed following good advice, and that in his neglecting to obey *Herod*'s orders, he had been guilty of a groſs error, withdrew into the city *Emmaus*; but happening to meet with ſome *Jews* in his way, he fell upon them, and ſlew every man, whether friend or foe, among them, being extremely enraged at what had happened to him. But the king was vaſtly exaſperated at this proceeding, and went to *Samaria*, reſolving to acquaint *Anthony* with it, and that he ſtood in need of no ſuch allies, who were a greater injury to him than his enemies, ſince he was in a condition of himſelf to oppoſe *Antigonus*. *Machæras* poſted after him, and begged him not to go; but if he was ſolicitous to do ſo, he deſired him to let him have his brother *Joſephus*, while he laid ſiege to *Antigonus*. *Herod*, at length, upon the earneſt intreaties of *Machæras*, was reconciled to him, and leaving *Joſephus* with the army, he adviſed him to avoid all manner of contention, and not quarrel with *Machæras*.

Matters being brought to this happy iſſue, he haſtened away to *Anthony* (now beſieging *Samoſata*, a place of great ſtrength near the river *Euphrates*) with the horſe and foot who joined him. Upon his arrival at *Antioch*, finding a great number of perſons aſſembled together, and deſirous to go to *Anthony*, but apprehending the *Barbarians* might fall upon them in their journey and kill them, and on that account being in a very great ſuſpence, he exhorted them to the journey, and offered to conduct them. When they were within two days journey off from *Samoſata*, they were beſet by a party of *Barbarian* horſe in ambuſh there, behind the woods, ſtopping up the entrance into the plain, who kept themſelves quiet, till the paſſengers that way were got into the champaign; the firſt paſt by without any manner of interruption; but upon *Herod*'s coming up with the rear, they unexpectedly made a furious ſally upon them with five hundred horſe from their ambuſcade. The foremoſt party of his company was put to flight; upon which *Herod* ruſhing upon them with the troops he commanded, entirely repulſed them. This turn of good fortune animated his men, and gave them new hopes; thoſe who had fled, turned back, and began a deſperate fight, in which the *Barbarians* received a terrible ſlaughter; *Herod* purſued thoſe who fled, and recovering the booty he had loſt, and alſo a vaſt quantity of aſſes and other things, proſecuted his intended journey. In his journey onwards, he attacked ſome other parties of the *Barbarians*, but with ſuch courage and reſolution, that he entirely routed and put them to flight, killing a great number of them, and ſecuring an open and free paſſage to his company during the remainder of their journey, who, for the ſignal ſervice, called him their ſaviour and protector.

Upon his coming near *Samoſata*, *Anthony* ſent out the flower of his army to meet *Herod*, deſigning to pay him this mark of honour, and lend him his aſſiſtance; for he had heard how the *Barbarians* had attacked him. When they were met together, he ſeemed extremely rejoiced, and having liſtened to all the accidents which had befallen him upon the road, he began to entertain grateful ſentiments of his courage, and ſhewed him more particular marks of favour. *Anthony*, on his firſt coming into his preſence, embraced him in a very tender manner, and treated him very honourably, being influenced to theſe marks of friendſhip, by his having ſo lately made him a king. Upon *Antiochus* ſurrendering his fortreſs to him, whereby a period was put to the war, *Anthony* inveſted *Soſius* with the government of it, with whom having left expreſs orders to give *Herod* his aſſiſtance, he marched into *Ægypt*; *Soſius*, in obedience to his orders, ſent to *Herod* in *Judea*, two auxiliary legions before him, and followed ſhortly after with the reſt of his army.

Joſephus was now dead in *Judea*, and the manner of his death was thus: He had let ſlip out of his remembrance the commands his brother *Herod* had given him on his departure to *Anthony*. He had received five troops from *Machæras*, which he took and marched to *Jericho*, extremely coveting to get in the harveſt. With theſe he incamped upon the mountains, but his army conſiſting of raw and undiſciplined *Romans*, the greateſt part of whom had been raiſed out of *Syria*, the enemy took advantage of his weakneſs and the place he was poſted in, fell upon him with ſurprizing fury, in which action *Joſephus* loſt ſix troops and his own life, after a valiant defence. *Antigonus*, becoming maſter of the field of battle, cut off the head of *Joſephus*; for which his brother *Pheroras* paid him fifty talents. After this victory the *Galileans*, making a general revolt from their ſeveral governors, took all who ſided with *Herod*, and drowned them. *Judea* was alſo harraſſed with freſh troubles and commotions, which obliged *Machæras* to fortify *Gitta*.

In the mean while meſſengers with accounts of theſe ſeveral tranſactions, came to *Herod*, at *Daphne* in *Antiochia*, and acquainted him with the death of his brother, he having had certain dreams foreboding what had happened. Upon theſe intelligences, he haſtened his journey and arrived at mount *Libanus*, took about eight hundred men reſiding there, and a legion he had with him, and went to *Ptolomais*, from whence marching in the night, he continued his rout through *Galilee*. The enemy, appriſed of his coming, drew out to give him battle, in which, receiving a defeat, they were obliged to ſhut themſelves up in the caſtle they had abandoned the day before. *Herod* finding this, laid ſiege to them the next morning, but a great ſhower of rain falling down unexpectedly, he was forced to draw off his army into the neighbouring villages; where *Anthony* ſending him another legion, the inhabitants were ſo terrified, that they moved off in the night-time and left him. Hereupon *Herod* made haſte to *Jericho*, reſolving in his mind to revenge his brother's death; and having encamped, he gave an entertainment to the principal men, which being ended, and the company diſmiſſed, he retired into his bedchamber. In this place we have an opportunity to take notice of God's wonderful kindneſs to *Herod*; for the roof of the room, in which the entertainment was made, happening to fall in while the company were feaſting themſelves, not a man received any manner of hurt; this extraordinary circumſtance made every one believe *Herod* was in favour with God, who had thus miraculouſly eſcaped ſo great and unexpected a danger.

The day following, a body of ſix thouſand light armed ſoldiers pouring down from the mountains, put the *Romans* into a great conſternation. They marched directly againſt the guards of the king, whom they attacked with ſtones, and one of them happened to wound *Herod* in the ſide. In the mean time, *Antigonus*, deſirous to have it thought he was ſuperior in numbers, ſent *Pappus* his general, with a body of forces into *Samaria*, but was oppoſed by *Machæras*. *Herod* taking five ſmall towns, ſlew about two thouſand perſons whom he found therein, and ſetting fire to them marched back to meet *Pappus* who had incamped at *Iſanæ* a ſmall village. In this march he was joined by great numbers of perſons both out of *Jericho* and *Judea*. Upon coming up with the enemy, they made a furious puſh upon him, but happening to cloſe in, he entirely got the better, and, in ſome ſort to revenge his brother's death, he purſued them into a village with a great ſlaughter, where the houſes were crowded with armed men, who fled thither for refuge, but could not eſcape his hands. Beſides, he ordered the roofs to be taken off, which diſcovered the great numbers of ſoldiers within, who miſerably periſhed by the heaps of ſtones thrown down upon them from above; ſo that the number of dead bodies piled up without the walls, was the moſt diſmal ſcene in all this expedition: All hopes of the enemy by this loſs were entirely defeated beyond recovery. A vaſt number of men was ſeen hovering at ſome diſtance from the village, who, as ſoon as they ſaw this, returned. The winter ſeaſon being now pretty ſharp, the royal army fluſhed with their late victory, if not hindred by the inclemency of the weather, had in all probability attacked *Hieroſolyma*, and concluded their buſineſs, for *Antigonus* had conſulted how to make his eſcape and withdraw out of the city.

It being now late, the king ordered his men to ſup, and he being very much fatigued with the labours of the day, went into his bed chamber with a deſign to waſh himſelf, where he run a great riſque of his life, but by the extraordinary providence of God he was delivered. He happened to be unarmed, and attended only by one ſingle footman, who waited upon him as he bathed himſelf in an inner chamber of his houſe. Some armed men, through apprehenſion of being taken, had hidden themſelves here, and in the very minute of his bathing himſelf, one of them with his drawn ſword jumped out of his lurking place, and ruſhed out of the door; after him came a ſecond, and then a third, armed in the ſame manner as the firſt; but ſo aſtoniſhed, that without offering any manner of injury to the king, they ſeemed only deſirous to make their eſcape. The day following, *Herod* cut off the head of *Pappus*, who had been killed in the engagement, and ſent it to *Pheroras*, in ſome ſort revenging himſelf upon him for the death of his brother, who had been ſlain with his own hand.

The winter ſeaſon being over, *Herod* took up his army, and marched to *Hieroſolyma*, and incamped himſelf at a ſmall diſtance from the city; this was in the third year from his firſt being created king. He decamped from this place, and drew nearer to the walls, where he thought he could make the faireſt attack; his tents he pitched right before the temple, having a deſign to beſiege the town, after the very manner *Pompey* had done before him; for this purpoſe he ſurrounded the town with three trenches, and erected towers upon the ramparts he raiſed, uſing, to this end, a numerous body of workmen, and hewing down all the neighbouring trees. And having ſet perſons of ſufficient capacity to overlook the works, while his army was yet ſitting down before the place, he went to *Samaria* to perform his nuptials with the daughter of *Alexander*, the ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, having been betrothed to him, as I have already mentioned.

CHAP. XVI.

How Herod, *having married* Mariamne, *took* Hieroſolyma *by Storm, in Company with* Soſſius. *Of the Period of the Government of the* Aſmoneans.

AFTER the celebration of the nnptials, *Soſius* ſending his forces before him through the inland country, marched himſelf through *Phœnicia* at the head of a vaſt body of horſe and foot forces: *Herod* removed from *Samaria*, with his army of veteran ſoldiers, conſiſting of thirty thouſand men, beſides another numerous body of other forces; the whole army conſiſting of eleven legions of foot and ſix thouſand horſe, excluſive of the *Syrian* auxiliaries, marched to the walls of *Hieroſolyma*, and ſet down on the north ſide of the town. Two generals commanded this great body, *to wit*, *Soſſius* ſent from *Anthony*, and *Herod*, who in right of his being declared king by the decree of the *Roman* ſenate, came hither to engage *Antigonus*, who had been declared an enemy to the *Roman* empire.

The whole body of the *Jews* being aſſembled at this time, and ſhut up within the city, with great reſolution and courage withſtood *Herod*; they boaſted a great deal about their temple, and told the people ſeveral lucky preſages of God's delivering them from the danger that threatened them. They put the beſiegers without the city to great ſtreights by the frequent incurſions they made, whereby neither men nor cattle could find ſufficient ſubſiſtance: *Herod* obſerving this, took efficacious meaſures to prevent ſuch inconveniences for the future, by laying ambuſhes to entrap the pillagers. He ſent bodies of armed men to convey from afar neceſſary proviſions, ſo that in a little time his whole army was perfectly ſupplied with every thing. A great many hands being conſtantly employed to carry on the works, the three trenches were at length finiſhed, and though the ſummer was then very hot, yet the perſons ordered to this buſineſs received no manner of impediment or obſtruction to their deſign from the ſultrineſs of the weather. Upon this, having made their approaches and fixed their batteries, they begun their attacks upon the walls, which they ſhook in a violent manner. Notwithſtanding the beſieged were not in the leaſt diſmayed, but uſed ſeveral ſtratagems to defeat the attacks of the beſiegers; they made ſeveral ſallies out of the town, and ſet fire to their works which were either begun or finiſhed; in the conflicts they had with the *Romans* they teſtiſy'd a bravery not inferior to that people, but in deſign and experience were their inferiors. They pulled down the buildings that interrupted their attempts, and planted ſeveral engines to oppoſe thoſe of the beſiegers: They valiantly engaged thoſe who endeavoured by minings to get into the town, and ſhewed all the ſigns of deſpair, rather than the effects of conduct or thought; they endured every danger and defended the war to the laſt extremity, though inveſted with a prodigious army without, and afflicted with a cruel famine within, for now happened to be the ſabbatical year. At length twenty valiant *Romans* forcing their way, mounted the walls, and were followed by *Soſſius*'s centurions. The firſt wall was forty days in being won, and the ſecond fifteen. Several *Portico's* happening to be ſet on fire, *Herod* charged *Antigonus* with the actions, thinking by it to make him appear odious to the people. The outer part of the temple, and the lower city being won, the *Jews* withdrew into the inner temple and the higher city, and apprehending the *Romans* would interrupt them in the offering of their daily ſacrifices, they ſent ambaſſadors to deſire liberty only to bring in their victims. *Herod*, imagining this a ſtep to their ſurrendering themſelves, granted their petition. Bnt finding his ſuſpicions entirely without foundation, and that, on the contrary, they ſtrenuouſly defend the intereſts of *Antigonus*, he made a furious aſſault upon the town, and took it by ſtorm. The *Romans* enraged at the oppoſition they had met with, put every one to the ſword, and the *Jews* in *Herod*'s intereſts reſolved to ſpare none of his adverſaries. Thus was a terrible ſcene of death exhibited; for the beſieged flocking into the houſes, into the temple, and the narrow paſſes of the town, where ſlain in heaps; old and young were put death without diſtinction; the women too, who might have had ſome pity ſhewn them in reſpect of their ſex, ſuffered in the common calamity. The king, though earneſt in his entreaties not to purſue the ſlaughter, was diſobey'd; and the enemy, like ravenous wolves, exerciſed their rage on every age and ſex. *Antigonus* inſenſible both of his paſt and preſent condition, came out of the tower, and fell proſtrate at the feet of *Soſſius*. But he, inhuman man, without any emotion for his changed condition, inſtead of pitying his melancholy fortune, only inſulted over his dejected fate, and called him *Antigona*. But he uſed him not as a woman, but put him in chains, and under a guard.

Herod, after this victory over his enemies, conſulted meaſures how to curb and awe the foreign auxiliary troops, who had even gone ſo far, as to pry into the temple, and inſpect the things prohibited there, ſome he won by entreaties, and others he was obliged to force to their duty by menaces; and the power of arms. He judged this victory would be attended with worſe conſequences than if he had been defeated, ſhould he ſuffer any of thoſe ſacred things to be pry'd into, the ſight of which was ſo inviolably, and expreſsly provided againſt. *Herod* was intirely againſt plundering the city, and asked *Soſſius* over and over again, if the *Romans*, by their deſign to leave the city deſtitute both of men and money, had intentions to make him a king of a deſart; for he thought the whole world was too dear to be purchaſed at the price of ſo much blood ſhed. *Soſſius* upon anſwering, that in conſideration of the labours ſuſtained in the ſiege, his ſoldiers did nothing but what was cuſtomary and right in taking the ſpoil. *Herod* replied, that he would ſee the ſoldiers rewarded out of his own money. Thus the reſt of the city was ranſomed, and *Herod* kept his promiſe; for he generouſly paid every ſoldier, allowed the officers in proportion to their poſts, and gave *Soſſius* a preſent, that might have ſuited with a king to have accepted. Thus every one were handſomely rewarded; and, loaded with the preſents made them, departed.

This calamity fell upon the *Hieroſolymites* in the conſulſhips of *Marcus Aggrippa*, and *Caninius Gallus*, and in the one hundred and fifth *Olimpiad*, in the third month thereof, in the time of a ſolemn faſt, being the anniverſary of the deſtruction brought upon the town by *Pompey*, who (1) ſeven and twenty years before took it. *Soſſius* having dedicated to God a golden crown, marched from *Hieroſolyma*, carrying with him to *Anthony* his priſoner *Antigonus* in chains. *Herod* was fearful leſt *Anthony* ſhould ſpare his life, and being ſent to *Rome*, he ſhould plead his own cauſe before the ſenate, and repreſent to them his being deſcended from the royal line, and *Herod*'s mean pedigree; and that if his own omiſſions againſt the *Roman* ſtate, deprived him of the government, yet that his ſons had an inconteſtable right to ſucceed him. Theſe conſiderations alarmed *Herod*, but by a large preſent he ſent *Anthony* to put *Antigonus* out of the way, he was at length removed from his apprehenſions. Thus ended the government of the *Aſſamonean* family, after it had enjoyed the kingdom (1) one hundred and twenty ſix years. This houſe was very illuſtrious, both on account of its noble extraction and the prieſthood it enjoy'd and the valiant actions performed by its anceſtors in defence of the *Jewiſh* nation. But the differences that continually ſubſiſted in this family, entirely ruined it, and the chief government it had ſo long enjoyed, was transferred, at length upon *Herod*, the ſon of *Antipater*, a perſon deſcended from a (2) *Plebeian* family, of a private condition, and ſubject to kings. This is the account we have received from our anceſtors of the period put to the *Aſſamonean* race.

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(1) *Pompey* took the City in the 11th Year of the 170th *Olympiad*, *Herod* and the *Romans* took IV. *Olymp.* clxxxv. See *Greec. Euſebiana.*

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(1) The Government of the *Aſſamoneans* continued one Hundred and Twenty ſix Years. *Zonaras*, *Tom.* I. pag. 232. *D.* ſays one Hundred and Twenty Years from *Mattathias* the firſt Prince of the *Aſamonean* Race, who ſwayed *Judea*. *Euſebius*'s Account dates the Beginning of *Mattathias*'s Government, from 4 *Olymp.* 153. and Ends it in *Antigonus*, whoſe Reign ceaſed in the 2 *Olymp.* 185. which juſt makes 126 Years.

(2) Meaning of the ſacerdotal Line; for every man, not of this Claſs, though never ſo rich and opulent, was accounted by the *Hebrews*, as an obſcure, ignoble, and private Perſon; ſo throughout the *Roman* Hiſtories all were ſtiled private Men, except they were Imperators or Emperors, (that was, Generals.) See *Caſaubon*'s Account of this Matter in his firſt *Exercitat.* againſt *Baronius*.

The *END* of the FOURTEENTH BOOK of the Antiquities.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

ANTIQUITIES of the JEWS.

BOOK THE FIFTEENTH.

Containing the Space of (a) *Eighteen Years.*

CHAP. I.

Of Pollio *and* Sameas. Herod *puts to Death the Friends of* Antigonus, *and exacts a Sum of Money from the City.* Anthony *beheads* Antigonus.

IN the foregoing book we have taken notice how *Soſſius* and *Herod* took *Hieroſolyma* by ſtorm, and made *Antigonus* their priſoner. We will now purſue the thread of our hiſtory. As ſoon as *Herod* had made himſelf maſter of the government of *Judea*, every one of the city faction who had eſpouſed his intereſts, were promoted to honours and preferments, but thoſe who took the part of his enemies, were daily expoſed to puniſhment. The perſons who were in moſt eſteem with him were *Pollio* the *Phariſee*, and *Sameas* his diſciple. For theſe two, at the ſiege of *Hieroſolyma*, adviſed the citizens to receive *Herod* into the town; for which ſervice *Herod* amply rewarded them. As for this ſame perſon *Sameas*, he, at the time *Herod* was capitally accuſed, foretold *Hyrcanus* and his other judges, that provided he ſaved himſelf from the ruin then threatned him, he would certainly revenge himſelf upon every one of them; which in proceſs of time was effectually verified by the appointment of God, that the event might fully anſwer his words.

Herod being in poſſeſſion of *Hieroſolyma*, collected all the ornaments he could find in the palace, and pillaged the richer ſort, whereby he procured a vaſt ſum of gold and ſilver, all which he beſtowed on *Anthony* and his favourites. Beſides, he put to death forty five of *Antigonus*'s principal adherents, and placed guards at the gates of the walls, to hinder any thing being privately carried out with the dead bodies; for they were not excuſed, but narrowly ſearched, and all the gold, and ſilver, or other things of value found upon them, were taken away and carried to the king. The calamity ſuſtained on this occaſion, was exceſſive; and the two things which were moſt inſtrumental in heightening it, was the prodigious avarice of the king, who was in low circumſtances, on the one ſide; and the ſabbatical or ſeventh year, which obliged the land to remain untilled, on the other: For it was at this melancholy conjuncture, and during the time of it, our law prohibits us from ſowing any manner of grain. *Anthony* upon receiving *Antigonus* in chains, was in the mind to reſerve him for a triumph, but hearing his nation were raiſing freſh commotions; and that their minds, in oppoſition to *Herod*, were ſtill bent to aſſiſt *Antigonus*, he altered his reſolution, and fixed a time to behead him at *Antioch*; which would be the only means to put a ſtop to their ſedition. My aſſertion in this is verified by *Strabo* the *Cappadocian*, in the following words. Anthony *carried* Antigonus *the* Jew *to* Antioch, *where he beheaded him; he ſeems to me the firſt* Roman *who ſtruck off the head of a king. Suppoſing there was no other method, to oblige the* Jews *to acknowledge* Herod *their king, than by doing ſo, puniſhments and tortures had been*

(a) In ſome Verſions it is mentioned but 17. but erroneouſly. See *Voſſius* in his Sacred Chronology, c. 14. p. 157.

found ineffectual to compel them to acknowledge him king, ſo ſteddy and inſuperable was their loyalty to Antigonus. *to overcome which difficulties he judged it neceſſary, to leſſen their eſteem for* Antigonus, *and wear out of their memories the hatred they had imbibed to* Herod, *to inflict this ignominious death upon him.* Thus far *Strabo.*

CHAP. II.

The Parthians *ſet at Liberty* Hyrcanus, *who returns to* Herod. *Of* Alexandria's *attempts, when ſhe heard* Ananelus *was created High-prieſt.*

HYRCANUS the high-prieſt, at this time a priſoner among the *Parthians*, hearing *Herod* had ſeized upon the kingdom, came to *Herod*, having procured his liberty in the following manner. *Barzapharnes* and *Pacorus* the two *Parthian* generals having taken *Hyrcanus*, at firſt made high-prieſt, and afterwards king, and *Phaſael Herod*'s brother their priſoners, carried them with them into *Parthia*. *Phaſael*, however, not bearing the diſhonourable life he had in his confinement, and thinking it more glorious to dye than ſuſtain his baſe condition, put an end to his life by his own hand, as we have mentioned in the foregoing.

Upon *Hyrcanus*'s arriving in *Parthia Phraates*, the king of the country, making enquiry about him, and hearing of the nobility of his family entertained him with leſs rigour. He not only gave him his liberty, but gave him leave to reſide at *Babylon*, where at that time dwelt a great (1) number of *Jews*: *Hyrcanus* received from them, and all the *Jews* inhabiting as far as the *Euphrates*, great reſpect; they created him their high-prieſt, and performed all the honours due to him as king, which loyalty was very grateful to him. When he received news of *Herod*'s having ſeized upon the kingdom he began to conceive new hopes, becauſe he had always been a friend to him, and imagined he would not forget the obligation he was under to him, for delivering him from puniſhment, at the time he took his trial, and was capitally convicted. With this view he opened his deſign to the *Jews*, who converſed with him, but they very ſtrenuouſly endeavoured to make him ſtay with them, reminding him of the favours and honours they had conferred upon him, and repreſenting how they had done every thing conducive either to the dignity of his being high-prieſt, or the grandeur and majeſty of a king; that his journey to *Hieroſolyma* was in vain, ſince *Antigonus* had mutilated him; and kings, whoſe high ſtation oftentimes changed them, were not ſo ready to remember a kindneſs done, as men in a private condition.

When they had repreſented to him that the nature of his caſe was juſt as they had ſuggeſted it, he was not, however, induced to lay aſide his journey. *Herod* ſent him an epiſtle, wherein he exhorted him to repreſent his caſe to *Phraates* and the *Jews* in his country, and deſire them not to envy him a ſhare of the government with him. For the time was then come, that gave him, who had received his preſervation at his hands, an opportunity to repay all the obligations he owed him. Beſides this letter to *Hyrcanus*, *Herod* ſent *Phraates* an ambaſſador named *Saramella* with ſeveral magnificent preſents, by whom he begged him in a very handſome manner not to hinder him in the grateful return he deſired to make a perſon to whom he was ſo ſenſibly bound. But this was far from the thing *Herod* wanted, he conſidered he was not the lawful poſſeſſor of the government, and it might be ſeveral revolutions might fall out in prejudice to himſelf; to prevent which, he was deſirous either to get *Hyrcanus* within his power, or to take him effectually out of the way; which will be ſeen in its proper place.

Hyrcanus having obtained the *Parthian* king's conſent, and being well ſupplied with money by the *Jews*, came full of hopes to *Herod*, who received him with ſingular marks of honour, allowing him the firſt place in all public meetings, and giving him the upper-hand at all his entertainments; by which means, and through the artifice of ſtiling him his father, he effectually took away from him all ſuſpicions of treachery: But his over-ſolicitous endeavours to ſecure himſelf in the government, proved the means of a violent ſedition againſt him in his own family; for to prevent any perſon of note or diſtinction from being made high-prieſt, he called from *Babylon* a certain prieſt named *Ananelus*, and inveſted him in the pontificate.

Alexandra the daughter of *Hyrcanus* immediately expreſſed her reſentment of this indignity. This lady was wife to *Alexander*, ſon of king *Ariſtobulus*, and had by her huſband two children, one named *Ariſtobulus* of a very comely aſpect, the other named *Mariamne*, an excellent beauty, and married to *Herod*. She was extreamly troubled, and could not brook the ignominy put upon her ſon, if while he was alive, a perſon who was fetched for the purpoſe ſhould continue to enjoy the prieſthood. In this perplexity, by advice of a muſician who promiſed to carry her letter ſafe, ſhe wrote to *Anthony*, petitioning him to confer the prieſthood upon her ſon.

Anthony making but ſlow advances in this affair, it happened that a friend of his named *Dellius* was then in *Judea* upon ſome buſineſs of his own, who ſeeing *Ariſtobulus* and *Ma-*

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(1) Several have endeavoured to found an Argument on this Paſſage, that *Peter* the Apoſtle went to *Babylon* and *Rome* to convert the *Jews* there.

riamne, *Herod*'s wife, was ſurprized at the fine appearance and tallneſs of the former, and the exquiſite beauty of the latter. He complimented *Alexandra* upon being the mother of two ſuch handſome children. In the interview *Alexandra* had with him, *Dellius* adviſed her to get the pictures of *Ariſtobulus* and *Mariamne* painted, and ſend them to *Anthony*, who ſeeing them, it would then be in her power to obtain her requeſt. *Alexandra*, pleaſed with this advice, got them painted, and ſent them to *Anthony*; and *Dellius*, on his part, extolled the report of her children to the skies, ſaying, they were the offspring of ſome God, and not of man. His deſign in this was no other than to pleaſe *Anthony*. But *Anthony* durſt not through ſhame ſend for the young lady, who was *Herod*'s wife, nor make any mention of her before *Cleopatra*; however he wrote a letter, commanding the young man to be ſent him (1), but not to compel him againſt his inclination. *Herod* hearing of this, judged it not ſafe to ſend *Ariſtobulus* in the flower of his youth, about ſixteen years of age, and of noble deſcent, to *Anthony*, at this time the moſt powerful man amongſt all the *Romans*, and of all perſons living the readieſt to make uſe of him in his unlawful pleaſures, being inveſted with ſufficient power to make him do as he required: Wherefore *Herod* ſent word back, that if the young fellow but ſtirred his foot out of the kingdom, every thing would be in the utmoſt confuſion and diſorder, the *Jews* being full of ſedition, and hoping for a revolution of affairs under another king.

Having excuſed himſelf thus to *Anthony*, he reſolved not to leave the youth and his mother *Alexandra* quite diſregarded. *Mariamne* his wife was very earneſt in her ſolicitations to make him reſtore her brother to the prieſthood, ſaying, it was his intereſt to do ſo, for his placing him in that dignity would excuſe him from going to *Anthony*. *Herod*, upon theſe remonſtrances, convened a council of his friends, to whom he made heavy complaints about *Alexandra*, repreſenting, 'That ſhe conſpired ſecretly againſt him, uſing *Cleopatra* as her inſtrument to ſhuffle him out of the throne, and place *Ariſtobulus*, by the means of *Anthony*, at the helm of affairs. That her attempts were by ſo much the more to be blamed, as they tended to deprive her own daughter of the dignity ſhe enjoyed, and to raiſe civil commotions in the kingdom, which by a ſeries of numberleſs hardſhips and dangers to his own perſon, he had obtained: That, notwithſtanding, he would bury in oblivion her attempts againſt him, and afford every thing reaſonably to them: Concluding, that he was then ready to veſt her ſon in the prieſthood, and had only made *Ananelus* high-prieſt, becauſe *Ariſtobulus* was in his infancy.' Upon his finiſhing this ſtudied harangue, which was calculated to his own liking, and only to caſt a miſt before the eyes of the women, and their friends then preſent in the aſſembly, *Alexandra* ſeemed extremely affected with two different paſſions. She was glad at hearing *Herod* ſpeaking ſome things, which ſhe little expected; but her grief at thinking ſhe was diſcovered, was a counterballance to it. At length burſting out in tears, ſhe began to defend herſelf by repreſenting, 'That indeed the prieſthood had given her a great deal of diſturbance, but that ſhe had never let the kingdom once come into her thoughts, which, had it been offered her, ſhe would have refuſed, as being fully ſatisfied with the honour ſhe had, in his enjoying the government, and the ſecurity her family poſſeſſed, from his great abilities to manage the reins of a kingdom above the reſt of mankind. That he had abundantly obliged her in conferring the honour upon her ſon, and ſaid ſhe would for the future pay more deference to his dignity, begging him to forget every thing her inconſiderate paſſion, or the ſenſe of her near conſanguinity, had moved her to ſpeak.' Upon her ending this harangue, every thing ſeemed to be accommodated, and all parties, with a greater friendſhip than ever, gave viſible ſigns of a reconciliation.

CHAP. III.

Herod *creates* Ariſtobulus *High-Prieſt, but ſhortly after puts him to Death; his Defence before* Anthony *about* Ariſtobulus. *Of* Joſeph *and* Mariamne.

UPON this, *Herod* diveſted *Ananelus* of the prieſthood. We have mentioned above that he was not a native of *Judea*, but only a deſcendant of thoſe *Jews*, who had formerly been planted beyond the *Euphrates*. Several thouſands of this ſort were carried to *Babylon*, about which place habitations were aſſigned them. *Ananelus* was one of theſe, and of the prieſthood, and had had a friendſhip of a long ſtanding with *Herod*, who, having made his way to the kingdom, ſoon advanced him to a poſt of dignity, which, to quiet a commotion in his own family, he was obliged to take away from him, not without acting herein contrary to the laws; for it was a plain infringement of them to deprive any perſon of the prieſthood, to the dignity whereof he had been once advanced. *Antiochus Epiphanes* was the firſt who tranſgreſſed in this kind, by abdicating *Jeſus*, and ſubſtituting his brother *Onias* in his room; the next to him was *Ariſtobulus*, who removed his brother *Hyrcanus* out of the ſacerdotal ſeat; and the laſt was *Herod*, who reſtored the prieſthood to the youth *Ariſtobulus*.

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(1) *Gelenius* turns it thus. '*Scripſit ut aliquo honeſto prætextu puerum ad ſe mitteret.*' That is, In his letter he bid him uſe any fair pretence, and ſend the youth to him.

Herod now ſuppoſed he had applied an effectual remedy to his domeſtic troubles; yet notwithſtanding the late reconciliation, he was not free from his ſuſpicions. He thought he had all the reaſon in the world to beware of *Alexandra*, conſidering her paſt deſigns, but more eſpecially if ſhe gained any opportunities to attempt a revolution. To eaſe himſelf of his doubts, he gave her expreſs orders to reſide within the palace, and reſtrain herſelf from acting any thing upon her own authority. He ſet ſuch a ſtrict guard over her actions, that it was impoſſible for her to do any thing, except her uſual and daily employments, without being diſcovered and examined. Theſe rigorous proceedings wore off her patience by degrees, and in its room ſprung up a branch of deadly hatred. Her ſoul being ſenſibly touched, ſhe impatiently bore the watch that overlooked her actions; ſhe thought it a thouſand times better to ſuffer the greateſt indignity, than being deprived of her liberty, and, under colour of honourable treatment, prolong a life full of nothing but ſlavery and apprehenſions. In this perplexity ſhe wrote to *Cleopatra*, to whom ſhe pathetically laid open her condition, and begged her to give her all the aſſiſtance ſhe could. *Cleopatra*, in return, adviſed her to withdraw with her ſon privately into *Ægypt*; ſhe mentioned this to her, and inſtructed her in the way to perform it; the ſtratagem was thus: After ſhe had ordered two coffins to be prepared, as if deſigned to put two dead bodies in them, ſhe ordered her and her ſon to be depoſited in each of them, firſt acquainting ſome truſty ſervants with the deſign, and charging them to bear them out in the night time. A paſſage was open for them to the ſea, and a ſhip prepared to convey them into *Ægypt*. But it happened that *Æſop*, a ſervant of *Alexandra*'s, accidentally meeting with one *Sabbion*, a particular of his, and talking indifferently of ſeveral matters with him, chanced to diſcloſe the whole ſecret. *Sabbion*, whom *Herod* had for a long time looked upon as one of thoſe who had had a hand in poiſoning his father *Antipater*, coming to the knowledge of this plot, thought he could do no better, to baniſh *Herod*'s enmity againſt him out of his breaſt, than make a full diſcovery of it; and accordingly made him privy to the whole deſign. *Herod* let her prepare herſelf for her eſcape, but, juſt as ſhe was a coming off, he apprehended her. He took no manner of notice of this deſign, ſo as to puniſh her for it, apprehending *Cleopatra*, upon no good terms with him, would never brook any rigorous treatment of *Alexandra*; in fine, he ſtrove to make the pardon he gave her, ſeem the motive of a real clemency towards her, tho', in effect, he heartily wiſhed to revenge himſelf upon her: As for *Ariſtobulus*, he was reſolved to take him entirely out of the way, but that his deſign might be the better concealed, he did not think it prudent or ſafe to put it in execution ſo ſoon after the diſcovery made of the late plot.

The feaſt of tabernacles was now approached, being one of our moſt ſolemn times of worſhip. *Herod*, during the feſtival, abandoned himſelf to pleaſure and merriment in company with the people; but an accident fell out, that induced him to put his deſign againſt *Ariſtobulus* in execution ſooner than he intended: The young man, now about ſeventeen years of age, went up to the altar clad in his ſacerdotal robes, with a deſign to offer ſacrifice according to the inſtitutions of the law. As he was performing the uſual ſolemnities of his religion, he gave ſuch proofs of his noble extraction, genteel mean, and fine perſonage, that the multitude of people round him could not forbear admiring him; the ſight of him recalling to their remembrance the actions of his grandfather, *Ariſtobulus*. The ſenſe of theſe things working upon their minds by degrees, ſoon made it appear in what diſpoſition they ſtood affected to him; their gladneſs and ſorrow, with the many acclamations and prayers they pronounced, were too plain ſigns of their love of him; and the grateful opinion they ſtill continued to entertain of the former ſervices done them. All theſe things concurring together, fixed *Herod* in the reſolution he had made againſt *Ariſtobulus*. And to put it in execution as ſoon as the feſtival was over, he went to an entertainment prepared by *Alexandra* at *Horicho*, where he uſed all his ſeeming blandiſhments and kindneſs to allure *Ariſtobulus* into ſome place of ſecurity, where he ſported and toyed with him, in order to amuſe him; the nature of the place being too warm, the company over fatigued and hot, went out of it, and ſtood by the ſide of ſome fiſh-ponds, which very much abated the violent heat of the ſun; for ſome time they ſtood and looked upon ſome of their ſervants, who were bathing themſelves there: But *Herod* importuning *Ariſtobulus* to make one of the company, he was, at length, induced to jump in among them; when the perſons hired by *Herod* for that end, as ſoon as it was dark, under colour of ſporting with him, dipped and ducked him ſo often and ſo long under water, that in the end they entirely drowned him. Thus periſhed *Ariſtobulus* in the eighteenth year of his age, having enjoyed the prieſthood one year, after whom ſucceeded again in that dignity *Ananelus*.

This melancholy accident being rumoured among the women, they ſhed a flood of tears, as having had no ſuſpicions of ſuch a thing; the body being expoſed before their eyes exaggerated their ſorrows, and the city no ſooner heard of it, but a general lamentation was ſeen, every houſe and family mourning for the diſaſter, as if the caſe had been their own. *Alexandra* however, in the moſt tender manner, lamented her ſon's untimely fate, when ſhe heard of it; but her grief ſeemed unconſolable, at the relation how it was perpetrated, yet, for fear of worſe misfortunes to enſue, ſhe judged it prudent to ſtifle her ſorrows, and patiently to bear her cruel deſtiny. She was ſeveral times upon the point of laying violent hands upon herſelf, but the deſire of living to revenge the treacherous death of her ſon, put a ſtop to her melancholy purpoſe, wherefore ſhe ſeemed the more earneſt to preſerve her life, and thought, to diſſemble, as ſhe knew her ſon had deſignedly been ſlain, would prove an effectual means one time or other to revenge the deed: To this end ſhe endeavour'd all ſhe could, not to give him any ſuſpicions. *Herod*, on his part, tried every means to make all the perſons without believe, that the youth had unfortunately been drowned without any manner of deſign; his aim in this artifice was to occaſion a more general mourning for his misfortune, nay, he had the inſinuation, to promote this, to let tears fall from his own eyes, and give ſigns that his ſorrows were the effects of a true dejection. In all likelihood the ſight of the deceaſed youth, juſt then in the flower and prime of his age, might have mollified his heart, had he not been very well aſſured his death was of great advantage to ſecure him more firmly in his new kingdom; but there were too evident ſigns that he had the principal hand in the murther, in order to get rid of him. But what ſeemed to clear *Herod* of all ſuſpicions, was the magnificent funeral he provided for him, and the fine monument he ordered to be erected to his memory, and the prodigious quantity of gums and ſpices to embalm his corps. For this laſt act in a great meaſure relieved the women's tears, and their ſorrows and lamentations from this moment greatly abated.

But nothing of all this could eaſe *Alexandra* of her griefs; the remembrance of the late fact ſat deep in her breaſt, and the more ſhe reflected upon it, the more vehement became her ſorrows. At length, her complaint moving her to extremities, ſhe wrote to *Cleopatra*, and reminded her of *Herod*'s treachery, and her ſon's death. *Cleopatra* had a long time wiſhed to anſwer *Alexandra*'s ſolicitations, pity her condition, and make her caſe her own; ſhe had often importuned *Anthony* to puniſh the young *Ariſtobulus*'s murther, and ſuggeſted to him the injuſtice of *Herod*'s committing ſo enormous crimes upon thoſe who were real kings, after he had, by his aſſiſtance, obtained a kingdom that did not belong to him. *Anthony*, moved with this remonſtrance, when he came to *Laodicea*, ſummoned *Herod* to appear and make his defence before him, on the charge laid to him of murthering *Ariſtobulus*, ſaying, the treachery (if he was guilty of it) was againſt the laws of equity and juſtice. *Herod* apprehending the baſeneſs of his cauſe, and fearing *Cleopatra*'s artifice, who had left no ſtone unturned to inſtigate *Anthony* againſt him, reſolved to obey the ſummons (having in effect no power of his own to withſtand it) and leaving his uncle *Joſeph* guardian of his kingdom and affairs in his abſence, he gave him ſecret orders, if his cauſe went hard with *Anthony*, to put *Mariamne* to death; his love for her being ſo violent, that he could not endure the reflection of any perſon's marrying her after his death; concluding with *Anthony*'s paſſion for her, when ſome time before he chanced to hear of her beauty. *Herod* having given theſe orders, went to *Anthony*, full of doubts and perplexities as to his own caſe.

Joſeph being now in the adminiſtration, had ſeveral conferences with *Mariamne*, either about the poſture of affairs, or the honour he was under a neceſſity to pay her; at which time he was certainly haranguing on *Herod's* extreme kindneſs to her. The women (eſpecially *Alexandra*) laughed at him in their ſoft way, and ſeemed to ridicule his words. *Joſeph*, at this, to give a fuller proof than was neceſſary or ſafe, of what he had aſſerted, was induced at length to lay open every thing the king had ordered him to conceal, producing it as an argument that the king could not live without her, nor ſuffer himſelf (let his condition be what it would) to be ſeparated from her; thus far *Joſeph*. But the women (not without a great deal of reaſon) made little reflection on this ſuppoſed great love of *Herod*, their minds being fully prepoſſeſſed with the atrocity of his late act: They drew terrible concluſions from his words, and were filled with various ſuſpicions, imagining, if he died, there were orders to put them to death, or to make them ſuffer ſome cruel treatment by his word. In the interim, all the city of *Hieroſolyma* was filled with an account, ſpread by *Herod*'s enemies, that *Anthony* had put him to a cruel death; this report put the whole palace, eſpecially the women, into a terrible conſternation. *Alexandra*, upon this, adviſed *Joſeph* to remove out of the palace, take them along with him, and put them under the protection of the *Roman* legion, which at that time, under the command of *Julius*, was encamped in the city to guard the kingdom; for ſhe ſuggeſted to him, that if any commotion happened to ariſe in the palace, they would be very ſafe under the protection of the *Romans*, and ſhe was very well aſſured *Anthony*, on ſeeing *Mariamne*, would oblige her in any thing; that they would be in a condition to procure the government from him, and he would do every thing ſuitable to their quality, and the nobility of their birth.

After this diſcourſe was ended, letters came from *Herod*, contradicting and falſifying this report. When he came before *Anthony*, he ſoon found his buſineſs take another aſpect from the power of the preſents he had brought him from *Hieroſolyma*. The manner in which he ſet off his own caſe, ſoon baniſhed his anger and diſpleaſure, and *Cleopatra*'s ſolicitations were render'd altogether ineffectual; for *Anthony* inſiſted, that a king was not to give an account of what he himſelf acted in his own kingdom, for then he would not be a king; and it was but juſt that the honour and power beſtowed upon *Herod*, ſhould be unlimited and unreſtrained; and told *Cleopatra*, it was not a woman's buſineſs to pry into the affairs or actions of kings. *Herod* wrote a letter back, in which he mentioned every particular thing, and the other honours conferred upon him by *Anthony*, which were, that he had liberty allowed him to ſit in his council, and have a place at all his entertainments; that he had obtained theſe favours, in oppoſition to *Cleopatra*'s violent procedure againſt him, who, coveting the government for herſelf, had uſed all the ways in the world to take him out of the way. But that *Anthony* was a man of great juſtice, and he himſelf had no room to fear any further trouble, deſigning to return in a ſhort time, and being fixed in a greater hope of enjoying his kingdom in more tranquility than ever. And that *Cleopatra* was quite diſpoſſeſſed of any further hopes, ſince *Anthony*, in lieu of her demands, had given her *Cœlo-Syria*, which had pacified, and made her deſiſt from any more petitions on *Judea*.

As ſoon as the letters were brought, the deſire for withdrawing to the protection of the *Romans*, as if *Herod* had been dead, began to cool and abate. However, *Herod* was not unacquainted with the whole matter; for as ſoon as *Anthony* was departed for *Parthia*, he returned into *Judea*, where, upon his arrival, his ſiſter *Salome*, and mother, told him of *Alexander*'s deſign, and accuſed her huſband *Joſeph* of keeping a frequent correſpondence with *Mariamne*. This was owing to the hatred ſhe had of a long time conceived againſt *Alexandra*, who, in the ſeveral diſputes they had with one another, always, with a great deal of arrogance and pride, reproached her with her mean extraction and ignoble birth. *Herod*, who ſtill burned with an ardent affection for *Mariamne*, began to look dejected at this news, and ſeemed vaſtly uneaſy at this charge. He, however, put a ſtop to his choler, fearing his exceſſive love might betray him into ſome unjuſtifiable action, but actuated by love and jealouſy, he took *Mariamne* aſide, and expoſtulated with her about the interviews *Joſeph* gave her, *Mariamne* proteſted on her oath ſhe was wrongfully charged, and calling to her aſſiſtance, in order to clear her conduct, all the intreaties and prayers which innocent perſons uſe, the king, by degrees, began to abate his anger, and pacify himſelf. At length, won by the affection he bore her, he begged her to pardon him for giving too credulous an ear to ſuch reports, magnifying her great modeſty, and teſtifying the extreme love and affection he had for her, concluding in the end, as is common with lovers, with ſhedding each a flood of mutual and reciprocal tears. The king now being perfectly reconciled, and giving a firm belief to her words, he drew her to him to careſs and toy with him; but at this, *Mariamne* ſaid, you cannot be in love, and give orders, on *Anthony*'s puniſhing you, that I ſhould die without being guilty of death. Theſe words thus unhappily falling from her tongue, *Herod* was confounded at them, and preſently thruſt her from him, making loud exclamations, tearing his hair from his head, and ſaying, he needed no further proof to convince him of the truth of *Joſeph*'s familiarity with her; for he would never have diſcloſed ſuch a thing ſo ſecretly committed to him, if there had not been a cloſe correſpondence and friendſhip between them. In this ſituation of temper, he was in a manner upon the point of killing her; but his love again reſtraining him, after he had very feelingly lamented his condition, he put a guard upon his paſſion. But *Joſeph* was ordered to be put to death, without giving him the benefit of ſeeing him, and *Alexandra*, as if ſhe had been the real cauſe of all theſe diſturbances, was clapt into priſon.

CHAP. IV.

How Cleopatra, *obtaining from* Anthony *a Part of* Judea *and* Arabia, *came into* Judea, *and how* Herod, *making her large Preſents, carried her back into* Ægypt.

DURING theſe differences *Syria* was up in a violent commotion, *Cleopatra* never letting *Anthony* alone till ſhe had inſtigated him to ſet upon all her neighbours. She adviſed him to ſeize on every prince's government, and beſtow it upon her; nor was *Anthony* in a temper to diſoblige her in this requeſt, his great love for her inciting him to it. *Cleopatra* was naturally ambitious, and covetous of another man's right; if any thing obſtructed her deſigns, let it be right or wrong, ſhe never ceaſed till ſhe had removed it out of her way. With this view ſhe made *Anthony* her handle, to poiſon firſt her brother, a young prince of fifteen years of age, and whoſe right of ſucceſſion to the kingdom ſhe very well knew, and after him to murther her ſiſter *Arſinoe*, in the temple of *Diana*. Her thirſt after money was ſo great, that if ſhe found any ſigns of obtaining any, let the places where it remained be temples or ſepulchres, they were rifled and ſtript; no place was accounted ſo ſacred and ſafe from her violent proceedings, but what was ſpoiled of all its valuable ornaments; nor a place ſo prophane, if it contained but the ſmalleſt thing to cheriſh her unjuſt avarice, but what was uſed with the greateſt freedom. In ſhort, her luxury and prodigality were ſo unlimited and unbounded, that ſhe was in the utmoſt impatience till ſhe had obtain'd every thing on which ſhe had once fixed her affection. Hence were derived all thoſe daily importunities, with which ſhe tired *Anthony*, to ſeize upon the eſtates of others, and give them her; and hence proceeded her endeavours, while ſhe accompanied him into *Syria*, to make him reduce that country to her obedience. She procured *Lyſanias*, the ſon of *Ptolomy*, to be put to death, accuſing him of bringing the *Parthians* to raiſe diſturbances. She ſolicited *Anthony* to ſeize upon *Arabia* and *Judea*, diſpoſſeſs the kings of thoſe countries of their dominions, and beſtow them upon her. In ſhort, *Anthony*, by her artful inſinuations, was ſo prevailed upon at laſt, that he ſeemed bewitched with her requeſts, and to have no power of himſelf to refuſe her any thing ſhe wanted: However, the ſhame of an apparent injury opened his eyes, apprehending his implicit granting all her demands, might caſt a ſhade upon his character and honour. Therefore not to refuſe *Cleopatra*'s requeſt altogether, or ſhew himſelf unjuſt by ſatisfying it in its full extent, he curtailed a portion from each country, and beſtowed it upon her, adding to his gift the ſeveral cities lying within the river *Elutherus*, and extending as far as *Ægypt*, but out of his grant he excluded *Tyre* and *Sidon*, which, from long antiquity, were free cities, though ſhe was very ſollicitous to have them too included in her petition.

Cleopatra having obtained theſe places, and ſet *Anthony*, on his expedition into *Armenia*, as far as the *Euphrates*, returned back, taking in her way *Apamia* and *Arabia*, and making a progreſs into *Judea*, where *Herod* paid her a viſit, and redeemed that portion of *Arabia Anthony* had given her, as alſo the fruits of the country about *Jericho*, which produceth great numbers of fine palm trees, and a kind of the beſt balſam, found in no other place whatſoever; during her abode at this place, where ſhe had great familiarity with *Herod*, ſhe endeavoured to ſeduce him to her ſhameleſs pleaſures, ſeeming to be in love with him, or more probably, cunningly thinking to make her commerce with him, the ground of entrapping him, for ſhe intended her love as his certain ruin. But *Herod* was too wary to be caught; he had been of a long time on no good terms with her, and knew the great trouble and diſturbance ſhe gave every body. Beſide, if ſhe proceeded to a diſcovery of her unbridled appetite, he was reſolved to guard himſelf againſt her. In ſhort, he gave her a flat denial, and adviſed with his friends, if he ought not to put her to death now he had her in his power; for all thoſe who had or ſhould be deceived by her for the future, would find their advantage in ſuch a ſtep, and *Anthony* himſelf would be no loſer, ſince ſhe would prove faithleſs to him on any fair opportunity that ſuited and favoured her deſigns. His friends diſſuaded him from ſuch a deſign, by repreſenting the danger, to which he would expoſe himſelf, eſpecially at a time he had matters of much greater importance upon his hands; concluding, if he had any regard to their intreaties and deſires, not to commit an action ſo precipitate and haſty. That *Anthony* would not ſuffer ſuch a thing to go unpuniſhed, though he had the moſt evident ſigns given him of his own advantage in it. That there was more reaſon to believe his love would be the more inflamed, when he ſhould find himſelf robbed of her by violence and force, and no plauſible excuſe would be allowed him, when the bare mention of attempting the moſt beautiful woman of her age, quite weighed down all other conſiderations; and laſtly, if there was advantage to be imagined from ſuch an action, the boldneſs of the fact would entirely overwhelm it; from all which it was plain, his kingdom and family would be embroiled in terrible and laſting calamities; but that there was nothing to fear from his rejecting her allurements, ſince the preſent ſituation of his affairs gave ſo fine an opportunity that favoured ſuch a deſign. At length, by this repreſentation, and a corroboration of what they had advanced by examples of the ſame nature, they induced him to deſiſt from his intended purpoſe. In the concluſion, having pacified *Cleopatra* with ſome valuable preſents, he accompanied her to *Ægypt*.

Anthony having ſubdued *Armenia*, took the ſon of *Tigranes*, his ſons, and chief officers, and all the rich ſpoils of that country, and ſent them as a preſent to *Cleopatra*. *Artaxias*, the youngeſt ſon, having eſcaped, afterwards came to be king of *Armenia*, but was, as will be ſeen hereafter, driven out by *Archelaus* and *Nero Cæſar*, and *Tigranes*, his youngeſt brother, advanced in his room.

As to the tributes due to *Cleopatra* for the countries given her by *Anthony*, *Herod* took great caution to pay them, according to cuſtom, imagining it ſafer to do ſo, than give her any handle of advantage againſt him. As to the *Arabian* king, *Herod*, having made himſelf his ſecurity for payment of his tributes, received at one time two hundred talents, as ſo much money in arrear; but in all other payments he was very backward and crafty, and if at any time *Herod* received any ſums, he was obliged to ſuffer ſome fraud or loſs in it.

CHAP. V.

How Herod *makes an Expedition againſt the* Arabian *King, and after ſeveral Engagements carries away the Victory, and is acknowledged Lord of that Nation by the* Arabians. *Of a great Earthquake.*

HEROD, finding the *Arabian* king fraudulent and tricking in his actions, was reſolved to chaſtiſe him by the force of arms, and compel him to more equitable terms: But the war now breaking out among the *Romans*, made him defer his deſign to another opportunity. The famous battle at *Actium*, which fell out upon the one hundred and eighty ſeventh *Olympiad*, kept every one in ſuſpence; for in this action *Cæſar* and *Anthony* were reſolved to decide on whoſe ſide the government of the empire ſhould fall: *Herod* having took care to have his kingdom well tilled and managed, whereby he had amaſſed a prodigious quantity of riches, from the numerous returns of his parts of the fruits, had a choice army, ſupplyed with every thing, at hand, in order to give *Anthony* his aſſiſtance. But *Anthony* abſolutely refuſed his aid (having heard of the *Arabian* king's perfidious actions, both to *Herod* and *Cleopatra*) and bade him employ his arms in *Arabia*. This was what *Cleopatra* wanted, thinking it for her intereſt to let them weaken one another by their engagements. Theſe orders coming from *Anthony*, *Herod* returned, and kept his army in readineſs, deſigning ſhortly to attack *Arabia*. After he had reinforced himſelf with ſeveral auxiliary troops of horſe and foot, he marched to *Diopolis*, where the *Arabians*, who had been acquainted before-hand with this expedition, met him. The ſignal of battle was ſoon given, and a terrible fight maintained on both ſides, but the *Jews*, in the concluſion, became conquerors. After this overthrow, the *Arabians* raiſed another army, more numerous than the former, and came to a place in *Cœlo-Syria*, called *Cem*; but *Herod*, hearing of their march, took the major part of his forces, and approached the place, where he fixed his camp, and guarded it with a trench, waiting for a fit opportunity to give the enemy battle. But the *Jewiſh* army finding him upon this deſign, made loud complaints, and begg'd him not *to let them delay*, but to lead them againſt the *Arabians*, without placing any obſtacle in their way. They were animated with an extreme ardor to engage, as thinking themſelves well prepared, and the reflection of their former victory made them more preſſing for the battle: The murmurs they expreſſed for being hinder'd, and their eagerneſs to fall upon the enemy, induced *Herod* to make advantage of their chearfulneſs; wherefore telling them he would be ready to put in execution the valiant air they put on, he marched his firſt corps, ſword in hand, and was followed by the reſt of his forces in a very decent order; this appearance ſtruck the *Arabians* with a pannic; for they no ſooner obſerved the *Jews* intrepid, and fluſh'd with freſh courage, the reſult of their late victory over them, but retreating back a little way, they, at length, turned back and fled, and if *Athenion*, who proved of great diſſervice to *Herod* and the *Jews*, had not thrown an impediment in their way, every man of them had been cut to pieces. *Cleopatra* had conſtituted this perſon governor of this part of the country, and he was upon no good terms with *Herod*. His aim was to watch an opportunity how the iſſue of this battle turned, having prepared a body of forces of his own, and concluded, if the *Arabians* bore away the victory, to ſit neuter, but if fortune proved averſe to their cauſe, which, in effect, it did, to fall then upon the *Jews* with his men; accordingly, he ſallied out upon them in a weary condition, and full of the victory they had obtained, and made a terrible ſlaughter of their body; for having exhauſted all their ſtrength upon the enemy, they were too remiſs in guarding the victory they had got, and therefore eaſily gave ground to this freſh ſupply, which forcing them into rocky and craggy places, where they could not uſe their horſes, made terrible havock among them. This alteration of the day inſpired with freſh courage the *Arabians*, who turning back their fugitive troops, put to the ſword all the flying *Jews*. The ſlaughter on this occaſion was very melancholy, but ſome, who had the fortune to eſcape, withdrew into their camp. *Herod*, in a prodigious concern at this unlucky turn, rode back after them with all the haſte he could to aſſiſt them, but all the expedition he made was ineffectual, and all his diligence uſeleſs, for the enemy poſſeſt themſelves of their camp. This unexpected victory was by ſo much the more pleaſing to the *Arabians*, as they had obtained it at a time they could not even hope for it, and their adverſaries ſtrength was ſo much exhauſted. After this defeat *Herod* pillaged the country, and by his frequen incurſions from the mountains where he had incamped himſelf, committed terrible ravages, but avoided all he could, to come to an open engagement; in fine, what by his diligence and ſtratagems he gave the enemy a great deal of diſturbance, and took every ſtep to make reparation for the late miſcarriage of his countrymen.

In the interim, while the battle at *Actium* was carrying on between *Cæſar* and *Anthony*, *Herod* then being in the ſeventh year of his reign, *Judea* was ſhook with the moſt violent earthquake that ever happened in it. Great numbers of cattle over all the country were buried alive in it, and about ten thouſand perſons, by the tumbling down of the houſes, periſhed in the ruins, notwithſtanding the army encamped under the open air, ſuffered no deſtruction from this dreadful calamity, ſo fatal to almoſt every living thing elſe: The news of theſe diſaſters was inſtantly carried to the *Arabians* by perſons, who, in order to make the *Jews* ſtill more odious to them, increaſed the account of them beyond the bounds of truth; the *Arabians* were animated againſt the *Jews*, imagining now the country of their enemies being overturned, and great part of its inhabitants ſwallowed up, there was nothing to hinder them from ſeizing upon it. Beſide, they apprehended the *Jewiſh* ambaſſadors, who, after theſe fatal accidents to their country, had been ſent to ſue for peace, and put them to death, making all imaginable haſte to march againſt the army ſtill ſubſiſting. But the *Jews* were not in heart to make head againſt their invaſion; their dependency and great dejection quite deprived them of any hopes to re-eſtabliſh their affairs, and their deſpair was ſo great, that they could not even think with any reaſon, after the many diſmal calamities ſuſtained in their engagements, to reſiſt the enemy; nor could they ſee any proſpect of aſſiſtance, while their domeſtic affairs were involved in ſuch dreadful circumſtances. Things being in this unhappy ſituation, *Herod* ventured, however, to try if he could work any thing upon the officers, by the force and power of words; he endeavour'd to raiſe up their ſpirits from their melancholy dejection, and had ſo much influence over them in a little time, that ſeveral of the principal taking heart from his remonſtrances, he was emboldened to give the whole army an harangue; a thing he had hitherto declined, fearing the impoſſibility of mollifying them to his deſigns, by reaſon of the prejudicated bad ſenſe they entertained of their misfortunes. In ſhort, he addreſſed himſelf to them, and made them the following ſpeech:

MY COUNTRYMEN,

WE are not ignorant how many things have oppoſed themſelves to our undertakings at this time, and very likely ſeveral perſons among you of experienced proweſs and valour, cannot, from the view of your preſent affairs, be induced to take heart. But ſince we are preſſed by a hot war, and we have it ſtill in our power to retrieve our late diſhonour, and the calamities we have ſuffered by one glorious and magnanimous action; let me take this opportunity to ſhew you in what point of light you may ſtill diſcover the greatneſs of your minds and native ardour. I will in the firſt place remind you of the war, which we undertook upon honourable and juſt grounds, being compelled by the injuries our enemies did us to ſtand upon our defence; this conſideration, I preſume, if maturely weighed, will be of great advantage, and afford you ſome contentment. Next to this, I will demonſtrate the reaſons you have to deſpiſe every diſaſter hitherto ſuſtained, and to hope for better ſucceſs, and an aſſured victory for the future. I ſhall begin with a recapitulation, and make you yourſelves witneſſes to my own words. You are not inſenſible to the unjuſt proceedings of the *Arabians*, nor to their perfidious treatment of all others; this is a practice too common with a *Barbarian*, and a contemner of the high God. But we have been the greateſt ſufferers by his avarice and colluſive ways, eſpecially when our affairs were embroiled. But why ſhould I inſiſt on many things? Say, when they apprehended being caſt out of their dominions, and ſubjected to *Cleopatra*'s government, who were the perſons that delivered them from their fears? 'Twas my love for *Anthony*, and his reciprocal kindneſs for me, that proved the means of freeing them from any further encroachments. *Anthony* was cautious of my intereſt, and never did any thing to my prejudice; when he gave *Cleopatra* a portion of both kingdoms, I was the perſon who took the affair into my conſideration, and by the power of my preſents out of my own effects, ſecur'd both. My coſts in this matter were exceeding great, being obliged to pay in hand two hundred talents, and give my word for two hundred more, which were aſſeſſed upon their kingdom, the revenues of which they took to their own uſe, and kept from us who had a lawful title to receive them, though in point of juſtice, the *Jews* ought not to be taxed in their goods, or have any part of their lands under the encroachment of a tribute. And though it ſhould be ſo, yet they are not to be ſqueezed for thoſe who have received their preſervation from them. The *Arabians*, when they asked our alliance, confeſſed themſelves indebted to us for their kingdom, and they act now very injuriouſly, to treat us thus ungenerouſly, who are not their enemies, but friends. There oftentimes ſubſiſts between the moſt inveterate perſons a kind of fidelity, but friendſhip among thoſe who profeſs the greateſt gratitude, ought to be the moſt inviolable; ſuch an alliance is not, nor ought to be maintained with thoſe who account every method to extort money, as honeſt and juſtifiable; and make every illegal act that ſquares with their intereſt of no bad conſequence. Can you make any heſitation then, whether you ought to puniſh men of the moſt unjuſt principles, when God himſelf expreſly enjoins us to chaſtize an iniquitous and treacherous procedure, and we are now engaged not only in a juſt, but neceſſary way? What the *Greeks* and *Barbarians* eſteemed the moſt flagitious of all crimes, they have committed upon our ambaſſadors, whom they have ſlain. The *Greeks* always held the perſons of ambaſſadors ſacred and inviolable, and we are a nation who boaſt to have received, by the meſſengers of God, the moſt charming maxims, and a ſyſtem of the beſt laws in the world. The name of an ambaſſador has a power peculiar to itſelf, which is, that it in ſome ſort copies the divinity before men, and works between enemies the bands of peace and reconciliation; what can then be a greater impiety than to put ambaſſadors to death, who are upon affairs of ſo great importance and concern? Or ſay, how can any, who make themſelves partizans of ſuch actions, think to have an happy life, or receive any ſucceſs from their engagements? For my part I cannot ſee how it can be done. Somebody will now perhaps object and ſay, that juſtice and equity are on our ſide, but that our enemies are inveſted with greater power, and conſiſt of more numbers. But this is a charge which but ill agrees with you to ſpeak it; for whoſoever have juſtice on their ſides, have God to defend them, and with whomſoever God is, thoſe perſons need not fear ſtrength and courage. Let us now look into our actions againſt them. In our firſt engagement we bore away the victory from them; and in our ſecond, they were not able to bear the violent ſhock we made, but precipitately turned their backs and fled. As we were moving off with the palm in our hands, *Athenion* fell upon us without giving notice of his intention; now whether is this to be called an act of their valour, or to be ſtigmatized as a ſecondary piece of injuſtice and treachery? Why then ſhould we deſpond at a thing which ought to animate and inſpire us with greater hope? And how comes it that we are ſo timorous of thoſe perſons who, every time they fought openly with us, were overthrown, and whoſe ſeveral ſucceſſes are to be attributed ſolely to their artificial and treacherous deſigns? If any one among you ſuppoſes them men of valour and courage, why doth not he, on that very account, animate himſelf with a nobler bravery to fight them? To attempt a buſineſs that is in itſelf magnanimous, argues great ſpirit, and a poſſibility to overcome the difficulty; if any man is intimidated at his domeſtic accidents, or harbour any apprehenſions about the ruins made by the earthquake, let him primarily conſider, that the ſame thing may happen to the *Arabians*, who make more of the caſe than in reality it was; and therefore it would be very diſhonourable for us to make that a motive of indolence, which is a cauſe of courage to them. Nor is the valour they now aſſume owing to any good fortune they have obtained, but to their hopes that we are ready to ſink under the weight of our own calamities. If we take heart, and march out againſt them, we ſhall not only cool that blaze of valour they expreſs, but procure this further advantage, not to be troubled any more with contending with them, nor are we reduced to ſuch a melancholy condition yet, nor, as ſome imagine, are our misfortunes the mark of God's vengeance againſt us, but only accidents proceeding from natural cauſes, and the conſequences of our own bad luck. If God, through his wiſdom, ſent them upon us, it is then evident the ſame wiſdom put an end to them, being ſatisfied with what is already paſt, for if he had deſigned to have puniſhed us longer, the ſcene of our troubles had not ſo quickly been over. The war was begun by his direction, and he himſelf tells us, we undertook it upon juſt cauſes. The earthquake, indeed, ſwallowed up all parts of the country great numbers of perſons, but not a man among you ſuffered in the calamity; this is, therefore, an argument from God himſelf, that if you, together with your wives and children, had engaged in battle, you could not then have expected a more terrible calamity; theſe conſiderations being maturely weighed, and, what is ſtill of greater importance, your reflecting on God's being always your helper, will animate you with a juſt and valiant behaviour to puniſh men, the conſtant infringers of alliances; men who give no quarter in war; men impious againſt the ſacred perſons of ambaſſadors; and laſtly, men at all times vanquiſhed by your ſuperior valour and conduct.

This ſpeech of *Herod* animated the *Jews* with greater ardour to undertake the war. *Herod*, after he had ſacrificed, according to the preſcription of the laws, took the army and marched with it over *Jordan* to meet the *Arabians*, incamping himſelf at a ſmall diſtance from the enemy; there was a caſtle ſtanding between the two armies, which *Herod* had a mind to take in, ſuppoſing it would be of great advantage to him, to annoy the enemy with ſudden ſkirmiſhes, and to defend his camp, if the war proved of any duration. But the *Arabians* having the ſame deſign upon the place, a terrible conflict enſued upon their different pretenſions to it. Several ſkirmiſhes happened between the armies before they cloſed in, but when they came to handy blows, ſeveral fell on both ſides, till at length the *Arabians* were forced to retreat with the greateſt loſs, this advantage was of great ſervice to the *Jews* who began to revive their hopes. *Herod* well knowing the *Arabians*, were reſolved to undergo every thing, rather than ſeem diſheartened at the engagement, began very valiantly to pull down their ramparts, and making a nearer approach to fall upon their camp. This violent proceeding of *Herod* put the enemy into great diſorder, who, without any ſigns of chearfulneſs, or hopes of victory, marched out in a confuſed order; for their ſuperior numbers, and the neceſſity that drove them to take courage and fight, compelled them to an open engagement, when a very fierce battle began, a great number falling on both ſides, till the *Arabians* were obliged to turn their backs and fly. The fugitive *Arabians* were ſlain in heaps, and ſuch a terrible ſlaughter made of them, when they began to give ground, that they not only fell by the hands of the *Jews*, but numbers of them, through their great multitude, and the confuſion in which they fled, were trodden to death, or killed by their own darts; about five thouſand periſhed on this occaſion, the reſt who ſaved themſelves taking refuge within their fortifications; but as they were in great want of proviſions and water, they could not entertain any hopes of ſafety. The *Jews* purſued them, but finding they could not break in upon them, they inveſted the fortification, and planted guards to hinder any from getting out, or making their eſcape.

The *Arabians*, in theſe preſſing circumſtances, ſent ambaſſadors to *Herod* about compounding firſt; but, the famine raging more grievouſly among them, they afterwards offered any manner of conditions, provided they might depart quietly for the preſent. But neither ambaſſadors, nor any ranſoms for the priſoners, nor other conſideration whatſoever, could prevail any thing on *Herod*, who only wanted an opportunity to revenge himſelf upon them for the injuries they had done him. Theſe hard circumſtances compelled them, who were forced by their extreme thirſt and other hardſhips, to ſurrender themſelves voluntarily to the *Jews*, who put them in chains; the number, in about five days ſpace, amounted to four thouſand, who were taken captives. But on the ſixth day, thoſe who remained behind, thinking it more honourable to undergo the worſt extremities, than ſuſtain a lingering death in the hands of their enemies, had formed a deſign of making a deſperate ſally, after the practice of war, upon the *Jews*: With this reſolution, they ruſhed out of their fortifications, but could not maintain the engagement, being too much weakened both in body and mind, to perform any thing of conſequence. About ſeven thouſand periſhed in the firſt onſet, which terrible defeat quite took away all their former hopes and courage: The *Arabians*, from this ſingular inſtance of *Herod*'s great valour in his misfortunes, were very much aſtoniſhed; they ſubmitted themſelves to him for the future, and paid obedience to him as the real lord over their nation. This victory gave *Herod* a great deal of ſatisfaction; after which he returned home, not without great honours paid him for his valiant behaviour and fortunate ſucceſs.

CHAP. VI.

How Herod, *having put* Hyrcanus *to Death, went to* Cæſar, *from whom he obtained a Confirmation of the Kingdom; and how, not long after this, he magnificently entertained* Cæſar *at* Ptolomais.

HEROD's other affairs were now in a promiſing ſituation, from the difficulty of being attacked on any ſide of his kingdom. But *Cæſar* defeating *Anthony* at *Actium*, made him apprehend a total ſubverſion of his affairs. He as well as his friends and enemies, imagined he was now in a deplorable circumſtance; for there was no reaſon in the world, after the intimate friendſhip carried on between him and *Anthony*, to hope for an indemnity: This conſideration quite effaced all the hopes his friends entertained of him; and thoſe who were his enemies put on an outward air of ſorrow, but ſecretly rejoiced at his circumſtances, imagining a change of affairs for the better. As to *Herod* himſelf, when he obſerved that *Hyrcanus* was the only perſon inveſted with a regal dignity, he thought, if he cut him off, he would receive advantages from ſuch an action; but he imagined, ſhould he ſave and preſerve himſelf from danger, it might poſſibly be, that a man, more worthy of the kingdom than himſelf, might take advantage of his critical circumſtances, and entertain ambitious ſentiments of procuring the kingdom for himſelf; and if *Cæſar*, he reflected, ſhould put him to death, he had ſtill more deſires to cut him off, as being the only ſurviving perſon, having any title to ſucceed him.

While *Herod* was in this confuſion, an opportunity offered that favoured his deſigns. *Hyrcanus* was indeed of a quiet diſpoſition, and had never then or at any other time given any ſigns of concerning himſelf in public affairs, or attempting any innovation in the government; he had on the contrary, always ſubmitted to his hard fortune, chuſing rather, in order to live contentedly and in peace, to undergo any thing his condition preſented him with. But *Alexandra* was of a contentious ſpirit, and hurried on by a vain hope of a change in the kingdom; ſhe ſolicited her father not to bear always the injuries *Herod* did her Family, but anticipate his future hopes, while an opportunity favoured him, and begged him to write to *Malchus*, then in poſſeſſion of *Arabia*, to take them into his protection; for there was all the reaſon in the world, after their departure, to think *Cæſar* would prove *Herod*'s enemy, and then they had nothing to do, but ſeize upon the government in conjunction together, having promiſing motives to ſuch an enterprize, both on account of their family, and the love the people bore them. While ſhe was endeavouring all ſhe could to perſuade *Hyrcanus*, he gave no manner of ear to her remonſtrances. But *Alexandra*, preſſing him further with her womaniſh importunities, never left him night nor day, but was always alarming him with plots againſt his life laid by *Herod*; till, at length, ſhe brought him over to ſend one *Doſitheus*, a friend of theirs, with a Letter to *Malchus*, praying him to ſend a body of horſe to take and carry him as far as the lake of *Aſphaltotes*, which was diſtant from *Hieroſolyma* about three hundred furlongs; he placed ſo much the more confidence in *Doſitheus*, as he knew himſelf and *Alexandra* very much in his eſteem; beſide, *Doſitheus* had ſeveral reaſons to act contrary to *Herod*'s intereſt; for *Joſeph*, whom he had ſlain, was his kinſman, and the brother of thoſe whom *Anthony* had put to death at *Tyre*; yet theſe conſiderations could not prevail upon him to be faithful to *Hyrcanus*; for ſetting the hopes of advantage he expected *Herod* would accompliſh, in an airer light then thoſe he entertained of *Hyrcanus*, he gave *Herod* the letter, who commended his fidelity, and ordered him to give *Malchus* the letter, as it was then ſealed, and bring back his anſwer; for it would be of conſiderable advantage to know alſo his intentions: *Doſitheus* having frankly undertaken this buſineſs, the *Arabian* wrote back, he would with gladneſs receive not only *Hyrcanus*, and the reſt of his family, but all the *Jews* who were willing to follow his fortunes, and ſend a convenient number of them to eſcort them in ſafety, and comply with all his demands. *Herod* having receiv'd this letter, ſent immediately for *Hyrcanus*, and charged him flatly with the agreement made between him and *Malchus*: But *Hyrcanus* denying the fact, *Herod* produced the letter in his council, and order'd *Hyrcanus* immediately to be put to death.

We have given this account juſt as it is related in the archives of king *Herod*. But other writers have ſome diſagreement as to the facts. they ſeem to be of opinion that *Herod* exhibited a very treacherous accuſation againſt *Hyrcanus*, and put him to death, which is different to my account: Now their's is as follows, that at a certain banquet, without any manner of ſuſpicion, he put the queſtion to *Hyrcanus*, and asked him if he had received a letter from *Malchus*, to which he anſwer'd one, but full of nothing but congratulatory words; that *Herod* after this, asked him if he had receiv'd ever a preſent, to which he made reply, that he had ſent him four ſaddle aſſes, which the king taking for a full diſcovery of treaſon, ordered him to be put to death. But others, to excuſe this account, and prove his being not guilty of a crime to merit this death, ſay, that he was one of the mildeſt temper'd perſons in the world, never being known in his youth to give any ſigns of courage or forwardneſs; nay, not when he came to the kingdom, but left every thing to *Antipater*'s adminiſtration. Beſides, that he was now paſt his eightieth year, and knew *Herod* well eſtabliſh'd in his kingdom, and had gone over the *Euphrates*, in order to live under his ſubjection, ſo that it was very unlikely, nay, foreign to his very temper, to attempt any revolution, or to change the face of things; and therefore the account of *Herod*'s murthering *Hyrcanus*, was to be looked upon as a fable.

This was the cataſtrophe of *Hyrcanus*, who in his life-time had full experience of the viciſſitudes of good and bad fortune; for in the beginning of his mother *Alexandra*'s Government, he was conſtituted high prieſt, and which dignity he enjoyed nine years. After his mother's death he took the reins of the kingdom into his hands, which he managed three months, and was then dethroned by his brother *Ariſtobulus*. *Pompey* reſtored him to the full poſſeſſion of all his honours, which he enjoyed forty years, and was again deprived of them by *Antigonus*, being afterwards multilated by him, and compelled to live in ſlavery among the *Parthians*. Some ſhort time after this, he returned home on the hopes *Herod* had given him, but he never met with the ſatisfaction to ſee any of them accompliſhed, being harraſſed with an abounding ſource of troubles, but what was the greateſt affliction, of which we have taken notice above, was the unworthy cataſtrophe he made in his old age; for he ſeems to have been of a very mild and reſerved diſpoſition in every action of his life, and to have left the greateſt ſhare of the government to the adminiſtration of *Subalterns*, being averſe to public buſineſs, and unacquainted with the maxims of policy. On this moderate behaviour of his, both *Antipater*, and *Herod* laid the foundation and carried the views of their ambition to that height, that *Hyrcanus*, in the concluſion, againſt the ſacred laws both of juſtice and equity, was oblig'd to ſuffer as he did.

Herod, having thus got *Hyrcanus* out of the way, made all imaginable haſte to *Cæſar*; but his late friendſhips for *Anthony*, made his affairs ſeem to him in a deſperate condition. *Alexandra* too, gave him fearful apprehenſions, ſuſpecting his abſence would yield her a fair opportunity to put in practice her rebellious deſigns, in conjunction with the people, and raiſe a ſedition in the kingdom. Wherefore to prevent theſe things, having firſt ſecurely placed his mother *Cyprus*, and his Siſter, and all his children at *Maſſada*, he entruſted the entire adminiſtration of his kingdom, to his brother *Pheroras*, expreſly charging him to have a watchful eye over his affairs, if he heard of any cabals againſt his intereſt. But his wife *Mariamne* (whom, on account of the difference with his mother and ſiſter, he could on no condition ſuffer to live with them) he put with her mother *Alexandra*, in the caſtle of *Alexandrion*, leaving *Joſeph* the queſtor, and *Sœmus* the *Ionian*, two of his moſt faithful and longeſt friends, to guard them, under a ſhew of doing them honour. But he very ſenſibly enjoined them, aſſoon as they found them acting in prejudice to his intereſt, to put both of them to death, and, in conjunction with his brother *Pheroras*, uſe their utmoſt endeavours to ſecure the kingdom for his ſons.

Having given theſe orders, he made all imaginable haſte to meet *Cæſar* at *Rhodes*, unto which city he was no ſooner entered, but he put of his diadem, appeared in his other regalties. When he came before *Cæſar*, he gave a greater proof of his heroic ſoul than ever; he did not (as is cuſtomary in the like caſes) deſcend to ſervile intreaties, and ſupplicate for any pardon of his crime, but with a brave and undaunted look, he proceeded to give *Cæſar* an account of his actions, by repreſenting, *That is friendſhips for* Anthony *had been the moſt ſacred, for whom he had done all in his power to place him at the helm of the empire; however, that he had not aſſiſted him with any forces, having had uſe for them himſelf in the* Arabian *war, but had given him a ſupply of money and proviſions, which yet did not anſwer the obligations he owed him; for if a man profeſſes himſelf a friend to any one, and is conſcious, he lies under obligations that ſhould bind him to ſuch friendſhip, he ought with all the power of his ſoul, body and effects, to hazard himſelf for him. And though he was ſenſible he had not done* Anthony *ſo much ſervice in theſe three articles as he ought, yet he perſuaded himſelf he had acted an honourable thing, in not relinquiſhing him after his defeat at* Actium, *or turning his foe, after his fortune had received another aſpect; beſide, if he had not given him that aſſiſtance which he ought, yet he had approved himſelf one of* Anthony'*s beſt councellors, in adviſing to put* Cleopatra *to death, as the only way left him in the world, to preſerve his affairs in ſome tolerable degree of ſafety; for when ſhe was dead, he might have ſome hopes ſtill left him of being in the government, and be in a better condition to procure a reconciliation, and not prolong his hatred with you: But none of theſe remonſtrances, which he took to his own detriment and your advantage, could win him over, he preſiſting to follow his own raſh, and unadviſed conceits. Wherefore if, through your anger for* Anthony, *you ſhall adjudge me guilty of a crime, for my firm attachment to his intereſt, you have here my open confeſſion that I am guilty; for I ſhall never be afraid, even before you, in the moſt open manner, to ſay how much I loved and honoured him. But, if turning the ballance, or changing my condition, you ask me what kind of perſon I am to benefactors, and what is my friendſhip, you need only enquire into my paſt conduct, and that will inform you beſt; for the alteration of my fortune, will not in the leaſt efface that ſtability of friendſhip which I once entertain for any one.*

Cæſar, who was a generous and a kind prince, having heard theſe things, and found of what a frank temper he was, conceived not a little ſatisfaction at his words; ſo that in the concluſion the articles upon which he was accuſed, inſtead of proving his diſadvantage, but the more conciliated *Cæſar*'s friendſhip to him: In fine, *Cæſar* placed the diadem again on his head, and exhorted him to preſerve for him the ſame inviolable friendſhip, which he had before ſhewn *Anthony*. Beſides, he conferred upon him ſeveral honours, and concluded with telling him, that he had received a letter from *Quintus Didius*, in which the great ſervice he had done him in the affair of the gladiators was particularly mentioned. When *Herod* found himſelf thus generouſly entertained, and that beyond his expectations he had got his kingdom again confirmed to him in a ſtronger manner than before, both by the grant of *Cæſar*, and a decree of the *Roman Senate*, which he thought a more powerful ſanction than any thing beſides, and which he had laboured to obtain, he accompanied *Cæſar* on his march into *Ægypt*, where he gave him and his favourites the moſt magnificent preſents his circumſtances could provide, or his ambition ſupply. He petitioned *Cæſar* to pardon *Alexandra* one of *Anthony*'s friends, but he rejected his requeſt by an oath to the contrary. After this he returned into *Judea* with the greateſt honour and confidence, and terrified, with his approach, thoſe who had wiſh'd the contrary, making them think that God was on his ſide, and from the loweſt ebb of his adverſities, had raiſed him conſtantly to an higher degree of grandeur. His firſt actions were, how he ſhould receive with ſuitable honour *Cæſar*, who was marching out of *Syria* into *Ægypt*; and accordingly he met him at *Ptolomais*, where he entertained him with all the magnificence, ſuitable to his high quality, and ſupplied his army with an abundance of all manner of proviſion. This generous behaviour procured him afterwards the title of being one of *Cæſar's* moſt faithful friends; for while *Cæſar* reviewed his forces he had the honour to bear him company and ride by his ſide, through the ſeveral ranks of his ſoldiers. *Herod* at firſt received *Cæſar* and his friends, with a retinue of a hundred and twenty men, every man of whom was completely inſtructed how to give him the moſt elegant and ſumptuous reception, and beſides, he provided him and his men with a ſufficient quantity of wine and water, which his army, and the country they were to travel through, greatly wanted: He preſented *Cæſar* alſo with a voluntary gift of fourſcore talents, and made all perſons imagine the great preſents and ſupplies he made were above the cuſtomary revenues of his kingdom. But this only the more confirmed him in their good will and inclinations to him; for this clear teſtimony he gave of accommodating his generoſity to the neceſſity of the time, proved of great advantage to him, Nor upon *Cæſar*'s return back out of *Ægypt*, did he ſhew himſelf in the leaſt inferior in the preſents he made him then.

CHAP. VII.

How Herod *ſlew* Sœmus *and* Mariamne, *and after them* Alexandra *and* Coſtobarus, *and thoſe of his Friends the moſt nearly attached to his Intereſts*; *of his putting to Death the Sons of* Baba.

AT his return to his kingdom, he found his family in the utmoſt confuſion, and his wife *Mariamne*, and her mother *Alexandra*, not well pleaſed with their condition. For they were now fully ſatisfied, having had ſeveral apprehenſions about it, that their being ſhut up in the caſtle had not been done for the ſake of ſecuring their perſons, but to put an effectual ſtop to their having any thing either of their own or any other perſon's in their power; this conſideration was a ſevere mortification to them both, and *Mariamne*, who could not help thinking the king's love to her was only an amuſement to make her believe it for her advantage, concluded all his ſigns of reſpect were fallacious at the bottom. She was vehemently concerned at reflecting he had deprived her of any hopes of ſecuring herſelf, ſhould ſhe happen to fall into any worſe dilemma, and the orders he had left *Joſeph* roſe often into her remembrance; ſo that ſhe endeavoured by every artifice to inſinuate herſelf into the good graces of her keepers, eſpecially *Sœmus*, whom ſhe knew in a capacity to aſſiſt her. This *Sœmus* had been an old and faithful ſervant, and had punctually paid obedience to every thing he had been commanded by *Herod*. But when the women began to ply him with their preſents and deluſive ſpeeches, he gave way by degrees, and in the concluſion made a full diſcovery of every thing to which the king had enjoined his ſecrecy; the principal thing urging him to this diſcovery, was, the hopes he had of *Herod*'s never returning back in the ſame quality he went; and therefore it was his reſolution, in order to ſecure himſelf from any danger he feared from the king, to indulge and gratify the women, who, to all outward appearance, were likely to retain their dignity; and whoſe future authority, (one of them being in the next degree to the then reigning perſon) flatter'd him with obtaining a greater ſhare of favour. Nor were his hopes or expectations the leſs, provided *Herod* returned with his point gained to his wiſh, for he knew his infatuated love to *Mariamne*, which exceeded all bounds, render'd it impoſſibly for him to refuſe her any thing ſhe deſired. (1) Moved, therefore, with theſe conſiderations, he diſcovered the king's commands; the news was very diſagreeable to *Mariamne*, who found their was no end of the dangers *Herod* threatn'd her. She could not forbear ſhewing her concern, and ſeveral times with great fervency wiſhed he might be fruſtrated in his deſigns, for ſhe was fully of opinion her life was in the utmoſt danger under him: This was but too plainly ſeen afterwards in what ſhe did to ſhew her concern.

When *Herod* came home, having brought his affairs to a happier ſituation then ever his hopes could ſuggeſt to him, he went to his wife the firſt of all, and told her the glad news of his ſucceſs. For *Mariamne*, of all his wifes, was the greateſt in his eſteem, the ardent love he bore her, giving her the preference: But while *Herod* was telling her the fortunate ſucceſs of his journey, *Mariamne*, unable to ſtifle her troubles, diſcovered rather more grief then gladneſs at his relation; for being conſcious of her native grandeur and high birth, ſhe could not help ſighing as ſhe embraced him: This behaviour gave *Herod* great uneaſineſs which wrought upon him, not only by ſuſpicions, but very manifeſt ſigns; it ſtruck him to the ſoul to ſee his wife demonſtrate ſo ſudden and open an hatred to him. Her carriage was what he could not bear, and as his love was raging and impatient, he could not continue the ſame man a moment; for ſometimes angry, and ſometimes brought to himſelf, he was tumbled from one oppoſite paſſion to the other, in the greateſt incertainty and inconſtancy imaginable. So that what with his love, and what with his hatred to *Mariamne*, he was this minute on the point of putting her to death for her pride; but the next moment love, powerful love, bearing him down, he had not the courage or reſolution to thruſt her from him. In fine, he was eager to puniſh, but he apprehended, ſhould ſhe die, he ſhould commit ſomething of as bad a conſequence upon himſelf.

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(1) *Rufinus* ſays, that flattering himſelf with this deluſive hope, he diſcovered the Secret.

When his ſiſter and mother came to hear of this diſpoſition of his to *Mariamne*, they imagined they had got a fair occaſion to ſtimulate his hatred to her; with this view, in the converſation they had with him, they uſed every artifice and calumny which they thought would irritate him againſt her. But *Herod* was not now in a temper to give a joyful hearing to their accuſations, nor durſt he, under coulour of believing them, reſolve upon any thing againſt her. Notwithſtanding, his behaviour to her began every day more and more to abate, and a circumſtance was in the way, that rendered a reconcilation almoſt impoſſible; this was, *Mariamne*'s open diſcovery of her hatred, and his love daily changing into the ſame paſſion; ſo that ſometimes he was juſt on reſolving on ſomething to her prejudice. But news at this time being brought him of *Cæſar* having obtained the victory, and by the deaths of *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*, had made himſelf maſter of *Ægypt*, he went in the utmoſt haſte to meet him, leaving his family in this ſituation; but *Mariamne* at his departure, recommending *Sœmus* to him, to whom ſhe owed herſelf much obliged for his diligent care over her, ſhe begged a part of the government for him, which ſhe obtained. *Herod* on his arrival in *Ægypt*, had great freedom in *Cæſar*'s company, in conſideration he was his particular friend, and had received no ſmall ſigns of his generoſity to him; to counterballance which, he heaped ſeveral favours upon him, and made him a preſent of the four hundred *Galatians*, *Cleopatra*'s attendants, giving him their lands which ſhe had ſubjected under a tribute, and adding to his kingdom the cities of *Gadar* and *Hippo*, and *Samaria*, and the maritime towns of *Gaza*, and *Anthedon* and *Joppa*, and the tower of *Straton*.

Herod by the acquiſition of theſe places became more powerful; he accompanied *Cæſar* as far as *Antioch*, and then left him: At his return home he thought the more fortunate the affairs of his kingdom turned, the more troubles mixed with his domeſtic concerns, eſpecially in his marriage, in which he fancied himſelf before the happieſt man living. For his love to *Mariamne* may juſtly be compared to thoſe amorous tales we read in ſome hiſtories. *Mariamne*, was a virtuous and faithful wife to *Herod*, but ſhe had ſome thing of the womaniſh temper in her that harbours hatred in it. The violent love ſhe perceived in her huſband, made her ſometimes carry herſelf too far a length, and the thoughts ſhe imbibed of the diſhonour of living in a kingdom, and being ſubject to the commands of any one, proved the reaſon of her uſing him ſo often with that petulancy; which by a cunning diſſimulation he carried off with an air of wonderful moderation and patience. For the obſcure birth of *Herod*'s ſiſter and mother was a conſtant topic with her of open raillery, which ſhe many times carried to very abuſive bounds; this uſage in proceſs of time raiſed an enmity among the women, which was irreconcilable, and attended with calumnies of far worſe conſequence; for the ſuſpicions cheriſhed on either ſide continued alive for a full year after the return of *Herod* from *Cæſar*, yet in the concluſion they broke out on the following account. The king on a certain day deſiring ſome repoſe went about noon and laid himſelf down on his bed, and after his uſual way, and for the conſtant love he bore his wife, called *Mariamne* to him. *Mariamne*, indeed, went into the room, but did not offer to lay down by him; but, on the contrary, when he deſired her, abuſed and reproached him for having murthered her father and brother. *Herod* enraged at this contumelious uſage, was going to execute ſome furious deſign upon her, when *Salome* his ſiſter, thinking ſhe heard a greater noiſe then ordinary, ordered the cup-bearer, whom ſhe had a long time before ſuborned to this purpoſe, to go into the chamber, and tell her brother, *Mariamne* had deſired him to aſſiſt her in preparing a philtre or love potion for him. But if he ſeemed angry, and asked what it was, to tell him, he had it and was ordered to give it him; otherwiſe, if he ſeemed unmoved at mentioning it, to proceed no further in the buſineſs, which would do him no manner of detriment. According to theſe inſtructions the cup bearer, juſt in the nick of time ſtept in to ſpeak with the king, he entered with all the compoſure and care of his buſineſs imaginable: When he came before the king, he told him, that *Mariamne* had given him money to preſent him with a love potion. The king ſeeming in a paſſion at theſe words the cup-bearer proceeded and told him that was the potion which *Mariamne* gave him, the virtue of which he could not tell, but he ſaid, he was bound to acquaint him with it, as a piece of ſervice both to himſelf and the kingdom. *Herod*, whoſe temper was already ruffled, having heard theſe words burſt out into a violent rage, and examined an eunuch, a particular intimate of *Mariamne*'s, about the potion, for he was very well aſſured nothing neither better nor worſe could be tranſacted without his knowledge. The eunuch in this extremity could not, however, make any anſwers to the queſtions put to him, he only ſaid he believed her hatred to him might proceed from ſome words *Sœmus* had told her. While the eunuch was dwelling on theſe words, the king lifted up his voice aloud and ſaid, that *Sœmus*, who had all along to that time behaved himſelf in the moſt faithful manner to him and the kingdom, would never have been induced, without an unlawful correſpondence with *Mariamne*, to a diſcovery of what he had ordered him to conceal. In the concluſion, he commanded *Sœmus* immediately to be apprehended and put to death: As for his wife; he convoked a council of his moſt faithful friends, before whom he exhibited a charge of complaint againſt her, laying in the accuſation the plot of her preparing the potion. He was very pungent in his ſpeeches, and carryed himſelf ſomething too irreverently conſidering the dignity of the council. But the perſons preſent obſerving the tranſported temper in which he had thrown himſelf, condemned her to death. Notwithſtanding this ſentence, *Herod* and ſome among the council were of another opinion, and thought it not prudence to execute ſo haſty a ſentence upon her, but ſhut her up in ſome fortified place in the kingdom. But *Salome* was very diligent to prevent this, and get *Mariamne* out of the way; and her words had by ſo much the more credit with the king, as ſhe endeavoured to convince him of the probability of the people's raiſing commotions in the kingdom, if he ſuffered her to live. This advice getting credit, *Mariamne* was, conſequent to it, put to death.

Alexandra, ſeeing the face of things turned in this manner, was quite bereaved of all hopes, imagining *Herod* would execute the ſame puniſhment upon her; but to prevent this, ſhe gave a ſhameleſs inſtance of diſſimulation, which effaced all the opinion of her former courage; ſhe made a ſly pretence ſhe was ignorant of the articles on which *Mariamne* had been condemned, and accordingly ruſhed out of the door, where, in the hearing of every body, ſhe unhandſomely reproached her with her wicked and ungrateful carriage to her huſband, ſaying, her puniſhment was but juſt for her impious attempt; for *Herod*, to whom ſhe was infinitely obliged, had deſerved no ſuch uſage; while ſhe continued her bitter language at her, and even proceeded ſo far as to take her by the hair of her head, ſeveral perſons, not without ground of reaſon, could not help taxing her with her manifeſt flattery and artifice, but *Mariamne*, who was conducting to receive her puniſhment, ſeemed to blame her moſt; and though ſhe ſpoke not a word, or with the leaſt emotion turned her face back to obſerve her mother's cruel behaviour, yet there were too plain ſigns her diſſembling conduct was not over-pleaſing to her; beſide, all the way ſhe went, ſhe diſcovered a ſurprizing bravery of ſoul; and without the leaſt alteration in her aſpect met death in the face, by which act, even in the worſt and moſt diſmal extremity, ſhe gave a manifeſt proof to all of the nobility of her birth.

Thus died *Mariamne*, one of the moſt continent and heroic women living. But moderation and a reſerved behaviour was wanting in her, being addicted from the natural force of her genius to broils and contentions; the fine ſtructure of her body, and her moſt charming gate, exceeded all the women of her age. Hence aroſe the neglect ſhe conſtantly ſhewed to *Herod*, and the ſmall comfort and pleaſantry during their marriage together; for ſhe made his immoderate love for her, and his expectations of a return of kindneſs for it, an handle for the moſt licentious liberties; if any thing happened to any of her own friends, ſhe was certain to take it ill, and never made any ſcruples to repreſent it to the king, as if ſhe had been the perſon aggrieved; this conduct, in time, made *Herod*'s mother and ſiſter her enemies; nay, in the concluſion, her huſband himſelf, in whom ſhe had conſtantly confided, and believed he would not ſuffer her to undergo any hardſhip.

Mariamne being put to death, *Herod*, conſidering the temper of his love, which we have took notice of above, was immediately in a blaze of affection. His diſtraction was not over, nor was the motive of his love to be compared with other people's. On his firſt marriage he loved to madneſs; but in proceſs of time, when he had opportunities to give a reſpite to his affection by the frequent occurrences he met with in life, yet he ſeemed not to ſtifle in the leaſt his immoderate ardour for his wife. It looked as if he had been actuated by ſome divine revenge for her death, to augment his fondneſs; for ſometimes he would roar aloud, and at other times weep in a ſhameful manner. On other occaſions he would abandon himſelf to all manner of pleaſures, ſuch as feaſtings and balls, in order to mitigate the fierceneſs of his affection, but all was ineffectual. Hence came his diſregard to the management of publick affairs; and his prodigious and uncommon degree of love being won over, at length, to ſuch an extreme, that he ordered all his ſervants to invoke and call upon her, as if ſhe had been living, and capable of hearing their words. While things were thus carried on, there happened a terrible plague, which ſwept away vaſt numbers of the common people, and a great many of the king's friends: this calamity was looked upon by all as a judgment ſent down upon them for the unjuſt death of *Mariamne*. Nor was the king leſs afflicted at this fatal accident; but under colour of hunting he retired into the deſart, where giving too great a looſe to his ſorrows for ſeveral days, he at length elapſed into a very dangerous diſtemper; which conſiſted of an inflammation, and a violent pain in his head, attended with a ſort of frenzy; no medicines could be found that did him any good, but rather more hurt, ſo that his phyſicians at laſt deſpaired of his life. When they found his diſtemper not in the leaſt to ſubſide by any medicines applied to it, and that the king could endure no other courſe of diet, than what the nature of his illneſs required, they gave him every thing ſuitable to it; and ſubmitted the hopes of his recovery to the efficacious power of his meats he digeſted. Thus did *Herod* lie ſick of this illneſs in *Samaria*, called *Sebaſte*.

In the mean while *Alexandra* living at *Hieroſolyma*, and coming to receive the news of theſe things, endeavoured to ſeize upon the places of defence. There were two, one in the city, and the other in the temple; the garriſons of which had the whole nation under their command; for no manner of ſacrifices could be performed without their intervention, and not a *Jew* can diſpenſe with himſelf to omit this piece of worſhip; for death is thought a more deſirable thing than to neglect the duty ſo inviolably maintained and performed to the honour of god. Upon theſe motives *Alexandra* went and repreſented to the garriſons in both places, that there was great reaſon they ſhould be ſurrendered up to her and *Herod*'s ſons, for fear of his death, and ſome other ſhould get the ſtart of them by ſeizing upon the government; and that if he recovered from his indiſpoſition, no body could maintain them in greater ſecurity than perſons of his own family. But theſe remonſtrances met with great oppoſition from the garriſon, who were reſolved to preſerve their fidelity in a firmer manner to *Herod*, than hitherto they had done, being moved to this generous and dutiful behaviour partly by their hatred to *Alexandra*, and partly on account of the diſhonour of deſerting their king, while he was yet alive; for ſome of them were his acquaintance and friends, eſpecially one named *Achiabus*, who was his couſin. With this view they immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to go and tell him of *Alexandra*'s deſigns. *Herod* no ſooner heard of them, but, without any the leaſt demur, ordered her to be put to death. And ſome ſhort time afterwards, when he had recovered from his illneſs, not without a terrible conflict both of ſoul and body, he had much ado to reſtrain himſelf from laying violent hands, even on the leaſt pretences, on every one falling in his way. And ſeveral, indeed, of his moſt faithful friends fell ſacrifices to his frantic behaviour, for he put to death *Coſtobarus* and *Lyſimachus*; and *Gadias*, ſirnamed *Antipodes*; and *Doſitheus*, on the following account.

Coſtobarus was a native of *Idumea*, and not without reaſon the firſt man in dignity of that country, being deſcended from the line of the prieſts of *Coze*, whom the *Idumeans* eſteem *God*. After *Hyrcanus* had enforced this nation to conform to the maxims and laws of the *Jews*, *Herod* coming to the kingdom, took *Coſtobarus*, and made him governor of *Idumea* and *Gaza*, and gave him his ſiſter *Salome* in marriage, having put *Joſeph* her former huſband to death, as we have hinted in the foregoing. *Coſtobarus* having procured theſe honours beyond his expectations, ſeemed vaſtly rejoiced at his fortunate condition, and by degrees began to exceed the limits of his obedience; for now he imagined it a ſort of diſhonour to execute the orders of *Herod*, or for the *Idumæans* to be ſubjects to the *Jews*, and conform to their cuſtoms. Moved on by theſe ſentiments, he wrote to *Cleopatra*, and in his letter repreſented that the *Idumæans* had always been ſubjects of her predeceſſors, and it was therefore but reaſonable for her to get *Anthony* to give her the country, he himſelf being ready and willing to transfer his loyalty to her. But this was not the drift of his deſign, nor had he any intentions that *Cleopatra* ſhould reign over *Idumea*; but his reſolutions was, provided this country was lopt off from *Herod*'s kingdom, to make himſelf, without any oppoſition, lord Paramount, over the *Idumean* nation, and in proceſs of time raiſe his ambition to higher matters. Beſide, the conſideration of his high birth, and his great riches, which he had acquired by every act of extortion, ſwelled his hopes to a higher pitch, and made him imagine he had got the moſt fortunate opportunity in the world to put his ſchemes in execution. And indeed his arms were of ſome conſequence; but *Cleopatra*, tho' *Anthony* was ſtrongly ſollicited to give her the country, could not gain her point. *Herod* came ſoon to hear of this affair, and was ready to put *Coſtobarus* to death, but the prayers and intreaties of his mother and ſiſter diſarmed his rage, and molified him, ſo that he gave him his pardon, but had always afterwards a ſuſpicion againſt him on account of this attempt.

Some time after this *Salome* and *Coſtobarus* happening to have a difference between them, the former ſent the latter a libel or kind of writing, to diſſolve their marriage. This was directly oppoſite to the *Jewiſh* laws; an huſband may, indeed, do thus, but a wiſe, who voluntarily departs from her huſband, (1) cannot in no wiſe, without his previous conſent, be married to another man. Notwithſtanding this inhibition, *Salome*, without regarding the *Hebrew* law directing this, made uſe of that which had the greateſt prevalence at this time, and diſſolved her marriage, telling her brother *Herod*, at the ſame conjuncture, that her love and reſpect to him was the real motive that had induced her to the divorce, becauſe ſhe had found her huſband and *Antipater*, and *Doſitheus*, in a confederacy to diſturb his affairs; and to gain the more credit to her words, ſhe mention'd the ſons of (2) *Baba*, whom *Coſtabarus* had kept ten years from puniſhment; this was indeed nothing but the truth. The king ſeemed in the greateſt aſtoniſhment at her words, as having had no manner of ſuſpicion of ſuch a confederacy, and the incredibility of the matter, as he ſuppoſed, raiſed his wonder to an extreme height; for, in reſpect of *Balba*'s ſons, he had formerly had ſentiments of puniſhing them for withſtanding; but the time was now ſo far elapſed, that it was quite buried in *Oblivion*. The ground of the hatred and jealouſy between *Herod* and them, was thus: When *Antigonus* was in poſſeſſion of the kingdom, *Herod* laid ſiege to the city of the *Hieroſolomites* with an army. Great numbers of the beſieged being ſorely preſſed with ſeveral hardſhips and calamities, called out upon *Herod*, and

(1) A Wiſe cannot, without her Husband diſmiſs her firſt, be ſeparated from him and marry another. But *Salome*, diſregarding the general Law, and relying on the Streſs of her Authority, diſſolved her Marriage. *Epiphan.* Women once divorced, cannot marry, without Permiſſion of their former Husbands. Yet *Salome* by her own Power, and not the cuſtomary Law, made her Divorce, *Gelenius*; which (as *Selden*, in his 3 Book, c. 19. *de Uxore Hebraica*, ſays) is againſt the *Jewiſh* Inſtitution, and a Thing which our Author himſelf never heard of; ſo that I am ſurprized ſuch learned Men as *Joſeph Scaliger*, in his Animadverſions on *Euſebius*, P. 159. and *Nic. Serrarius* upon *Herod*, P. 17. ſhould turn this Paſſage, and underſtand it as *Gelenius* has done. The Tranſlation ought to be thus: *That it is expreſly prohibited a Wife to marry again, who of her own Accord departs from her Husband, without ſhe firſt procures his Agreement to that End. Yet* Salome *renounced her Marriage not by the general Law (or the common,* viz. *the* Hebrew) *but by that which obtains by Authority and Force.*

(2) *Baba* was a Perſon eminent for his Piety, and deſcended from the Line of the *Aſſamoneans*. Every Day in the Year, exeept one, which was the eleventh of the Month of *Tiſri*, he offered a Sacrifice for ſome Sin or other, of which he was not even conſcious. This may be ſeen in the *Talmud*. *Tract*. *Cheritboth*, Cap. 6. And in *Abraham Zacuth*'s Book, called *Juchaſin*.

ſeemed to place their hopes of ſafety in him; but *Baba*'s ſons, who were in great eſteem, and had powerful intereſt among the common people, remain'd loyal to *Antigonus*; they were always raiſing freſh objections againſt *Herod*, and brought them ſo far at length by their exhortations, that with a vigorous unanimity they perſiſted to maintain for the king that form of government which their predeceſſors had left them. This was the plan of the reſolution *Baba*'s ſons eſpouſed, ſo long as they found the intereſt of the nation contained in it; but *Herod* becoming maſter of the city and the kingdom, *Coſtobarus* was ſet to guard the gates of the town, to hinder any who were guilty, and the king's enemies from going out; but hearing *Baba*'s ſons were highly honoured by all the nation, he thought, if he was inſtrumental in their preſervation, they might be of ſervice to him in his deſigns to attempt ſome change, upon which he carried them aſide, and hid them in (*a*) certain places. He was obliged to ſwear to *Herod*, who ſuſpected him of ſome covert deſign in this affair, that he had no knowledge where they were, and when *Herod*, by his proclamation, offered a reward to any one who would, or could, diſcover them, yet even then *Coſtobarus* would not confeſs any thing, apprehending juſtly, ſhould they be taken, he himſelf would not come off with impunity; wherefore his own ſafety, and the abſolute neceſſity he was in, to ſay nothing about them, were prevalent motives to keep them abſconded. But *Herod*'s ſiſter, making a fatal diſcovery of this affair, he ſent to the places where they were, and put them, together with ſome others accuſed with them, to death, by which the family of *Hyrcanus* became extinct, and the kingdom devolved to him, not a perſon of any authority being left able to give the government any freſh diſturbance.

CHAP. VIII.

How ten Perſons conſpire againſt Herod, *for violating the Laws of his Country, to introduce foreign Cuſtoms. Of the building of* Sebaſte, Cæſarea, *and other Fortreſſes.*

HENCE did *Herod* give viſible ſigns of forſaking the laws of his country; and the antient policy of the *Jews*, which ſhould have been preſerved inviolable and perfect, began now by degrees to diſappear. Hence alſo, in proceſs of time, our nation received ſo great a misfortune, that the very things which were the motives of their piety, became diſregarded. The firſt thing introducing to this change, was *Herod*'s inſtituting games to be performed every five years by wreſtlers, in honour of *Cæſar*, and a theatre he erected at *Hieroſolyma*, and a prodigious large amphitheatre he built in the plain, two places of vaſt workmanſhip and magnificence, but entirely againſt the *Jewiſh* conſtitution, for the uſe and preparation of ſhews was never handed down to the *Jews* by their anceſtors. Maugre this, *Herod* celebrated this quinquennial concourſe of people with the utmoſt ſplendor, ſending heralds to the frontiers of his kingdom, and inviting men of every nation to come and be ſpectators. Hence came from far and near all ſorts of perſons any ways verſed in wreſtling, being moved to their journey by the hopes of victory, and the rewards propoſed to the conquerors; for *Herod*, in order to procure the very beſt men to exhibit in his ſhews, propoſed rewards of great value not only to all manner of wreſtlers, but to muſicians, who were named (*b*) *Thymelici*; and beſide theſe, he appointed prizes to charioteers, horſemen, and racers, and copied after every magnificent ſpectacle or ſhew exhibited in any other nation, endeavouring all in his power to make his own performances the moſt ſumptuous and ſplendid. The theatre he built was one of the fineſt in the world, having the inſide curiouſly painted with the tranſactions of *Cæſar*, and his trophies fixed up, which were made of pure gold and ſilver. As to the apparatus or furniture, there was no garment ſo rich, or any jewel ſo valuable, but what his wreſtlers were adorned with. Beſides, he got together a great number of wild beaſts, eſpecially of lions and other creatures of remarkable ſtrength or rarity. Theſe were to fight with one another, or with men condemned for that purpoſe. Foreigners were aſtoniſhed at the prodigious coſt of the expenſive furniture, and the diſtinct ſight of the dangers to which the combatants were expoſed, gave their minds an agreeable ſurprize. But the *Jews* plainly beheld the morals of their principal countrymen entirely effaced; for it was too manifeſt a ſign not to think that the expoſing men to the fury of wild beaſts in a ſpectacle or ſhew, only to pleaſe men, was an impious and horrid action; and that foreign cuſtoms were then prevailing over their native conſtitutions. But what gave the *Jews* the higheſt cauſe of affront, was the repreſentation of *Cæſar*'s trophies; for conſidering the imagery was full of arms, they were thoroughly enraged, being expreſly prohibited by the laws of their country, to pay any veneration to ſuch things.

Herod was not ignorant all the while of their uneaſineſs, but he thought it an improper ſeaſon to deal roughly with them; upon which he gave them many kind words and ſpeeches, and endeavour'd to reclaim them from their bigotry. However, all the means he uſed were ineffectual; and they, to make him underſtand the cauſe of their diſcontent, cried out all together, that if they were to undergo the very

(*a*) (ἐν οἰκείοις χωρίοις) I have tranſlated it according to *Hudſon*. In their own Eſtates, ſays *Epiph.* In their own Fields. *Gelen.*

(*b*) Theſe were indifferently what the *Romans* called *Citharædi*, *Cithariſtæ*, *Lyriſtæ*, *Tibicinæ*, and *Symphoniaci*. We may rationally think theſe *Thymelici* were *Hiſtorines*, or Stage Players.

worſt calamities, yet they would never ſuffer the images of men (pointing to the trophies) to be introduced into the city; for ſuch a thing was diametrically oppoſite to the laws of their country. *Herod*, perceiving the confuſed temper they were in, and that nothing was to be done with them, without giving them ſome manner of allowance, called ſome of the principal among them, and carried them into the theatre, where he ſhewed them the trophies, and asked them what they ſuppoſed they were? They ſaid, in a very loud manner, they were the images of men. Upon this, *Herod* ordered all the decorations and ornaments to be taken off, and then ſhewed them nothing but plain pieces of wood. When the trophies were thus ſtripped of their garments, not a man preſent could forbear to expreſs his laughter at ſo ſudden a ſurprize, when the moment before they had ridiculed the dreſs and garb of the images.

Herod having in this manner reſtrained the tumultuous behaviour of the people, ſeveral ſeemed to be won over and pacified, but ſome ſtill perſiſted to ſhew their reſentments at the alteration of things; and ſuppoſing the violation of the laws of their country would be attended with very diſmal conſequences, judged it much more honourable to ſuſtain the worſt fortune, than ſeem to let *Herod*, who had changed the face of their affairs, to introduce, by downright violence, cuſtoms repugnant to their own conſtitutions, and while he was their king, to make the whole body of the nation his real enemies. Upon this ground ten citizens reſolved to ſuſtain any danger, entered into a combination, and concealed daggers underneath their garments. One of them was a blind man, who, enraged at the things he had here told him, made himſelf one of the conſpirators; but not with any view as if he could have been of any conſiderable ſervice to the reſt, only he was reſolved, if their deſign proved abortive, to ſhare the danger in common with them, which piece of bravery added hopes to the carrying on of the plot.

With this reſolution (every man having the ſame ſentiments) they went to the theatre, full of hopes *Herod* was in no condition to flee from them, ſince they had fixed their deſign, to fall upon him by ſurprize: They imagined, ſhould they miſs of their aim, they ſhould kill ſeveral of the perſons about him, which, if they died for it, would give the king warning enough to let him underſtand the injury he had done the nation. This was the brave reſolution they had formed among themſelves before hand. But one of *Herod*'s emiſſaries, a band of men appointed to pry into and diſcover things of this dark nature, having ſounded the whole affair, went and told *Herod* juſt as he was ſtepping into the theatre. The news of it (for he could not believe it otherwiſe than true, if he reflected but the leaſt either upon the hatred, which he knew ſeveral entertained to him, or upon the factious temper of the people upon every pretence) made him withdraw into his palace, and ſummon the conſpirators by their ſeveral names. When they ſaw themſelves caught in the very height of their plot by the guards, who fell upon them, and that there was no way to eſcape, they endeavoured to diſtinguiſh the laſt moments of their lives, which they could not preſerve, by ſome glorious action, and without renouncing one tittle of what they had reſolved on, they ſhewed no concern at all at the plot they had engaged in, or made any excuſes to mitigate their caſes, but, on the contrary, when they were taken, they ſhewed their daggers, and confeſſed they had joined in a conſpiracy, through a brave and generous motive, not for the ſake of any gain, or to pleaſe any particular affection of their own, but a thing of a nobler conſequence, which was, their public inſtitutions, in the defence of which every man, who was a lover of his country, ought either to guard or loſe his life in their vindication: They made the diſcovery of their enterprize with wonderful bravery and reſolution, upon which the king's guards ſurrounded and led them away, and put them to death, after having inflicted upon them the ſevereſt torments. Notwithſtanding, ſome perſons had the boldneſs, ſhortly after this, to ſteal away the very mark of their hatred and diſcontent; upon which they were apprehended, and not only put to death, but their members were torn from their bodies, and thrown to the dogs. Several citizens were eye witneſſes to this action, yet no diſcovery made, till *Herod*, making a terrible enquiry into the affair, put ſome women to the rack who diſcloſed what they had ſeen. The authors of the fact were not the only perſons made a ſacrifice to his anger, but whole families ſuffered for this raſh and unadviſed attempt. The firm reſolution and intrepid conſtancy which the people ſhewed in this act of vindicating their laws, obliged *Herod* to look to his own ſafety; for he was reſolved to beſet them on every ſide, to hinder ſuch like commotions from burſting out into an open rebellion.

The city of *Hieroſolyma* being defended with the palace in which he reſided, and the temple with the ſtrong fortification he himſelf had erected, called *Anthonia*, he had ſentiments to make *Samaria*, which he named *Sebaſte*, a third place of defence to keep the people within the hints of their obedience. He judged this place of conſiderable advantage, and as it lay but about a day's journey from *Hieroſolyma*, he fortified it in a very ſtrong manner, deſigning it a curb both upon the country round about it, and the city. But to reſtrain any tumult raiſed by the whole nation, he rectified the fort called the tower of *Straton*, and named it *Ceſarea*. Beſide, he choſe a band of his ſoldiers, and carried them into the great plain, where he erected a caſtle, doing the ſame in a place of *Galilee*, named *Gaba*, and erecting *Eſebonitis* in *Perſia*; he built almoſt in every place one fortification or other, in order to ſecure himſelf, and keep the country within its obedience, to hinder any commotions, which were uſed to be raiſed on the moſt frivolous cauſe, from being at every conjuncture fomented, and to have men in readineſs to watch and guard againſt any ſuch motions as ſoon as they began to diſcover themſelves. After this he went to *Samaria*, with a deſign to fortify it, and carried thither a colony; conſiſting in part of perſons uſeful in the wars, and in other part of the neighbouring inhabitants. His deſign was to uſe theſe in the erecting a temple there, and reſtoring the place to ſome degree of its antient grandeur, which it had now loſt. He conſidered that his liberality would prove the moſt efficacious means to eſtabliſh his quiet; to which end he changed the name of it to *Sebaſte*, and divided the lands lying contiguous to it, which were the beſt in all the country, among the inhabitants, to live happily upon at their firſt coming. He ſurrounded the city with a very ſtrong wall, and where the ground was ſteep, he made uſe of it for a defence to the town, taking in a ſpot of land, not ſo much as was formerly, but yet ſufficient not to make it come ſhort of ſome of the moſt famous cities. The whole circumference was about *five* furlongs. In the very heart of the town, he left a place of about half a furlong round, exquiſitely contrived, and where he built a moſt magnificent temple, both for beauty and bigneſs. He was almoſt every day in one part or other, adding ſome decoration or ornament to the city, eſteeming it of the greateſt importance to ſecure his future quiet; and he built the walls for the moſt part, more like a tower than any thing elſe, conſidering the prodigious ſtrength he made them of, yet every thing was ſo admirably contrived, as from the greateſt elegance and nice ſtructure of them, poſterity may yet form a confeature of his extenſive liberality.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Famine which was in Judæa *and* Syria; *and how* Herod, *having celebrated his Nuptials, built* Ceſarea, *and other* Greek *Cities.*

IN this year, which was the thirtieth of *Herod*'s reign, whether ſent down from an incenſed God, or the conſequence of ſome fixed period of time, ſome of the greateſt calamities fell upon and invaded the country; for firſt of all there was in every place a long drowth, which was attended with a barrenneſs of the earth, the ground refuſing to beſtow the fruits it produced of its own accord. This was followed, by reaſon of the want of proviſions, with a different manner of living to what was before, ſo that all manner of bodies decayed, and a peſtilential diſtemper raged among mankind; one calamity falling upon the neck of another, the want of proper ſuſtenance and food, made the peſtilence rage with double fury, and the heaps of thoſe who died, took away from the living all manner of hopes of a poſſibility to bear up againſt their craving neceſſities. The fruits of the year were corrupted, and all the proviſions that had been laid up, were entirely exhauſted, ſo that there was no good to be expected, the peſtilence, beyond every one's expectation, daily increaſing, and ſeeming then likely to continue longer that year. In fine, every thing was conſumed, and the very ſeed came to nothing, the ground the ſecond year rendring no crop. The preſſing neceſſity forced them at length to ſeek out a thouſand ways to relieve their hungry circumſtances, and the king was not exempt from the calamities, the country returning him no manner of tribute which he had been uſed to receive; beſide, all his money was gone in the liberalities he had made there, whoſe cities he had founded; and he ſaw nothing that deſerv'd his aſſiſtance, ſince his ſubjects had made their calamities their ground of hatred to him, for it is not very ſeldom ſeen, that perſons upon the improſperity of their affairs, vex and fatigue thoſe in a higher ſphere with their complaints and murmurs.

Things being in this melancholy ſituation, *Herod* conſider'd what way was beſt to give ſome relief to the preſent calamity that raged ſo cruelly. The means he found very difficult to attain, when the neighbouring princes themſelves had not proviſions enough to ſupport their own people, being under the ſame unhappy circumſtances; beſide, there was no poſſibility of raiſing money, if he could have wiſhed never ſo little, to have aſſiſted ſo great a multitude as wanted. However, he thought it but common humanity, let him make what ſhift he could beſt, to aid them; to which end he pulled down out of his palace every thing made of gold or ſilver, that was put up for ornament or otherwiſe, ſo that the curious veſſels and other precious furniture were not ſpared. Theſe he ſent into *Ægypt*, the government of which *Cæſar* had beſtowed upon *Petronius*. Great numbers had fled to this perſon, on account of the ſame calamities, and he being a particular of *Herod*'s when a private man, and deſirous to ſhew ſome kindneſs to his ſubjects, gave them liberty to export what corn they thought ſufficient, and aſſiſt them with neceſſaries both to purchaſe and carry off, ſo that he was the main inſtrument in aiding the *Jews* in this article. *Herod*, upon this ſeaſonable ſupply, repreſented the relief ſent him, was wholly owing to his great care he had for the people; upon which, they who had entertain'd any former grudge againſt him, began now to change their reſentments, and ſeemed very plain, to ſee that his inclination was thoroughly compaſſionate to them, and careful of their welfare; for with a great foreſight and juſtice, he diſtributed corn to thoſe whoſe employments were to make it. And becauſe there were ſeveral numbers of perſons, who through age or other infirmities, were not in a condition to provide their own neceſſaries, he aſſigned them ſeveral bakers to make them bread; nor was his care leſs ſeen in another reſpect, for leaſt they ſhould ſuffer any hardſhips through the rigour of the winter ſeaſon, by the want of cloathing and wool, all the ſheep throughout the country being entirely deſtroyed, he ſupplied them with every thing of this kind; after which, he thought it incumbent upon him to relieve the cities on his frontiers, by giving the inhabitants of *Syria* ſeed-corn. This piece of favour done in the beſt time in the world, was of excellent advantage to him, as it conduced to the fertility of the earth, by which every one in proceſs of time reaped a happy ſupply. In fine, as ſoon as the time of harveſt came on, he ſent fifty thouſand men, whom he had maintain'd at his own expence, into ſeveral parts of the country: And thus, by an extraordinary vigilance, having relieved his kingdom which had been in the laſt extremity, he afterwards contributed very much to the relief of his neighbours, who had ſuffered the ſame calamities; there was not any perſon (let him be what he would) who came to crave his aſſiſtance, but conſtantly found a ſupply agreeable to his quality; nay, nations and cities, who through the great numbers of their inhabitants were reduced to want, coming to him, were ſure to obtain their deſires. So that by his charities, ten thouſand acres of corn (each of which contains ten attic buſhels) were ſent out of his kingdom, and fourſcore thouſand given within it. And in effect, this extraordinary inſtance of his care and well-timed generoſity procured him ſo much love from the *Jews*, and was ſo much commended by other people, that the antient odium he had raiſed againſt himſelf for certain violations of the revived cuſtoms, and ſome new alterations in his kingdom, was quite blotted out of their remembrances, and they concluded he had, by the liberalities he had given, and the ſuccour he had lent them in their neceſſities, made ample amends for all things paſt. Nor was his eſteem with foreigners of the leaſt importance; and though every one was of opinion he had involved himſelf in inſuperable difficulties, which harraſſed his kingdom very terribly, yet they but the more contributed to enhance his reputation, and magnify his fame; for the unlooked-for liberalities he gave the people, in the very greateſt emergencies, ſo changed their opinions, that they could not believe him always the man they had juſt before experienced, but ſuch a perſon as his late care of them in their neceſſities repreſented.

About this time he ſent *Cæſar* a ſupply of five hundred men, choſen from his guards, whom *Celius Gallus* (*a*) conducted to the red ſea, and who afterwards proved of great ſervice to him. And now his affairs beginning to revive again, he erected in the higher city a palace, compoſed of very ſtately buildings, and adorned with magnificent workmanſhip of gold and marble, and fine bed-chambers, ſufficient to entertain a great multitude of perſons; in the ordering of which, nice regard was had to the magnitude and appellations of them, one being called *Cæſar's*, and another *Aggrippa's* room. But this was not all his care; he was not free from the paſſion of love, by whoſe impulſe, he had ſentiments to marry again. He made his domeſtic concerns no interruption to his natural deſire after pleaſure: Now this was the foundation of his intended marriage. There was one *Simon*, an *Hieroſolymite*, ſon of *Bœthus*, an *Alexandrian*, a prieſt and a perſon of tolerable deſcent; he had a daughter, in the opinion of all, the handſomeſt woman of her time. The *Hieroſolymites* were very copious in their praiſes and commendations of her, which *Herod* no ſooner heard, than he had ſecret emotions within him; when he beheld her charming face, he could not help loving her, but was unwilling to make uſe of his authority, as an handle to ſatisfy his deſires, ſuſpecting on good grounds, if he offered force or violence to obtain her, it would be attended with no good conſequence; upon which he judged it the more prudent way to marry her. And becauſe *Simon* was not of dignity ſufficient to allie him to him, nor yet ſo mean a perſon as to deſerve contempt, he concerted a better way to ſatisfy his love, by heaping honours upon his family, and raiſing them to dignities; for it was not long before he put *Jeſus*, ſon of *Phabetes*, from the prieſthood, and conferred the honour upon *Simon*, whereby he concluded his alliance with him.

After the ſolemnization of his nuptials, he built a caſtle in the very place in which he had defeated the *Jews*, when *Antigonus* was in the adminiſtration. The caſtle is about ſixty furlongs diſtant from *Hieroſolyma*, and ſtands in a place fortified by nature, and very convenient for building upon. At a ſmall diſtance is a little hill, which was carried up to the height it ſhews by the labour of hands, and its circumference is in the ſimilitude or likeneſs of a woman's breaſt. Several towers of a round make adorn it, and its aſcent is very ſteep, being compoſed of two hundred ſteps of ſquare ſtones; the inſide is diverſified with ſeveral ſtately apartments, made very ſtrong and magnificent, and at the foot of the hill are very beautiful houſes raiſed for the ſake of ornament, and conveying the water (the place of itſelf being deſtitute of any) which is brought from a vaſt diſtance at a prodigious expence. The plain is every where cover'd with ſumptuous buildings, which renders it not inferior to any city for its magnitude, and the hill is a fort that commands the houſes underneath.

Herod having now brought his affairs to a ſituation agreeable to his own wiſhes, had not the leaſt ſuſpicions of any freſh commotions in his kingdom, his ſubjects on every ſide about him being firmly eſtabliſhed in their obedience, by the exemplary and impartial puniſhments he inflicted on delinquents, and the extraordinary care and generoſity he had ſhewn in their extremities; yet to ſecure himſelf more firmly from any attempts of his ſubjects, he thought it expedient to cultivate a friendſhip with his neighbours; to which end he made himſelf appear exceedingly courteous and civil to the cities round him, and took every opportunity to deſerve well of the ſeveral

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(*a*) *Caſaubon* is out in his Conjecture, when he ſays, that for *Cornelius Gallus*, the Governor of *Ægypt*, it ſhould be read *Aulus Gellius*; for this Perſon was departed before *Petronius* took upon him the Government of *Ægypt*.

governors, by making large preſents to them; the power of which, and his natural liberality, he thought great inſtruments to the tranquility of his kingdom, ſo that by the proſperous ſituation, into which he brought his affairs, his power and credit began to receive a conſiderable encreaſe. This generous and open-hearted conduct, and the eager inclinations he had to humour *Cæſar* and the leading men among the *Romans*, obliged him, in ſome things, to act repugnant to the eſtabliſh'd cuſtoms and maxims of the *Jews*, which was his ambitious aim to ſhew his grandeur in the cities and temples he built. However, he reſtrained his aſpiring thoughts from acting any thing in *Judea*, for the inhabitants could never be brought to ſuffer him, our nation being expreſsly prohibited from paying any deference, as the *Greeks* do, to ſtatues and images. Other countries and cities, indeed, owe a great deal to his munificence and generous hand; and he had conſtantly the fine addreſs to clear himſelf to the *Jews*, that the things he performed were not the reſult of his own deſires, but a duty he paid to the commands of *Cæſar* and the *Romans*. This method was a cunning artifice to win himſelf into their favour, and make them believe he had not the laws of his own country ſo much at heart, as their honour and dignity, while at the ſame time he placed his own intereſt and advantage conſtantly before his view, and made it his ambition and ſtudy to leave poſterity fuller proof of his grandeur and pompous reign: Theſe were the foundations on which he raiſed his reſolution of building cities, in the carrying on of which he expended ſuch vaſt ſums.

Having (*a*) fixed his eye upon a place on the ſea coaſt, formerly called the tower of *Straton*, and very convenient to build a city upon, he ſet about the form of it, which was very magnificent, by pulling down all the old buildings, and erecting others of a beautiful white ſtone, at a prodigious expence, and adorning it with ſeveral coſtly palaces, and other houſes ſuitable to entertain the inhabitants deſigned for them. But the greateſt and moſt expenſive work of all was, the port or haven he made like that at *Percea*, for bigneſs, where ſhips might anchor and ride in ſafety. The ſtructure of this haven was by ſo much the more remarkable, as the place was quite deſtitute of any materials fit to accompliſh ſo vaſt an undertaking, every thing being brought from afar off, and a prodigious expence laid out in finiſhing it. This new city was built in *Phœnicia*, over-againſt the paſſage into *Ægypt*, between (*b*) *Dor* and *Joppa*. Theſe two little cities had no good havens by reaſon of the hurricanes blowing from the coaſts of *Africa*, which tearing up the ſands, daſhed ſuch heaps on their ſhores, that mariners could find no firm ground for their veſſels, and were obliged to ſtand off and caſt anchor in the ſea. *Herod*, to rectify this inconvenience of the place, extended the haven towards the land, and took in a circumference ſufficient to receive the greateſt ſhips of burden. He let down twenty yards deep, ſtones of a monſtrous bigneſs, ſome of which were fifty feet long, eighteen broad, and nine thick; there were ſome larger than theſe, and others leſs: This ſtrong bulwark was deſigned to repel the violence of the waves, and was two hundred feet deep. Half of it broke the impetuoſity of the ſea, which laſhed it all round, and it was called the procimation or wave-oppoſer; the other half was the foundation of a ſtone wall with towers erected up and down upon it, the greateſt of which was called *Druſus* (a very magnificent one) from the name of *Cæſar*'s nephew ſo called, who died in his youth. He made ſeveral barracks alſo for mariners, before which was a walk extended quite round the circumference of the haven, and made very pleaſant for perſons to converſe in; but the mouth of the port he put to the north, from which quarter blows the moſt pleaſant wind. At the point of the circumference he erected a round tower upon a broad foundation, the better to reſiſt the agitation of the waves; this ſtood on the left hand of thoſe who entered the port; and on the right ſtood two large ſtones, much bigger than the tower over againſt them; theſe were joined together, and pointed in a direct line upwards. Round the port he alſo built a range of handſome houſes, of poliſhed ſtone, in the middle of which was an aſcent, having upon it a temple dedicated to *Cæſar*, which mariners at ſea could diſtinguiſh by its height; it had two ſtatues, one of *Rome*, and another of *Cæſar*, and the city he called *Ceſarea*, which was remarkable not only for the materials with which it was built, but the elegance and curioſity of the workmanſhip about it. *Herod* alſo made ſeveral ſubterraneous paſſages of equal expence and labour with the barracks. Some of them at equal diſtance from one another, were carried along to the ſea ſhore, and one that went athwart over the reſt ſeemed to bind them together. By this judicious contrivance, all ſudden ſhowers of rain, and the dirt and filth made by the inhabitants, was waſhed from time to time away by the ſea, which flowed to all parts of the town. And *Herod* alſo built in the city a theatre of ſtone, and behind it on the north ſide of the haven, he erected an amphitheatre, capable of containing a great number of perſons, and pleaſantly ſituated towards the ſea. And thus was this city compleated in twelve years, *Herod* in all that time neither deferring the carrying it on, nor wanting any ſupplies towards perfecting it.

(*a*) *Joſeph Scaliger*, in his *Prologomena* very juſtly confutes that Paſſage in the 103d *Novel Juſtainiani*, which ſays, that *Veſpaſian* called the Tower of *Straton* by the Name of *Ceſarea* from himſelf, becauſe on his Arrival in the Country of *Paleſtine*, he was ſaluted by the Title of *Cæſar*, *&c.* (*b*) *Ceſarea* between *Dor* and *Joppa* is by ſome placed in *Phœnicia*, by others in *Paleſtine*. During the Time of the *Flavij*, it had the Name of *Flavia*, as appears from certain Coins. But *Harduin* endeavours to confute, in his Treatiſe of Coins, this Account of the Situation of *Ceſarea* which *Joſephus* gives.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

How Herod *ſent his Sons to* Rome, *and how he was accuſed by* Zenodorus *and the* Gadarenes, *and abſolved. How he procured* Cæſar's *Friendſhip. Of the* Phariſees, Eſſeni *and* Manahemus.

AFTER *Herod* had finiſhed his city, *Sebaſte* having been built before, he deſigned to ſend his ſons *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus* to *Rome*, to compliment *Cæſar*. Upon their arrival, *Pollio*, who was *Herod*'s particular friend, took them to his houſe, and *Cæſar* gave them liberty to come and ſtay with him. He received them with ſignal marks of reſpect, and gave *Herod* their faithful authority, to leave which of them he thought beſt his ſucceſſor in the kingdom. And beſides this, he made an addition to his kingdom, of the countries of *Trachon*, *Batanuea*, and *Auranitis*, which laſt he preſented him on the following account: There was a certain man named *Zenodorus*, who had purchaſed the houſe of *Lyſanias*; as his eſtate was not ſufficient, with the profits ariſing from it, to ſupport his way of living, he endeavoured to make up the deficiency by committing frequent robberies throughout *Trachon*. This country was infeſted with a numerous gang of miſchievious fellows, who plundered the lands about *Damaſcus*; and *Zenodorus* was ſo far from reſtraining their villainies, that he conſented to go partner in the ſpoils they made. The neighbouring people were enraged at this violent procedure, and made heavy exclamations againſt *Varro*, then governor of the province, whom they ſolicited to write and tell *Cæſar* of the injurious behaviour of *Zenodorus*. *Cæſar*, upon reading the complaints mentioned in the letter, wrote back an expreſs order, to clear the country of the robbers, and give it to *Herod*, in order to prevent, by his care and diligence, the *Trachonites* from doing their neighbours any hoſtilities for the future. But it was by ſo much the more difficult to reſtrain their courſe, as they had made robbing the ſole buſineſs of their lives, and had neither towns, or eſtates, to unite in, or ſubſiſt them, but only ſubterraneous holes and caves, in which they kept their ſheep, and lived in common one with another; beſide, they had laid up in their cells a great quantity of water and corn before hand, ſo that they were in a condition to defend themſelves for ſome time very openly. Moreover, the mouths leading into their lurking places, were ſo narrow, that one at a time could but get in, and yet the inſide was ſo very wide and capacious, that a great number of perſons might with eaſe reſide in them; the upper parts of them did not any way aſcend, but were flat with the ground, and they were all of one hard rock, to which there was no paſſage but by the ways they themſelves made, ſo very winding and intricate were the paths. If theſe men were at any time reſtrained from committing their robberies, it was then their practice to rifle one another, having no power to forbear committing any kind of injuries. But *Herod* having received this country as a gift from *Cæſar*, marched into it with a guide, and not only put a thorough ſtop to any further proceeding of theirs, but left the neighbouring people in a ſtate of great peace and ſecurity.

Zenodorus was diſpleaſed now on a double ſcore; *firſt*, at being deprived of his government; and *next*, which was the greateſt motive of his anger, at *Herod*'s obtaining it, againſt whom he had a particular grudge. He poſted away to *Rome*, deſigning to accuſe him of ſome charge, but had the mortification to return diſappointed of his aims. *Aggrippa* was now ſent to govern the provinces on the other ſide of the *Ionian* ſea, and while he wintered at *Mitylene*, *Herod*, out of reſpect to the marks of favour and friendſhip he had given him, went to make him a viſit, and then came back into *Judea*. In the interim, the *Gadarenes* took a journey to *Aggrippa*, to accuſe *Herod*; but without giving them an anſwer, he put them in chains, and ſent them to the king, and the *Arabians*, having a long time looked upon *Herod*'s greatneſs with a jealous eye, began to raiſe a commotion, thinking they had got a favourable opportunity to put their ſchemes in practice. The ground of their diſcontent was this: *Zenodorus*, being now in a deſparate ſituation, ſold part of his government of *Auranitis* to them for fifty talents; and becauſe part of *Cæſar*'s grant to *Herod* was contained in the purchaſe, as if they had been unjuſtly deprived of ſo much, they made it the ground of a diſpute, and committed ſeveral inroads into his territories, ſometimes reſolving on force to redreſs themſelves, and ſometimes thinking to apply juſt and equitable means. The meaner part of the ſoldiers was won over to their intereſts, and the diſcontent burſt out greater; for men in a low degree of life are in a conſtant fluctuation of hopes of ſome change or other to humour their wavering deſires. *Herod* had been acquainted with their procedure ſome time, but was not induced to commit hoſtilities, judging it the wiſer courſe to give them ſoft language, and take away all appearances of favouring a rupture.

Herod having now reigned ſeven and thirty years, *Cæſar* came into *Syria*, when a great body of the *Gadarenes* began their complaints againſt *Herod*, and accuſed him of tyranny, and an inſupportable government. *Zenodorus* had puſhed them forwarder in their boldneſs, by a long and reiterated detail of *Herod*'s cruelties and crimes, and ſwearing he would take every ſtep till he had ſhuffled him out of his kingdom, and added it to *Cæſar*'s empire. The *Gadarenes* were not averſe to theſe complaints and remonſtrances, and made them the ground of a heavier accuſation of him to *Cæſar*, being alſo encouraged to this by having diſmiſſed the perſons ſent bound to him by *Agrippa* without puniſhing, or doing them any injury; for they concluded if any man was ſo, he was inexorable and unmerciful to delinquents in his own family, but compaſſionate and tender hearted to foreign enemies. And indeed, when they accuſed him before *Cæſar* of tirany, rapine, and a violation of temples, he ſeemed very much embarraſſed at the charge, and deſigned to prepare for his defence. But *Cæſar* gave him freſh aſſurances of his friendſhip, and inviolably maintained the kindneſs he had for him, maugre all the repreſentations of his enemies. The charges againſt him were debated the firſt day, but came afterwards no more upon the carpet. For the *Gadarenes* having too manifeſt ſigns of the partiality of *Cæſar* and their other judges, and apprehending, with good ſhew of reaſon, they ſhould be deliver'd up to the king, for fear of miſerably dying, part of them put an end to their lives in the night time, others threw themſelves headlong down from ſome ſteep place, and others caſt themſelves into the river and were drowned. This ſeemed a plain diſcovery of the repentance they had had of their raſh and ill concerted attempt, and, made *Cæſar*, without looking any further into the matter, clear *Herod* of the articles brought againſt him. Beſide, there was another conjuncture which very much favoured *Herod's* intereſt; for *Zenodorus* happening at this time to have his bowels burſt through him, which was followed by the loſs of much blood, died at *Antioch* in *Syria*, this accident made way to his obtaining from *Cæſar*, the country (which was no inconſiderable one, lying between *Trachon* and *Galilee*,) including *Ulatha* and *Paniades*, and the lands round about them, but *Cæſar* did not ſtop here; he further joined him with the procurators of *Syria*, and gave poſitive commands that every thing ſhould be tranſacted in obedience to his advice. In fine, his good fortune attended him ſo far, that *Cæſar* and *Agrippa*, the two perſons who ſway'd the *Roman* empire, at this time in ſo great extent, had a peculiar veneration for him; for *Cæſar*, next to *Agrippa*, placed *Herod* in his higheſt eſteem; and *Agrippa*, next to *Cæſar*, gave him the greateſt marks of his friendſhip; theſe condeſcentions and favours afforded him opportunities to beg of *Cæſar* for his brother *Pheroras*, a (1) tetrarchy, giving, in order to make his way the better, an hundred talents to be raiſed out of his kingdom, with a deſign, in caſe he ſhould die, to ſecure *Pherora*'s eſtates from the poſſeſſion of his ſons. After this he waited upon *Cæſar* to the ſea-ſide, and built a very beautiful temple of white ſtone in honour of him, in a certain plain on the eſtate of *Zenodorus* called (2) *Pannis*. This is a very fine cave in a mountain with a vaſt opening of the earth underneath it, of a prodigious depth, and full of ſtanding water. The mountain above hangs over it in an amazing manner, and within the cave the fountains of *Jordan* have their riſe. *Herod* built a temple in this remarkable place, and dedicated it to *Cæſar*.

About this time he took away from his ſubjects, the third part of their tributes, under pretence of giving them ſome refreſhment and relief after their late barreneſs; but his main deſign was to remove their jealouſies and reconcile himſelf to them; for they entertained great diſcontents to his ways, which they looked upon as the ruin of their religion and laws; and they were ſo much the more free in murmuring againſt them, as they had perpetually ſome cauſe or other to irritate them: This ferment ſtill ſubſiſting made him concert meaſures how to remove it, upon which he took a great deal of pains to hinder any cabals, or any parties of them to walk or live together, by ſetting perſons in every corner to watch their motions. If he found any delinquents, he inflicted exemplary puniſhments upon them, and ſeveral who had acted either openly or ſecretly, he carried into the caſtle of *Antonia*, and their put them to death. He planted ſpies up and down the city, and in the roads, to obſerve all aſſemblies of them, and ſome report he himſelf made a party amongſt them, and would often diſguiſe himſelf in a private man's habit, and thruſt in amongſt the mobs, to hear how his government was liked. Thoſe who were obſtinate and refuſed to pay obedience to the things he introduced, he proſecuted all manner of ways. He exacted an oath from others to ſwear their loyalty and fealty to his government; this made great numbers, either becauſe they thought it beſt to obey, or becauſe they were afraid to act the contrary, to aſſent to what he demanded. But whoſe ambitious ſtomachs would not admit of any compliance, were certainly to be humbled one way or other. He was ſometimes for exacting an oath of *Pollio* the *Phariſee*, and *Sameas*, and a great many more of their party, but he could not obtain his ends with them; for *Pollio* ſat uppermoſt in his thoughts, and entertaining apprehenſions of him, he forbore puniſhing them, as he had done all others who refuſed ſwearing to him. The *Eſſenes*, a ſect of men ſo called amongſt us, were excuſed on the ſame account. Theſe perſons live in every reſpect like the followers of *Pithagoras* amongſt the *Greeks*: And I have ſpoke ſomething more copiouſly about them in another place, I ſhall take this opportunity to ſay ſomething about the *Eſſenes* ſince things are attributed to them more than what human nature will allow; what I am going to ſpeak will not be thought at all improper or foreign to the thread of my hiſtory, ſince will be ſhewn the ſentiments men entertained of this kind of people.

There was a certain man of the *Eſſenes*, named *Manahemus*, remarkable in his good life above the reſt of his fellow ſectarians; and who by a divine impulſe could fortel things to come. *Manahemus* on a time happened to ſee *Herod*, who was then but a boy, and at ſchool, and told him that he ſhould come to be king of the *Jews*. But *Herod*, ſuppoſing he was either out of his ſenſes, or did it for the ſake of a jeſt, bid him ſay not a word about it more; but *Manahemus*, ſmiling gently, gave him a ſmall ſtroke with his hand, “and you will be a king, ſaid he, and your reign, as God has appointed you for it, will be attended with great proſperity; but remember the ſtroke *Manahemus* gave you, which take for an infallible ſign of the proſperous change of your fortune. It would be one of the beſt thoughts in the world if you could think to follow juſtice for your guide, and pay a veneration to the religion you owe God, and act mercifully unto the citizens committed to your care. But I, who am thoroughly acquainted of theſe matters, I here tell you, that you never will do ſo. If there can be any man ſaid to be fortunate, you will be that perſon, and the fame you will acquire, will be perpetual, but piety and juſtice will never dwell in your mind; and God, however, is not a ſtranger to theſe things, ſince in the cloſe of your life he will inflict a puniſhment on you ſuitable to your diſregard.” *Herod* was ſo far from giving any attention or belief to theſe words, as he could form no hopes about what he had heard; but after he had wrought himſelf by degrees into the poſſeſſion of the kingdom, and found it fall to him very fortunately, in the very height ~~of~~ his reign he ſent for *Manahemus*, and asked him how long he was to be king; but he giving no manner of anſwer, *Herod* then enquired, if he was to reign a term of ten years only: *Manahemus* ſaid not a word in anſwer to this, but after a while, perhaps twenty or thirty years, ſaid, he but God hath ſet no certain time how long you are to reign. *Herod* ſeemed pretty well ſatisfied with this anſwer, and after he had given him a token of his friendſhip, diſmiſſed him, and ever after for his ſake had all the *Eſſenes* in great veneration. Though this account ſeems to carry an air of incredibility along with it, yet we preſumed it not inconvenient to diſcloſe it to our readers, becauſe ſeveral of this ſect for their devote lives are honoured with the title of being skilled in the prediction of future events.

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(1) A Tetrarchy is the Government over one fourth part of a Country ſo divided. (2) Both *Euſebius* and *Philoſtorgius* mention this place as a mountain; but our Author, or any other Antient Writer, except the two above ſaid, that I know off, do not ſay a Word of its being a Mountain. See *Reland*, more of this in his *Palæſtina Sacra*. p. 324.

CHAP. XI.

How Herod *changed the Temple into another Form, and built it higher and more magnificent. Of the Tower called* Antonia.

HEROD. in the eighteenth year of his reign, after the occurrences above related, engaged in a very noble enterprize, which was, to build at his own expence, a temple to God, much larger and higher than the preſent one then ſtanding, ſuppoſing ſuch an action would be the moſt glorious of all his deeds, (as it really was) and be attended with eternal fame, if he had the fortune to put a finiſhing hand to it. But when he obſerved that the people's inclinations were not ſo forward, and the difficulty he found in winning them over to join in ſo vaſt an undertaking, he judged it proper to prepare their minds to it firſt by a ſet ſpeech, and then go himſelf directly about the beginning of it; accordingly having convoked them, he ſpoke in the following manner.

MY COUNTRYMEN,

IT is needleſs, in my opinion, to enlarge on any of my actions ſince my firſt governing you, though every one of them has been found rather more for your ſecurity than my ornament. For in your moſt preſſing circumſtances I have neither neglected anything conduceive to relieve them, nor in all the buildings I have undertaken, have I had any other view then your protection and ſafeguard, and am perſuaded my endeavours (by the aſſiſtance of God) have brought the Jewiſh *nation to a more flouriſhing and happy condition, than ever it was before. But, as I ſaid before, it is inſiſting on trifles to acquaint you with a detail of the ſeveral acts of mine throughout your country,* (1) *or to enumerate the cities I have built in it, or in the region ſubject to it, to raiſe your grandeur, and increaſe your fame; for you, who are throughly ſenſible of every one of theſe matters, can beſt tell; the thing I have now in my mind to undertake, is not only of the moſt pious nature, but of the greateſt conſequence to your characters, and which I will endeavonr to evince in a very few words. The temple now ſtanding was built in honour to God by our predeceſſors at their return from* Babylon, *but it wants ſixty cubits of the original height, for ſo high was that temple which* Solomon *built. Yet no man will offer to charge our predeceſſors with want of religion; for they did not make this temple ſo ſmall as it is. But it was* Cyrus *and* Darius *the ſon of* Hytaſpes, *who preſcribed the model of this temple, and yet they, nor their ſons, nor the* Macedonians *after them, were in a capacity to copy after the great original, and becauſe by the favour of God I am now in poſſeſſion of the kingdom, and enjoy tranquility and peace, and have great riches, and receive a conſiderable revenue, and am in peace and alliance with the* Romans, *who (if I may venture to ſay ſo) are maſters of the whole world, I will endeavour to diſtinguiſh myſelf by building a perfect temple, which, through neceſſity, and want of money to carry it on, or the ſervitude and bondage of former times, has been hitherto neglected; I ſay, a*

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(1) The *Talmud* mentions the Marble Temple of *Herod* in *Ord.* 2. *Moed. Cod.* 9. and *Suu.* and pa. 9.

perfect temple to God in return for his benefits to me, and to be a place of worſhip for this kingdom.

This was the harangue *Herod* made, and ſeveral were aſtoniſhed at his words. They were by ſo much the leſs moved with his ſpeech, as the thing was beyond their expectation, and, to all outward likelihood, incredible, and not to be hoped for: And their concern was the greater, as they apprehended, if the preſent temple was pulled down, he would not be in a capacity to fulfil the propoſal he had made. In fine, the vaſt expence of the undertaking increaſed their doubts, and they feared the difficulty of the enterprize would baffle at laſt the whole deſign. *Herod*, obſerving in what ſituation the people were, began to give them hopes, by repreſenting that he would not pull down a ſtone from the temple then ſtanding, till he had got every thing in a readineſs to go about his own. And after he had procured a thouſand carts to convey ſtone, and ten thouſand ſkilful artificers, and bought robes for a thouſand prieſts, he gave orders for the ſtones and wood to be prepared; and after he had with great diligence and forecaſt, provided every thing, he entered upon the undertaking.

After *Herod* had removed the foundations of the old temple, and laid new ones, he raiſed another temple upon them, of a hundred cubits in length, and in height the ſame number, and twenty more; but the twenty, ſome time afterwards, by the ſinking in of the foundations, gave way: This ſurprizing accident (whatever was the cauſe) our people, in the reign of *Nero*, deſigned to amend, and raiſe up the temple to its original height. The temple was built of marble ſtone, and very firm, each of which was five and twenty cubits in length, eighth in depth, and about twelve in breadth. All the building was (as was alſo the royal portico) raiſed not ſo high by a conſiderable ſpace as the middle part was, which was carried to a height very diſcernable, at ſeveral furlongs diſtance, by the inhabitants of the country, eſpecially if they lived, or travelled, over-againſt it. (1) The doors leading in, with their portals and poſts, were made equal with the height of the temple itſelf, and were beautifully adorned with figures of ſeveral colours; among which was a repreſentation of flowers and columns, admirably made. But juſt above theſe, under the corniſh of the wall, was ſhewn the fine pourtrait of a golden vine, the branches of which were to a great length expanded with the figures of large cluſters of grapes hanging down; the repreſentation ſeemed real, and the tranſporting ſcene ſtruck the beholder's eye with wonder and ſurprize, both at the magnitude and fine workmanſhip of it.

Herod, beſide, erected magnificent portico's all round the temple, to the proportioning of which he gave ſtrict regard; and the expence he was at in theſe, far exceeded the coſt of the former ones, that never any man caſt his eyes upon a more beautiful temple. Both were ſupported by a wall of prodigious ſtrength, which was a piece of labour, the greateſt that ever mankind heard of. On the eaſt-ſide of the city, there was a rocky and high hill, which gradually leaned back to the very top. (2) *Solomon*, one of our firſt kings, by the direction of God, ſurrounded it with a wall which he raiſed to the top of it. He alſo began at the very bottom, which was incloſed with a deep ditch, and fortified it with vaſt ſtones, ſodered together with lead, carrying them higher and higher, till the building, which was of a ſquare form, appeared of a prodigious height and depth; and the full bigneſs of the ſtones, from their front to their ſuperfices, was very apparent; but the inſide of them was fortified with iron bars, and ſo ſtrong, that the joinings ſeemed made to laſt for ever; he continued this durable work to the very top of the hill, to which he joined it, after which he levelled it a little, and filled up the cavities within the wall: He took away all the riſing ground above the ſuperfices, and made it an even plain. All this ſpace, which contained four furlongs in circumference, he encloſed; and every angle or corner included then one furlong: He erected another ſtone wall within this which he carried about the ſummit of the hill, and built upon it, to the eaſt ſide, a double portico of equal length with it, and which faced the gates of the temple, built in the very middle of all. Several of our antient kings contributed very much to the magnificence and beauty of this place. The temple had round about it the ſpoils taken from barbarous nations hung up in it, which *Herod* dedicated to it, and placed, as an addition, thoſe he himſelf had obtained in his expedition againſt the *Arabians*.

At the north ſide of the encloſure there was erected a tower, of a quadrangular form, well fortified, and of exceeding great ſtrength. The deſcendants of the *Aſſamonæans*, who were kings and prieſts, and predeceſſors of *Herod*, built it, and called it *Baris*, and it was made for preſerving the *Sacerdotal Stole*, which the prieſt, at ſuch times only as he made ſacrifice, was uſed to put on. King *Herod* put it in this place, and after his death, it continued in the power of the (3) *Romans*, till the reign of *Tiberius Cæſar*, during his reign (4) *Vitellius* was prætor of *Syria*, and happening to come to *Hieroſolyma*, the people received him with great honour and diſtinction, which gratitude he was willing to requite; and accordingly, on their petition to have the *Stole* in their cuſtody, he wrote on purpoſe to *Tiberius Cæſar* about it, who gave them liberty, and it remained in their hands to the death of king (1) *Agrippa*. After him *Caſſius Longinus*, then governor of *Syria*, and *Cuſpius Fadus*, procurator of *Judea*, ordered the *Jews* to place the *Stole* in *Antonia*, the *Romans* having a juſt right, as formerly, to keep it in their cuſtody. This obliged the *Jews* to ſend ambaſſadors to *Claudius Cæſar* to beg the contrary. Upon their arrival at *Rome*, (2) young king *Agrippa*, who was then in the city, by his own intereſt with the emperor, procured them liberty to keep it in their own cuſtody; upon which it was ſent accordingly to *Vitelius* then governor of *Syria*. At firſt it remained under the ſignet of the high-prieſt, and the treaſurer of the quæſtors, and on the (3) eve of every feſtival the quæſtors went to the captain of the *Roman* garriſon, and having proved their ſignet took the *Stole* away, and when the feſtival was over, they brought it back to the ſame place, where having again ſhewed their ſignet to the captain, they repoſited it. This is the ſum of the accidents of this nature which happened afterwards. *Herod* made this tower by ſo much the ſtronger, as he deſigned it for a ſecurity and ſafeguard to the temple, and a return of his kindneſs for *Anthony*, his former benefactor and general of the *Romans*; upon which laſt account he called it *Antonia*.

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(1) *L'Emperour* ſays, that in this Paſſage he is to be underſtood ſpeaking not of the outward, but of the inward Gate, which led to the Temple.

(2) The firſt of the Line of *David*; but our Author in other paſſages, places him the firſt in the order of Kings. For in Book 20. cap. 8. it was the work of *Solomon*.

(3) In Book 18. he ſays it was in the reign of *Archelaus* in the cuſtody of the *Jews*.

(4) Of this act of *Vitellius* ſee more hearafter in b. 18. c. 5. He permitted the Pontifical Stole kept in the Tower *Antonia* to be by the Prieſts preſerved in the Temple; but the *Jews* were afterwards ordered to repoſite it in *Antonia*. Before this by command of *Tiberius* the *Jews* had Liberty to keep it near the Temple. Under *Claudius* it was firſt kept in *Antonia*, and afterwards remained in the cuſtody of the younger *Agrippa*. *Spanheim*.

On the weſt ſide of the encloſure were four gates; one of them led to the palace, having a ditch full of water between to hinder perſons going thither; two of them carried into the ſuburbs; and the laſt into the (4) other city, remarkable for the number of ſteps leading down into and up from the ditch. The city was placed apart from the temple, and repreſented the ſcene of a theatre, having all the ſouth ſide ſurrounded with a deep ditch. The fourth part of the view of the temple which faced the ſouth, had gates in the (5) middle, and a royal portico which was three-fold, and in length ſtretched from the eaſtern to the weſtern part of the ditch; for it could go no further. This was a piece of workmanſhip the moſt memorable the ſun ever darted his beams upon, for the ditch was of ſo vaſt a depth, that the eyes of any man who looked to the bottom, was quite dimn'd. *Herod* fixed the foundations of the portico upon this, and raiſed it to a prodigious height. If any perſon, curious to take a view from the ſummit of the roof, but looked down, he ran a great riſque of having his ſight turned, before his eye could penetrate to its extended bottom. There were four rows of columns, ranged into ſuch an order from one end of the portico to the other, that they ſtood over againſt one another in direct lines: But the fourth order had a ſtone wall runing in the middle of it. And the thickneſs of every column was ſo great, that three men at full ſtretch to there fingers ends, could but juſt graſp them; the length of each was ſeven and twenty feet, and a double ſpire of wreathing adorned each; they were a hundred and ſixty two in number, and their chapiters were covered with ſculpture after the *Corinthian* manner, very magnificent and wonderful. As the columns were in four rows, the ſpace left between each made three portico's; two of which anſwered one another in every reſpect, both having thirty feet in breadth, a furlong in length, and about fifty feet in height, the middle one was by one half longer than the others, and double in height, for it overlooked them a vaſt deal, the roofs were adorned with deep carvings in wood, beautifully variegated and wrought into ſeveral forms; the middle part was raiſed conſiderably higher, and the front well carved round with *Epiſtilia*, and beautiful columns; every part being admirably poliſhed, and ſo curious throughout, that perſons who did not ſee it, would hardly believe it, and even they who are preſent and have liberty to view it, cannot forbear ſhewing the greateſt ſurprize and aſtoniſhment. This was the ſituation of the firſt encloſure, and near it was another in the middle, to which a paſſage was made by a few ſteps, where a range of ſtone ſurrounded it, with an inſcription upon it, prohibiting any ſtranger from entering under pain of his head. On the ſouth and north ſides of this inner encloſure were three gates at equal diſtances from one another, and on the eaſt ſide was a very large gate, through which we were wont to enter, after we had been purified, with the women. But farther inwards was the ſanctuary, into which the women are prohibited to enter; and farther inward ſtill is a third encloſure, into which none, but the prieſts, have liberty to go. This was the model of the temple and an altar ſtood before it, on which we offer burnt ſacrifices. *Herod*, as he was not a prieſt, could not enter into the inſide of any one of the three encloſures. His main buſineſs was to erect the portico's and ſee the exterior encloſures finiſhed.

Aſſoon as the temple was finiſhed by the prieſts, which was in (6) one year and ſix months, all the people were full of gladneſs, and returned God Thanks; *firſt*, for the quick diſpatch in finiſhing it; and *next*, for the vigilence and care the king had ſhewn in carrying on the work; they celebrated the days with feaſtings and rejoicings, concluding all with hearty wiſhes upon the ſucceſs of the new building. The king made a ſacrifice of three hundred bullocks, and the reſt according to their quality and circumſtances; but we cannot mention the number, having no vouchers to enlarge on any truth herein. But as the (1) day happened to be that of the king's inauguration, which was annually celebrated, when the building of the temple was finiſhed: From theſe two reaſons it is neceſſary to believe the pomp and ſplendor of the feſtival was exceedingly multiplied, and made more magnificent.

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(1) *Act* 12. v. 1. he is called *Herod*; whom a *Syrian* Doctor, juſtly calls *Agrippa* the ſon of *Herod* the Great, the Deſcendants of whom were all called *Herods*. See *Grotius* on the ſame paſſage.
(2) The ſon of *Herod Agrippa*, *Act*. 12. See *Grotius* upon *Acts* 25, v. 13.
(3) *P. Molinæus* in his *Prophet*, c. 25. remarks, that the *Stole* was only delivered to the prieſt on three ſolemn feſtivals, *viz.* the Paſſover, Penticoſt, and the Feaſt of Tabernacles.
(4) So in the original, meaning *Hieroſolyma*.
(5) *Viz.* The ſide between the *Angles*.
(6) Though it is ſaid here in what time *Herod* built the temple, yet our Author in lib. 20. c. 8. ſays it was not quite finiſhed till the days of the younger *Herod*, which were full threeſcore years after the birth of *Chriſt*.

Herod, beſide, made a (2) dark and ſubterraneous paſſage, ſtretching under ground from *Antonia*, to the eaſtern gate of the temple; over which he erected a tower, into which he and the kings and his ſucceſſors could aſcend through the ſaid paſſage, and ſecure themſelves from any ſudden tumult or commotion of the people. It is ſaid, while the temple was in building, it never rained but in the night-time, that the work might not be obſtructed. This account we have received from our anceſtors, and it need not ſeem incredible to any one who will but reflect on other occaſions in which God hath vouchſafed to manifeſt himſelf to us. This was the method of building the temple.

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(1) Theſe *Emcenia* were perform'd once by *Herod*, for the Renovation of the Temple; and ſeem different from thoſe *Emeenia* (of which *John*, c. 20. v. 22.) which were annually celebrated in Commemoration of the Temple being purified by *Judas Macchabeus*.

(2) The Tyrants of *Sicily* had much ſuch another Contrivance; for in the City of *Syracuſe*, they made ſeveral ſubterraneous Paſſages in the Part of the Town called *Acradina*, of which ſeveral wonderful Remains are yet extant, and very much commended by *Bonannus*, in his *Italian* Edition of the *Syracuſian* Antiquities, p. 79.

The *END* of the FIFTEENTH BOOK of the Antiquities.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE ANTIQUITIES of the JEWS.

BOOK THE SIXTEENTH.

Containing the Space of Twelve Years.

CHAP. I.

Herod's *Law concerning Thieves.* Alexander *and* Ariſtobulus, *on their Return from* Rome, *are calumniated by* Salome *and* Pheroras, *maugre which* Herod *gives them Wives.*

HEROD, in his adminiſtration of affairs, was very diligent to put a ſtop to all private injuries, as well committed in the city as country; but among the ſeveral laws he made, he enacted one very unlike any of the former, and which he ratified againſt *Thieves*, who were to be carried out of the limits of the kingdom, and there ſold. This ſtep was looked upon as an heavy article againſt perſons of this make and ſtamp, and a plain gradation towards aboliſhing the antient cuſtom; for it was ſuppoſed to undergo a ſlavery in a foreign country, where the method of living was quite oppoſite to theirs; and to be under a dependance to perform every thing, as commanded them, according to caprice and humour, would prove a more dangerous ſtroke to religion itſelf, than the puniſhment of the delinquents convicted of felony, could poſſibly be, ſince the antient laws had made ſufficient and effectual proviſions againſt this crime. For the prior laws had enacted, that no thief ſhould be aſſeſſed at more than four times the value of the things he had ſtolen, which, if he could not ſatisfy, he was then to be ſold, but not to ſtrangers, or to remain in a perpetual bondage; for it was expreſly declared, that after ſix years he was to have his liberty again. Upon this ground it was therefore that this law was ſuppoſed to be too rigorous and hard in its puniſhment, as appearing rather the effect of power and tyranny, than the reſult of a wiſe prince; and that *Herod*, without conſulting or having had any manner of account for the *Jews*, had beforehand deſigned to declare this puniſhment. This gave riſe to the odium and diſcontent the people conceived againſt him.

At the ſame time *Herod* ſailed into *Italy* to compliment *Cæſar*, and ſee his ſons, who then lived at *Rome*. *Cæſar* received him with great diſtinction and marks of honour, and gave him leave to take back with him his ſons, who had then accompliſhed their ſtudies. When they came into their native country, the people in general ſeemed vaſtly fond of them on ſeveral reſpects; for their fine carriage and handſome deportment, and the viſible proofs they gave of their intrinſick grandeur and royal lineage. Theſe ſteps immediately put *Salome*, and thoſe of the party who had accuſed *Mariamne*, into a violent diſguſt; for they now apprehended, ſhould either of them happen to procure the adminiſtration, the injury done their mother would not go unpuniſhed; this fear made them endeavour to ſow all the diſcord and calumnies they were able, and accordingly they gave out that the rigour of their father, in putting their mother to death, was of that heinous nature, that they could not, without a manifeſt breach of their religion, ſuffer themſelves to live with one who was her murtherer. This was thought an effectual ſtep to ripen their ſcheme, and diſſolve the good underſtanding ſubſiſting between the father and the ſons. However, they were very cautious and ſecret in their proceedings, and the reports they ſpread amongſt the lower ſort, were carried on with great conduct and artifice, which coming to the king's ears, would, they imagined, ſo move his hatred to them, that it would be impoſſible for him to overcome his own temper. *Herod*, however, was at this time upon very good terms with his ſons, and all the accuſations and calumnies brought againſt his ſons could not weigh down the filial affection he bore them; in fine, he honoured them as became his dignity, and married them both, giving *Berenice*, daughter of *Salome*, to *Ariſtobulus*, and *Glaphyra*, daughter of *Archelaus* king of the *Cappadocians*, to *Alexander*.

CHAP. II.

How Herod *ſailed twice to* Agrippa, *who, upon an Accuſation brought againſt the* Grecians *by the* Jews, *confirmed to the latter their Laws and Cuſtoms.*

THESE nuptials being ſolemnized, *Herod* hearing *Agrippa* was returned again out of *Italy* into *Aſia*, made all poſſible haſte to him, and begged him to favour him with a viſit into his kingdom, to partake of thoſe things, which a friend and benefactor had liberty to demand. *Agrippa*, upon *Herod*'s importunity and ſolicitation, accepted the invitation, and went into *Judea*, where *Herod* omitted nothing he thought might contribute to his amuſement and delight: He took him into his new built cities, and ſhewed him the buildings of an extraordinary beauty, and entertained him and his followers at *Sebaſte*, at *Cæſarea*, at *Alexandrium*, *Herodium*, and *Hyrcania*, three beautiful caſtles of great expence, with all poſſible marks of diſtinction, recreating him in the moſt elegant manner he was able, and receiving him at ſeveral ſumptuous banquets. Moreover he carried him to *Hieroſolyma*, the inhabitants of which came out to receive him in their feſtival habits, and conducted him into the city with loud acclamations. *Agrippa*, to return the civility, ſacrificed an *Hecatomb*, or a hundred bullocks, to God, feaſted the citizens, and ſhewed himſelf moſt magnificent; and after he had delighted himſelf ſeveral days, he began to reflect upon the time of the year, winter then coming on, and judged it more ſafe to be early in getting to *Ionia*, than be overtaken by the bad ſeaſon, which made it ſomething dangerous to hazard himſelf upon the ſea.

With this view he weighed anchor, but at his departure, *Herod* made large preſents to the chiefeſt of his followers. *Herod* ſtayed the winter within his own kingdom, but in the beginning of the ſpring, made preparations to go and ſee *Agrippa* the ſecond time, when he heard of the expedition he had deſign'd to the *Boſpherus*. He ſailed by *Rhodes* and *Cos*, endeavouring to put in at *Lesbos*, thinking to have found *Agrippa* there, but the wind vereing about to the north, oblig'd him to ſtand off to ſea; this forced him to ſtay a few days at *Chius*, where he magnificently received all thoſe who came to compliment him; while he remained here, he perceived the haven entirely demoliſhed, which had been occaſioned by the *Mithridatic* war, and the citizens, by reaſon of its former largeneſs and beauty, had never, from its firſt demolition, been in a capacity to repair; to remedy which, he gave them a more than ſufficient ſum of money to finiſh the repairs it wanted, and begged them to uſe their utmoſt efforts and abilities, both of time and ſtrength, to add ſo great an ornament to their city in its former luſtre. At length, the wind beginning to change, he ſailed firſt for *Mytilene*, and then for *Byzantium*, where hearing he had paſt the *Cycmean* rocks, he followed him with all the haſte he could, and having found him at *Synope*, a town in *Pontus*, *Agrippa* ſeemed ſurprized at *Herod*'s putting in there with his ſhips, but his coming was very acceptable, and the firſt interview was diſtinguiſh'd with all the demonſtrations of a real and laſting friendſhip; *Agrippa*, on his part, judged, and not without reaſon, that *Herod*, by ſuch a long voyage at ſea, and readineſs to aſſiſt him in his affairs, for which he had left his kingdom, and the adminiſtration of it, had given him the moſt ſure teſtimonial of his love and friendſhip for him. In ſhort, *Herod*, during *Agrippa*'s expedition, was preſent in every tranſaction of it; he ſhew'd himſelf his companion and aſſiſtant in the management of his affairs; and in all things beſide, where his council and advice was neceſſary, his inſtructor and director. *Herod*, in *Agrippa*'s moments of relaxation, was both a grateful and delightful companion; in every one of his employments, he was his partner; in his more difficult concerns he joined him for his benevolence; and in his more diſintereſted honours he took him for the honour he bore him. As ſoon as the affairs of *Pontus* were terminated, for which *Agrippa* had been ſent thither, he was in no humour to return by ſhipping; but taking his rout through *Paphlagonia* and *Cappadocia*, and from thence into the greater *Phrygia*, they came to *Epheſus*, where they took ſhipping and croſſed over to *Samos*. *Agrippa*, to gratify *Herod*, made conſiderable preſents to the ſeveral perſons petitioning him, in the ſeveral cities he paſt through; and *Herod*, to oblige him, left nothing uneſſayed, that either money, or marks of civility, could contribute any thing to it; for he bore his expences at the charge of his own purſe, and always made interceſſion in every caſe exhibited to *Agrippa*, ſo that they who asked his aſſiſtance, were made truly ſenſible of the favours and kindneſs he did them. And he was naturally of a generous diſpoſition, and of an extenſive ſoul to relieve every one who craved his aſſiſtance, provided the favour he did them, was not prejudicial to the intereſt of others; ſo he was of no ſmall moment to excite an ambition in *Agrippa*, who was ready enough of himſelf to ſhew himſelf open hearted and open ſpirited; for he reconciled him to the *Ilienſes*, to whom he had ſhewed his diſguſt, and paid a ſum of money, due to *Cæſar*'s procurators, by the citizens of *Chius*, for whom he obtain'd an immunity from the ſatisfaction of tribute; and, in fine, in whatever affair his aſſiſtance was found neceſſary, there he was certain to be preſent and give all the aid he was able.

Upon their arrival in *Ionia*, a great number of the *Jews*, inhabiting the cities there, taking confidence through the opportunity offering itſelf, went to *Agrippa*, and remonſtrated to him the injuries they had ſuffered in being deprived of the free uſe of their laws, and by the iniquitous procedure of their magiſtrates compelled, even on their feſtivals, to appear before their courts of juſtice, that they ſtript them of the money they deſigned to ſend to the temple at *Hieroſolyma*, and obliged them to ſerve in the war, and undergo the public employments, in the execution of which they were forced to conſume the ſacred money, from which they had always been exempted, as having had the permiſſion of the *Romans* to live conformably to the preſcription of their own laws. During the continuance of this repreſentation, *Herod* deſired *Agrippa* to hear their juſtification, and appointed one *Nicholaus*, a friend of his, to be council in the affair; and when *Agrippa* had conſtituted the court, which conſiſted of the principal *Romans*, the kings, and princes then preſent, *Nicholaus* ſtood up, and began to defend the cauſe of the *Jews*, in the following manner:

Moſt Puiſſant Agrippa,

THOSE who labour in extremities, hold it abſolutely neceſſary to fly to thoſe, who are in a capacity to protect them from the misfortunes to which they are expoſed. This is the reaſon why theſe men, on a ſure confidence of ſucceſs, come before you to ſupplicate you in their neceſſities. As they have formerly experienced you, even as their hearts wiſhed, they now beg that the favours you have beſtowed upon them, may not be ſnatched out of their hands, ſince they received them from thoſe, who had the ſole right of conferring them; nor yet are they depriv'd of their immunities by perſons their ſuperiors, but by men whom they know equally with themſelves ſubjects to your government. Now if the kindneſs they have obtain'd, be of great conſequence, it ſhould rather redound to their commendations, that they ſhewed themſelves worthy of ſo much favour; but if it be of ſmall moment, then it is a diſhonour to them not to be in a capacity to preſerve what they have once obtained. And there is not the leaſt ſcruple in the world to be made, but that thoſe who injuriouſly treat, and by all manner of ways endeavour to harraſs the *Jews*, are enemies to both; firſt to thoſe who receive the favour, if they think them, who are obliged to the beſt people on earth for the teſtimonial of their kindneſs to them, not good men; and next, they are injurious to thoſe who give the favour, if they demand the kindneſs once beſtowed, to be revoked, and made null. If any one ask them which of the two, namely, life, or their country's inſtitutions, pomps, ſacrifices, and ceremonies, which they uſe in the devotions they make to their Gods, they had rather part with, I am ſo very well perſuaded in the matter, that ſooner than a tittle of the laws of their country ſhould be diminiſhed, they would ſacrifice every thing, and ſubject themſelves to the worſt misfortune; and for this very end they make war and defend themſelves, that they may not be interrupted in the free exerciſe of their cuſtomary rites; nor are we debarred of the felicity which mankind under you enjoy, ſince every man in every province of your dominions, is at liberty to uſe his own religion, and live conformably to the cuſtoms of his own country. Yet theſe men cannot endure to be diſturbed themſelves, though they ſtrive all they can to moleſt others, as if there was no difference in the tranſgreſſion, whether they neglected the piety they owe to their own gods, or endeavour'd to take away what other nations pay to theirs, againſt all right and juſtice. But we will conſider this preſently. Say, is there ever a people, city, or nation of men, who is not indebted for the good they enjoy, to your tutelage, and the *Roman* ſtrength? Doth any man deſire the favours you have beſtow'd upon him, to be revoked? No man certainly who is in his right ſenſes; nor, I dare ſay, can there be found either in publick, or private life, any one who is not ſenſible of your kindneſs. Beſide, thoſe who thus endeavour to take away thoſe bleſſings, which are owing to your generoſity, do not conſider, that they hardly leave to themſelves any thing remaining of the obligations they owe you, altho' the favours you have done are impoſſible to be number'd; for if they would but reflect a little upon the antient ſort of governmenr, and that under which they now live, and mix in their conſiderations the ſeveral advantages conducive to their happineſs, which they have received from it, they muſt acknowledge, with the reſt of mankind, that they are no more under a life of ſervitude, but happy liberty. And yet our own affairs, were they to ſucceed proſperouſly, ought not to be envied. By you it is we in common with all enjoy an happy life, and we ask but a favour granted equally to others, to have an uninterrupted liberty of exerciſing our religion, according to the laws of our own country, which is a thing in itſelf not to be envied or denied, and is the proper buſineſs of thoſe who have granted it; for if the divinity is delighted with the honour paid him, much more is he pleaſed with thoſe who permit him to be worſhipped; nor are our laws diſagreeable to man, but every one is full of piety, and made up of the pureſt and moſt undefiled juſtice; nor do we hide the inſtitutions, which we practiſe in the forming our lives and manners, which we make the evident ſign and teſtimonial of our antient religion, and our morals among mankind. The ſeventh day we ſet apart for inſtructing ourſelves in the knowledge of our laws and cuſtoms, through an earneſt inclination to meditate upon them, or any other, any way conducive to reſtrain us from the commiſſion of ſin. And the beauty of them will appear to any one, who impartially conſiders every one by its ſelf, and we are fully aſſured of their long antiquity, though a great many will not admit of ſuch an aſſertion, wherefore the obſervers of them are by ſo much the more difficult to be induced to leave them, as the ſacredneſs of their antient ſtanding confirms them in an entire obſervance of them, yet theſe are the invaluable bleſſings threatened to be taken away from us by violence: But this is not all, they impiouſly take from us the money, which we have collected for the ſacred ſervice of God, exact from us the payment of tributes, and upon our ſolemn feſtivals cite us to their tribunals, and compel us to undergo other employments and buſineſſes, which, by the promiſes and aſſurances given us, we are not under any duty to perform; ſo that our religion is the moſt deeply wounded, and they themſelves are conſcious of the unjuſt and malicious hatred with which they inhumanly

manly proſecute us, for your empire is one and the ſame to all; ſo that benevolence and love is always ſure to find protection under its wings, but hatred and malice no manner of refuge. Wherefore, moſt puiſſant *Agrippa*, we ſolemnly intreat you to baniſh our calamities, and not ſuffer us to be thus inhumanly treated; to give us the free uſe of our inſtitutions and laws, and reinſtate us in our antient privileges, and prohibit us from being oppreſſed by thoſe, to whom we have offer'd no manner of injuſtice or violence, this petition is not only reaſonable and juſt, but what you have before granted us. We could here, to inſtance thoſe particulars, give a long detail of ſeveral decrees of your ſenate, which would clearly make out our fidelity to the *Romans*, and which were made to be inviolably preſerv'd, although your favours were oftentimes prior to our obligations. Nor are we the only people to whom you have preſerved your alliance, but all mankind in general are indebted on the ſame account; ſeveral of whom, beyond all hope or expectation, have been abundantly bleſt; upon which it is impoſſible for any man, deſirous to enter into the large field of the favours you have done them, to find words ſufficient to recount them. But to ſhew that we are not unworty of the many kindneſſes, by you conferred upon us, ſuffer us to paſs by in ſilence all prior obligations, and to confine ourſelves to a ſhort recital of him, who now wears the ſceptre over us, and ſits near you. Say, what mark of favour or kindneſs has he not performed to your family? When have you ſtood in need of his fidelity? What ſign of honour hath he not beſtowed upon you? What emergency did you ever feel, that he was not the firſt to aſſiſt you in? What hinders then, that you ballance the obligations you lay under to him? It will not be amiſs to ſet before you in a clear light the fortitude of his father *Antipater*, who, in *Cæſar*'s expedition into *Ægypt*, ſupplied him with two thouſand faces, well accoutred and armed, and ſhewed himſelf not the laſt in valour, both in his land and ſea engagements; and why ſhould not I mention of what great conſequence were his men to *Cæſar* at that time, and the quantity and quality of the rewards he made them for the ſervice they did him? But I ſhould have mentioned before this the letters wrote by *Cæſar* to the ſenate, and the honours and freedom of *Rome* which the people beſtowed upon him; theſe are proofs ſufficient to convince you that the favours we have happily obtained from you, were not undeſervedly beſtowed, nor have we a vain pretence been induced to petition you to confirm them to us, which, had not they been merly granted us, we ſhould have had ſome ound, nevertheleſs, to have hoped for ſuch a ceſſion, conſidering the king's diſpoſition towards you, and your's towards him. Nor is this all, the *Jews* have acquainted us in what a ndly manner you entered their province, and w you offered to God a lawful ſacrifice, and oured him with agreeable devotion, and how entertained the people at a banquet, and deſcended to accept their friendly offices. theſe circumſtances, and the honourable retion which our nation and city entertained reat and worthy a perſon as you are, make dent ſigns of the alliance between you and *Jewiſh* nation for the affinity ſubſiſting between you and *Herod*. In fine, we beg leave to admoniſh you and the king, who is near, and ſits with you, of theſe particulars, deſiring of you no more, than to ſecure us in the poſſeſſion of thoſe bleſſings, you have been pleaſed to grant us, and not ſuffer us to be expoſed to the fury and violence of other people in the maintenance of our juſt rights.

Nicholaus having made this harangue, the *Greeks* offered to make no manner of defence, becauſe the affair was not carried on by way of litigation, but only made a kind of petition, to be ſecured from violence; they offer'd at no apology, for having acted as they had done, but pretended the *Jews* had uſed their country, to which they had been very troubleſome; to this the *Jews* made anſwer, they were free citizens, and in all countries where they reſided, they paid obedience to their own laws, without doing any man any injury. *Agrippa*, in the concluſion, finding the *Jews* were the ſufferers, decreed thus in their favour: ‘That in conſideration of the bene‘volence, and friendſhip he had for *Herod*, ‘he was willing and ready to allow the *Jews* ‘their petition, which he conceived was built ‘on juſt grounds, and if they ſhould at any ‘time for the future have occaſion to amend, ‘or add to their ſaid petition, he would, pro‘vided it was not againſt the intereſt of the ‘*Roman* people, be further ready to gratify ‘them in it. And becauſe they only deſired ‘for a ratification of what had been formerly ‘granted rhem, he decreed and confirmed it, ‘that they enjoyed, and continued to enjoy, ‘the free exerciſe of their own religion and ‘laws, without any let or impediment.' After he had given this ſentence, he broke up the aſſembly. *Herod*, upon this, ſtanding before him, returned him his compliment, and confeſſed the obligation he was under to him, for the piece of friendſhip he had done him: *Agrippa* ſhewed himſelf, in his turn, not inſenſible of the reſpectful deportment of *Herod*, and took him into his arms, and embraced him. After this, he departed from *Lesbos*, but the king reſolved to make the ſea of *Samos* his way home, and after he had took his farewel of *Agrippa*, he weighed anchor and got ſafe to *Cæſarea* with a favourable wind in a few days; from hence he went to *Hieroſolyma*, where he convoked a general aſſembly of the whole people out of the country, and at their meeting, ſtepping into the midſt of them, he acquainted them with the reaſon of his whole journey, and the happy condition to which he had brought the *Jews* in *Aſia*, which was, to have the free exerciſe of their laws without any moleſtation; he enlarged greatly on his own good fortune, and the adminiſtration of his kingdom; how, in every particular, he had conſtantly ſtudied their intereſt, and, at length, wrapt up in the reflection of his own proſperity, he remitted to them a fourth part of the foregoing year's tribute. This generous act, and the remonſtrance he had made them, had wonderful influence over them; and filled with extreme gladneſs at his kind and openhearted procedure, they departed with loud wiſhes of a long and ſucceſsful reign to him.

CHAP. III.

How a Diſcord diſturbs the Family of Herod, *for preferring* Antipater *his eldeſt Son; the Diſhonour of which vexes the Perſons about* Alexander.

THE breach in *Herod*'s family appearing every day of worſe conſequence, and ſtill encreaſing, *Salome*, as if by an hereditary right, purſued the young princes with the moſt open marks of hatred; the ſucceſs ſhe had found with regard to their mother, made her proceed to ſuch an height of preſumption, that ſhe reſolved to leave none of the ſons, whom ſhe thought capable of revenging the death of the deceaſed. Beſide, what favoured her greatly, was the ill underſtanding the young men entertained of their father, being moved to this, firſt by the remembrance of the diſhonourable uſage of their mother, and next, by an eager deſire to govern; thus the odium began to be as great as formerly in the family. For the young men very openly caſt their reproaches at *Salome* and *Pheroras*, and theſe again on the other hand, were not backward in their calumnies againſt the young men, and in their induſtrious deſigns to entrap them: The hatred on both ſides was grounded upon the ſame principles, but the methods each took to exerciſe it were different; the former made an open declaration and ſhew of their inveteracy, thinking it an act of ſincerity, and a mark of ingenuity not to diſſemble their anger; the latter followed another courſe, and with great artifice, and an injurious pack of lyes, made way to accompliſh their deſigns; they were eternally hatching ſome plot or other to provoke the young men, ſuppoſing their rage would at laſt turn upon their father; for when they conſidered, they were not aſhamed of the crimes alledged againſt their mother, whom they were of opinion had unjuſtly been put to death, they could not think, but they would endeavour to revenge her death upon him who was the ſuppoſed author of it, with their own hands. In fine, the whole city was in a little time full of theſe contentions, and as it happens in the like caſes with combatants, the generality pitied the youth of the princes. But *Salome* made the beſt advantage of her care and diligence, and gathered from their own words ſufficient to promote her deſign as ſhe pleaſed; for they not only were miſerably vexed at the reflection of their mother's death, but bewailed her's and their own caſe, ſtriving all that was poſſible to repreſent *Mariamne*'s cataſtrophe as mournful as could be, which indeed it was, and alſo to ſhew themſelves in no pleaſing condition, who were obliged to live amongſt the murtherers of their mother, and partake with them of their crimes.

Theſe reports were by ſo much the more noiſed abroad, as the king was abſent upon his journey; but when he returned, and had ſpoke to the people, as we have obſerv'd above, *Pheroras* and *Salome* were preſent, ready with their accuſations, which they plentifully ſcattered about; they repreſented to him the extreme danger he was in from the young men, who openly threatned to revenge the death of their mother, and added, they had great hopes of the *Cappadocian* kings aſſiſting them, to go and accuſe him before *Cæſar*. *Herod* no ſooner had heard theſe words, than he ſeemed greatly uneaſy, and his aſtoniſhment was by ſo much the more uncommon, as he had heard the ſame thing from other people theſe rumours, recalled to his mind and thoughts what he had formerly ſuggeſted, how that for the domeſtic feuds in his own family, he had had no comfort either with his children or wife, who ſhould have been the moſt dear to him, and he feared this future breach would be attended with more diſmal and heavy conſequences than his paſt troubles, ſo that his thoughts began to ſhew a ſcene of melancholy accidents; for he reflected how, by the favour of God, all his tranſactions abroad, had, beyond his expectations been bleſt with a proſperous iſſue, but how his domeſtic affairs, which ſhould have been the moſt pleaſing in the world to him, had been attended with a quite different period, even beyond his hopes: Thus theſe two conſiderations proving ſo oppoſite to one another, which no perſon would ever have expected, put him into a ſituation ſo wavering, that he could not reſolve which was the more preferable choice or condition, to ſucceed ſo glorioully in the things he undertook abroad, and afterwards to be involved in a ſcene of unhappy troubles at home, or to avoid ſo great diſturbances as he found in his family, by (*a*) renouncing his kingdom, and all the other things which raiſe men's admiration.

Herod, in this confuſion and diſorder of mind, in order to reſtrain the proceedings of his ſons, ſent for another ſon of his, named *Antipater*, born to him in his private ſtate, and reſolved to advance him to ſome conſiderable poſt of honour; but not, as the ſequel will ſhew, to inveſt him with the chief authority, and be thoroughly guided by him; his intention was only to reſtrain the preſumption of his ſons by *Mariamne*, and endeavour to make them the better ſenſible of their miſbehaviour, ſuppoſing they would not arrogate

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(*a*) *Epiphanius* has omitted this Paſſage in his Verſion, and *Gelenius* interprets it thus: 'As Fortune prove
'very propitious to his Affairs abroad, even beyond his Hope, ſo all his domeſtick Concerns were beyo
'his Expectation, attended with an unhappy Concluſion, that with a great deal of Reaſon it may
'doubted, whether his Family Diſſentions were not a Counterveil to his Succeſs abroad, or it was ſafer
'him equally to want both, and confine himſelf again to a private Condition.'

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much to themſelves, when they had too manifeſt a proof before them, that the ſucceſſion of the kingdom was not their right, either by birth, neceſſity, or otherwiſe. With this view he ſends for *Antipater* to come home, to be as it were, a rival to the other two, believing he would take effectual care over his affairs, and ſo curb the aſpiring temper of his other two ſons, that in a little time he ſhould find them of another diſpoſition for the better: But all his foreſight and conjectures came far ſhort of his expectations; the ſons thought themſelves extremely wronged, and *Antipater*, who was a perſon of great inſinuation, finding himſelf once in a condition to entertain ſuch hopes as he never durſt before, took every ſtep to miſuſe the other brothers, and ſupplant them in their expectations of obtaining the foremoſt rank; to which end he feigned a cloſe adherence to his father, whom he found not a little ruffled with the many malicious reports brought him, and perceived he had a favourable opportunity given him of putting in practice the ſcheme he had deſigned upon him, which was to fill his ears every day more and more, with accuſations againſt the brothers, ſuppoſing that the moſt effectual way to raiſe his anger paſt reconciliation. Upon this ground he became the author of every report that was ſpread abroad, but took ſo much precaution as not to ſhew he carried any tales himſelf to his father, but induſtriouſly brought his ſcheme to ſuch a concluſion, that only perſons of undoubted veracity, and who were thought to have the king's intereſt only at heart, were made uſe of to ripen his project: Thus ſeveral were, through the inducement of future hope, influenced to eſpouſe the intereſt of *Antipater*, and found no great difficulty in perſuading *Herod*, that their acquainting him with ſuch like tales, was the pure reſult of the love and duty they owed him. Theſe ſchemes were very artfully carried on by a company of perſons faithful to one another's views and intereſts, and the two ſons themſelves afforded a fine opportunity to promote their deſigns; for whenever they reflected upon the contumely they ſuffered, and the ignominious death of their mother, they conſtantly burſt out into a flood of tears, and openly, amongſt their friends and acquaintance, endeavoured to repreſent their father as cruel and uncompaſſionate. *Antipater*, who only wanted this opportunity, improved it very cunningly to his own advantage, and repreſented their whole proceedings, with ſeveral additions of his own, as the groſſeſt piece of malice that could be imagined. This ſtep made the breach in *Herod*'s family break out more violently. For as the king was already very much exaſperated at their reproachful carriage, he was reſolved to put a check upon their inſolence; and to that end, heaped continually greater honours upon him, 'till at laſt being quite gain'd over to his ſide, he ordered his mother to be ſent for, and wrote ſeveral letter, to *Cæſar* in his behalf; in all which he made ſecret remarks of the advantage he had been to him in his private condition of life. At this time *Agrippa* was preparing to go back to *Rome*, after his ten years adminiſtration of the affairs of *Aſia*, upon which *Herod* went out of *Judea* and ſailed to him, carrying along with him *Antipater*, whom he delivered to him with coſtly preſents to *Cæſar* at *Rome*, in order to make his way with him, and gain his friendſhip. By this ſtep every thing ſeemed to favour *Antipater*, but the two other brothers were entirely bereft of any hopes of ſucceeding or enjoying the kingdom.

CHAP. IV.

How, while Antipater *lives at* Rome, Herod *carries* Alexander *and* Ariſtobulus, *and accuſes them before* Cæſar. Alexander *pleads his own Cauſe before* Cæſar, *and a Reconciliation is at laſt made between the Father and Sons.*

ANTIPATER's going to *Rome*, was of excellent advantage to him, both in re- ard of the honour he purchaſed, and the pre- erence to his other brothers; for while he ontinued at that city, *Herod* ſent frequent tters to all his friends, which very much ntributed to heighten his eſteem; however, *tipater* could not be eaſy, when he reflected was at ſo long a diſtance from his father, the means were taken out of his hands acting, as he had done, againſt his brothers, his apprehenſions were by ſo much the re prevalent, as he conſidered the poſſibility his father's changing his ſentiments, on the ſt inducement to think favourably of *Mari- e*'s ſons; theſe conſiderations, the effect of malicious deſigns againſt them, made him, however, not drop his ſcheme; but as often as he ſuppoſed there were any hopes left of his being able to work upon his father's mind, and irritate it againſt his ſons, ſo often did he write from *Rome* to him, under a colour of the great concern and uneaſineſs he had for him; but, in effect, the malignity of his temper againſt his brothers, was the real motive, and the great hope he founded in himſelf, made him think of turning all things to his own (*a*) advantage. In fine, what by his fictitious ſuggeſtions, and other falſe accuſations againſt them, he filled *Herod*'s breaſt with that rage and indignation, that he began to give plain proofs of his reſentment againſt them; but that he might not ſeem either too remiſs or haſty in doing any thing againſt them, judging

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(a) But, in Effect, to guard his Way to the Succeſſion of the Kingdom, which he hoped for, by his ma- us Artifices, ſays *Gelenius*.

both extreams equally prejudicial to him, he took a better courſe, as he thought, and went to *Rome*, where he laid his accuſations againſt them, before *Cæſar*, eſteeming ſuch a procedure ſafer, than by any action, peremptorily committed, bring him into ſuſpicion of barbarity. Upon his arrival at *Rome*, he went to *Aquileia* to meet *Cæſar*, and having obtained an audience of him, and petitioned him to determine of one of the worſt difficulties he had ever been involved in, to all human appearance, he brought his ſons before him, and made bitter complaints of their rebellious deſigns and wicked ſchemes, by repreſenting, ‘ What inveterate and dangerous enemies they were to him, who took every ſtep to ſhew their malicious hatred to their father, and carried their anger againſt him ſo far, as to endeavour to put him to death, and by the perpetration of one of the blackeſt crimes, ſtrive to wreſt the kingdom out of his hands, when *Cæſar* had inveſted him with a power at his deceaſe, of leaving his kingdom, not by any compulſion, but free will, to that ſon of his, who ſhould give the fulleſt proofs of his obedience to him. That the kingdom was but a trifling conſideration to them, in reſpect of their lives, if they were deprived of ſucceeding to it, which they would willingly ſacrifice, provided they had the means of putting their father to death; ſo deep and inveterate is the hatred that is rooted in their hearts againſt me. And this is the calamity I have ſo long ſuſtained, and which has obliged me at laſt to open to *Cæſar*, and offend his ears with a recital of it. But what hardſhip have they ſuſtained at my hands? Or what heavy complaints have they to exhibit againſt me? How can they ſuppoſe it a thing juſt and fair, to ſtrive at hindring a perſon, who, through a long ſeries of time, and the hazard of many dangers, hath obtained the government he enjoys, from being lord of it, from having the free poſſeſſion of it, and from giving it to him who beſt deſerves it? For this, among the other rewards of a virtuous behaviour, is propoſed to him who deſigns to copy after him who goes before, namely, to acquire the like favour. Upon which ground it is manifeſt what wicked attempt it is to deal thus in ſo nice an affair, for that perſon who perpetually entertains the thoughts of obtaining the kingdom in his head, is at the ſame time hatching the deſtruction of his father, and the ſucceſſion cannot come to him till after the father's deceaſe. Nor has their father hitherto ever withdrawn his hand from aſſiſting them with things ſuitable to their dignity and princely birth, neither ornaments, equipage, or other expences, have been wanting to complete the figure the ſons of a king ought to make; beſide, they have been allied to very honourable marriages, one to the daughter of my ſiſter, and the daughter of king *Archelaus* given to *Alexander* the other. But my greateſt kindneſs is, that their father after all their baſe attempts, hath not uſed his authority over them, but brought them before *Cæſar*, the common benefactor to all, and remitted every thing of his prerogative, which either an incenſed father, or a king, conſpir'd againſt, could juſtly put in execution; but on the contrary, he had come along with them to ſtand to the award which *Cæſar* ſhould think fit to make between them; however, he petition'd he might not return altogether unrevenged, nor live the remainder of his days in the worſt apprehenſions, ſince (*a*) his ſons, after their late villainous attempts, did not deſerve to ſee the light of the ſun, or live any longer, and ſhould they now eſcape juſtice, they would indiſputably both abet and commit the worſt of crimes, as they had but too plainly done.’

Herod, with great emotion, laid theſe accuſations before *Cæſar*. The young princes, during the ſpeech, were drowned in a flood of tears, but at the cloſe of it, ſeemed to be quite overwhelmed. They were thoroughly convinced in their own conſciences this charge of diſaffection to their father was malicious and ill-grounded, and they perceived the difficulty there was to defend themſelves againſt the articles laid to their ſide by their father. They judged it unbecoming in them to ſpeak their minds openly, though in their own juſtification, and ſhew the erroneous behaviour of him in his conſtant violent and precipitate proceedings. In effect, they knew not what to ſay or do; the tears guſhed from their eyes, not that they were conſcious of any guilt in this caſe, but their father's violent procedure againſt them was the ſole cauſe of their vaſt ſorrow; in fine, they eſteemed it indecent to offer any thing too freely in their juſtification, and they imagined they were in danger, if they did not make ſome attempts to vindicate themſelves. This conſideration made them for ſome time remain doubtful, which occaſioned the audience to break out into tears and lamentations. Beſide, the young princes apprehended it might be thought they were concerned in their guilty conſciences for what they had done, and their ſilence might be attributed to ſuch a conjecture: But in effect it was owing to their want of experience and their tender years. This was ſoon perceived by *Cæſar*, and the reſt of the audience, who were moved to ſo much compaſſion, that *Herod*, who accuſed them, could not reſtrain himſelf from compaſſionating their fortunes. The young princes obſerving their father and *Cæſar* attentive to their caſe, and that the perſons in the audience were ſoftned with compaſſion to them, as to ſhew their concern in tears. *Alexander*, one of them, and the eldeſt, ſtood up, directing his ſpeech to his father, and made his defence in the following words: ‘ My father, your method of accuſation fully declares what ſentiments you entertain of

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(*a*) The remaining Part to the very End of this Speech, is ſuſpected of Corruption, nor can any find the Reaſon of *Epiphanius* interpreting it in the Manner he has done: He ſays, ‘ And having diveſted himſelf of all the Power an injured Father, or a King, plotted againſt, could put in Force, he made them ſtand with him in Judgment, and ſaid, there was nothing to clear his Life from the greateſt Fears, but for either the one or the other of them to die.’

'us; if you had deſigned a more ſevere treatment of us, you would not have preſented us before him, who is our common preſerver; for by your prerogative as a king, and your authority as a father, you might have been at liberty to have inflicted a puniſhment upon us according to your power. But ſince you have brought us before *Cæſar*, and made him the determiner of our alledged crimes, it is plain your deſign is to ſave us, for no man is hurried to the altar, deſtined to be deſtroyed. The aggravation of our fault is greatly enlarged, and we ſhould never be induced to prolong our lives a moment longer, if we could be brought to think ourſelves tranſgreſſors againſt ſo good a father; far better is it to die innocent and free from accuſation, than preſerve a life tainted with an ungenerous and ungrateful procedure againſt you. If your defence is favoured by ſo much ſucceſs as to convince you of our loyalty and love to you, the danger we ſhall eſcape by it, will not prove of ſo joyful a conſequence, as the being cleared of all ſuſpicions by your own judgment; for to continue in a ſuſpicion of diſregard and diſloyalty to you, makes us wiſh a thouſand times to die, rather than live. Your accuſing our youth of raſh attempts is probable, as having aſpired by indirect methods to work ourſelves into the adminiſtration, and our mother's diſgraceful cataſtrophe charges our guilt with more convincing proofs; but reflect, Sir, every one equally with us lies obnoxious to the very ſame accuſations; for any king is at liberty, whenever he pleaſes, to bring into ſuſpicion the children he has had by a deceaſed wife, and charge them with contraband practiſes againſt his repoſe; but bare ſuſpicion was never thought evidence ſufficient to bring a perſon under condemnation, or make him guilty. Upon this ground we beg you to challenge any one, who can effectually make out before any impartial judge, our rebellious proceedings, ſo as to convict us. Can you tax us with preparing poiſon for you, entering into any unlawful cabal againſt your quiet, corrupting any of your ſervants with bribes or preſents, or writing any letters, to your prejudice or diſſervice? All theſe charges may be brought about by calumnly on the leaſt pretence. Diſcord in the court of a prince is attended with unhappy conſequences; and dominion, which you ſay is the reward of a pious obedience, is very often coveted by men who aim at it, by very indirect method. Though we are aſſured of our own innocency, and the impoſſibility of convicting us of any real crime, yet how can we hope for any mercy, or to clear ourſelves, when the perſons to whom we offer our complaints, will not deign to hear us. if we have uttered any expreſſions, too indecent for this place, yet, my father, they were not levelled at you, but at thoſe perſons who have traduced us; to ſpeak indecently of you, carries an air of great impiety in it. Our mother's ignominous death has given us great uneaſineſs, but we have not mourned her becauſe ſhe is dead, but becauſe, after the ſufferings ſhe has unjuſtly undergone, ſhe is calumniated and ill ſpoken of; ſay, in what have we entertained ambitious thoughts of uſurping our father's kingdom? As we are grac'd already with princely honours, our notions of that ſtamp are fooliſh and vain? Let it be ſuppoſed we had not been, yet we preſume we might hope for them. But, ſay, would your death have been a juſt pretence for grounding our expectations upon; if ſo, the earth and ſea would not have ſuffered our preſence upon it, after ſo abominable on action. If we had murthered you, how could we have framed any reaſonable conjectures that either the piety of your ſubjects, or the laws of our country, would have indulged us to enjoy the kingdom, obtained after ſo diſhonourable a manner, or to have entered the ſacred temple which you have repaired? If we had deſpiſed all theſe conſiderations, yet, while *Cæſar* is alive, we could not, by no means whatever have eſcaped puniſhment. Your children are neither ſo fooliſh or iniquitous, though doomed to a more unfortunate ſtate than your condition requires. If you have nothing to lay to our charge, or can prove none of the accuſations brought againſt us, how can you ſuppoſe us guilty of the inhumanity alledged againſt us? Is our mother's diſhonourable cataſtrophe a matter of accuſation againſt us? Her fatal death convinces us of more moderation, than precipitateneſs. We have a great many more things to urge in our defence, but there is no neceſſity to bring vouchers to things, of which we are not the leaſt guilty? Upon this ground we petition *Cæſar*, lord over all, and our judge, only this, that if you, my father, can diveſt yourſelf of any future ſuſpicion, to let us, be our condition what it will, enjoy our lives; for to be brought into judgment without aſſigning ſufficient cauſe for it, is a fact both injurious and unfair. However if our lives ſhall only be matter of continued alarms to you, it is much more preferable to ſuffer death by our own cenſure; for we acount our lives only ſo long dear to us, as we find them conducive to the repoſe of him who gave them.'

Cæſar, who before-hand could hardly give credit to the accuſations alledged againſt the young princes, was now thoroughly convinced, by this ſpeech, of their innocency, and he was confirmed in this opinion by obſerving *Herod*'s concern, and the uneaſineſs which the reſt of the audience expreſſed. All preſent very much blamed *Herod* for the frivolous pretence on which he had accuſed his ſons; their handſome deportment and genteel behaviour ſo wrought upon all the ſpectators, that they ſhewed themſelves ready to give them all imaginable aſſiſtance.

Alexander's confuting his father's allegations, and the accuſed, through ſhame and grief, fixing their eyes ſtedfaſtly upon the ground, confirmed the audience in the favourable opinion they had formed to themſelves. In the concluſion, ſome dawn of hope appeared, and *Herod*, for his precipitate dealing with his ſons, without any good ground of accuſation, ſeemed to want excuſes to juſtify himſelf. *Cæſar* having deliberated awhile upon the merits of both parties, pronounced that the young men were innocent of the allegations brought againſt them, yet were to blame for giving their father any ſuſpicions of both extreams equally prejudicial to him, he took a better courſe, as he thought, and went to *Rome*, where he laid his accuſations againſt them, before *Cæſar*, eſteeming ſuch a procedure ſafer, than by any action, peremptorily committed, bring him into ſuſpicion of barbarity. Upon his arrival at *Rome*, he went to *Aquileia* to meet *Cæſar*, and having obtained an audience of him, and petitioned him to determine of one of the worſt difficulties he had ever been involved in, to all human appearance, he brought his ſons before him, and made bitter complaints of their rebellious deſigns and wicked ſchemes, by repreſenting, 'What inveterate and dangerous enemies they were to him, who took every ſtep to ſhew their malicious hatred to their father, and carried their anger againſt him ſo far, as to endeavour to put him to death, and by the perpetration of one of the blackeſt crimes, ſtrive to wreſt the kingdom out of his hands, when *Cæſar* had inveſted him with a power at his deceaſe, of leaving his kingdom, not by any compulſion, but free will, to that ſon of his, who ſhould give the fulleſt proofs of his obedience to him. That the kingdom was but a trifling conſideration to them, in reſpect of their lives, if they were deprived of ſucceeding to it, which they would willingly ſacrifice, provided they had the means of putting their father to death; ſo deep and inveterate is the hatred that is rooted in their hearts againſt me. And this is the calamity I have ſo long ſuſtained, and which has obliged me at laſt to open to *Cæſar*, and offend his ears with a recital of it. But what hardſhip have they ſuſtained at my hands? Or what heavy complaints have they to exhibit againſt me? How can they ſuppoſe it a thing juſt and fair, to ſtrive at hindring a perſon, who, through a long ſeries of time, and the hazard of many dangers, hath obtained the government he enjoys, from being lord of it, from having the free poſſeſſion of it, and from giving it to him who beſt deſerves it? For this, among the other rewards of a virtuous behaviour, is propoſed to him who deſigns to copy after him who goes before, namely, to acquire the like favour. Upon which ground it is manifeſt what wicked attempt it is to deal thus in ſo nice an affair, for that perſon who perpetually entertains the thoughts of obtaining the kingdom in his head, is at the ſame time hatching the deſtruction of his father, and the ſucceſſion cannot come to him till after the father's deceaſe. Nor has their father hitherto ever withdrawn his hand from aſſiſting them with things ſuitable to their dignity and princely birth, neither ornaments, equipage, or other expences, have been wanting to complete the figure the ſons of a king ought to make; beſide, they have been allied to very honourable marriages, one to the daughter of my ſiſter, and the daughter of king *Archelaus* given to *Alexander* the other. But my greateſt kindneſs is, that their father after all their baſe attempts, hath not uſed his authority over them, but brought them before *Cæſar*, the common benefactor to all, and remitted every thing of his prerogative, which either an incenſed father, or a king, conſpir'd againſt, could juſtly put in execution; but on the contrary, he had come along with them to ſtand to the award which *Cæſar* ſhould think fit to make between them; however, he petition'd he might not return altogether unrevenged, nor live the remainder of his days in the worſt apprehenſions, ſince (*a*) his ſons, after their late villainous attempts, did not deſerve to ſee the light of the ſun, or live any longer, and ſhould they now eſcape juſtice, they would indiſputably both abet and commit the worſt of crimes, as they had but too plainly done.'

Herod, with great emotion, laid theſe accuſations before *Cæſar*. The young princes, during the ſpeech, were drowned in a flood of tears, but at the cloſe of it, ſeemed to be quite overwhelmed. They were thoroughly convinced in their own conſciences this charge of diſaffection to their father was malicious and ill-grounded, and they perceived the difficulty there was to defend themſelves, againſt the articles laid to their ſide by their father. They judged it unbecoming in them to ſpeak their minds openly, though in their own juſtification, and ſhew the erroneous behaviour of him in his conſtant violent and precipitate proceedings. In effect, they knew not what to ſay or do; the tears guſhed from their eyes, not that they were conſcious of any guilt in this caſe, but their father's violent procedure againſt them was the ſole cauſe of their vaſt ſorrow; in fine, they eſteemed it indecent to offer any thing too freely in their juſtification, and they imagined they were in danger, if they did not make ſome attempts to vindicate themſelves. This conſideration made them for ſome time remain doubtful, which occaſioned the audience to break out into tears and lamentations. Beſide, the young princes apprehended it might be thought they were concerned in their guilty conſciences for what they had done, and their ſilence might be attributed to ſuch a conjecture: But in effect it was owing to their want of experience and their tender years. This was ſoon perceived by *Cæſar*, and the reſt of the audience, who were moved to ſo much compaſſion, that *Herod*, who accuſed them, could not reſtrain himſelf from compaſſionating their fortunes. The young princes obſerving their father and *Cæſar* attentive to their caſe, and that the perſons in the audience were ſoftned with compaſſion to them, as to ſhew their concern in tears. *Alexander*, one of them, and the eldeſt, ſtood up, directing his ſpeech to his father, and made his defence in the following words: 'My father, your method of accuſation fully declares what ſentiments you entertain of

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(*a*) The remaining Part to the very End of this Speech, is ſuſpected of Corruption, nor can any find the Reaſon of *Epiphanius* interpreting it in the Manner he has done: He ſays, 'And having diveſted himſelf of all the Power an injured Father, or a King, plotted againſt, could put in Force, he made them ſtand with him in Judgment, and ſaid, there was nothing to clear his Life from the greateſt Fears, but for either the one or the other of them to die.'

us; if you had deſigned a more ſevere treatment of us, you would not have preſented us before him, who is our common preſerver; for by your prerogative as a king, and your authority as a father, you might have been at liberty to have inflicted a puniſhment upon us according to your power. But ſince you have brought us before *Cæſar*, and made him the determiner of our alledged crimes, it is plain your deſign is to ſave us, for no man is hurried to the altar, deſtined to be deſtroyed. The aggravation of our fault is greatly enlarged, and we ſhould never be induced to prolong our lives a moment longer, if we could be brought to think ourſelves tranſgreſſors againſt ſo good a father; far better is it to die innocent and free from accuſation, than preſerve a life tainted with an ungenerous and ungrateful procedure againſt you. If your defence is favoured by ſo much ſucceſs as to convince you of our loyalty and love to you, the danger we ſhall eſcape by it, will not prove of ſo joyful a conſequence, as the being cleared of all ſuſpicions by your own judgment; for to continue in a ſuſpicion of diſregard and diſloyalty to you, makes us wiſh a thouſand times to die, rather than live. Your accuſing our youth of raſh attempts is probable, as having aſpired by indirect methods to work ourſelves into the adminiſtration, and our mother's diſgraceful cataſtrophe charges our guilt with more convincing proofs; but reflect, Sir, every one equally with us lies obnoxious to the very ſame accuſations; for any king is at liberty, whenever he pleaſes, to bring into ſuſpicion the children he has had by a deceaſed wife, and charge them with contraband practiſes againſt his repoſe; but bare ſuſpicion was never thought evidence ſufficient to bring a perſon under condemnation, or make him guilty. Upon this ground we beg you to challenge any one, who can effectually make out before any impartial judge, our rebellious proceedings, ſo as to convict us. Can you tax us with preparing poiſon for you, entering into any unlawful cabal againſt your quiet, corrupting any of your ſervants with bribes or preſents, or writing any letters, to your prejudice or diſervice? All theſe charges may be brought about by calumnly on the leaſt pretence. Diſcord in the court of a prince is attended with unhappy conſequences; and dominion, which you ſay is the reward of a pious obedience, is very often coveted by men who aim at it, by very indirect method. Though we are aſſured of our own innocency, and the impoſſibility of convicting us of any real crime, yet how can we hope for any mercy, or to clear ourſelves, when the perſons to whom we offer our complaints, will not deign to hear us. if we have uttered any expreſſions, too indecent for this place, yet, my father, they were not levelled at you, but at thoſe perſons who have traduced us; to ſpeak indecently of you, carries an air of great impiety in it. Our mother's ignominous death has given us great uneaſineſs, but we have not mourned her becauſe ſhe is dead, but becauſe, after the ſufferings ſhe has unjuſtly undergone, ſhe is calumniated and ill ſpoken of; ſay, in what have we entertained ambitious thoughts of uſurping our father's kingdom? As we are grac'd already with princely honours, our notions of that ſtamp are fooliſh and vain? Let it be ſuppoſed we had not been, yet we preſume we might hope for them. But, ſay, would your death have been a juſt pretence for grounding our expectations upon; if ſo, the earth and ſea would not have ſuffered our preſence upon it, after ſo abominable an action. If we had murthered you, how could we have framed any reaſonable conjectures that either the piety of your ſubjects, or the laws of our country, would have indulged us to enjoy the kingdom, obtained after ſo diſhonourable a manner, or to have entered the ſacred temple which you have repaired? If we had deſpiſed all theſe conſiderations, yet, while *Cæſar* is alive, we could not, by no means whatever have eſcaped puniſhment. Your children are neither ſo fooliſh or iniquitous, though doomed to a more unfortunate ſtate than your condition requires. If you have nothing to lay to our charge, or can prove none of the accuſations brought againſt us, how can you ſuppoſe us guilty of the inhumanity alledged againſt us? Is our mother's diſhonourable cataſtrophe a matter of accuſation againſt us? Her fatal death convinces us of more moderation, than precipitateneſs. We have a great many more things to urge in our defence, but there is no neceſſity to bring vouchers to things, of which we are not the leaſt guilty? Upon this ground we petition *Cæſar*, lord over all, and our judge, only this, that if you, my father, can diveſt yourſelf of any future ſuſpicion, to let us, be our condition what it will, enjoy our lives; for to be brought into judgment without aſſigning ſufficient cauſe for it, is a fact both injurious and unfair. However if our lives ſhall only be matter of continued alarms to you, it is much more preferable to ſuffer death by our own cenſure; for we acount our lives only ſo long dear to us, as we find them conducive to the repoſe of him who gave them.'

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Alexander's confuting his father's allegations, and the accuſed, through ſhame and grief, fixing their eyes ſtedfaſtly upon the ground, confirmed the audience in the favourable opinion they had formed to themſelves. In the concluſion, ſome dawn of hope appeared, and *Herod*, for his precipitate dealing with his ſons, without any good ground of accuſation, ſeemed to want excuſes to juſtify himſelf. *Cæſar* having deliberated awhile upon the merits of both parties, pronounced that the young men were innocent of the allegations brought againſt them, yet were to blame for giving their father any ſuſpicions of their conduct and behaviour. He requeſted *Herod* to diveſt himſelf to his ſons, for it was unjuſt in him to give way to any reports, maliciouſly and induſtriouſly ſpread againſt thoſe he had begotten; that he was firmly of opinion his ſons future conduct would be attended with ſuch marks of a dutiful obedience, as to make him bury in oblivion the diſcontent they had given him, and unite his affection to them by a firmer and ſtronger tye of love; and that both parties endeavouring to ground their friendſhip, and the truſt which ought to ſubſiſt in a family, on a baſis perfectly cemented together, their concordance and union would be of longer duration. *Cæſar* having given this charge to the young men, they made ſigns of begging their father's wonted favour; but *Herod* anticipated their deſigns, went up to, and embraced them one after another; at which they burſt out into a flood of tears, all the reſt, as well ſervants as others, ſympathizing with them.

After this, they complimented *Cæſar* for his extraordinary juſtice, and then departed together, *Antipater* going along with, and pretending a ſeeming gladneſs for the reconciliation they had made with their father. Some few days after *Herod* made a preſent to *Cæſar* of three hundred talents, amongſt the other extraordinary gifts he beſtowed on the people of *Rome*, to ſhew his extenſive liberality. *Cæſar*, in return, preſented him with one half of the profits of the mines of the metal in *Cyprus*, giving the overſeers of the works the other half; beſide, he left *Herod* at liberty to appoint which of his ſons to ſucceed him he pleaſed; or, if he liked it better, to divide his kingdom equally amongſt them. *Herod* would have agreed to this immediately, but was interrupted by *Cæſar*, who ſaid, that as long as he lived, he ſhould preſerve it whole and undivided, and that his ſons ſhould pay him a juſt obedience.

After this *Herod* returned into *Judea*, where the *Trachonites*, who made no inconſiderable part of his kingdom, had made a defection in his abſence; but by the timely aſſiſtance of the officers he had left to manage his affairs, they were reduced to their former obedience. As he was ſailing home with his ſons, he put in at the iſland of *Eleuſa*, in *Cilicia*, but now called *Sebaſte*, where he found *Archelaus*, king of the *Cappadocians*, who received *Herod* with wonderful marks of diſtinction, and expreſſed his extreme gladneſs for the reconciliation he had made with his ſons, and for *Alexander*, who had married his daughter, having cleared himſelf of the allegations laid againſt him. In fine, they gave and received to and from each other, very magnificent preſents. From hence *Herod* returned into *Judea*, and went into the temple, where he made an harangue about the tranſactions of his journey, and enlarged much on the liberality of *Cæſar* to him, and his own particular actions, which he ſaid were of conſequence for every one's knowing them; and in the cloſe of his ſpeech he gave ſome admonitions to his ſons, and requeſted the people to live in peace and follow concord, declaring his ſons ſhould reign after him; *to wit*, firſt *Antipater*, and after *Alexander*, and *Ariſtobulus*, the ſons of *Mariamne*. He ordered them for the time preſent to pay obedience to him, and receive him for their lord and maſter, who had no ways been impaired by his old age, which, on the contrary, from the length of years he had lived, had made him more fit to ſit at the helm of affairs, and perform the adminiſtration of the kingdom; that he ſtood in need of no aſſiſtance to moderate his people, and direct his ſons; and if his officers and other miniſters would turn their eyes ſolely upon him, they might expect to ſee peaceful times, and be inſtruments to promote one another's felicity: Having thus ſaid he diſmiſſed the aſſembly. His words were approved of by ſeveral, and not ſo by others; for from the late contention, and the hope he had given his ſons, a great many expected with great eagerneſs a revolution in the kingdom.

CHAP. V.

How Herod, *in honour of* Ceſarea *being built, celebrates a Quinquennial Show. How he builds and adorns ſeveral other places, and the other magnificent Actions he performs.*

ABOUT this time *Ceſarea Auguſta*, which he began to build, was finiſhed in ten years time, in the thirty-ſecond year of his reign, and in the one hundred and ninety-ſecond olympiad. He preſently prepared himſelf to dedicate it with vaſt magnificence and extraordinary pomp. He inſtituted muſical and wreſtling games; beſide a great number of gladiators, wild beaſts, and race horſes, and other diverſions practiſed at *Rome*, or any where elſe, where provided by him. This grand ſolemnity he dedicated in honour of *Cæſar*, and ordered it to be quinquennial, or performed every fifth year. He provided all the things, and was at his own expence in the management of theſe ſports, to the intent his generous temper and extenſive liberality might appear in a fairer point of light. *Livia*, *Cæſar*'s wife, in order the magnificence of theſe ſports might receive a conſiderable addition, ſent a great many of the choiceſt and fineſt curioſities that could be found in *Italy*. The charges of every thing amounted to five hundred talents. The vaſt multitude that flocked to the city to ſee theſe games, and the ſeveral ambaſſadors ſent from different nations, under obligations to *Herod*, were entertained in houſes and at banquets prepared for them on purpoſe. All the day they ſat ſpectators of the ſports, and the night was crowned with extreme mirth and rejoycings; ſo that *Herod*'s prodigious generoſity procured him an univerſal eſteem: For in every entertainment and public diverſion, which he made, he endeavoured ſtill to make the laſt more magnificent than the firſt. It is reported that *Cæſar* himſelf, and *Agrippa*, were often heard to ſay, that *Herod*'s kingdom was too ſmall for a perſon of ſo noble and generous a ſpirit; and that ſuch a liberal king ought to reign over all *Syria* and *Ægypt*.

After the celebration of theſe games were over, and a period was put to the magnificent rejoicings, he erected another city, in the plain, called *Capharſaba*, chuſing a ſpot of ground to that end well ſupplied with water, full of woods, and ſurrounded with a pleaſant river, and a beautiful grove, adorned with a vaſt variety of ſtately trees. He called it, after his father *Antipater*'s name, *Antipatris*. He built another above *Jericho*, a place as well of great defence, as pleaſantneſs to live in: this he named after his mother *Cypron*. Beſides this he erected a beautiful tower that in height equalled *Pharias*, as a monument of the fraternal affection he bore his brother *Phaſael*; this he called *Phaſaela*, making it ſubſervient to two ends; one for the ſecurity of the city in which it was built; and the other to perpetuate his brother *Phaſael*'s memory. And moreover, he built a city of the ſame name in the valley of *Jericho* towards the north. Hence all the land lying near this place, which before was waſte and barren, by the induſtry and care of the inhabitants ſent to dwell here, became very fruitful, this he named *Phaſaelides*.

But to recount the other liberalities he conferred on ſeveral cities, as well as in *Syria* as in *Greece*, nay, almoſt in every place where he happened to go, would be needleſs and ſuperfluous. For he ſeems to have expended a prodigious ſum of money in the ſeveral extraordinary donations he gave, the public buildings he erected, and the works that were not finiſhed on account of the money being ſpent which had been provided for carrying them on. The moſt ſumptuous and richeſt of his liberalities, was the *Pithian* temple, which in favour of the *Rhodians* he built for them at his own charge; and the fitting out of their ſhips, in the expence of which he laid out ſeveral thouſands. He made ſeveral additions to the city of the *Nycapolitans*, founded at *Actium* by *Cæſar*, and contributed very much towards the building of ſeveral other places. He alſo, in favour of the *Antiochians* inhabiting the largeſt city in *Syria*, adorned the ſtreet, reaching from ſide to ſide, and cutting in the middle, the length of their town, with cloiſters on each ſide, and pav'd the open ſtreet with poliſhed ſtone, which proved of vaſt ornament and uſe to the inhabitants. Beſide, he gave a whole year's produce of his revenues towards reviving the magnificence of the *Olympic* games, very much laid aſide for want of money to perform them; ſo that by his means a greater number of ſacrifices were offered, and the ſports celebrated with more extraordinary magnificence there than before. This act of liberality procured him the title of perpetual *Agonotheta*, or maſter of the *Olympic* games.

Some perſons in this place may perhaps wonder at the inconſtancy of *Herod's* temper; for if we look a little into his acts of generoſity and liberality which he ſhewed, without diſtinction, almoſt to every one, there is no man, but will, upon the leaſt reflection, allow him to be naturally one of the moſt generous princes in the world. But if, to ballance this qualification, we ſet before our eyes the extraordinary cruelties and puniſhments which he inflicted on his ſubjects, and ſome of them, nearly allied to him, and take upon us to reflect a little on his barbarity, and inexorable temper, we muſt confeſs he was entirely ſavage, cruel to the laſt degree, and void of all true notions of humanity and civility. This different conduct has made a great many imagine his mind was very much unſettled and inconſtant. But I am not of their opinion, being thoroughly perſuaded that both his generous and cruel behaviour were the effects of one and the ſame cauſe. As he was one of the moſt ambitious perſons living, and honour his only aim, by wholly giving himſelf up to this turbulent affection, his deſigns of appearing with the greateſt magnificence were puſhed on, as he hoped to purchaſe preſent fame by it, or leave an immortal name behind him for ſuch actions. This was the reaſon of his being more profuſe in his expences than his circumſtances would ſometimes permit, and the cauſe that drove him to ſuch rigid and unjuſt methods with his ſubjects; for his extraordinary gifts to ſome, obliged him to extort money, for that end, by ways not the moſt juſtifiable, from others; and though he was conſcious to himſelf of the hatred he ſhould incur by the injuries they ſuffered by him, yet he found it no eaſy matter to reſtrain the natural inclination of his temper, or to appeaſe the diſſentions and murmurings he had occaſioned, without leſſening the number of his taxes. This made him endeavour to quell their commotions by his ſuperior power, which he conſtantly turned to his own advantage, and made them an handle on every pretence, to extort money from them, and increaſe his own fortune. As to his domeſtics, if any among them did not give ſigns of the moſt ſubmiſſive obedience, and in his words and actions did not ſhew himſelf implicitly ſubject to his authority, or if any perſon in his kingdom was but ſuſpected of forming any deſign which ſeemed in the leaſt to derogate from his power, *Herod* would certainly, from his unbridled temper and diſpoſition, proſecute both his relations and friends with an undiſtinguiſhed fury, as if they had been his real enemies, and puniſh them in a manner that declared he was reſolved to be the only perſon who ſhould be obey'd. To give any further proofs of his extravagant temper, I need only add the honours he ſtrove to confer upon *Cæſar* and *Agrippa*, and others of his friends; the very ſame honours he conferred upon his ſuperiors, he always expected from his inferiors; and what he judged an extraordinary act in his own opinion, was a plain ſign he deſired others to think ſo. The nation of the *Jews* by their laws had ſufficient reaſon to abhor all his proceedings, having always ſhewn a more tender regard to the ſtrict rules of equity and juſtice than to glory; and this was the ground of the diſcontent between him and them; and their behaviour was by ſo much the more diſpleaſing, as he could never bring himſelf into a capacity of erecting ſtatues, temples, and ſuch like buildings, to ſhew the extent of his ambition; and this ſeems to me the beſt reaſon, and grounded on the ſureſt foundation, why he uſed his familiars and friends with ſuch rigor and cruelty, and beſtowed his favours and benefits on ſtrangers and foreigners.

CHAP. VI.

How an Embaſſy is ſent by the Jews *of* Cyrene *and* Aſia *to* Cæſar, *to juſtify their Accuſations againſt the* Greeks. *Of the Copies of the Letters* Cæſar *and* Agrippa *wrote to the Cities in their Behalf.*

IN the mean while the *Jews* of *Lybia*, *Cyrene*, and *Aſia*, received great diſturbance from thoſe cities, which, under their proceeding kings, had enjoyed the ſame priviledges with them, and were now injuriouſly treated by the *Greeks*; ſo that they were not only robbed of the money they had laid up for holy purpoſes, but were pillaged in their private effects. In proceſs of time their calamities grew to ſo great an height, that finding the *Greeks* ſtill perſiſting in their barbarities, and that no end was likely to be put to them, they ſent ambaſſadors to *Cæſar*, to make their complaints of the injuries they had ſuſtained, and yet continued to ſuffer. *Cæſar* heard and granted them their petition, and wrote about it to his provincials. We have here inſerted a copy of his decree, to remain a proof of the friendly alliance between the preceeding emperors and us, and the good-will they ſhew'd us.

The Decree of CÆSAR AUGUSTUS, *High-Prieſt*, and a *Tribune of Power*.

"Whereas the nation of the *Jews* hath not only at this time been found faithful and acceptable to the people of *Rome*, but ſeveral years before, and eſpecially under my uncle *Cæſar* the emperor, and in the time of *Hyrcanus*, their high-prieſt; I have been pleaſed, with the advice and concurrence of my councellors, and the people of Rome, to give permiſſion to the *Jews*, to have the ſame uſe and exerciſe of the laws and cuſtoms of their country, as they enjoyed under *Hyrcanus* their high-prieſt; that their benefactions remain untouched, and be tranſmitted to *Hieroſolyma* without any hindrance or injury, and given only to thoſe perſons ſubſtituted to receive them; that they be not compelled to appear before any judge on their ſabbaths, or on the days before their ſabbaths, from the ninth hour, upon the preparation day. And if any perſon ſhall be found guilty of ſtealing any of their books or ſacred money out of the ſabbatary cell, or any other cell appointed to keep them in, ſhall be deemed guilty of ſacriledge, and his effects confiſcated to the uſe of the *Roman* people. I command the decree they made in honour of me, for the affection I bear all mankind, and for the obligations they owe to *Caius Marcus Cenſorinus*, be repoſited in that famous place of *Aſia*, dedicated to me called *Ancyra*. But if any one ſhall preſume to diſobey the edict we have here made, he ſhall be exemplarily puniſhed. The inſcription is upon a column in the temple of *Cæſar*.

CÆSAR *to* NORBANUS FLACCUS, *ſends Greeting*.

"To the *Jews* living over all the world, who, from an antient inſtitution of theirs, have been accuſtomed to ſend their ſacred money to *Hieroſolyma*, be it lawful to continue the ſame without any let or impediment to be done by any one." Thus much *Cæſar*.

Agrippa, beſides, wrote in behalf of the *Jews*, to this effect:

AGRIPPA *to the* Magiſtrates, Senate, *and People of the* Epheſians.

"I will, that the cuſtody and care of the ſacred money, uſual ſent to *Hieroſolyma*, be in the ſole power and management of the *Jews* in *Aſia*; and if any perſon ſhall be found guilty of ſtealing the ſacred money of the *Jews*, and ſhall fly for refuge into any ſanctuary, I will, that ſuch perſon be drawn from thence, and ſurrender'd up to the *Jews*, to be puniſhed in the ſame manner as men convicted of ſacriledge are wont. Moreover, I have wrote to *Silanus* the prætor, to prohibit the *Jews* from defending any cauſe on their ſabbaths."

M. AGRIPPA *to the* Magiſtrates, Senate, and *People of the* Cyrenians.

"The *Jews* of *Cyrene*, in the behalf of whom *Auguſtus* hath already wrote to *Flavius* the prætor of *Lybia*, and the other procurators of that province, not to give them any moleſtation in ſending their money to *Hieroſolyma*, have now remonſtrated to me, and repreſented, that they meet with great diſturbance from certain baſe-minded perſons, and are prohibited, under colour of non-payment of tribute, which was never due from carrying ſuch their ſacred money. Wherefore, to remedy this complaint, I command that the *Jews* be reſtored to their antient right; and if any ſacred money of theirs, in any of your cities, happen to be taken from the perſons appointed to keep it, that you ſee it returned, and ample reparation made them."

Caius Norbanus Flaccus, Proconſul, *to the* Magiſtrates *of the* Sardians; *Greeting.*

‘ *Cæſar* hath wrote, commanding me, that the *Jews*, who, in obedience to the cuſtom of their country, have uſed to collect money for ſacred purpoſes, be in no wiſe hindered from ſending it to *Hieroſolyma.* Wherefore I have written to you, that *Cæſar*'s and my will may be made known to you, and obſerved.’

And in the ſame manner did *Julius Antonius*, the proconſul, write.

To the Magiſtrates, Senate, *and People of the* Epheſians; *Greeting.*

‘ The *Jews*, living in *Aſia* on the *Ides* of *February*, appeared before me at *Epheſus*, and repreſented that *Cæſar Auguſtus* and *Agrippa* had granted them liberty to live according to their own laws, and carry to *Hieroſolyma* the firſt-fruits, which every one of them, of his own accord, pays to the honour of God, and have importuned me to make a decree in favour of them, agreeable to what *Cæſar* and *Agrippa* have already granted them. I have therefore now wrote to acquaint you, that *Cæſar*'s and *Agrippa*'s pleaſure is, that the *Jews* be permitted to live after their own cuſtoms, and according to the laws of their country.’

Thus much I thought neceſſary to inſert, to ſhew the *Greeks*, into whoſe hands the account of the actions of our nation will principally fall, that the *Jews* always formerly were honoured, and never, by the commands of any magiſtrates, forbid to live conformably to their own way, and the laws of their country; but that depending on their authority, and guarded by their power, our nation hath preſerved their religion and the worſhip of God entire. I have taken the freedom to mention theſe particulars the oftner, to the intent I may baniſh out of the breaſts of thoſe, all hatred and ſeeds of diſcontent againſt us, and reconcile them to us. There is no nation, that I know of, entirely conformable, throughout the whole body of it, to the ſame model of government, but a viſible difference may be traced almoſt in every town. Equity and juſtice, however, is accommodated equally to the benefit of all, as well *Barbarians* as *Greeks*, and our ſyſtem of laws, which pays the ſtricteſt regard to it, makes us, provided we give a juſt obſervance to it, to be friends to all mankind. Upon this ground we expect the ſame from them, neither ought other people to think we differ from them, becauſe our inſtitutions vary from theirs; but the moſt equitable way would be to ſee whether or no they are founded on virtuous and honeſt principles. This is a circumſtance equally applicable to all, and of itſelf ſufficient to preſerve the lives of men. But I return now to reſume the thread of my hiſtory.

CHAP. VII.

How, after Herod*'s going down into the Sepulchre of* David, *a terrible Diſcord aroſe in his Family.*

HEROD, who as well before he was made king as afterwards, had made prodigious and vaſt entertainments, having been informed that *Hyrcanus*, his predeceſſor in his kingdom, had opened the ſepulchre of *David*, and taken from thence three thouſand talents of ſilver, and that a great deal more remained, ſufficient to maintain his wonted profuſion, had had of a long time thoughts of doing the ſame. With this view having one night opened the ſepulchre, he went in, attended only by ſome of his moſt truſty friends, taking great caution that the people in the city might hear nothing of his deſign. But as *Hyrcanus* had entered the ſepulchre before him, he could find no money, but a prodigious ſtore of golden ornaments, and valuable furniture; all which he took away. While he was buſied in narrowly ſearching the place, he had a mind to go farther in, even to the conditory, wherein the bodies of *David* and *Solomon* were laid. This piece of preſumption was puniſhed with the loſs of two of his attendants; for a flame of fire, as is ſaid, darting out of the ſacred repoſitory, conſumed the perſons who firſt entered. *Herod* in a great fright went out, and in order to appeaſe the wrath of the Deity, erected at the very mouth of the ſepulchre, a magnificent monument of white marble, at a great expence. *Nicholaus*, the hiſtorian, who flouriſhed at this time, takes notice of this tranſaction, but ſays not a word of the king's going down into the repoſitory of the dead bodies in the ſepulchre, as he knew the indecency of ſuch an action. In the other paſſages of his book he writes thus. For as he lived in his kingdom, and with him, he only committed to writing thoſe occurrences he judged would be well received and liked, touching ſolely upon thoſe tranſactions which redounded to his fame and glory: But for thoſe actions of his life, which were manifeſtly wicked and injurious, he gloſſed over with falſe colours, and endeavoured all he could to conceal ſuch ungrateful truths. Beſides, he covers over the murther of *Mariamne* and her children, which was cruelly perpetrated by the king, with a ſpecious pretence, and charges her with unchaſtity and immodeſt behaviour, and the ſons with rebellion and ſecret deſigns of conſpiring againſt the king. And ſo much of the whole body of his hiſtory, as relates to *Herod*, is remarkable, either for extolling his good actions too much, or a too ſervile endeavour to leſſen or conceal his wicked actions. But, as I have ſaid, he may eaſily ſtand excuſed with any one; for his main endeavour was, not to gratify others with the truth in the relation of his facts, but to to ſooth and humour the king. We, on the contrary, who boaſt of being nearly related to the *Aſſamonean* line, and for that reaſon allied to the prieſthood, eſteem it altogether unbecoming us to inſert in our works that cannot be depended upon, only to obtain the good opinion of a few. Upon this ground we have added or ſpoke nothing, that was tranſacted in times paſt, but what is indiſputably true, and free from the leaſt tincture of fable. Beſides, we have ſet before us a regard to the kings, who have ſucceeded to *Herod*, preſerving equally for truth, as them, a moſt ſolemn reſpect, tho' in this it may happen, that our honeſt and diſintereſted endeavours may be rewarded with hatred and ill-nature.

In the mean while *Herod*'s domeſtick affairs, after he had made his attempt upon the ſepulchre, grew every day worſe and worſe, either from the wrath of heaven falling upon that quarter where his greateſt misfortune was, which made the calamity ſeem irreparable, or from fortune's ſtriking a counter blow, at the very time his proſperity rolled in a flood upon him; ſo that it ſeemed as if the calamities he endured had fallen upon him for his impiety. In ſhort, a diſcord in his family aroſe, which very much reſembled a civil war. Mutual calumnies were handed about, and malicious ill language was daily thrown at one another. *Antipater* was perpetually ſtriving to invent ſomething againſt his brothers, and his malicious artifice and cunning was ſo ſecretly managed, that he took care others ſhould bear the burthen of accuſing them, and himſelf ſeem excuſed from it; by which ſtratagem he diſcovered a ſeeming kindneſs to them, the better to promote his own ſchemes. By this method he wrought ſo effectually upon his father, that *Antipater* was eſteemed the only perſon capable of being of any ſervice to him in his unlucky ſituation. Beſides, *Herod* recommended *Ptolomy*, the chancellor of his kingdom, to *Antipater*, and took the advice of his mother in all his important affairs. Every thing was tranſacted by theſe three, who were left at liberty to do juſt as they pleaſed, and puſh on the hatred of the king to what lengths they thought fit. This procedure gave *Mariamne*'s ſons daily more diſturbance than ever, and the reflection of their high birth extremely mortified them, neither could they ſuffer the leaſt part of their dignity and grandeur to be taken from them. As to the women, *Glaphyra*, daughter of *Archelaus*, and wife to *Alexander*, carried on a deluſive correſpondence with *Salome*, partly for the love ſhe bore her huſband, and partly for the hatred ſhe had to her daughter, for ſhe was married to *Ariſtobulus*, and *Glaphyra* could not endure ſhe ſhould be put upon a level with her.

Nor was this contention the only one. *Pheroras*, the king's brother, raiſed a great commotion; having ſuſpicions and cauſes of hatred againſt him in his boſom. He happened to fall in love with a woman ſlave in his family, and his paſſion, by degrees, grew to ſo violent an height, that abandoning himſelf over to the affection he bore the ſlave, he frankly rejected *Herod*'s daughter, who had been betrothed to him; this put *Herod* into a great uneaſineſs, who thought his honour ſtruck at, when he found his brother, whom he had loaded with his favours, and inveſted with ſo much power, as made him ſeem the partner with him of his kingdom, did not give him the proofs he wanted of his affection. In fine, he concluded himſelf very unhappy, and gave the young woman to *Phaſael*'s ſon, after he perceived the wavering temper of *Pheroras*. Shortly after this, ſuppoſing his brother's love was cooled, he expoſtulated with him about his firſt daughter, and required him to marry the ſecond, named *Cypros*. Upon this *Ptolomy* adviſed *Pheroras* to lay aſide his love thoughts, and ceaſe to diſhonour his brother; for he told him it was a ſcandal, by abandoning himſelf to a fooliſh and deſperate paſſion, to loſe his brother's friendſhip, give him cauſe of trouble, and raiſe his hatred againſt him. This repreſentation had the deſired effect upon *Pheroras*, who imagining his intereſt was concerned, and though he had been accuſed, as he had yet liberty left him to extricate himſelf, he turned off the ſlave, by whom he had had already a ſon, and gave the king his promiſe to marry his ſecond daughter within thirty days, and ſwore never more to have any communication with the woman after he had put her away from him. Notwithſtanding, the thirty days elapſed, and nothing was performed according to his agreement, his love for the ſlave quite winning him over to her, ſo that he could not part with her. It was plain enough now to obſerve in what ſituation of temper *Herod* was, the words he conſtantly let drop about the perfidy of his brother, manifeſtly declared his anger and vexation; this gave ſeveral an opportunity to make a breach between *Pheroras* and the king. And in effect, the diſſention in *Herod*'s family was arriv'd to ſuch an height that not a day, nay, not an hour, paſt in quiet, but ſome new and freſh ſlanders were broached by his relations and chief friends againſt each other; for *Salome*, who had always ſhewn herſelf a profeſt enemy to *Mariamne*'s ſons, taking advantage from theſe troubles, would not ſuffer her daughter, who was the wife of *Ariſtobulus*, one of them, to behave towards her huſband, as decency and her marriage required; perſuading her to acquaint her with the intimate and ſecret conferences that paſſed between them, and when ſhe found any thing (as was very likely) that gave her any uneaſineſs ſhe conſtantly alarmed her with the ſuſpicion ſhe ought to entertain. By this proceeding, ſhe came to know all their ſecrets, and by degrees quite alienated her daughter's affections from her huſband. And to humour her mother, ſhe told her, that ſeveral times when they were by themſelves, they mentioned *Mariamne*, with deteſtation of their father's crime, and vowed, if ever they came to enjoy the ſupreme authority, to make the ſons, which he had by his other wives, town ſcribes (a buſineſs very ſuitable for them as they were bent upon learning) but threaten'd the daughters, if they ever ſaw them apparelled in any of their mother's things, to make them, inſtead of their fine dreſs and ornaments, wear ſackcloth, and ſhut them up where they ſhould not even ſee the light. *Salome* immediately carried theſe tidings to *Herod*, who, with great emotions of concern, heard them; however, he endeavoured to compoſe matters as well as he could, notwithſtanding he was ſo violently agitated by his ſuſpicions, that he grew every day more jealous, and believed every body, againſt every body. And though he reprimanded his ſons, and by the innocency they proved of themſelves, he ſeemed to be ſomewhat appeaſed, and made eaſy; yet it was not long afterwards before he was ten times worſe than ever.

For *Pheroras* coming to *Alexander*, who, as we have obſerved above, had married *Glaphyra*, the daughter of *Archelaus*, told him, *Salome* had acquainted him, that *Herod* was deſperately in love with *Glaphyra*, and his paſſion was ſo violent, as not eaſily to be ſatisfied. *Alexander* having heard this news, was puſhed on by the ardour of his youth, and burned with jealouſy; the kindneſs *Herod* ſhewed the young lady, with no other deſign than to honour her, he put a wrong conſtruction on, and always made the ſtory he had heard of, a ground of greater ſuſpicion. At length, made impatient by the grief he conceived at the relation, he went to his father, and unable to ſtifle his tears, he told him the ſubſtance of *Pheroras*'s words. *Herod* was now actuated with greater rage, and unable to bear the ſcandal of ſo falſe an accuſation, ſeemed extremely concerned, and often lamented the malice of his family, upbraiding them with the extraordinary favours he had conferred upon them, and the ungrateful return they made him; and ſhortly after he called to him *Pheroras*, and taſking him with his diſhonourable treatment. ‘O, moſt ungrateful man, said he, can you thus baſely and villainouſly think to eſcape, when you have entertained and ſpoken ſuch ungenerous ſentiments of me? Do you ſuppoſe me ignorant of your intentions, and the conferences and endeavours you make to influence my ſon to my ruin, or to poiſon me? Who would not, but he who has the fear of God before his eyes, revenge himſelf upon his father for my late ſuſpicions? Which of the two, your calumny, or your ſword, did you intend ſhould put an end to me? Say, what would you deſire more, than the hatred you have expreſſed to him and his brother, through a falſe pretence of friendſhip, only to abuſe and traduce me, or what could you have done more openly againſt me, than the liberty you have given your reproachful and ſcandalous tongue? Begone, ungrateful man, to your benefactor and brother, and may the remainder of your days be a continued ſcene of conſcientious remorſe for your paſt crimes; for I am reſolved never to deſiſt till my kindneſs and love hath made amends to my ſons, on whom I will refrain the unjuſt method of a rigorous puniſhment, and endeavour to win them over by favours they do not deſerve.’

Thus much the king: *Pheroras* finding he was taken in his own toils, ſaid it was an invention of *Salome*, and from her he had received intelligence of it. When *Salome* appeared and heard the charge againſt her, ſhe inſiſted, by bringing in a great many plauſible arguments to juſtify her conduct, that ſhe was innocent in the affair, and every one, ſhe ſaid, were ready on all opportunities and occaſions to make her appear odious to the king, and ſeek her death; and that the only reaſon for ſuch ungenerous uſage was the extreme love ſhe bore him, and the continual care ſhe expreſſed for his ſafety; that her enemies were now more incenſed than ever againſt her, and the only thing ſhe had adviſed her brother, was to put away his wife and marry the king's daughter, and therefore it was no wonder, he was ſo enraged at her. Her arguing thus, and at every pauſe ſhe made, tearing her hair, and beating her boſom, put her words, in a manner, out of all doubt; but the biaſs of her temper proved ſhe had made uſe of a refined piece of flattery to defend and clear herſelf. *Pheroras*, all the time, was in the utmoſt confuſion, having nothing in the world to add in his juſtification, as he had made *Salome* the author of his tale, and there was no hope of his being believed, ſhould he throw the accuſation upon any body elſe; this conſideration, and the difference in their remonſtrances, was a moſt ſenſible affliction to him. In fine, the king, with a breaſt full of hatred to his brother and ſiſter's procedure, diſmiſſed them; after which he commended his ſon who had ſhewn ſo much moderation, and acquainted him with their management, and ordered him, tho' late, to attend the recovery of his body. This difference being determined, *Salome* had the cruel mortification to find herſelf reported the original author of broaching the late calumny; all the king's wives could not endure her, as they knew too well the unaccountable temper ſhe was of, always variable, ſometimes a friend, and at other times a foe, according as opportunity and intereſt biaſſed her; upon this ground ſomething or other was perpetually told *Herod* of her, and an accident happened which favoured her enemies with greater preſumption to ſeek her ruin.

At this time the king of *Arabia*'s name was *Obadas*, a prince of great indolence and inaction; and the perſon who had the chief adminiſtration under him, was called *Syllæus*, a man but in his middle age, exceeding handſome, and of great penetration. *Syllæus* on a time, happening to have ſome buſineſs with *Herod*, came to negotiate it with him, and during ſupper caſting his eyes upon *Salome*, he could not help gazing upon her with ſome emotion; and finding ſhe was a widow, reſolved to have ſome diſcourſe with her. *Salome*, who was not upon the uſual good terms with her brother, liking very well of *Syllæus*, agreed to marry him, and a few days after, coming to ſup together again, they diſcovered great proofs of ſome agreement; *Herod*'s wives preſently alarmed his ears with the news of it, and ſpared not to ſhew the great diſhonour he ſuffered by it. *Herod* upon this made enquiry into the matter, and bid his brother *Pheroras* make obſervation during ſupper time, how they behaved to each other; *Pheroras* ſaid, that it was plain by their looks and geſtures, they were both agreeing to it. Some time after, the ſuſpected *Arabian* returned, and two or three months after, came back to *Herod,* to negotiate his marriage with him, and make an open demand of *Salome,* his nuptials with whom, he knew, would be of vaſt advantage to him, as he would obtain by it a greater authority over the *Arabian* kingdom, which conſidering his preſent extenſive power, was then his own, but this intermarriage would effectually ſecure it to him. *Herod,* having been asked the queſtion, acquainted his ſiſter with it, and asked her if ſhe was conſenting to the match; to which ſhe made a ready anſwer, and ſaid, ſhe was. *Syllæus,* upon this, being demanded to conform to the *Jewiſh* cuſtoms, which would take away all obſtacles to his nuptials, otherwiſe he could entertain no hopes of ſucceeding, anſwer d, he could not admit of ſuch a thing, which if he did, the *Arabians* would ſtone him to death, and ſo departed. *Pheroras* from hence took occaſion to accuſe *Salome* of immodeſty, but the women were far more incenſed againſt her, objecting ſhe had had too cloſe a familiarity with the *Arabian.* *Salome,* enraged at theſe proceedings, demanding back her daughter ſhe had by *Coſtobarus,* and whom the king had betrothed to his brother *Pheroras,* who had not yet married her, being, as I have obſerv'd above, entirely captivated with the love of another woman, was repulſed from her aim, *Herod* telling her, *Pheroras* ſhould have her. However, *Pheroras* ſoon brought him to alter his opinion, by telling him, how unlikely it was he ſhould love one, whoſe father had been killed; and the prudent part he would act in chuſing for his nephew, the ſon of him, who was to ſucceed to the *Tretrarchate* of his kingdom. *Herod,* by this artifice, was gain'd over to his opinion, and frankly forgave him what he had acted againſt him, ſometime before. In fine, the nuptial contract was changed, and the young lady married to the ſon of *Pheroras,* who received from the king with her a portion of an hundred talents.

CHAP. VIII.

Herod *throws* Alexander *into Priſon, who is ſhortly after, by the Mediation of* Archelaus, *King of* Cappadocia, *reconciled to his Father.*

NOtwithſtanding theſe ſeeming refreſhments, *Herod*'s domeſtic troubles were ſo far from enjoying a ſtate of tranquility, that they every day grew worſe and worſe; for there fell out an accident, occaſioned by no good beginning, which was attended with very unhappy conſequences. The king had certain eunuchs about him, men who, for their exceeding handſomeneſs, were in great intereſt with him; one was his cup-bearer; another his butler; and the third, groom of his bedchamber, who, beſide this employment, had the chief adminiſtration of the kingdom in his hands. Certain perſons accuſed *Alexander* to his father of corrupting with money theſe three eunuchs. Upon asking them, if they had any communication or familiarity with *Alexander*, they made an ingenuous confeſſion they had, but were utter ſtrangers to any other indirect practice againſt the king; but being put to the rack, and cruelly uſed by ſome officers, who had no other deſign than to curry *Antipater*'s favour, they were forced, through the daily torments to which they were expoſed, to confeſs, that *Alexander* was incenſed againſt his father, and harboured within his breaſt a rooted hatred to his proceedings; that he adviſed them to abdicate *Herod*, as being unfit to govern, and who had endeavoured to hide the real marks of his old age, by blackening his hair, and uſing every other method to conceal his defects; that if they would eſpouſe his intereſts, he would, as ſoon as he came into poſſeſſion of the kingdom, which could devolve on no perſon elſe, provided even his father was againſt his pretenſions, make them ſenſible of hir favour, and give them ſome of the firſt poſts in the government; that he was in a fair way of obtaining the kingdom, both on account of his deſcent, and the conſiderable acquiſitions and number of friends he had, having a great number of officers, and other friends, men of no ſmall conſequence, to eſpouſe his pretenſions, and ready with their arms and money to ſtand by him.

Herod hearing this, boiled with choler and indignation; he was not able to bear the affront couched in theſe words, and all his ſuſpicions preſented ſome dangerous thing to his eyes. He was by ſo much the more inflamed, as he apprehended the burſting out of ſome rebellion, which he was not in a condition at that conjuncture to ward againſt; this made him give evident ſigns of the precaution he deſigned to uſe; and to that end, ſent perſons up and down to watch the proceedings of thoſe he had any ſuſpicions of, nay, his jealouſy began to arrive to that height, as to fear every body he converſed with, and even innocent perſons were equally involved in the ſame miſerable ſituation as thoſe who were guilty. In fine, there was no meaſure of his ſuſpicious temper; for the oftner any perſon appeared before him, the greater were his apprehenſions of him, as if they carried his certain deſtruction about them: On the other hand, it was ſufficient only to name the perſon who withdrew from him, or came not into his preſence; for at ſuch times he was induced, through a view to his own ſecurity, conſtantly to put them to death. His domeſtics, deſpairing of their own ſafety, were reduced to the extremity of inveighing one againſt another, every one concluding his own preſervation depended upon the dawnfal of his rival; beſide, if any one gave any ſigns of real oppreſſion, he was ſure to incur the hatred of the reſt, and deemed worthy of puniſhment for what he had done, and this only, becauſe he had foreſtalled them. By this method of violent procedure, they often brought petty differences into queſtion, and puniſhed one another for them by turns, laying perpetual ſnares and toils for one another, into which, it was often found, that the perſons who ſpread them, were the firſt apprehended in them. The king, in time, had a ſtrong remorſe upon him, for putting to death ſo many perſons without due conviction, but the greateſt of all his failings was, the little concern he ſhewed in bewaring from ſuch miſtakes for the future, and the rigour he expreſſed in puniſhing the very accuſers themſelves.

Theſe were the diſtractions in *Herod*'s court. He alſo forbad ſeveral of his friends, under no pretence whatever of their employments or duty, from entering his palace; this edict was occaſioned by the awe he had of their authority, which put a check upon his crimes. Among the number he baniſhed his court were, *Andromachus* and *Gemellus*, friends of his of a long ſtanding, and to whoſe good government of his affairs, legations, and advice, he was conſiderably indebted; beſide, theſe perſons had been preceptors to his ſons, and had, without diſpute, managed the principal places of authority in his kingdom; the only reaſon of their expulſion being for the former's ſons communication with *Alexander*, and the latter's innocent friendſhip for him, having been preſent with him during the proſecution of his ſtudies at *Rome*. *Herod* would have willingly inflicted a heavier puniſhment upon them than their baniſhment; but not to ſeem too rigorous to men of ſuch diſtinction, he ſatisfied himſelf with depriving them of their honours, and the power of being any obſtacle to his own wicked meaſures.

Antipater was the ſole author of all theſe proceedings, who, perceiving to what lengths his father's frantic behaviour had puſhed him, and having himſelf been a long time the hinge of *Herod*'s advice, excited him to what he did very ſtrenuouſly, imagining he ſhould be in a better capacity to accompliſh his deſigns, after he had taken out of the way thoſe perſons who obſtructed his aims. After the baniſhment of *Andromachus* and *Gemellus*, there was no poſſibility of getting a word with the king; upon which he apprehended all the partizans of *Alexander*, and cruelly racked them to extort ſome confeſſion or other of their attempts againſt him; if they made no confeſſion, they were ſuffer'd to die, and the king conſtantly appeared by ſo much the more exaſperated, as he could not obtain any thing from them that anſwered to his ſuſpicions. The malice of *Antipater* was carried to ſuch an extreme, that thoſe perſons who could actually prove themſelves innocent, were, by his furious proceedings, deemed guilty, and abettors and partizans of *Alexander*; upon which he inſtigated the king to take other meaſures with them, ſo as to accuſe them of ſecretly conſpiring againſt him; among the number of perſons who ſuffered by theſe violent ſteps, there was one, who confeſſed, that he knew *Alexander* was wont to ſay, upon being praiſed for his extraordinary tallneſs, great ſkill in ſhooting, and other ſuch qualifications, that thoſe endowments nature had beſtowed upon him, were more beautiful than good,. becauſe they gave diſcontent to his father; and that when he uſually walked with him, he was accuſtomed to ſtoop, that he might not ſeem taller, and in his paſtime of hunting with him, hath induſtriouſly let fly a falſe arrow, as he knew his father's ambitious deſire of being reputed the better markſman, ſo as not to admit that others ſhould commend him. The man being forced to this confeſſion by his torments, and aſked ſeveral queſtions more, after ſome reſpite given his pains, proceeded, and ſaid, that *Alexander* and his brother had entered into a deſign of killing him as they hunted with him, and afterwards to fly to *Rome*, and their petition for the kingdom; beſides, theſe things which made againſt *Alexander*, certain letters of his to his brother, were found, in which he made heavy complaints about the injuſtice of *Antipater*'s poſſeſſing part of the country, which brought to his own ſhare two hundred talents. Theſe circumſtances convinced *Herod* of the certainty of his ſuſpicions againſt *Alexander*; upon which he order'd him to be apprehended and thrown into priſon. But it was not long before he began to ſhew himſelf ſomething abated in his temper, partly for the ſmall belief he gave to what he had heard, and partly on a mature conſideration; for the little likelihood there was of their attempting or conſpiring any thing ſecretly againſt his life: On the other hand, he could not perceive any thing in his ſon's conduct, but what ought to be attributed to ſallies and heats of youth; and at laſt concluded with himſelf, it was impoſſible to be believed, that a ſon ſhould put his father to death, and afterwards go openly to *Rome*: This reflection made him deſirous of having ſome further proof againſt his ſon's diſaffection, and he was uneaſy within himſelf, leaſt he ſhould be taxed with too much raſhneſs in impriſoning his ſon. With this view he tormented the principal of *Alexander*'s adherents with ſuch cruel tortures, that they died underneath their ſufferings, but he was not able to extort any thing from them which he expected. While he was thus, as it were, wholly taken up with theſe barbarous and inhuman ſteps, and his palace reigned with the utmoſt terror and confuſion, a youth, upon the firſt torment, declared, that *Alexander* had wrote ſeveral letters to *Rome*, to his friends there, deſiring them to procure *Cæſar*'s leave for him to come there, having a matter of importance to communicate to him, which was, that his father had made an alliance with *Mithridates*, king of *Parthia*, in prejudice to the *Romans*, concluding that *Alexander* had poiſon prepared for *Herod* in *Aſcalon*.

Herod was induced to believe this confeſſion, and his free aſſent to the things he ſuſpected of himſelf, which he always made greater than they were, was ſome conſolation to him, under his apprehenſive ſituation. However there was no poiſon to be found, tho' diligent ſearch was made after it, nor did *Alexander* deny the charge of preparing it, purpoſely deſigning thereby to augment his father's uneaſineſs; he took a more effectual ſtep than ever for this purpoſe, by endeavouring to make him ſuſpect him of worſe attempts, with a view to let him ſee his own weakneſs in giving ſuch room to his ſuſpicions. And induſtriouſly laying his ſchemes, if he ſhould happen to be ſuſpected, ſo artfully deep, that the whole kingdom ſhould be made ſenſible of their effects. He ſent his father four letters, in which he told him, 'He had no occaſion to uſe any torments, or proceed any farther in his reſentments upon his account, ſince he was guilty of conſpiring againſt him, and had engag'd *Pheroras*, and others of his moſt truſty friends, to join with him; and that *Salome* had come to him in the night time, and endeavoured forcibly to lay with him; that all their joint practices were centred in one thing, which was to take him out of the way, and deliver themſelves from their fears and apprehenſions at once.' Among the reſt *Ptolomy* and *Sapinius*, the king's eſpecial friends, were included in the accuſation. But why ſhould I dwell any longer? From this moment the moſt dreadful ſcene of fury and rage was exhibited; the moſt truſty friends to one another, being now ſet at the greateſt enmity, when all liberty of either defending themſelves, or accuſing others, was quite denied them; but all, without diſtinction, without any formal proceſs or conviction, were ſentenced to die. Some were clapt in chains, others put to death; and greater numbers were in daily expectation of ſuffering either the one or the other of them; ſo that nothing but a vaſt lamentation, and concern for the loſs of their former felicity, filled *Herod*'s palace. Hence proceeded all the confuſion which afflicted the life of *Herod*, as he was perpetually in an agitated temper, liable continually to ſuſpect every body, and tormenting himſelf with ſome imaginary and future calamity. He had ſuch fears upon him, that he many times ſuggeſted to himſelf, he was beſet by his ſon, or ſaw him ſtanding before him with his drawn ſword in his hand. This opinion working upon his ſpirits more and more, he ſeemed quite frantic and bereaved of his ſenſes. In this ſituation was *Herod*.

As ſoon as *Archelaus*, king of *Cappadocia*, came to hear of this melancholy condition of *Herod*, he could not help condoling his daughter and ſon-in-law, and the misfortunes of his friend, who was miſerably harraſſed with ſo perplexing a train of troubles about him; animated with compaſſion, he took a journey to *Hieroſolyma*, on purpoſe to ſee if he could mediate a reconciliation, and compoſe the differences. But finding, as he had been acquainted, the king in his wonted fits, he ſaw he had reſolved upon a bad conjuncture, unfit either to admoniſh, or ſet before him his unaccountable raſhneſs; he ſuppoſed the mallady of his mind would but vex him the more, and the more pains he took to convince him of his errors, the greater his indignation would be. This conſideration made him reſolve upon other meaſures, which he thought more effectual to bring about the good end he intended; theſe were, to reprimand and convince the young prince, his ſon-in-law, that *Herod* was a man of honour, and far from doing a raſh thing, concluding, that he would diſſolve the marriage between his daughter and *Alexander*, if ſhe preſumed to entertain in her breaſt any thing without acquainting *Herod* with it. When *Herod* found that *Archelaus*, whom he imagined had ſome ſiniſter deſigns againſt him, was in his intereſt, and had expreſſed himſelf ſo vigorouſly in his behalf, he began to be ſomewhat mollified; and, ſuppoſing what he had done, was the effect of pure juſtice, he ſhewed himſelf inclined to put on the air of a pacified father: From this moment began a very melancholy ſcene of affliction in him; if any one offered to clear *Alexander* of the allegations againſt him, there war nothing but ſorrow in his face; or if *Archelaus* made any defence for *Herod*, there was alſo nothing but tears and lamentations in his aſpect. In fine, he was conſummately miſerable, till he was by compaſſion forced to deſire *Archelaus* not to diſſolve the marriage, or to continue his wrath for the miſcarriages of his ſon. *Archelaus* finding *Herod*, by his proceedings, ſomething more temperate, threw all the accuſations that had been forged, upon his friends, ſaying, they had ſeduced *Alexander*, who was too young, to underſtand any ſuch deſigns. And he alſo waſhed off a great deal of the ſuſpicion *Herod* had of his brother *Pheroras*. Upon a violent animoſity breaking out between them, which extreamly nettled the ſoul of *Herod*, *Pheroras* had no man of power, whom he could make his mediator with the king; but finding *Archelaus* had very great influence over him, he went in a very ſuppliant manner, and deſired he would in pity's ſake aſſiſt him in his deſperate condition; *Archelaus* was eaſily induced to admit his requeſt, but told him the impoſſibility of allaying ſpeedily the king's anger; and that he had better go in perſon himſelf, crave his pardon, and own himſelf the author of all the diſturbance, which would be a means of eſtabliſhing himſelf again in his friendſhip, and he would not be far off to aſſiſt, if need required. This peace became by ſo much the more reaſonable, as it entirely wrought a reconciliation between them, *Alexander* at the ſame time procuring an oblivion of his crimes, and *Pheroras* reinſtating himſelf in his former friendſhip. After this, *Archelaus* retired into *Cappadocia*, from whom *Herod*, in his then circumſtances, received the moſt conſiderable advantage; no man was more acceptable than *Archelaus*, and to teſtify his kind eſteem for him, he loaded him at his departure with ſeveral magnificent preſents, and placed him in the number of his beſt friends. It was previouſly agreed by them to go to *Rome*, becauſe *Herod* had wrote to *Cæſar* for that very purpoſe, and they travelled together as far as *Antioch*, where by the mediation of *Herod*, the diſpute between *Archelaus* and *Titus*, the preſident of *Syria*, was determined; and after this he returned into *Judea*.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Revolt of the Trachonites. *How* Syllæus *accuſes* Herod *before* Cæſar, *who hearing of* Cæſar's *Anger againſt him, decreed to ſend* Nicholaus *to* Rome.

AFTER he had taken his journey, and returned from thence, a war was begun againſt the *Arabians*, on the following pretence: The inhabitants of *Trachon*, by *Cæſar*'s taking that part of their country from *Zenodorus*, and adding to it *Herod*'s dominions, were no longer in any condition to carry on their robberies, but were forced to till their land, and preſerve themſelves in a peaceful way of life, a practice they little admired; beſide, the land they had, was fit altogether for agriculture, and *Herod*, from the beginning of his reign, had put ſuch a reſtraint upon them, that the neighbouring people were maintained in an uninterrupted calm: This occurrence procured *Herod* a great deal of honour and reſpect. Upon his going to *Rome* to accuſe his ſon *Alexander* before *Cæſar*, and puſh on the intereſts of *Antipater*, theſe *Trachonites* reported that *Herod* was dead, accordingly revolted from their obedience, and began to renew their uſual hoſtilities and depredations upon the frontiers: *Herod*'s officers, though he was abſent, put a ſtop to their inroads. About forty chiefs were at the head of theſe robbers, who, terrified at the uſage of thoſe of their body taken priſoners, withdrew out of their country, and went into *Arabia*, where *Syllæus*, after his miſcarriage in his ſuit after *Salome*, received, and gave them a fortified place to inhabit in; from this *Azylum* they began their incurſions not only over *Judea*, but penetrated into the bowels of *Cœlo-Syria*, where *Syllæus* not only received, but afforded them a place of retreat and ſafeguard. *Herod*, returning from *Rome*, found a great many diſturbances committed by them, but was not in a condition to get their perſons into his power, as the *Arabians* but too ſtrenuouſly protected them; this was a cruel mortification to him; upon which he went to *Trachon*, and ſeized upon their relations; this procedure, which they looked upon as a violent affront, made them ſo much the more enraged, as they had a peculiar law among themſelves, which ordered an exemplary, nay, any manner of revenge upon their murtherers; ſo that, let the event be what it would, they continued their uſual depredations, pillaging and robbing every place belonging to *Herod*; who having remonſtrated the wrongs ſuſtained to *Saturninus* and *Volumnius*, two of *Cæſar*'s generals, inſiſted upon the robbers being called to an account for them. This but the more confirmed them in their practices, and their numbers encreaſing, they began to ravage and ſpoil every thing they met with, laying waſte all the towns and villages in *Herod*'s dominions, and putting to death thoſe they ſeized upon; ſo that the incurſions they made, ſeemed rather to reſemble civil encounters and broils; for their body conſiſted now of a thouſand men. *Herod*'s vexation was not a little at theſe proceedings; he demanded the robbers to be given up, and the payment of ſixty talents, lent *Obadas* by the hands of *Syllæus*, the day of ſatisfaction being now elapſed: But *Syllæus*, who had the entire aſcendant over *Obadas*, and governed every thing in an arbitrary manner, denied there were ſuch robbers in *Arabia*, and deferred paying the money: Upon this ground, the affair was carried and debated before *Saturninus* and *Volumnius*, who then preſided over *Syria*. The matter was at laſt determined, that the money ſhould be paid in thirty days, and a mutual exchange made of the men then priſoners in either kingdom. Upon the concluſion, it was found *Herod* had not a ſingle *Arabian* in his dominions, either for any depredations, or any other cauſe whatever; but the *Arabians*, on the contrary, to protect the robbers.

In the mean while, the day for performance of the award being elapſed, *Syllæus*, before he had executed any of the conditions on his ſide, went to *Rome*. *Herod*, on the contrary, inſiſted upon payment of the money, and the giving up of the robbers in the protection of the *Arabians*, *Saturninus* and *Volumnius* conſenting to his taking up arms againſt thoſe who refuſed it. Upon this aſſurance, taking the army he had in readineſs, he marched into *Arabia*, gaining in three days time as much ground as is commonly performed in ſeven; whom coming up to the caſtle, where the robbers were ſhut up, he took every man priſoner at the firſt aſſault, and the caſtle itſelf called *Repta*, which he levelled with the ground, but committed no further hoſtility: Sometime after, a party of *Arabians*, commanded by *Nacebus*, coming up to the aſſiſtance of the robbers, an encounter began, in which very few of *Herod*'s men were loſt, but twenty five *Arabians*, with *Nacebus* their general, was ſlain upon the ſpot, all the reſt running away. After *Herod* had puniſhed theſe few, he led three thouſand *Idumæans* againſt *Trachonitis*, and diſpatched circular letters to all the governors of *Phœnicia*, acquainting them, he had acted nothing but what was very expedient againſt a band of contumacious men; and the governors having made a ſtrict enquiry into the contents, found what he had wrote to be true.

The news of theſe proceedings were preſently hurried away to *Syllæus* at *Rome*, by certain men, who, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, very much exaggerated every article. *Syllæus* having

ving brought about his ſchemes, ſo as to be known to *Cæſar*, and being then by chance about the palace, as ſoon as he had heard theſe news, put on a black garment, and went to tell *Cæſar*, that *Arabia* was harraſſed by a cruel war, and the whole army of the king his maſter, overthrown by *Herod*, who had ravaged his dominions; he concluded with tears in his eyes, that twenty five hundred of the principal *Arabians* were ſlain, among whom was *Nacebus* their general, his friend and kinſman; and that *Herod* had taken away all the wealth depoſited at *Repta*, *Obadas* his maſter having been ſet aſide as incapable of undertaking the war, becauſe neither he himſelf, nor an army compoſed of *Arabians*, was preſent to defend them. *Syllæus* having ſpoke thus, in order to make *Cæſar* more *Herod*'s enemy, reſumed and ſaid, he had not undertaken his journey to *Rome*, if he had not thought *Cæſar* would uſe his endeavours to redreſs all grievances and eſtabliſh peace; and if he himſelf had been but preſent at home, *Herod* would not have had ſo much cauſe to have boaſted his ſucceſs; this remonſtrance nettling *Cæſar*, he asked *Herod*'s and his own friends, who were come out of *Syria*, and then preſent, this one queſtion, Whether or no *Herod* had led an army into *Arabia?* They were under an inſurmountable circumſtance to confeſs thus much; upon which *Cæſar* enraged at the cauſe of *Herod*'s diſobedience, wrote to him, the chief point of his letter being to this effect: *That he had ranked him amongſt his friends, but would for the future put him among the number of his foes.* *Syllæus* was not backward alſo in writing to the *Arabians*, who, elated with his letter, neither ſurrender'd up the robbers who had eſcaped, nor made any payment of the money; beſide, they uſed, without ſatisfying the purchaſe money, the lands they had bought of *Herod*, becauſe the king of the *Jews* was dejected through the anger of *Cæſar*; nor was this all, for the inhabitants of *Trachonitis*, improving this opportunity, roſe up againſt the garriſon of the *Idumæans*, and committing their robberies in company with the *Arabians*, who had ravaged the country of *Idumæa*, acted very furiouſly not only for the ſake of gain, but deſire of revenging themſelves.

Herod was obliged to ſuffer all theſe indignities, having loſt his former credit with *Cæſar*, which made him more ſubmiſſive than he had ever yet been; for having ſent ambaſſadors to him to plead his defence, he not only refuſed them an audience, but diſmiſſed them back without having negotiated any thing of their miſſion. This was a cruel mortification, and entirely vanquiſhed all his reſolution; beſide, *Syllæus* gave him a vaſt uneaſineſs, as he ſaw him believed in every thing he complained of; and not only ſo, but he reſided at *Rome*, and his ambition carried him to higher extremes; for *Obadas* having paid his laſt debt to nature, and *Æneas*, otherwiſe named *Aretas*, poſſeſſing himſelf of the government, *Syllæus* uſed his endeavours to aſperſe *Aretas*, and get the kingdom in his own hands; to which end he made large preſents among the courtiers about the palace, and promiſed *Cæſar* a great ſum of money: *Cæſar* in effect was angry at *Aretas*, for uſurping the kingdom without having firſt asked his leave. *Aretas*, in the mean time, ſent him a letter, and ſeveral valuable preſents, but among the reſt, a crown of gold weighing ſeveral talents; in his letter he ſuggeſted that *Syllæus* was a baſe villain, who had poiſoned *Obadas*, and in his life-time uſurped the chief adminiſtration of affairs; committed his adulteries with the *Arabian* women; and borrowed money, to procure by indirect methods the kingdom to himſelf. But theſe ambaſſadors met with the ſame reception from *Cæſar*, who, without taking one of their preſents, diſmiſſed them; in the mean time, the affairs of *Judæa* and *Arabia* grew every day the worſe, and the reaſon becauſe there was none found able to apply a remedy to the violent factions that tore them to pieces; for one of the kings having not firmly eſtabliſhed himſelf in his kingdom, was not in a capacity to puniſh thoſe who obſtructed his deſigns; and *Herod*, being at difference with *Cæſar*, was obliged to bear all the indignities put upon him; but when he found there was no end of the troubles into which he ſaw himſelf involved, he reſolved to take another ſtep, and ſend again to *Rome*, to try, if by the mediation of his friends, he could not obtain a more favourable hearing to his complaints; and upon the concluſion, *Nicolaus*, the *Damaſcene*, was ordered upon the embaſſy.

CHAP. X.

How Eurycles *aſperſes* Herod'*s Sons before him, and how their Father threw them into Priſon, and wrote to* Cæſar *about them*; *Of* Syllæus, *who was accuſed by* Nicolaus.

HEROD's domeſtic concerns, and his ſons growing worſe and worſe, at laſt terminated in great confuſion. It may be collected from the foregoing, that fortune, the worſt and moſt heavy evil threatning mankind, had denounced its anger againſt his kingdom, but now a fatal cauſe preſented itſelf, that involv'd him in a more terrible circumſtance than ever. *Eurycles*, a *Lacedemonian*, of a tolerable deſcent, but a cunning and intriguing man, abandoned to his pleaſures and deſires, ſo artfully and ſecretly wrought his deſigns upon *Herod*, that by the power of the preſents he made, and received from him, he got an entire aſcendant over his affection, and won himſelf into all his good graces by his inſinuation and addreſs: In fine, he had an intimacy in all *Antipater*'s meaſures, converſed freely with *Alexander*, told *Archelaus*, the *Cappadocian* king, he was devoted to his intereſts, and pretended an outward reſpect and kindneſs to *Glaphyra*: He made it his buſineſs to appear condeſcending to every one, and took exact obſervation of every thing that was either ſaid or done, to hint more cloſely his alliances by the aſperſions that were handed about. In a word, he endeavoured, whenever he had a mind to cultivate any man's acquaintance, and ſeem his friend, to make it appear, that his correſponding with another, was done purely and through neceſſity for his ſake. By this artifice, he ſo cunningly inſinuated himſelf into the boſom of *Alexander*, who was but young, that he had the addreſs to tell him, he might with great ſafety entruſt, which he durſt not do to any one elſe, all his uneaſineſs and diſcontented thoughts; in ſhort, *Alexander* made him an ample diſcovery of the ſentiments he entertained with ſigns of extreme ſorrow, acquainting him with every thing about his mother, and *Antipater*, who while they were diſcarded from all employments and honours, had ſeized upon an abſolute power to himſelf; he concluded with telling him, that it was not to be born with, ſince their father had expreſſed ſo much hatred to them, that he refuſed either to feaſt or diſcourſe with them. Theſe things, as may be, did his grief ſuggeſt to him. However, *Eurycles* went and told *Antipater* every thing he had heard, adding, (1) it was not for his ſake he had done ſo, but the affair being of ſo great importance and conſequence he was not able to conceal it, and therefore adviſed him to have an eye over the actions of *Alexander*, for that he had diſcovered great emotions in ſpeaking, and there were too plain ſigns of the intention he harboured within his breaſt of acting ſomething of bad conſequence. *Antipater* concluding from the diſcovery *Eurycles* had thus made, he was his friend, made him an handſome preſent, and in the end, adviſed him to acquaint *Herod* with the whole affair. *Eurycles*, accordingly acquainted him with what he had heard, and then began to infuſe into his ears ſeveral tales of *Alexander*'s ſiniſter deſigns, which *Herod* was not difficult to be perſwaded to: On the contrary, he was ſo affected with the ſtory, that entirely biaſſed by the artful manner in which he delivered himſelf, he fumed, and fretted, and conceived an inexorable hatred to his ſon; and this temper of his was fully explained that very hour, for he preſented *Eurycles* with a gift of fifty talents; who no ſooner received them, but he went to *Archelaus* king of the *Cappadocians*, and commended *Alexander* to him, ſaying, he had been very ſerviceable in endeavouring to bring about a thorough reconciliation with his father and him. Having alſo obtained a preſent of money from him, before his malicious deſign was detected, he got off. But committing his underhand practices afterwards in *Lacedemon*, he was, for ſeveral offences alledged againſt him, thrown into priſon by his country.

The king of the *Jews* was not now, as he had been before, ſatisfied with hearing the ſeveral accuſations brought againſt *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*; but his heart burned with an intolerable hatred to them, which puſhed him on to find complaints againſt them himſelf, when nobody elſe became their accuſers, by looking and prying into every thing, and giving every one free liberty to ſpeak their ſentiments, if they had any thing to alledge againſt them; nor was this all, for he procured, by his own invention, *Evaratus* of *Cos* to be accuſed of conſpiring with *Alexander*, which was the only thing in the world *Herod* approved of.

While freſh accuſations were continually venting againſt the young men, and every one, as I may ſay, were induſtriouſly at work to alarm the king's ears with ſome dangerous thing or other, the avoidance of which they made him think was conducive to his own ſafety, ſomething of a worſe conſequence than ever, happened againſt the two princes, which was thus: *Herod* had two centinels, named *Jucundus* and *Tyrannus*, who, for their exceeding ſtrength of body, and tallneſs, were much admired; but the king in a fit of anger diſcarding them, they were received by *Alexander*, and rode up and down with him; and being men well exerciſed, were highly eſteemed by him, as the gold and other preſents he made them, plainly witneſſed. *Herod* ſeeing this ſuſpected them, and called them to give an account of their conduct, but they perſiſting a long time to anſwer nothing, at laſt ſaid, that *Alexander* had adviſed them to kill *Herod* as he hunted and chaſed the wild beaſts, adding, that it might be eaſily given out that *Herod* had fallen from his horſe upon the point of one of his hunting ſpears and ſo died, for the like accident was near happening to him once before; beſide, they told him that certain gold was hidden in his ſtables, and convicted his chief huntſman, that at *Alexander*'s command he had given *Alexander*'s ſervants the king's hunting ſpears.

After them the governor of *Alexandrium* was apprehended, and examined upon torments, and it was objected to him, he had deſigned to have received them into the caſtle, and deliver the king's treaſure up to them; but upon his making no manner of confeſſion, his own ſon convicted him, and poſitively affirmed all the allegations againſt him were true; accordingly he produced letters to corroborate his words, ſeemingly wrote with *Alexander*'s hand, and which were to this effect: “Aſſoon “as we have completed our deſigns, by “God's ſpecial favour, we will immediately “come unto you; where uſe your utmoſt “care, that according as you have promiſed “us, you admit us into your caſtle.” *Herod* had no ſooner had a view of theſe letters, but all his doubts vaniſhed, and he was firmly eſtabliſhed in a belief that his ſon had contrived ſome underhand plot againſt him. On the contrary, *Alexander* declared his hand writing was counterfeited by *Diophantus* the notary, and that the letter was the device of *Antipater*. *Diophantus* indeed was exceedingly artful in counterfeiting another man's writing, and being afterwards convicted of ſuch a practice he ſuffered death for it.

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(1) It is not for my own advantage, I tell you theſe things, but won by your generoſity and the heinouſneſs of the Affair, *&c. Rufinus.* Telling him he had not done thus purely to oblige him, but the ſenſe of his extraordinary favours to him, and the heinouſneſs of *Alexander*'s Tranſgreſſion, had obliged him to it. *Havercamp.*

Herod alſo produced before the inhabitants of *Jericho*, thoſe who had been tortured to accuſe his ſons, where they were ſtoned to death. This procedure ſo enraged the people that they were ready to have inflicted the like puniſhment upon *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*. *Herod*, however, by the interpoſition of *Ptolomy* and *Pheroras*, put a ſtop to their violent meaſures, and gave orders that the two young princes ſhould be clapt in priſon, and there confined ſo narrowly that no man had liberty to be admitted to them. Many centinels were commanded to ſit and have an eye over their actions and words, which made them in their own and other men's opinions be looked upon as men actually condemned to die. One of them, which was *Ariſtobulus*, grieved at his misfortunes, gave an invitation to his aunt and mother in-law to come and lament with him his hard fortune, and hate him who could ſuffer him to be ſo afflicted. In the converſation that paſſed, he affirmed to her thus: "You are alſo in danger, being accuſed, in "hopes to have *Syllæus* for your husband to "have ſignified unto him by letter every thing "had paſſed in the court of *Herod*". Which words ſhe preſently carried and told him. *Herod*, hearing this, was no longer able to curb the impetuoſity of his rage, but inſtantly commanded the two princes to be bound, and kept in diſtinct places one from the other, and to write what each had plotted againſt his father, having received theſe orders, each wrote they had neither meditated any treaſon, or prepared any againſt him, but had only deſigned to withdraw, becauſe they found there was no likelihood of there living any longer in ſafety there, by reaſon of their being ſo greatly and unjuſtly ſuſpected and in continual apprehenſions.

At this time one *Melas*, came ambaſſador from *Archelaus*, who was one of the princes of *Cappadocia*. *Herod* being deſirous to ſhew his ſon's malice, ſent for him out of priſon, and commanded him to relate how and in what manner they had reſolved upon their flight. *Alexander* made anſwer; "Unto *Archelaus*, who had promiſed to ſend them "to *Rome*, but that they had plotted nothing "againſt their father; and all the malicious "accuſations of their adverſaries, were intirely without any foundation; and that they "had been deſirous to have examined *Tyrannus*, and the other more narrowly, but they "had been put to death, by the inſtigation of "*Antipater*, who had ſuborned witneſſes "amongſt the people againſt their friends."

Upon his ſpeaking thus, *Herod* ordered *Melas* and *Alexander* to be carried to *Glaphyra* the daughter of *Archelaus*, and be asked by her, if ſhe knew of any plot he had meditated againſt him. Upon their coming to her, *Glaphyra* ſmote her head, aſſoon as ſhe ſaw *Alexander* in chains, and with vaſt ſighs confeſt how much ſhe was concerned. This ſpectacle made the tears guſh from *Alexander*'s eyes, and the ſight hereof was ſo pitiful, that every body, overcome with compaſſion, could not for a long time do or ſay any thing, of the buſineſs they were come about. But, in the concluſion, *Ptolomy*, who had been ordered to carry him, commanded him to ſpeak, if the woman knew any of his tranſactions; upon which he ſaid, "How can ſhe not be conſcious, who is dearer to me than my very "ſoul, and has had ſo many children by me? to theſe ſhe added with an exclamation, "that "ſhe knew of no ill deſign of his, but if it "was any way to his advantage, that ſhe "ſhould ſpeak againſt herſelf, ſhe would confeſs every thing". Then *Alexander*, "None "of thoſe traiterous deſigns which the ſuſpicions of our enemies have ſuggeſted, and "which did not at all become us, did I ever "meditate, or has thou any knowledge of, "unleſs that we had decreed to withdraw to "*Archelaus*, and from him to *Rome*." *Glaphyra* affirming what her husband had ſaid, *Herod* ſuppoſed *Archelaus* was a plain abettor of ill practices againſt him; upon which he gave *Olympus* and *Volumnius* a letter, and ordered them in their voyage to touch upon (1) *Eleuſa*, an iſland of *Celicia*, and give *Archelaus* the letter, and having expoſtulated with him, how he was a partizan with his ſons, of their ſiniſter deſigns againſt him, directly ſailed for *Rome*, where if they found the buſineſs *Nicolaus* was gone about proſper, and that *Cæſar* had laid aſide his anger, to deliver into his hands the letter and teſtimonials he ſent againſt the young men his ſons; but *Archelaus* cleared himſelf by owning that his deſign of receiving the young men was both for their intereſt and their father's benefit, that he might not (2) do any farther prejudice againſt them, while his ſuſpicions gave ground for ſuch continual diſputes; and that he had not ſent to *Cæſar*, nor promiſed the young men any thing in oppoſition to his intereſt.

Upon their arrival at *Rome*, they found an opportunity of giving the letter to *Cæſar*, becauſe they perceived him reconciled to *Herod*. For *Nicolaus*'s embaſſy was in this manner; aſſoon as he came to *Rome*, and appeared at court, he was reſolved not only to tranſact the buſineſs he was ordered upon, but to accuſe *Syllæus*; for the *Arabians*, before the affair came to be debated, diſagreed among themſelves, and ſome abandoning *Syllæus* went over to *Nicolaus*, acquainting him the whole buſineſs was one continued ſcene of injuſtice, and ſhewing him by inconteſtable ſigns that he had murthered ſeveral perſons belonging to *Obadas*; beſide, upon their leaving him, they produced the letters which accuſed him of theſe facts. This was a very favourable conjuncture to *Nicolaus*, who not only reſolved to improve it to the advantage of the affair he was come about, but endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation with *Herod* and *Cæſar*; for he was well aſſured, ſhould he offer to make any defence for *Herod*, he ſhould be denied an hearing; but if he attempted to accurſe *Syllæus*, he might have an opportunity of doing ſomething for *Herod* of as equal, if not better advantage. In fine, the day being fix'd for the management of the debate, *Nicolaus* appeared, and in the preſence of the ambaſſadors ſent from *Aretas*, amongſt other things objected againſt *Syllæus*, “ That he had been the cauſe of the deaths of his king, and many *Arabians*, and that to put the kingdom into confuſion, he had taken up ſums of money upon loan, and had not only corrupted the woman in *Arabia*, but thoſe in *Rome* too: But, what was the greateſt ill of all, he charged him with alienating *Cæſar*'s affection from *Herod*, and adviſing him to give no credit to any of his tranſactions.” When he came to this part of his harangue, *Cæſar* ſtop'd and commanded him to ſpeak of *Herod* only in relation to the following charge. “ If he had not led an army into *Arabia*, and ſlain there two thouſand and five hundred men, and after having ravaged the country, if he had not carried away with him the priſoners he had taken.” To this *Nicolaus* made anſwer, “ That in relation to theſe he could ſufficiently ſpeak, that they were not only partly devoid of truth, but acted in a different manner to what had been told him, and were not deſerving of the rigid treatment he had ſhewn his maſter. *Cæſar* not expecting to have heard thus much, ſeemed to give greater attention after *Nicolaus* had mentioned the loan of five hundred talents, and the writing, in which it was provided, that after the expiration of the day limited therein for payment, *Herod* might be at liberty to receive his pledge out of all the country of the *Arabians*; and then he reſumed and ſaid, “ that the expedition, in effect, was no expedition, but only an exaction, upon juſt ground, of money that was lawfully due to him, which he had been ſlow enough in demanding, when the tenour of the writing was on his ſide, and permitted him to recover it; and that it had not been done at all, but *Volumnius* and *Saturninus*, governors of *Syria*, had given him leave. In fine, that after *Syllæus*, had ſworn at *Berytus* before thoſe two perſons *by your* (1) *fortune*, to pay within thirty days the ſum lent, and ſurrender all thoſe who had withdrawn out of *Judea* into *Arabia*, yet the ſame *Syllæus* made no account or performance of his oath, upon which *Herod* had recourſe to the ſaid governors, who permitting him to levy his pledge, was at length with much difficulty induced to march with his army into *Arabia*: Now this is the war which they paint in ſuch tragical colours, and this is the expedition they make ſuch a noiſe about. But how can this acquiſition of right be termed a war, after *Herod* had obtained leave to proſecute his claim from the governors appointed by you; when the plain letter of the writing permitted him, and when the other gods, and the majeſty of your name, O *Cæſar*, have been violated. But I will now ſay ſomething about the captives; when the inhabitants of *Trachon* began their depredations they were at firſt about four hundred; but after increaſing to a greater number, and fearing to be called to an account by *Herod* for their villainies, they fled into *Arabia*; where *Syllæus* received them in prejudice to the reſt of mankind, aſſigning them a place to inhabit, and took to his own uſe, the profits of the ſpoils they made; beſide, he promiſed by the ſame oath he made to ſurrender every man of them up, on the day of payment of the loan; nor is it in his power at this time to ſhew that one ſingle perſon has been taken out of *Arabia*, except them, and yet not all their number, but only thoſe who could not find lurking holes to ſhelter themſelves in. Now ſince, O *Cæſar*, you ſee that this procedure is the reſult of the moſt pernicious envy, and that the captivity of theſe robbers, is nothing but a calumny, I beg you to conſider that the practices which this *Syllæus* has made uſe of to put you in a ferment againſt *Herod*, are the groſſeſt impoſitions and a compoſition of the moſt abominable falſehoods. For I poſitively affirm, when the *Arabian* army, broke in upon our territories, and one or two of *Herod*'s men loſt their lives in the engagement, then, and not before, *Herod* was obliged to look to himſelf and make his defence; upon which *Nacebus* their general was ſlain, and no more than five and twenty men periſhed; every one of whom, this *Syllæus* had increaſed in his account to an hundred, and inſinuated that five and twenty hundred were laid dead in the field of battle.”

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(1) *Epiphanius* Tranſlates it a City.

(2) Leſt compelled by his Suſpicions, they ſhould behave towards him with leſs obedience, and by that means incur his diſpleaſure to a degree greater than was fit for a father. *Gelenius.*

This ſpeech had a ſtrong effect upon *Cæſar*, who, diſcovering evident proofs of his indignation, turned himſelf to *Syllæus*, and asked him how many had been ſlain. Upon this he making a ſtand, and confeſſing he had been miſinformed, the mortgage deed was read, and the letters the governors had ſent, and the remonſtrances the cities had made about the proceedings of the robbers. Theſe diſcoveries made *Cæſar*, in the concluſion, capitally condemn *Syllæus*, and renew his former friendſhip and alliance with *Herod*, as being ſorry for the harſh letter he had wrote him, wholly occaſioned by his over haſty credit to the accuſations brought againſt him: Beſides, he reprimanded and accuſed *Syllæus*, of leading him by a falſe and artful inſinuation, to withdraw the kind offices he owed his antient friend and benefactor. In ſhort, he ſurrendered *Syllæus* to the courſe of the law, to pay the money borrowed, and then receive the puniſhment he merited: Nor was *Cæſar* leſs a friend to *Aretas*, who had laid hold on the government, without firſt asking or deſiring his approbation or conſent; for he had reſolved to have inveſted *Herod* in the kingdom of *Arabia*; but the letter *Herod* had ſent him about his ſons, proved an inſurmountable difficulty in the way; for when *Saturninus* and *Volumnius* perceived *Cæſar* was reconciled to *Herod*, they gave, as he had ordered them, the letter to him about the young princes, and the other teſtimonials of their diſaffection to their father. *Cæſar* having peruſed them, did not think it adviſeable to beſtow another kingdom upon an old man at variance with his ſons: Upon this reaſon he admitted the ambaſſadors, and reproving them only for the too much haſte their maſter had ſhewn in ſeizing upon the kingdom, and not waiting for his placing him in it, he accepted their preſents, and confirmed *Aretas* in it.

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(1) Others Tranſlate it, *by your Genius*.

CHAP. XI.

How Herod, *by Conſent of* Cæſar, *accuſed his ſons before the Council at* Berytum; *and* Teron *ſuffered for the immoderate Liberty he took in the Army. Of the Deaths of the young Men, and their Interment in* Alexandrium.

CÆSAR being at length reconciled to *Herod*, and concern'd on account of his ſons, wrote him a letter to the following effect: He told him, *He ought, if they had attempted any violent Meaſures againſt him, to proceed againſt them as paricides, he giving him full liberty to take ſuch a Courſe. But if they had meditated no more than a retreat, that they were to be otherwiſe corrected; and that he ſhould not uſe extremities upon them: That he adviſed him to ſummon a council at* (1) Berytum, *where the* Romans *reſided, to determine their cauſe; where convening the Officers, and* Archelaus *the king of* Cappadocia, *and all others whom he eſteemed his friends, and for their dignity worthy to ſit as judges, to follow their advice in the proſecution of the whole affair.* This was the ſubſtance of *Cæſar*'s letter to *Herod*. Aſſoon as *Herod* had received the letter, he was filled with extreme gladneſs at the reconciliation he had obtained, nor was his joy the leſs exceſſive at the thought he entertain'd of having a power to manage his ſons as he pleaſed. Indeed, I am at a loſs to conceive the reaſon that induced him, after he had given ſuch proofs of cruelty in his former proceedings, not to proſecute the death of his ſons with more raſhneſs and eagerneſs than he did; for fortune beginning now to ſmile upon him, and the aſſurance given him, making him more unreſerved, he gave his hatred a new field to range in. Upon this ground he aſſembled perſons whom he thought fit to conſtitute the court, but excluded *Archelaus*, on account of his enmity to him, and becauſe he ſuppoſed he might oppoſe his meaſures.

The officers, and the others whom he had ſummoned from the cities, being met at *Berytum*, he put his ſons, whom he would not admit perſonal to appear before the council, in a village of the *Sidonians*, called *Platana*, not far from the city, with a deſign, if they were called upon, that they might ſoon appear before the court. After this, he went to the perſons who were appointed judges in the cauſe, and made uſe of one hundred and fifty of the preſidents to bring allegations againſt his ſons, which violent method of proceeding could not but create vaſt aſtoniſhment, as the young princes by it were reduced to a melancholy extreme; and *Herod* gave evident ſigns of more barbarous treatment, than a father ought ever to uſe to his ſons; for he was ſo vehement and raging in his charge againſt them, and his fury and extravagancy was carried to ſo great an height, that he would not permit the judges to weigh or conſider in their minds the arguments that were produced in favour of the young men. On the contrary, with a behaviour that was little conſiſtent with the natural affection of a father to his ſons, though they deſerve his hatred, he inſiſted and ſtrenuouſly defended the articles on which he impeached them, and peruſed their letters, from which no concluſion could be drawn that they had either laid any plot againſt his life, or conſpired againſt him ſo far as to be accounted guilty of capital crimes; but that a flight, which had been before meditated, was all their crime, except a few haſty and reproachful expreſſions againſt him, wholly owing to the malice he bore them. When *Herod* found this, he was in a deſperate rage, and in a loud exclamation endeavoured to exaggerate their crimes, as if they had made an open confeſſion of ſome ſiniſter deſign againſt him; concluding, that he had rather ſuffer death than hear of ſuch a thing. In ſhort, ſaying, *He had by nature, as their father, and by the permiſſion of* Cæſar, *an abſolute power.* He added a law of his country, which (2) provided, that if the parents of a ſon who happened to be accuſed, laid their hands upon him, it was neceſſary for the perſons who ſtood about him to caſt ſtones at him, and in that manner put him to death; that notwithſtanding he had power to do thus in his own country, yet he expected their determination upon the matter, but not as judges upon ſo manifeſt proofs of his ſons rebellion, which had brought his life into the utmoſt dangers; but as perſons who had opportunely come to aſſiſt him in his revenge againſt them; and that no one, let him be never ſo little intereſted in the cauſe, ought to paſs by ſuch flagrant injuries.

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(1) The *Romans* inhabiting *Berytum* were a colony planted there by *Auguſtus*. Hence upon the Coins of *Auguſtus* are, COL. JUL. AUG. FEL. BER. *Spanheim*.

(2) Compare this paſſage with *Deut.* xxi. 19, & 20.

The king opening himſelf thus, and the young men being denied the liberty to plead their own defence, the perſons upon the bench perceiving *Herod* too much enraged to admit of any reaſon or equity to guide him, confirmed his reſolution, and ſubmitted the affair entirely to his own will and power. *Saturninus*, a perſon of conſular dignity, and great authority, gave a very modeſt opinion, mixed with piety, and ſaid, ‘That he condemned *Herod*'s ſons, but not to death, as having ſons of his own; for ſuch a puniſhment would be more fatal than all the calamities they could ſuffer in the world beſides.’ *Saturninus*'s ſons (who were three, and in quality of ambaſſadors) entirely aſſented to what their father had ſaid; but *Volumnius* was of another opinion, and ſaid, ‘That as they had ſhewn themſelves ſo diſreſpectful to their father, they deſerved to die.’ The reſt of the judges giving way to the ſame opinion, no other puniſhment than death was thought ſufficient to attone for their tranſgreſſions.

After this *Herod* took his ſons, and went to *Tyre*, where meeting *Nicolaus*, after his voyage from *Rome*, to whom he laid open all the tranſactions at *Berytum*, he aſked him, what was the opinion his friends at *Rome* entertained concerning his ſons? *Nicolaus* made anſwer, ‘They looked upon your ſons ſchemes, as ſo many impious actions, and thought you was under an obligation to confine them in chains; but if afterwards a more ſevere puniſhment was neceſſary, you might then put them to death, and ſo ſeem to have follow'd the dictates of reaſon, and not of anger; but on the other hand, you might abſolve them, and ſo ſecure yourſelf from falling into an inſurmountable difficulty. Now theſe are the ſentiments which the major part of your friends at *Rome* entertain.’ *Herod* reflecting awhile upon what he had ſaid, ordered him to embark, and ſail along with him.

Upon his arrival at *Cæſarea*, the common people were full of talk about his ſons, and almoſt all the kingdom were in ſuſpence where matters would terminate. Every one extremely feared their ruin was near at hand, from the inveterate hatred that reigned; and every one pitied the calamities that hung over their heads: They neither durſt ſpeak themſelves, nor hear a word from another man's tongue, without incurring manifeſt danger; and the compaſſion they had for the young princes, they were obliged to ſtifle within their own breaſts; and the greatneſs of their affliction, with vaſt concern, but with ſilence they were obliged to bear. But there was one *Teron*, an old ſoldier of *Herod*'s, who had a ſon of the ſame age with *Alexander*, and his friend, who, without any manner of reſerve, ſpoke every thing that others were afraid of ſaying, and oftentimes declared his opinion among the people, in a very audible manner, in the following words: ‘That truth was dead, righteouſneſs was taken from mankind, lies and malice reigned triumphant, and ſo thick a cloud of injuſtice overſpread the adminiſtration, that the tranſgreſſors could not ſee the greateſt evils that men ſuffered through their means.’ From theſe words, deliver'd ſo freely, every one concluded the proclaimer of them was in imminent danger; but the words contained their own ſentiments ſo truly, that they gave every one great ſatiſfaction, becauſe the young man gave ſigns of ſuch courage and diſintereſtedneſs, as the times then were. Upon this ground they liſtened eagerly to every thing he ſaid, and at the ſame time bade him take care and hold his tongue; they ſecretly commended his boldneſs, for the expectation of ſo great a misfortune obliged every one to ſpeak whatever they thought fit for him.

He went to the king with great courage and addreſs, and deſiring leave to ſpeak with him alone, he had it granted, and then thus ſaid, ‘I cannot, my king, ſubdue the trouble that overwhelms my heart; and I have preferred the boldneſs I have here taken, to the conſideration of my own life, which if you make a proper uſe of, will be of no bad conſequence to you. How far have your ſenſes left you, or the excellent qualifications of your ſoul departed from it? Where is that tranſcendant underſtanding that made you glorious in the adminiſtration of affairs of the greateſt importance? Whence proceeds that deſolation among your friends and kindred? I tell you, thoſe who are about you, are neither your friends nor kindred, elſe they would never have committed ſo enormous a crime in your kingdom, which was once ſo happy. Cannot you ſee what is to be done? Will you put to death two young men born of your queen, who are young princes of the moſt exalted virtues, and entruſt your old age in the hands of a ſon, who has but ill confirmed the hopes you have entertained of him, and of relations whom you have ſo often capitally convicted? Will you not conſider, that tho' the people ſay nothing, yet they take notice of your proceedings, and with indignation too; nay, the whole army, and eſpecially the principal in it, are moved with compaſſion towards the unhappy princes, but with hatred towards the cruel and inhuman authors of their misfortunes.’

The king gave ear to theſe words at firſt, without any ſigns of diſpleaſure; but *Teron* proceeding openly to tax his domeſticks with their wicked and perfidious practices, *Herod*'s anger began to rouze itſelf. Indeed *Teron* behaved himſelf too freely, and with too much of the ſoldier's haughtineſs; nor was the opportunity he took of declaring himſelf wiſely choſe. This enraged *Herod* to that degree, that he, eſteeming what he had heard, rather as derogating from his character, than ſeeming of any advantage to him, and finding the ſoldiers in no good temper, and the officers themſelves incenſed at his proceedings, he ordered not only them by name, but alſo *Teron*, to be thrown into, and confined in priſon.

After this was done, one *Tryphon*, the king's barber, taking an opportunity, went and acquainted the king, that *Teron* would often have perſuaded him to have cut his throat with his razor as he ſhaved him, whereby he was to have the principal place under *Alexander*, and a conſiderable gratuity for the ſervice. The king upon hearing him thus ſpeak, ordered him to be apprehended; and afterwards *Teron* and his ſon, and the barber, were put to the rack: But *Teron* refuſing to make any confeſſion, and the young man beholding the torments his father was in, and ſeeing no likelihood of any pardon, and reflecting what might be the conſequence of his pains, ſaid, he would acquaint the king with the truth, if he would promiſe not to torment his father and him. The king immediately gave him his word; upon which he ſaid, 'That it was agreed *Teron* ſhould lay his hands upon the king, as having an eaſy opportunity to find him alone; after which, if he happened to meet with any miſchance, it would redound to his honour, as he had ſtudied to gratify *Alexander* in it.' This diſcovery procured the father's releaſment, but it was not known whether he had ſpoke the truth by compulſion, or done ſo to free him and his father from the torments of the rack.

If *Herod* before had any doubts in his breaſt that diſſuaded him from the death he deſigned his ſons, his ſoul was now quite diſengaged from them, and he baniſhed from every conſideration that did in the leaſt ſuggeſt to him better counſel, in order to put a final period to his reſolution. With this view, having made it appear before an aſſembly, three hundred of thoſe he adjudged guilty, together with *Teron* and his ſon, and the barber who had made the diſcovery. He accuſed every one of them: Upon which the people put them to death without any heſitation. *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, by command of *Herod*, were carried to *Sebaſte*, and there ſtrangled, and their bodies afterwards carried in the night time to *Alexandrium*, where their mother's brother, and ſeveral more of their anceſtors, were interred.

It will not, perhaps, appear wonderful to ſome, that ſo inveterate an hatred ſhould be carried to ſo great a length, till at laſt it ſubdued all the affections of nature itſelf. But it may be enquired, and with great reaſon, whether the young men are to be charged with the cauſe of the vaſt anger their father conceived againſt them, and by their perverſe behaviour ſo irritated him in the end, that his enraged ſoul was no longer able to admit of cure or counſel; or whether his hard and implacable temper is to be blamed, which was ſo eager and impetuous after dominion and ſovereign power, that he would not admit of the leaſt thoughts of an aſſociate with him in his kingdom; but acted in every reſpect as his own intemperate and violent will hurried him: Or whether it is to be attributed to providence, the power of which is vaſtly ſuperior to the moſt ſage foreſight? Whence we have reaſon to believe, that human actions are pre-ordained by a certain neceſſity to be, and this power we call fate, becauſe nothing happens but what is thus pre-determined. But this will be ſufficient, I ſuppoſe, to compare this opinion with that, which attributes ſomething to our actions, and examineth the cauſes of the variety of our actions; which ſpeculation hath been long ſince wiſely and excellently handled in our laws. Now of the other two cauſes, that which reſpects *Herod*'s ſons is blame worthy, not only in regard of their youthful arrogance and lofty diſdain, as they not only gave too implicit a belief to the calumnies thrown upon their father, but were too rigorous inſpectors of his life and actions; maliciouſly ſuſpicious and intemperate in the free exerciſe of their tongues: Upon both which accounts they made themſelves obnoxious to thoſe whoſe only endeavours were to obſerve their actions, and acquaint *Herod* with their conduct, in order to gain his favour. But *Herod* can never find any excuſe for his impious and unnatural uſage of his ſons, who being quite deſtitute of every thing to prove them guilty of a plot againſt him, and unable to convict them of any deſign they had ever formed for his deſtruction, had the cruelty to put them to death, who were begotten by him, and who were two young men of fine perſons, in great repute amongſt foreigners, well verſed in all manner of manly exerciſes, whether in hunting, military ſkill, or in declaiming upon public affairs.

In theſe ſeveral qualifications they were both very eminent, but eſpecially *Alexander*, the eldeſt.

It had been enough, if their father had been reſolved to have puniſhed them, to have confined them in priſon alive, or ſent them to ſome place at ſome diſtance from the kingdom, ſince he was ſo well ſecured by the *Romans* about him, as to have fixed his dependance upon them, and needed not to have feared any ſudden alarm or invaſion. But to put them to death ſo ſuddenly, and, as it may be to gratify an impetuous ſally of anger, what can it be eſteemed, but an impious licenſe? eſpecially when he ſhewed himſelf guilty in ſo high a degree, when length of age was upon him? Beſide, neither can the delay he made in any wiſe extenuate his tranſgreſſion. A man may, indeed, be rouzed up by a ſudden and unexpected accident, to the commiſſion of an inhuman action, which then is very baſe; but this is a misfortune to which mankind often expoſe themſelves; but in a caſe that has been many times weighed, and duly conſidered, where the perſon hath been rouzed, and then reſtrained, and afterwards found acceſſary to ſuch an enormity as we have mentioned above, it is the ſtrongeſt indication in the world, of a mind blood-thirſty, and unmercifully revengeful. *Herod* made himſelf a true example of this conduct in what he did afterwards; for he ſpared not one of thoſe whom he had held in the greateſt honour; and though the juſtice of their puniſhments took away ſomething of the pity we ſhould have given them, yet *Herod*'s cruelty was the ſame, as he had not the power to reſtrain his hands from their murders. But we ſhall ſpeak of theſe things in the ſequel.

The End of the Sixteenth Book of the Antiquities.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

ANTIQUITIES of the *JEWS.*

BOOK THE SEVENTEENTH.

Containing the Space of Fourteen Years.

CHAP. I.

How Antipater *incurred the Hatred of the whole Nation for the Murder of his Brothers, which made him eſtabliſh a Friendſhip at* Rome, *with large Sums of Money;* *and* Saturninus, *the Governor of* Syria, *and the Officers with him. Of* Herod'*s Marriages, and Children.*

THOUGH *Antipater*, by the unjuſt methods he had uſed with his father to make him furiouſly revenge himſelf upon his ſons, had now cut them off, yet the hopes he had formed of his future life, did not preſent themſelves ſo favourable as was expected. Though he had got clear of his apprehenſions, with regard to the kingdom, as he was likely to have no farther obſtruction from his brothers, notwithſtanding he found the way to obtain the kingdom, full of difficulties and obſtacles, entirely owing to the inſurmountable malice the whole nation had conceived againſt him.

This was an affair that preſented itſelf to him in very diſpleaſing colours; but the ſoldiers damped his ſpirits in a more ſenſible manner, as they were entirely alienated from him; for in them conſiſt the moſt ſolid hopes of thoſe who are actuated with a deſire to reign, eſpecially if the nation is inclinable to a change.

This freſh difficulty aroſe from the death of his brothers: However, he reigned with his father, and in nothing differed from the king. He had more authority than ever, and procured a more firm kindneſs from his father, for thoſe actions for which he ought to have ſuffered death. The murder of his brothers was looked upon as the ſecurity of *Herod*, and not any way attributed to the hatred wherewith he proſecuted them, but principally his father. Theſe furious thoughts reigned within his breaſt. Theſe were ſo many ſtratagems to clear his way to the putting *Herod* aſide; and yet his artifice was ſo great, that he made it his conſtant buſineſs to hinder any one from accuſing him of the deſigns he was forming, and to put his father out of any poſſibility of relief, or making his flight, if he was minded to declare himſelf openly. Hence the hatred he had to his father was the ground of his having conſpired againſt his ſons. He was by ſo much the more eagerly excited to put his pretenſions in execution, as he ſaw the death of his father would open him a clear paſſage to the kingdom. He conſidered, if he lived any longer, he might be in great danger, and his ſiniſter deſigns diſcovered, of which he was the principal author and inventor, and in the end ſo exaſperate his father, as to be declared his enemy. With this view he ſpared no expence to procure the good will of his father's friends, and by the force of large preſents remove the odium already conceived againſt him. Thoſe at *Rome* were the firſt he began with, among whom was *Saturninus:* And theſe, by the donation of large gratuities, he won over to his intereſts. He had courage to think the prodigious preſents he made, would have the like influence over the brother of *Saturninus*; and his artifice in this way would gain over to him the king's ſiſter, who had been married to one of his moſt principal friends. He was extremely artful in making every one he converſed with, believe the friendſhip he pretended them was real; nor was he leſs cunning in diſſembling his hatred to every one he made it his buſineſs to deceive: However, his aunt was above the reach of his inſinuations, having had long experience of his ways, and was not to be caught by him, having always oppoſed his malicious deſigns, by every method ſhe was miſtreſs of, although ſhe had a daughter married

ried to his uncle by the mother's ſide, who had been firſt wedded to *Ariſtobulus*, by the means and interpoſition of *Antipater*; for *Callæus* had the other daughter by her huſband to wife. But neither this affinity could hinder his malice from being diſcovered, nor was the former conſanguinity of power ſufficient to extinguiſh her hatred. *Salome*, who had entertained the paſſion of love for *Syllæus* the *Arabian*, and endeavour'd to marry him, was conſtrained by *Herod* to marry *Alexas*, *Julia* at the ſame time perſuading her to it, and adviſing her not to refuſe the match, for fear of an open rupture between them; becauſe *Herod* had ſworn never to have any reſpect for her, if ſhe married any other than *Alexas*. In ſhort, ſhe followed the advice of *Julia*, as ſhe was *Cæſar*'s wife, and her advantage was too plain in the alliance. About this time *Herod* ſent back *Alexander*'s wife, daughter of *Archelaus*, to the king her father, and gave him back the portion ſhe had brought his ſon, to hinder any diſturbance or demands for the ſame.

Herod took exceeding great care of his ſons children; for *Alexander* had born to him, by *Glaphyra*, two ſons; and *Ariſtobulus* begot on *Berenice*, *Salome*'s daughter, three ſons, and two daughters. Having on a time, in the preſence of his friends, brought them before him, and lamented their melancholy fortune, he begged that their children might never have the like calamities; but that they might encreaſe in virtue, and in the knowledge of all good things, to the end they might come to a juſt ſenſe of repaying thoſe who had educated them, with thanks: He provided each of them alſo with a wife, as ſoon as they came to a ſufficient age; namely, the daughter of *Pheroras*, for the eldeſt ſon of *Alexander*; and the daughter of *Antipater*, for the eldeſt ſon of *Ariſtobulus*; and one of *Ariſtobulus*'s daughters was married to *Antipater*'s ſon; and the other, to *Herod*'s own ſon, whom he begat on the daughter of the high-prieſt; for it is a cuſtom in our country to have ſeveral wives at the ſame time. The king brought about theſe marriages through the compaſſion he had for them, as they were orphans; thinking, by theſe mutual alliances, to make *Antipater* their friend. But *Antipater*'s hatred was no leſs to the children, then the malice he bore their father, and *Herod*'s care of them made his hatred ſo much the greater, as he pretended to be the greateſt of the brothers; and he apprehended, when they came to man's eſtate, they would reſiſt his authority, being aſſiſted by *Archelaus*, as his ſons-in-law, and *Pheroras*, who was a tetrarch, would do the ſame, was he incited; becauſe all the people had compaſſion of theſe orphans, and had conceived an hatred againſt *Antipater*, who never let ſlip any opportunity to declare his ſiniſter intentions againſt them. Upon this ground his utmoſt care and buſineſs was, to invalidate all the decrees his father had made in favour of them, having not the heart to entertain any thoughts of their ſharing the kingdom with him; ſo that in the end *Herod* complied with *Antipater*'s requeſt, which was to marry the daughter of *Ariſtobulus*, and his ſon to the daughter of *Pheroras*: By this artifice, the marriages we have obſerved above, were broke off, in oppoſition to what *Herod* had deſigned.

At this time *Herod* had nine wives, *viz.* *Antipater*'s mother, the high-prieſt's daughter, by whom he had a ſon named after him, and a daughter of his brother, and one of his couſins, by whom he had no children. He had another wife, who was a *Samaritan* by nation, by whom he had two ſons, *Antipas* and *Archelaus*, and a daughter, call'd *Olympias*, whom *Joſeph*, the king's couſin, afterwards married. *Antipas* and *Archelaus* were educated at *Rome* with a certain private friend of his. Beſides, *Herod* married another, named *Cleopatra*, who was an *Hieroſolymite* by birth, by whom he had two ſons, *Herod* and *Philip*, who were brought up at *Rome*. By *Pallas* he had *Phaſaelus*; by *Phædra* and *Helpia* he had two daughters, *Roxana* and *Salome*. As for his eldeſt daughters, *Alexander*'s ſiſters by the mother's ſide, whom *Pheroras* had refuſed to take in marriage, he married the one to *Antipas*, his ſiſter's ſon; and the other he matched to *Phaſaelus*, his brother's ſon. And this was *Herod*'s progeny.

CHAP. II.

Of Zamaris, *the Jew of* Babylon. *Of the Plots of* Antipater *againſt* Herod. *And of ſome Things relating to the* Phariſees.

HEROD after this, intending to ſecure his eſtate in the country of *Trachonitis*, reſolved to erect a town in the midſt of the country, which might not be inferior to a city. This he did, as well to ſecure the country, as to be in a readineſs to reſtrain his enemies with eaſe. And receiving news, that a certain *Jew* was come from *Babylon* with five hundred archers on horſeback, and about one hundred of his kinſmen, and had ventured to paſs the *Euphrates*, and was in the country adjoining to *Antioch*, near unto *Daphne* in *Syria*, where *Saturninus*, the *Roman* general, had given him a caſtle, called *Valatha*, to inhabit, he ſent for him and his followers, promiſing him lands in the country of *Batanea*, which borders upon *Trachonitis*, intending he ſhould make head againſt thoſe who preſumed to attack him, and aſſuring him both his lands and ſoldiers ſhould be free from the payment of any tribute or tax.

The *Babylonian Jew* was induced by theſe offers to come and take poſſeſſion of the place, where he erected the town, and called it *Bathyra*. This man defending himſelf againſt the *Trachonites*, preſerved the caſtle from their attempts, and the *Jews* who came from *Babylon* to *Hieroſolyma* to offer ſacrifice, from the inroads and depredations of the *Trachonites*, and numbers who paid obedience to the *Jewiſh* religion, flocked to him from all parts; ſo that in a ſhort time this country was well filled with inhabitants, on account of their living free from any tribute; which continued during *Herod*'s life-time. But *Philip*, his ſucceſſor, exacted afterwards ſome ſmall tribute of them, which was but for a little time. But *Agrippa* the Great, and his ſon called by the ſame name, laid heavy taxes upon them, yet allowed them liberty to enjoy their freedom, whoſe ſucceſſors the *Romans* impoſed very great tributes upon them, yet continued them in the poſſeſſion of their liberties. But of theſe things, in the ſequel of our hiſtory, we will give a more large and particular account. But *Zamaris* the *Babylonian*, to whom *Herod* had given the poſſeſſion of his country, died after a life well ſpent, leaving behind him a virtuous progeny, among whom was *Jacinus*, celebrated for his great ſkill in riding, and who taught the *Babylonians* to manage horſes, and with his band of men were made the body guards of thoſe kings. *Jacinus* died in a very advanced age, and left his ſon *Philip* to ſucceed him, a very valiant man, and addicted to all manner of virtue, as much as any man recorded in hiſtory. *Agrippa* upon this ground entirely loved him, and entruſted him in all his affairs, committing the government of his ſoldiers to him, whom he conſtantly led forth as occaſion required. *Herod*'s affairs being thus ſituated, all mens eyes were fixed upon *Antipater*, after that *Herod* had given him full power, which was granted him, in hopes that as his father had honoured him in ſo high a manner, that he would behave himſelf faithfully and affectionately towards him; but he abuſed his authority more audaciouſly than could be expected. For he cunningly coloured over his conceived malice, and eaſily drew his father to believe him in whatſoever he ſaid; he was feared by all men, not only for his authority, but for his ſubtleties and policies; but above all the reſt *Pheroras* reſpected him moſt, and was in like manner as greatly eſteemed by him; for *Antipater* circumvented him by the means of certain women, who favoured his faction, for *Pheroras* was commanded by his wife, his mother and ſiſter-in-law, notwithſtanding that he hated them, by reaſon of the abuſe they had offered to his daughters who were unmarried; nevertheleſs he was forced to diſſemble all things, becauſe he could do nothing but what they were always privy to, and they had ſuch power over his affairs, that they obliged him to perform whatſoever they pleaſed; *Antipater* was alſo very intimate with them, both on his account and his mothers, for theſe four women were of one mind in all things, and ſpake as it were by one mouth; yet was *Pheroras* at variance with *Antipater* upon ſome ſlight diſtaſtes; and ſhe that was the cauſe of this debate between them was the king's ſiſter *Salome*, who had a long time ſtrictly obſerved all their actions, knowing well their mutual friendſhip tended to the overthrow of *Herod*, which ſhe was ready to acquaint him with, and they knowing well that the king diſliked this inward familiarity, and that he was privy to their deſigns, which was his utter ruin, reſolved between themſelves to refrain their publick familiarity, and to make a ſhew as if they really did not agree: To which intent they reproached one another, eſpecially at ſuch time as they were either in *Herod*'s preſence, or there was any one with them, who (as they thought) would acquaint him with it; but in ſecret they did not break off their accuſtomed friendſhip, and continued their correſpondence with greater affability, but more privately. Yet was not *Salome* ignorant thereof, neither when they put it in execution; for ſhe diligently obſerved all things, and aggravated the ſame by report to her brother, whom ſhe informed of their ſecret actions, banquetting and private conſultation, which (as we ſaid) had no other ſcope but his ruin, if he did not prevent them in time; ſhewing, that for the preſent they behaved themſelves like enemies in outward ſhew, and all their ſpeeches tended to diſgrace one another, but that in ſecret they were friends, and lived in ſtrict amity, and promiſed each other their mutual aſſiſtance, to ſtrengthen themſelves againſt thoſe to whom they were loth their friendſhip ſhould be diſcovered. But he durſt not make a ſhew thereof, becauſe he knew that his ſiſter was a woman very much given to reproachful accuſations. There was among the *Jews* a people that were called *Phariſees*, who were particularly remarkable for the vain opinion they had of themſelves, and boaſted that they were the exacteſt obſervers of the law in all the country, whoſe ſteps theſe women cloſely followed, as thoſe who were much beloved of God; as according to outward appearance you might very well judge theſe were ſuch as durſt oppoſe themſelves againſt kings, full of fraud, arrogancy, and rebellion, preſuming to raiſe war without any juſt cauſe, and to rebel and offend their princes at their pleaſures; and whereas all the nation of the *Jews* had ſworn to be faithful unto *Cæſar*, and to the eſtate of the king, theſe only refuſed to take the oath: and of this ſect there were to the number of ſix thouſand. For which cauſe the king having impoſed a penalty upon them, *Pheroras*'s wife paid it for them; upon which account they pretended to gratify her to the utmoſt of their power, and being eſteemed as diviners, by reaſon of their often communication with God, foretold her that God had decreed to bring the kingdom of *Herod* and his poſterity to an end; and could bring to paſs that the crown ſhould deſcend to *Pheroras* and his ſons. *Salome* had got an inkling hereof, and had told *Herod* no leſs, and how they likewiſe corrupted every one of his courtiers; for which cauſe he put thoſe to death amongſt the *Phariſees*, who were the principal authors of this advice, and with them alſo the *Eunuch*, *Bagoas*, and *Cærus*, who was his darling, and one of the fineſt men of that time; he afterwards cut off all thoſe amongſt his houſhold ſervants who were of the *Phariſees* faction; for the *Phariſees* had perſuaded *Bagoas* that this new king, whom they had prognoſticated, would not only conſider him as his benefactor and father, but that he himſelf ſhould alſo marry, and find himſelf capable to beget children.

CHAP. III.

Of the Enmity Herod *bore* Pheroras; *how* Herod *ſent* Antipater *to* Cæſar, *and of the Death of* Pheroras.

BUT after *Herod* had puniſhed thoſe amongſt the *Phariſees* who were convicted of having been concerned in the conſpiracy, he aſſembled a council of his friends, before whom he accuſed *Pheroras*'s wife, and mentioned the injuries that were done to his daughters (as has been declared) aſcribing the ſame to this woman; objecting it for a crime againſt her, for having injured his honour. Beſides this, he accuſed her of wilfully cauſing mutinies; and by all means poſſible, both in words and actions, contrary to all laws, and even againſt nature, raiſed a contention betwixt him and his brother; and that the fine that he had impoſed upon his adverſaries, was ſatisfied at her charge; ſo that not the leaſt circumſtance of that conſpiracy was contrived without her conſent: For which reaſons (ſaid he) brother *Pheroras*, it ſhall not be amiſs for you of your own accord to drive ſuch a wretched woman from among you, before you be requeſted, and the ſentence be pronounced againſt her; otherwiſe ſhe will certainly cauſe a war betwixt you and me. Separate yourſelf from her, in ſo doing I will eſteem you as my brother, and you ſhall loſe nothing by the affection which I bear unto you; for the bond of brotherly love cannot continue ſafe and inviolable, unleſs you put her away.

Now although *Pheroras* was moved with the importance and weight of this diſcourſe, yet he ſaid, that as the love he bore his wife ſhould not make him forget that duty which conſanguinity required at his hands, in regard of his brother; ſo he could not forbear ſaying, that he had rather die than live without her company, whom he loved more dearly than his own life. *Herod*, although he took this anſwer of his brother's for a great injury, yet he forbore to diſcover his diſpleaſure towards him; he only forbade *Antipater* and his mother, and in like manner *Pheroras*, to keep each other company ſo intimately any more. He commanded the women likewiſe, that they ſhould give over their familiar entertainments, which all of them promiſed to obſerve: Yet notwithſtanding this, at convenient opportunities and occaſions, they viſited one another; and *Antipater* and *Pheroras* feaſted together by night. 'Twas alſo reported, that *Antipater* had the company of *Pheroras* wife; and that his mother was the means and inſtrument of his privy meeting. *Antipater* ſuſpecting his father's diſtaſtes, and fearing leſt his hatred ſhould bring him into danger, he wrote unto his friends in *Rome*, requiring them to ſend letters to *Herod*, requeſting him to ſend *Antipater* to *Cæſar* with all poſſible expedition; which was brought to paſs. *Herod* ſent him thither with ſeveral royal preſents, and gave him his teſtament and will with him; wherein he had bequeathed the kingdom to *Antipater*; and that, if it ſhould happen that *Antipater* ſhould die before him, then he bequeathed the ſame to his ſon *Herod*, whom he had by the high-prieſt's daughter. About the ſame time *Syllæus* the *Arabian* repaired to *Rome*, notwithſtanding he had neglected thoſe things which *Cæſar* had commanded him. *Antipater* accuſed him before *Cæſar* for the ſame crimes, with which he was charged by *Nicolaus*. *Syllæus* alſo was accuſed by *Aretas*, king of the *Arabians*, for murthering ſeveral of the beſt account in the city of *Petera*, contrary to his will; amongſt whom were *Sohemus*, (a man of great virtue and honour) and *Probatus*, *Cæſar*'s ſervant, of which crimes *Syllæus* was accuſed upon this occaſion.

There was a certain man of *Corinthus*, who was one of the king's guards, and one he put very great truſt in: Now *Syllæus* perſuaded him, by ſtore of money and bribes, to kill *Herod*, which he promiſed to perform. *Probatus* being made privy to *Syllæus*'s deſign, preſently told it to the king, who immediately cauſed the *Corinthian* to be apprehended and tortured, who confeſſed the whole matter. He laid hands alſo on two *Arabians*, induced to it by this *Corinthian*'s confeſſion; one of whom was a man of command in his country, and the other was *Syllæus*'s chief friend. Theſe perſons being examined, confeſſed they came thither to ſollicit with many exhortations the *Corinthian* to execute the murther, and to aſſiſt him, if he ſtood in need of them; which being fully proved by *Saturnine*, he ſent them to *Rome*, there more amply to be proceeded againſt, and ſo to be puniſhed.

Now *Herod*, perceiving that his brother *Pheroras* did conſtantly continue his affection to his wife, commanded him to retire into his own dominions: Upon which he withdrew into his tetrarchy, aſſuring him by ſeveral oaths, that he would never more return into the city, unleſs he was well aſſured that *Herod* was dead. But not long after it fell out, that *Herod* falling ſick, he was ſent for to come and receive from him certain inſtructions, as from the mouth of a dying man. But *Pheroras* having a ſtrict regard to the oath he had made, refuſed to obey the ſummons. Notwithſtanding this, *Herod* uſed him more kindly, and continued his love and affection towards him; for he came to *Pheroras*, as ſoon as he heard of his firſt ſickneſs, without being ſent for. Upon his dying he ſent his body to *Hieroſolyma*, and honourably entombed him in that place, and lamented his death with ſigns of great ſorrow. This was the ground of the miſfortunes which befel *Antipater*, who at this time was going to *Rome*: For God had thought proper to puniſh him for the murders he had committed upon his brothers. But I will diſcourſe of theſe things in a more copious manner, that kings may take example from them, how they ought to behave themſelves with regard to virtue in all their actions.

CHAP. IV.

The Wife of Pheroras *is accuſed by his Freedmen of poiſoning her Husband; and how upon* Herod's *Enquiry Poiſon was found prepared for him by* Antipater *his Son, and upon putting him to the Rack, he was forced to a Diſcovery.*

AFTER *Pheroras* had paid his laſt debt to nature, two of his freedmen, who by birth were *Taphnites*, and whom *Pheroras*, whilſt he lived, had a great eſteem for, and put his entire confidence in, came to *Herod*, and demanded that his brother's death might not go with impunity, but that a ſtrict examination and enquiry might be made into the cataſtrophe of that unfortunate prince. *Herod* gave cloſe attention to this remonſtrance, as he found the ſubſtance of it gave ſigns of great probability and truth. The men ſeeing this, acquainted him that the day before *Pheroras*'s indiſpoſition, he had ſupped with his wife, but that having received poiſon in his meat, he had by that means loſt his life; and that a woman from *Arabia* had brought the poiſon, who had proteſted to them it was a potion to encreaſe love; but, in effect, that it was no other than to take away *Pheroras*'s life; for the *Arabian* women of all the others in the world, were the moſt ſkilful in preparing poiſon, and were great ſorcerers; and ſhe who was charged with this fact was eſteemed a great friend and favourer of *Syllæus*'s beſt beloved; and that *Pheroras*'s mother and his wife's ſiſter went into *Arabia* to purchaſe the poiſon, returned back, and brought the woman back with them the day before the ſupper. Theſe words had a ſudden influence upon *Herod*, who moved with the ſpeech, put both the maid ſervants, who were their bond women, and others of their free ſervants, to the rack. Notwithſtanding this puniſhment, none confeſſing the fact, there was great difficulty found in extorting it from them; but, in the concluſion, ſhe who was laſt of all put to the torture, unable to bear the torments, ſaid nothing elſe, but that ſhe prayed God, *Antipater*'s mother, who was the ſole cauſe of all their misfortunes, might be made ſenſible of the like puniſhment. *Herod*, at hearing theſe words, was more eager and inquiſitive; ſo that by means of torments, he at length extorted all the ſecret from them, about their entertainments, their private cabals, aſſemblies, and the very words he himſelf had ſpoken apart to his ſon, which had been reported unto the women whom *Pheroras* entertained; which were, *That he would give him one hundred talents, provided he would uſe no conference with* Pheroras. Beſides, they diſcovered the hatred *Antipater* bore his father, his complaints unto his mother of the too long life of his father, for that in regard of himſelf he was grown old; ſo that if the kingdom ſhould fall into his hands directly, yet he could not hope to receive any conſiderable advantages from it; and that he alledged, as there were ſeveral brothers, and brothers children, brought up together with him, he could not have the vanity to think of any thing ſecurely. For if he happened to die, his ſon was in no probability of enjoying the kingdom, but his brother. Beſides, he charged the king with divers cruelties exerciſed againſt innocent perſons, and the murders committed upon his children, concluding, that for the apprehenſions he had, he ſhould tyrannically treat thoſe who remained; that he had formed the ſtratagem to be ſummoned to *Rome*, and *Pheroras* had retired into his tetrarchy.

As theſe words in a great meaſure agreed with the notions his ſiſter had inſtilled into his head, he could not help thinking them credible. Upon this ground his indignation riſing againſt *Antipater*, he forbade *Doris* from appearing any more in his preſence, and took, before her departure, all her jewels from her, which were valued at ſeveral talents, and from that time forward, ſhewed more regard to the family of *Pheroras*. But *Herod*'s indignation was carried to the greateſt length againſt *Antipater*, by a certain *Samaritan*, named alſo *Antipater*, under whoſe management and *Antipater*'s, the king's ſon's affairs were executed; for he being put to the rack, confeſſed amongſt other things, he had prepared a mortal poiſon, and delivered the ſame to *Pheroras* his uncle, ordering him to procure the king's death in his abſence, as the beſt and ſureſt way to avoid ſuſpicion; and that the poiſon was brought out of *Ægypt* by *Antiphilus*, *Antipater*'s friend; and that it was ſent to *Pheroras* by a perſon named *Theudion*, *Antipater*'s mother's brother; and that the poiſon was kept by *Pheroras*'s wife, and was committed by her husband to her cuſtody. Upon her examination on theſe heads, ſhe confeſſed every article, and going out haſtily, under a pretence of fetching the poiſon, ſhe threw herſelf down headlong from the top of the houſe, yet ſhe did not kill herſelf, becauſe ſhe happened to fall upon her feet. After ſhe had recovered herſelf out of the fright, the king proteſted ſhe ſhould not be puniſhed, if ſhe would only diſcover the truth; but threatened her with menaces of extreme torments, if ſhe perſiſted to conceal her treaſonable practices. Upon this ſhe ſwore ſhe would make a diſcovery of nothing but the truth, and declare how every thing was acted; which, when diſcovered, proved to be as ſeveral perſons had before ſecretly imagined. ‘The poiſon, ſaid ſhe, was brought out of *Ægypt* by *Antiphilus*, and purchaſed there by a brother of his who was a phyſician: But afterwards *Theudion* brought it to our houſe, and *Pheroras* giving it to me, I kept the ſame, but was hired by *Antipater* to poiſon you, who was his father. I muſt acquaint you therefore, that after my husband fell ſick, and you in kindneſs came to viſit and comfort him, he being won by your extreme condeſcenſion and fraternal love;

love, and by your extraordinary vigilance and care in taking meaſures to provide for his health, called me to him, and ſaid, Oh, my dear wife, I am circumvented by *Antipater*, who, by his pernicious advice and deviliſh ſchemes, wants to deprive his father of his life, and rob me of an affectionate friend; know therefore, that ſince my brother's love is ſtill continued the ſame unto me, and remains as uſual, and that I cannot think my hour of death is far off: Heaven avert, that I, juſt ready to take my reſt with my forefathers, ſhould preſent them with a ghoſt ſoil'd and tinctur'd with my brother's blood; go therefore, and burn this poiſon before mine eyes. Upon this I inſtantly went according as my huſband had ordered me, brought and burnt the greateſt part of the poiſon; but I have preſerved the reſt, that if, after my huſband's death, you ſhould treat me rigorouſly, it might ſerve me to eſcape thoſe torments that would happen to me.' Having thus declared herſelf, ſhe produced the poiſon, and the box in which it was preſerved. After this, another brother of *Antiphilus*, and the mother of both of them, being alſo put to the rack, were, by the extreme torments they endured, forced to confeſs the ſame, and own the box. The daughter of the high-prieſt, who was one of *Herod*'s wives, was charged with having had a hand in the buſineſs; upon which he put her away from him, and cancelled her ſon's name out of his will, to whom he had left his kingdom after his deceaſe. Beſide, he abdicated *Simon*, the ſon of *Boethus*, from the prieſthood, who was his father-in-law, and put in his room *Matthias*, the ſon of *Theophilus*, an *Hieroſolomite* by birth.

While things were thus carrying on, *Bathyllus*, *Antipater*'s freedman, returned from *Rome*, who being put to the rack, confeſſed he had brought poiſon with him, to give to *Antipater*'s mother and *Pheroras*, with a deſign, if the firſt poiſon happened not to do its buſineſs effectually with the king, they might, to take him out of the world with diſpatch, make uſe of the other. *Herod*'s friends at *Rome* alſo ſent him letters, which were artificially contrived by the means of *Antipater*, to accuſe *Archelaus* and *Philip*, for often recalling to mind the cataſtrophe of *Ariſtobulus* and *Alexander*, perpetrated by their father, and for lamenting too much the melancholy fate of them, who were innocently betray'd; and that they were now ſent back into the country with no other view, than, upon their arrival, to be made partakers of their brother's miſerable deſtiny. *Herod* came to the knowledge of theſe things from the intimation *Antipater*'s friends gave him of them, who ſaid, they had been wrought upon to that end by the large preſents he had made them. *Antipater* alſo wrote him a letter, wherein he gloſſed over an artifice, and ſeemingly excuſed himſelf, by ſaying, he imputed the words they had ſpoke, to their indiſcretion and youth.

In the mean time he buſied himſelf in taking effectual meaſures to accuſe *Syllæus*; and to that end, bought the friendſhip of ſome of the moſt principal *Romans*, by the preſents he made them of the richeſt jewels he could procure, which coſt him upwards of two hundred talents. Now this is matter of ſurprize, that conſidering affairs of deep agitation were carrying on againſt him, at leaſt, ſeven months before his arrival in *Judea*, he yet had no ſecret or open intimation of them. But we may probably preſume, that the diligent ſearch conſtantly kept upon the highways, and the hatred every one had conceived to *Antipater*, were the true occaſion; for not one ſingle perſon would involve himſelf ſo far as to endeavour at his ſecurity.

CHAP. V.

Antipater *ſails from* Rome, *and comes to his Father*; *is accuſed by* Nicolaus *the* Damaſcene, *and capitally condemned by his Father: Upon which he is thrown into Priſon by* Quintilius Varus, *the* Syrian *Governor, and cloſely confined, till* Cæſar *becomes acquainted with the Affair.*

HEROD keeping his reſentments ſtifled within his breaſt, returned anſwers to the letters his ſon *Antipater* ſent him, in which he ſtrictly commanded, as ſoon as he had terminated his affairs, to haſten homewards, for fear his long abſence might be attended with conſequences prejudicial to him: Beſide, in a very mild manner, he complained of his mother; but aſſured him he would pardon the fault upon his return. He gave *Antipater* all the outward ſigns of a ſincere affection to him, apprehending leſt he, entertaining any ſuſpicious thoughts, ſhould delay his journey home, and ſtaying too long at *Rome*, endeavour at ſome piece of treachery, equally detrimental both to his life and his kingdom. *Antipater* received theſe letters at *Tarentum*, and alſo others in *Cilicia*, in which he was acquainted with the death of *Pheroras*. This news extremely dejected him, not for the cordiality he had for *Pheroras*, but for the thoughts he entertained of his dying, before he had taken away firſt his father, as he had contrived his ſcheme, and promiſed him. Upon his arrival at *Celenderis*, a city in *Cilicia*, he had ſtrong doubts upon him, whether or no he ſhould return, his mother's diſgrace in being baniſhed *Herod*'s court, ſitting extremely upon his ſpirits. And to heighten the diſorder he was in, his friends were variouſly inclined to him as to opinion; ſome of them adviſed him to remain in ſome place, and wait the event of the troubles then ſubſiſting; but others, of quite different ſentiments, counſelled him to haſten his return, as much as poſſible; for his preſence would prove an effectual means to ſurmount all the objections alledged againſt him, his abſence having been the ſole cauſe of corroborating the ſteps his enemies had taken againſt him. This laſt advice had more weight with him, and accordingly embark'd, and came at laſt into the port of *Sebaſte*, ſo called, and erected by *Herod* with great expence, in honour of *Cæſar*. Hence it plainly appears, that deſtruction was hovering over *Antipater*'s head; for no man came to compliment or receive him at his landing, as they had done upon his taking ſhipping, with loud acclamations and other demonſtrations of joy. On the contrary, the ſcene was changed, and with great freedom and boldneſs they ſpoke againſt, curſed, and told him that he was meritoriouſly puniſhed for the injuſtice he had done his brothers.

Much about this ſame time *Quintilius Varus*, who ſucceeded *Saturninus* in the government of *Syria*, was at *Hieroſolyma*, having been drawn thither at *Herod*'s requeſt, to give him his aſſiſtance and advice in his preſent difficult and weighty affairs. Whilſt theſe two were debating and adviſing upon matters by themſelves, *Antipater*, before any perſon even imagined it, entered the palace, clad in the purple garment he conſtantly had worn. The guards before the gates ſuffered him to have admittance, but his followers were excluded. This firſt ſtep gave him ſudden apprehenſions, and his ſpirits ſunk, as he ſaw into what a condition he had thrown himſelf. Beſides, upon his coming up to his father, *Herod* thruſt him from him, and accuſed him with the murther of his brothers, and the deſign he had taken to poiſon him, he acquainted him, *Varus* ſhould the next day both hear and determine of his pernicious deſigns. Theſe words, and the unexpected calamity that hung over his head, entirely diſheartened him; upon which he withdrew in great diſorder, but in his way met his mother and his wife, who was daughter of *Antigonus*, king of *Judea* before *Herod*, and was advertiſed of every thing that had happened; whereupon he put himſelf into a better poſture to make his defence at his trial.

Varus and *Herod*, on the day following, ſat in judgment, attended by their friends on both ſides. They had cited to appear the king's kindred, and *Salome* his ſiſter, and ſome others, who had been privy to ſome of the actions ſecretly tranſacted by him; ſome of them had been put to the rack, eſpecially the ſervants of *Antipater*'s mother, who ſome ſhort ſpace of time before his arrival had been apprehended with a letter to the following effect: *That he ſhould have a particular regard how he returned into the country,* Herod *his father having been made acquainted with all his management; and that his only ſafety at preſent remained in* Cæſar, *and his beſt care would be not to fall into the hands of his father.*

Upon this *Antipater*, falling on his knees before his father, begged him not to condemn him before his cauſe was heard; but to defer giving judgment upon him, until he had offer'd his juſtifications. But *Herod* commanding him to withdraw into the midſt of the court and aſſembly, lamented his misfortune in begetting ſuch children, and with tears in his eyes bewailed his ill deſtiny, that had reſerved an *Antipater* to ſhake the laſt remains of his life. After this, he recounted the care and vigilance he had beſtowed in their education and training up, and how great riches he had heaped upon *Antipater*, even as far as his own deſires had extended; adding, that not all the favours and kindneſſes he had done his children could ſecure him from falling into imminent hazards of his life, by their arts of circumvention and deſign, to get poſſeſſion of his kingdom, before either the law of nature, his laſt will, or their own rights, could challenge the ſame. But *Antipater*'s behaviour was the greateſt ſurprize to him of all the reſt; for he wondered at his preſumption, and could not help being aſtoniſhed at his pride in aiming after ſo audacious a manner; for by his will he had made him heir to his kingdom, after his deceaſe; and in his life-time, had inveſted him with a ſhare of dignity and power equal to himſelf; that his annual revenue amounted to fifty talents; and he had furniſhed him with three hundred talents to perform his voyage to *Rome*. Beſide, he accuſed him of ſeveral malicious and ſlanderous accuſations againſt his brothers who had been murthered; and told him, if they had ſhewed themſelves wicked, why did he imitate them? But if they were innocent, how came he to produce the malicious inſinuations againſt thoſe who were his natural brothers? For in regard of himſelf, he had never found any thing againſt them, but by his report, neither had he given ſentence againſt them, but by *Antipater*'s advice, who for the preſent were abſolved by him, becauſe he was become the author of their parricide.

Herod, while he uttered theſe words, could not forbear falling into tears, being unable to proceed any further; upon which he begged *Nicolaus Damaſcenus*, who was his dear friend, ordinarily converſed with him, and was privy to every thing that had paſſed, to proſecute the remaining part of the charge againſt him. *Antipater* finding this, turned about to his father, and began to offer ſomething in his own juſtification, by inſiſting upon the favours and kindneſſes his father had conſtantly ſhewn him, and the honours he had received at his hands, which had he been unworthy of them, he would never have conferred upon him, alledging, 'That by his virtue he had prevented all that might have fallen out; and that in all caſes where his diligence or labour was requir'd, he had by his own induſtry tranſacted every thing; that there was no likelihood, he who had ſecured his father from the ſeveral treaſonable deſigns of other men, ſhould make himſelf guilty of the ſame practices. Nor was there any reaſon to believe, that he ſhould by any act of his, ſtrive to aboliſh that virtue, of which he had always given ſuch ample proofs, by any baſe deſign; the reſult of which would be his everlaſting diſhonour; for he had of a long time been named heir to his kingdom, and to have the entire poſſeſſion of thoſe dignities, of which he had already no ſmall ſhare; wherefore he urged the improbability, that he, who might enjoy with the utmoſt ſecurity, virtue, and honour, the half of all his father had, ſhould pretend to aim, with manifeſt infamy and diſgrace, the whole; nay, with any incertainty of obtaining the ſame. That the pu-

‘love, and by your extraordinary vigilance and care in taking meaſures to provide for his health, called me to him, and ſaid, Oh, my dear wife, I am circumvented by *Antipater*, who, by his pernicious advice and deviliſh ſchemes, wants to deprive his father of his life, and rob me of an affectionate friend; know therefore, that ſince my brother's love is ſtill continued the ſame unto me, and remains as uſual, and that I cannot think my hour of death is far off: Heaven avert, that I, juſt ready to take my reſt with my forefathers, ſhould preſent them with a ghoſt foil'd and tinctur'd with my brother's blood; go therefore, and burn this poiſon before mine eyes. Upon this I inſtantly went according as my huſband had ordered me, brought and burnt the greateſt part of the poiſon; but I have preſerved the reſt, that if, after my huſband's death, you ſhould treat me rigorouſly, it might ſerve me to eſcape thoſe torments that would happen to me.’ Having thus declared herſelf, ſhe produced the poiſon, and the box in which it was preſerved. After this, another brother of *Antiphilus*, and the mother of both of them, being alſo put to the rack, were, by the extreme torments they endured, forced to confeſs the ſame, and own the box. The daughter of the high-prieſt, who was one of *Herod*'s wives, was charged with having had a hand in the buſineſs; upon which he put her away from him, and cancelled her ſon's name out of his will, to whom he had left his kingdom after his deceaſe. Beſide, he abdicated *Simon*, the ſon of *Boethus*, from the prieſthood, who was his father-in-law, and put in his room *Matthias*, the ſon of *Theophilus*, an *Hieroſolomite* by birth.

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HEROD keeping his reſentments ſtifled within his breaſt, returned anſwers to the letters his ſon *Antipater* ſent him, in which he ſtrictly commanded, as ſoon as he had terminated his affairs, to haſten homewards, for fear his long abſence might be attended with conſequences prejudicial to him: Beſide, in a very mild manner, he complained of his mother; but aſſured him he would pardon the fault upon his return. He gave *Antipater* all the outward ſigns of a ſincere affection to him, apprehending leſt he, entertaining any ſuſpicious thoughts, ſhould delay his journey home, and ſtaying too long at *Rome*, endeavour at ſome piece of treachery, equally detrimental both to his life and his kingdom. *Antipater* received theſe letters at *Tarentum*, and alſo others in *Cilicia*, in which he was acquainted with the death of *Pheroras*. This news extremely dejected him, not for the cordiality he had for *Pheroras*, but for the thoughts he entertained of his dying, before he had taken away firſt his father, as he had contrived his ſcheme, and promiſed him. Upon his arrival at *Celenderis*, a city in *Cilicia*, he had ſtrong doubts upon him, whether or no he ſhould return, his mother's diſgrace in being baniſhed *Herod*'s court, ſitting extremely upon his ſpirits. And to heighten the diſorder he was in, his friends were variouſly inclined to him as to opinion; ſome of them adviſed him to remain in ſome place, and wait the event of the troubles then ſubſiſting; but others, of quite different ſentiments, counſelled him to haſten his return, as much as poſſible; for his preſence would prove an effectual means to ſurmount all the objections alledged againſt him, his abſence having been the ſole cauſe of corroborating the ſteps his enemies had taken againſt him. This laſt advice had more weight with him, and accordingly embark'd, and came at laſt into the port of *Sebaſte*, ſo called, and erected by *Herod* with great expence, in honour of *Cæſar*. Hence it plainly appears, that deſtruction was hovering over *Antipater*'s head; for no man came to compliment or receive him at his landing, as they had done upon his taking ſhipping, with loud acclamations and other demonſtrations of joy. On the contrary, the ſcene was changed, and with great freedom and boldneſs they ſpoke againſt, curſed, and told him that he was meritoriouſly puniſhed for the injuſtice he had done his brothers.

Much about this ſame time *Quintilius Varus*, who ſucceeded *Saturninus* in the government of *Syria*, was at *Hieroſolyma*, having been drawn thither at *Herod*'s requeſt, to give him his aſſiſtance and advice in his preſent difficult and weighty affairs. Whilſt theſe two were debating and adviſing upon matters by themſelves, *Antipater*, before any perſon even imagined it, entered the palace, clad in the purple garment he conſtantly had worn. The guards before the gates ſuffered him to have admittance, but his followers were excluded. This firſt ſtep gave him ſudden apprehenſions, and his ſpirits ſunk, as he ſaw into what a condition he had thrown himſelf. Beſides, upon his coming up to his father, *Herod* thruſt him from him, and accuſed him with the murther of his brothers, and the deſign he had taken to poiſon him, he acquainted him, *Varus* ſhould the next day both hear and determine of his pernicious deſigns. Theſe words, and the unexpected calamity that hung over his head, entirely diſheartened him; upon which he withdrew in great diſorder, but in his way met his mother and his wife, who was daughter of *Antigonus*, king of *Judea* before *Herod*, and was advertiſed of every thing that had happened; whereupon he put himſelf into a better poſture to make his defence at his trial.

Varus and *Herod*, on the day following, ſat in judgment, attended by their friends on both ſides. They had cited to appear the king's kindred, and *Salome* his ſiſter, and ſome others, who had been privy to ſome of the actions ſecretly tranſacted by him; ſome of them had been put to the rack, eſpecially the ſervants of *Antipater*'s mother, who ſome ſhort ſpace of time before his arrival had been apprehended with a letter to the following effect: *That he ſhould have a particular regard how he returned into the country,* Herod *his father having been made acquainted with all his management; and that his only ſafety at preſent remained in* Cæſar, *and his beſt care would be not to fall into the hands of his father.*

Upon this *Antipater*, falling on his knees before his father, begged him not to condemn him before his cauſe was heard; but to defer giving judgment upon him, until he had offer'd his juſtifications. But *Herod* commanding him to withdraw into the midſt of the court and aſſembly, lamented his misfortune in begetting ſuch children, and with tears in his eyes bewailed his ill deſtiny, that had reſerved an *Antipater* to ſhake the laſt remains of his life. After this, he recounted the care and vigilance he had beſtowed in their education and training up, and how great riches he had heaped upon *Antipater*, even as far as his own deſires had extended; adding, that not all the favours and kindneſſes he had done his children could ſecure him from falling into imminent hazards of his life, by their arts of circumvention and deſign, to get poſſeſſion of his kingdom, before either the law of nature, his laſt will, or their own rights, could challenge the ſame. But *Antipater*'s behaviour was the greateſt ſurprize to him of all the reſt; for he wondered at his preſumption, and could not help being aſtoniſhed at his pride in aiming after ſo audacious a manner; for by his will he had made him heir to his kingdom, after his deceaſe; and in his life-time, had inveſted him with a ſhare of dignity and power equal to himſelf; that his annual revenue amounted to fifty talents; and he had furniſhed him with three hundred talents to perform his voyage to *Rome*. Beſide, he accuſed him of ſeveral malicious and ſlanderous accuſations againſt his brothers who had been murthered; and told him, if they had ſhewed themſelves wicked, why did he imitate them? But if they were innocent, how came he to produce the malicious inſinuations againſt thoſe who were his natural brothers? For in regard of himſelf, he had never found any thing againſt them, but by his report, neither had he given ſentence againſt them, but by *Antipater*'s advice, who for the preſent were abſolved by him, becauſe he was become the author of their parricide.

Herod, while he uttered theſe words, could not forbear falling into tears, being unable to proceed any further; upon which he begged *Nicolaus Damaſcenus*, who was his dear friend, ordinarily converſed with him, and was privy to every thing that had paſſed, to proſecute the remaining part of the charge againſt him. *Antipater* finding this, turned about to his father, and began to offer ſomething in his own juſtification, by inſiſting upon the favours and kindneſſes his father had conſtantly ſhewn him, and the honours he had received at his hands, which had he been unworthy of them, he would never have conferred upon him, alledging, 'That by his virtue he had prevented all that might have fallen out; and that in all caſes where his diligence or labour was requir'd, he had by his own induſtry tranſacted every thing; that there was no likelihood, he who had ſecured his father from the ſeveral treaſonable deſigns of other men, ſhould make himſelf guilty of the ſame practices. Nor was there any reaſon to believe, that he ſhould by any act of his, ſtrive to aboliſh that virtue, of which he had always given ſuch ample proofs, by any baſe deſign; the reſult of which would be his everlaſting diſhonour; for he had of a long time been named heir to his kingdom, and to have the entire poſſeſſion of thoſe dignities, of which he had already no ſmall ſhare; wherefore he urged the improbability, that he, who might enjoy with the utmoſt ſecurity, virtue, and honour, the half of all his father had, ſhould pretend to aim, with manifeſt infamy and diſgrace, the whole; nay, with any incertainty of obtaining the ſame. That the pu-

‘niſhments his brothers had ſuffered, whom he had voluntarily diſcloſed and accuſed, at ſuch time as they were hidden, was procured by him, who, had he thought it neceſſary, might have concealed them, and whoſe wickedneſs to their father, after it was prov'd, he himſelf had revenged upon them; and (as he ſaid) he did not repent himſelf of what he had done; for the action was a plain and evident proof of the inviolable love he bore his father. As to his tranſactions at *Rome*, *Cæſar* himſelf was a witneſs of them, who could no more be deceived than God himſelf; of which theſe letters were teſtimonies, which he himſelf had wrote, and which, in the balance of equity, ought to have the ſame weight allowed them, as the ſlanders of thoſe perſons who endeavour'd to make a rupture between them; the majority of which his adverſaries had had ſufficient opportunity to level againſt him, during his abſence, which his preſence would entirely have prevented. In the concluſion he inſiſted, that all thoſe confeſſions extorted by torments, were not to be depended upon, ſince it is but too commonly the caſe, that ſuch as are put to the trial, diſcloſe many things by force of torments that are untrue, to humour thoſe that rack them. In fine, he asked no favour, and offered to be put to the rack to juſtify his own innocency.’

This declaration confounded the whole audience, for every one ſeemed to compaſſionate him. When they beheld him overwhelmed in tears, his very adverſaries could not refrain from pitying him; and *Herod* himſelf gave evident ſigns his reſolution was wavering, notwithſtanding he uſed the utmoſt efforts he could to conceal his mind. *Nicolaus* however, according as he had been requeſted, proſecuted the charges which the king had begun, urging all things to the fartheſt point, and producing all the witneſſes, and the proofs that had been gather'd from the perſons who had been tortured: ‘He inſiſted very largely upon the king's virtues, which he had fully demonſtrated in the care and education he had ſhewn of his children, for which he had been ſo barbarouſly and unjuſtly requited; beſides, that his firſt ſon's fooliſh raſhneſs was not ſo much to be wonder'd at; for being young and docile, they had been corrupted by the pernicious counſel of thoſe about them, and had rather, through an ambitious hope of government, than any conſideration of accumulating riches, put from their breaſts the reflection of what they ſtood indebted to nature; on the contrary, *Antipater*'s actions appeared in too glaring a point of light, to be excuſed of boldneſs and wonder, for he, more inhuman than the moſt ſavage beaſts, which are always ſeen to bear a ſenſe of their benefactors, was nothing mollified with his father's great indulgence, nor terrified with the diſaſters that befel his brothers, but muſt needs imitate them in their unrelenting behaviour. And you yourſelf, (ſaid he) *Antipater*, was judge of the treaſonable practices they deſigned to put in execution; by you they were accuſed, and you yourſelf was the perſon who inflicted the puniſhment upon them as ſoon as convicted. We do not diſallow, that the indignation with which you proſecuted them, was juſt; but our aſtoniſhment is, that you ſhould copy after their intemperance, and we eaſily conclude the actions you have performed, were not calculated for your father's ſecurity, but deſtruction of your brothers; that under colour of ſhewing an abhorrence of their malice, you might by ſuch a method the more artfully inſinuate yourſelf into the farther favour of their and your father, to the end afterwards more ſecurely to bring about his deſtruction, which you at length have given proofs to perform; for it is a matter inconteſtable, that your denouncing death to your brothers, and pardoning their accomplices, declares a kindneſs for them whoſe aſſiſtance you hoped to have made uſe of hereafter, in oppreſſing your father. Upon this ground you have received the ſatisfaction of a double pleaſure; the one openly, as if rejoicing, by your brothers death, you had performed an action worthy of honour; and the other ſecretly, with endeavouring by greater wickedneſs, but more ſecret artifice, to put an end to the life of your father, the revenger of whoſe injuries you pretend to be. If you had really entertained any ſentiments abhorrent of their pernicious malice, you would never have ſet their ways as an example before you to copy after; for then you had not taken them away for committing crimes that were anſwerable to your own tranſgreſſions, but becauſe they had a title to the kingdom more ſolid than you could ever pretend to. You have had the artifice to join the murther of your father, with the maſſacred bodies of your brothers, for fear you ſhould unexpectedly be convicted of your male practices againſt them; and to the end the puniſhment you well deſerve ſhould fall upon your unfortunate father, you have meditated the baſeſt parricide, and the moſt barbarous and unuſual murther, that the like has never been heard of to this day; for you his ſon have projected theſe treaſonable ſchemes, not only againſt your father, but againſt him, whoſe affection to you was exceeding, and whoſe good offices ought never to be forgotten; beſide, you have had actual participation of the government with your father, who had appointed you his ſucceſſor and heir to his kingdom, ſo that you had all the hopes in the world, both now, and for the future, to think of enjoying the ſovereignty, both by the will and writing of your father. But your actions have not at all correſponded to the virtue of your father, but to your own boundleſs appetite and malice, as you have intended to deprive a father of his part, who had granted you the whole, and ſought in effect to put to death him, whom you pretend by your words to have protected heretofore; and not content with being yourſelf a projector of villainous deſigns, your mother by your artful meaſures, has been induced to come into your ſchemes, and inſtead of a cordial friendſhip that ought to have ſubſiſted between brothers, you have filled your father's family with nothing but feud and animoſities. Beſide, you have had the preſumption to ſtile your father a beaſt;

‘when, at the ſame time, you are more malignant than the moſt poiſonous ones, as you have darted your poiſon againſt your deareſt friends, and thoſe who have deſerved the beſt at your hands, ſtrengthening youſelf with his guards, and divers other practices of men and women againſt one old man, as if the pernicious thoughts of your mind were not ſufficient to execute your hateful purpoſes; and even after ſo many men and women, ſlaves and freedmen, put to torments purely on your account, and after the moſt open and manifeſt teſtimonies of the partizans of your conſpiracies, you perſiſt in the utmoſt obſtinacy, and withſtand the truth; and you who entertained hopes of depriving your father of his life, endeavour, by all poſſible means, to annul the law provided againſt tranſgreſſors like you, and entirely, O *Varus*, tyrannize over all the juſtice and equity in the world. Can you have the boldneſs to charge thoſe who have been put to the rack, with falſhood, that you may invalidate their credit, who were the preſervers of your father's life? Think you we will believe you more than them in their torments? Will not you, O *Varus*, free the king from the injurious treatment of thoſe who are his own fleſh and blood? Will not you put this inhuman man to death, who, under colour of affection to his father, hath put his brothers to death; and who hath in the end been diſcover'd to be the moſt mortal enemy of all, with a deſign at one inſtant to thruſt himſelf into the poſſeſſion of the kingdom? You know parricide is no private crime, but an injury detrimental to life and nature, which is equally to be abhorred in the thoughts, as in the deed; and he who refrains giving due puniſhment to ſo enormous a crime, is an apparent enemy to our common mother nature.’

Having made an end of this ſpeech, he inſiſted upon ſome other points, touching *Antipater*'s mother, which by a womaniſh weakneſs ſhe had divulged; and were, that ſhe aſked counſel of ſoothſayers and conjurers, to whom the kingdom ſhould deſcend; and that ſhe had made ſacrifices, and offered up prayers for the death of the king. Beſide, he recounted the laſcivious behaviour *Antipater* had ſhewn with *Pheroras*'s women in entertainments, amours, and wanton interludes, and laid open all the informations that had been given by thoſe who had been put to the rack, with ſeveral other teſtimonies of other perſons, ſome of whom had been ſuborned, and others were found out to be true; for all people perceiving *Antipater* accuſed by thoſe who had the government in their hands, and that the good ſucceſs which had conſtantly attended upon him, had now thrown him into the hands of his adverſaries, they ſoon made an open diſcovery of the inſurmountable hatred they had conceived to him. Indeed, their fear of him before had made them very ſilent; but the hatred of other men was not of ſo bad conſequence to him, as his own wickedneſs, which was his mortal enmity againſt his father, and his breach of affection againſt his brothers, which filled his father's houſhold with mutinies and diſſentions, and murders; ſome of which had been plotted, and others acted by him; in all which he had neither given place to hatred, according to juſtice, nor to love, according to good affection; but juſt as his own advantage preſented itſelf to him. As the events which happened were perceived by perſons of foreſight long before, they judged of them when they did fall out, juſt as they had reaſon, and ſpoke barely their opinions of them, as they were not biaſſed by any principles of hatred. When they were ſhut up, they were loud in their complaints and exclamations againſt *Antipater*; but no ſooner were their grounds of fear removed, than they divulged every thing they knew. Divers enormities which *Antipater* had committed, were produced, yet nothing ſeemed to be feigned, for the accuſers neither ſpoke in favour of the king, nor was their fear any obſtruction to what they wanted to ſpeak, but condemned all *Antipater*'s wicked actions, and judged him worthy of death and puniſhment, not ſo much for his father's ſecurity, as what he juſtly merited; neither did they only accuſe him who were by juſtice bound ſo to do, but ſeveral other witneſſes ſpontaneouſly brought in their evidences. And though *Antipater* was a perfect diſſembler, and knew all the arts how to cover over his behaviour with the greateſt artifice imaginable, yet the proofs brought againſt him were ſo very plain, that he could not, without manifeſt preſumption, dare to object any thing againſt them.

As ſoon as *Nicolaus* had made an end of his accuſations, *Varus* ordered *Antipater* to make his defence to the allegations brought againſt him, if he had any thing to urge in his juſtification; for of himſelf he deſired nothing more, and was well aſſured *Herod* his father wiſhed no leſs, than that he would juſtify himſelf, and maintain his innocency. But he humbling himſelf to the ground, and lowly bending his body to the earth, begged God, who was the ſearcher of all hearts, to approve his innocency by ſome eminent ſign, how he never had attempted any thing to his father's detriment. All wicked men have recourſe to this artifice, and as often as they have committed any egregious crime, they engage themſelves in the worſt wickedneſs, without entertaining any ſentiments of God or his juſtice; and when their crimes happen to involve them in danger, they are then moſt ſure to invoke God, as thinking by ſuch a method they ſhall be delivered, becauſe they ſeem to commit all things to his determination. This makes what we have now hinted true in *Antipater*, who in all his former actions behaved ſo, as if there had been no God at all, that had the ſuperintendency of human actions; but when he was overtaken in his villainous procedure, and that the law was no protection to his crimes, he made his recourſe to God's power, affirming, that he had been reſerved by God to this very purpoſe, that he might diligently watch over his father's ſafety.

Varus finding all his interrogations fruitleſs, and that he could wreſt nothing from him, but only found that he called upon God, and that the debate was endleſs, in the manner it was carried on, commanded the poiſon to be brought out, and ſet before them all, with a deſign to make an experiment of its power; which being done accordingly, and given to one condemn'd to die, it inſtantly killed him: Upon this he roſe up, and departed out of the council, and the next day went to *Antioch*, the chief city of the *Aſſyrians*, where for the moſt part he reſided. *Herod*, however, commanded *Antipater* to be put in chains, no man knowing what had paſſed between him and *Varus*; but perſons opinions were, that he had done nothing but by his order. Upon his impriſoning him, he ſent to *Cæſar*, and wrote his letters to him, with complaints about *Antipater*, which he diſpatch'd by certain appointed meſſengers, who might, by word of mouth, fully acquaint him with his inſufferable deſigns againſt him. And at the very ſame time there was a letter intercepted, ſent by *Antiphilus* to *Antipater*, from *Ægypt*; the letter being open'd by the king, the following contents were found therein: *I have ſent you* Acme'*s letter, to the hazard of my own life, for you are ſenſible I am in danger of the diſpleaſure of two mighty families, if I ſhould be diſcover'd; as for yourſelf, bethink you well of your affairs in this reſpect.* Theſe were the contents. *Herod* made diligent ſearch for other letters, but could not find any, for the ſervant of *Antiphilus*, who had brought that which was read, abſolutely denied he had any other. But while the king was in this doubt, one of his ſervants, perceiving that the inſide of the meſſenger's coat was newly ſewed, he having two garments upon him, and conjecturing that the letters might be hid in the folds thereof, as indeed they were, ript the ſame open, and found the letters; the tenour whereof was to this effect:

Acme *to* Antipater, *Greeting:*

'I Have written the letters to your father, in conformity to your directions, and I have imitated the copy of my letter, as if it had been ſent by *Salome* to my miſtreſs. I flatter myſelf, when he hath peruſed the ſame, he will puniſh *Salome* as a traitor to him.'

But the letter ſuppoſed to be written by *Salome*, was of *Antipater*'s invention, and in *Acme*'s ſtile. The purport of it was to the following effect:

Acme *to king* Herod, *Greeting:*

'I Have a tender regard that nothing relating to your ſecurity, be kept ſecret from you, and having found a letter of *Salome*, wrote againſt you to my miſtreſs, I have with danger to my perſon, made a copy thereof, and ſent it unto you; in which ſhe required ſhe might have licence to marry *Syllæus*. I beg you to tear this in pieces, leſt the diſcovery involve me in ſome hazard of my life.'

The letter ſhe wrote to *Antipater*, plainly diſcover'd ſhe had written theſe words to *Herod*, according to the directions he had given her, as if *Salome* had conſpired to work ſome treaſon againſt him. The copy of theſe fictitious letters were ſent in the name of *Salome* to her miſtreſs, to execute her treaſonable deſigns. This *Acme* was a *Jeweſs* by birth, and a waiting woman to *Julia*, *Cæſar*'s wife, and had done theſe things to gratify *Antipater*, who had corrupted her with a great ſum of money, to aſſiſt him in haſtening the death of his father and aunt.

Herod, almoſt raving mad at the malicious deſigns of *Antipater*, was actuated by a furious deſire to put him immediately to death, as the only diſturber in his kingdom, and who had not only meditated his pernicious ſchemes againſt him and his ſiſter, but had alſo corrupted *Cæſar*'s family: Beſide, *Salome* beating violently her breaſt, and commanding him to put her to death, if he was able to prove any thing amounting to a capital crime, inſtigated him to a more violent degree than ever. Upon this *Herod* called, and asked his ſon ſeveral queſtions, and commanded him to ſpeak, if he had any thing to ſay in his juſtification, and not uſe any manner of artifice or diſſimulation. *Antipater* perſiſting to give no manner of anſwer, *Herod* then asked him, ſince he was inconteſtably, and by the concurrent approbation of every body, adjudged guilty, that he ſhould inſtantly nominate to him, who had been his aſſociates and accomplices in his ſeveral crimes. Upon this he told him, *Antiphilus* was the author of them all, and refuſed to make any farther diſcovery: *Herod* was exceedingly troubled, and now reſolved to ſend his ſon immediately to *Rome*, to receive a puniſhment deſerving of his treaſonable intentions; but apprehending, by the aſſiſtance of his friends, he might avoid the danger, he continued him under a ſtrict guard as before, and ſent other ambaſſadors to *Cæſar*, and a letter to accuſe his ſon to him, and to make a diſcovery of *Acme*'s ſecret correſpondence to favour his ſiniſter deſigns, ſending alſo at the ſame time the copies of the letters which had been intercepted.

CHAP. VI.

Of Herod*'s Deceaſe, and the Sedition occaſioned thereby; and of the Puniſhment inflicted upon the Diſturbers.*

IN the mean time, the ambaſſadors, amply inſtructed in every thing, how to anſwer to the queſtions put to them, and having their letters of credence with them, haſtened to *Rome*; but *Herod*, during their journey, fell ill, and made his teſtament, in which he bequeathed the kingdom to the youngeſt of his ſons, on account of the hatred, at *Antipater*'s inſtigations, he had conceived againſt *Archelaus* and *Philip*. He left *Cæſar* a thouſand talents, and to *Julia*, *Cæſar*'s wife, and *Cæſar*'s children, and his friends, five hundred talents; he bequeathed money, and penſions, and lands to his ſons and nephews. He left *Salome* a very conſiderable legacy, for the ſincere affection ſhe had always bore him in every circumſtance of his life, and for never attempting any thing againſt him. Perceiving there was no hopes of recovering from his indiſpoſition, being now upwards of ſeventy years of age, he was moſt ſurpriſingly frantic, and furious, and ſeemed enraged at every body about him, becauſe he ſuppoſed the nation deſpiſed him, and made ſport with his diſtemper and misfortunes; ſome of whom, who had more than ordinary influence with the people, made an inſurection againſt him, and the following was the cauſe.

Judas, the ſon of *Sariphæus*, and *Matthias* the ſon of *Margalothus*, two very eloquent perſons, vaſt proficients in the knowledge of the laws, and in high veneration with the people, becauſe they inſtructed the youth; for thoſe who had any deſire to arrive at any tolerable degree of virtue, daily flock'd to them, hearing that the king's illneſs was paſt remedy, ſtirred up all the youth to aboliſh all the buildings and works the king had made, in diſobedience to the laws of their country, that they might reap the advantages with a brave contention for virtue juſtly intitled them to; for his acting ſo much contrary to the tenour of the eſtabliſhed inſtitutions, had proved the juſt ground, not only of all his paſt miſeries, but the indiſpoſition into which he was then thrown. For ſeveral of his buildings was repugnant to the preſcriptions of the laws, againſt which *Judas* and *Matthias* made loud exclamations; for the king had erected over the great gate of the temple a prodigious large eagle, of great coſt, and made of gold; for the law expreſly prohibits thoſe, who are deſirous to lead a life agreeable to the inſtitutions of the laws, neither to think of erecting any images, or endeavouring to fix up the reſemblances of any living creatures. And upon this ground they ſuggeſted, that the eagle ought to be pulled down; and that if any one was apprehenſive of death, he might draw this glad concluſion, that as he died in vindication and defence of his country's inſtitutions, he was to prefer that conſideration to any other he could think of; becauſe he would leave behind him an everlaſting name, celebrated while he lived, and endleſs after his deceaſe. Wherefore, that they ſhould not protract the execution therefore for fear of danger, ſince death was a thing that could not be avoided, ſo that ſince by the general courſe of nature they muſt die, it would be a glorious thing from them to ſacrifice their lives with praiſe and honour in the defence of virtue; for to die in the execution of ſome noble exploit, which cannot be atchieved without hazard of danger, their children muſt be richly rewarded with the fruits thereof, and their other parents who ſhould outlive them, of what ſex ſoever, ſhould reap the advantages of the exploits they had atchieved.

While they were exciting the young men with words like theſe, news was brought of the king's death. This was of conſiderable advantage to the doctors: Whereupon, they directly went to pull down the eagle, and with their axes cut it in pieces, in the preſence of a number of perſons then in the temple. Upon this affair coming to the ear of the king's captain, who ſuſpecting ſome further and greater tumult might be raiſed, he marched out with a ſufficient body of men to repel the perſons who endeavour'd to take away what the king had dedicated, and charging them at unawares (as a mob of people are conſtantly ſeen in confuſion, and rather enclined to favour a headſtrong and furious inclination, than the dictates of reflection and ſobriety,) who had provided nothing for their ſafety, he took forty young men, who perſiſted to behave valiantly, and with them *Judas* and *Matthias* their councellors, who thought it diſhonourable to yield, and carried them to the king, who, upon their appearing before him, asked them, *If they had had the boldneſs to pull down that which he had dedicated?* "We, ſaid they, have of a long time reſolved to do ſo, and accordingly have now put our reſolution in execution, as became good an honeſt men; for we maintain the doctrine of the law, and the honour of God, of whom we are diſciples and worſhippers; and you ought not to admire that, in contempt of your ordinances, we have preferred the laws which *Moſes* has left us in writting, according as he was taught them by God. Beſide, we ſhall think it an happineſs to undergo any kind of death, as we are thoroughly conſcious to ourſelves, that we have acted herein not through any motive of impiety, but through the love we have for goodneſs."

Every one of them were unanimous in theſe ſentiments, and expreſſed the ſame undaunted boldneſs throughout their words, as they had done in the execution of their deſign. The king binding them, ſent them to *Jericho*, where he convoked an aſſembly of the principal *Jews* there: Upon their meeting together, he aſſembled them in the theatre, and lying upon his palate, by reaſon of his inability to ſtand, he enumerated the many and tedious hardſhips he had ſuſtained for their ſakes, and the vaſt expence he had been at in repairing the temple, when the *Aſſamonean* ſons, during the hundred and twenty five years they had reigned, had not been able all that time, to produce ſuch a magnificent preſent dedicated to the honour of God; and added, that he had endowed the temple with large donations, for which he had hopes he ſhould obtain a commendable name after his death. He began here to raiſe up his voice with ſome emotion, and ſaid, that he could not be ſecure from the contumelious uſage of ſome as long as he lived, for they had had the preſumption in the moſt open manner to pull down what he had dedicated, through a pretence of reproaching him, but in effect, if the thing was thoroughly weighed, it would be found nothing leſs than ſacriledge.

The aſſembly apprehending his cruelty, leſt his furious paſſion inſtigating him on to ſome ſevere puniſhment, ſhould cauſe him to fall upon them, denied that the thing was tranſacted by their contrivance or advice, and ſaid, they were of opinion the action ought to be chaſtiſed. Indeed *Herod* ſhewed great moderation to the reſt, but he deprived *Matthias* of the ſacerdotal honour, as being in ſome part the author of the commotion, and inveſted *Jozarus*, brother of *Matthias*'s wife, in the office of the prieſthood. During the pontificate of *Matthias*, it happened that another prieſt was created, only for one day, which was on a ſolemn faſt of the *Jews*, and the cauſe of it was as follows: This *Matthias* being in the prieſt-hood, in the night that preceeded the day of the faſt he thought, in a (1) dream he had, that he lay with his wife. This circumſtance rendering him incapable to perform ſacrifice, *Joſeph*, the ſon of *Ellenus*, his kinſman, was obliged to perform in his room. *Herod* compelled this *Matthias* to lay down the prieſthood; but the other *Matthias*, who had been the author of the late ſedition, and ſome of his confederates, were burned to death; and the ſame night happened an eclipſe of the moon.

Herod's illneſs more and more encreaſed upon him, God now requiring a puniſhment due to his crimes; for a ſlow fire conſumed him, which did not affect the external ſo much as the internal parts of the body. Beſide, from the ſame diſtemper was derived an inſatiable deſire of eating, which he was not able to withſtand, his entrails ulcerated, and a moſt violent cholick ſeiz'd him. His feet had running ſores, ſwelled, and were of a venomous colour, and his ſtomach was no leſs affected. His genitals rotted, and produced worms and vermin, and every time he was erected, he fetched his breath with prodigious pain, which threw a moſt nauſeous ſtench about him. He had alſo terrible convulſions, and his whole body was rack'd in a furious manner. Devout men, and thoſe who had placed their ſtudy in the nature of ſuch diſtempers as this, ſaid, that the various and complicated diſtemper of his body, was a puniſhment, which God demanded of him for his impieties. But though his pains were ſo great, as to ſeem, to outward appearance, impoſſible to be born, yet he ſtill gave ſigns he hoped to recover, and ſent for phyſicians, whoſe advice and preſcriptions he followed in every thing; and accordingly, went over *Jordan*, and made uſe of the baths of *Calirrhoes*, which, beſides they are potable, have ſeveral other excellent qualifications in them. Theſe waters run into the lake, which they ſay is full of *Bitumen*. When he came here, his phyſicians were of opinion they ought to refreſh him with the waters, and accordingly, having dipped him in a tub full of oil, he was taken up again, and judged for dead. But upon his ſervants lamenting him, he came again to himſelf; but perceiving there was no likelihood of recovering, he ordered fifty drachms a-piece to his ſoldiers. Beſide, he gave a great ſum of money to his officers and friends, and then returned back to *Jericho*, where being ſeiz'd with a profound melancholy, he was puſhed on to ſo vaſt an extreme of rage, that he reſolved upon the following horrid action: After he had commanded all the principal men of the nation to come to him, (who made a prodigious multitude, as the whole nation was convened, and every one obey'd the edict, which was made capital to diſobey it,) without making any manner of diſtinction between the innocent and guilty, he ſhut all of them up in the *Hippodrome*, and then ſending for his ſiſter *Salome*, and her husband *Alexas*, he acquainted them, "That being preſſed with ſo many calamities about him, he " was not far from death, a thing which every perſon was to bear, and ought to deſire; " That the conſideration of dying without a " ſuitable pomp of ſorrow, as he was a king, " was a terrible mortification to him: That " he knew very well what diſpoſition of mind " the *Jews* were in, and a more deſireable circumſtance could not happen to them than his " death, who had preſumed in his life-time to " give ſuch teſtimonies of their rebellion, and

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(1) The following ſeems to contradict the Account in the *Talmud*; for the High-prieſts, in the Night that uſually preceeded the ſolemn day of Expiation, were not wont to ſleep for fear of Pollution; and in the Book *Joma*, *cap.* i. *miſ.* 7. it is read: *If he deſired to compoſe himſelf to reſt, the Junior Prieſts with their Fore-fingers ſmote and ſaid, My Lord the High-Prieſt, Do you thus ſmite and drive away Sleep upon the Pavement.* Now becauſe theſe Words ſeem to carry their Confirmation along with them, let none ſuppoſe or imagine they are the Invention of ſome *Jews*; and that they have therefore concluded *Matthias* to have done ſo; for what *Zacharias Ben Kebutal* ſays, is worthy of Credit, ſo far as Hiſtory will allow: He ſays, *That he has very often read to the High-Prieſt on that Night, to prevent him from falling a-ſleep.* How comes *Joſephus* then to verify, that the High-prieſt ſlept that Night? For it appears, from the Teſtimony of the *Talmudical* Writtings, that the Cuſtom was for the *High-Prieſt* to keep awake that Night; and the reaſon of this Cuſtom need not be long in deducing; for it was to keep himſelf unpolluted, which Sleep might poſſibly occaſion him to do. But is it not to be collected from the ſame Paſſage, that ſome other Prieſt never fell into a Sleep or Dream? I frankly confeſs, there is a great Difference between a Cuſtom, and a thing that may happen. I believe I am right, when I alledge, that the *Levites* always kept themſelves awake in the Night-time in the Temple; and yet it appears from the *Talmud*, that ſome were found who ſometimes ſlept. I think one Example inſufficient to invalidate the Authority of what I have mentioned about this Cuſtom; for many doubtleſs at this Time were, and had been produced, eſpecially ſince the Prieſts were, juſt as *Herod* thought fit, changed, and Men of impious Principals inveſted in the duties of the Prieſthood. I will give an Example of this. It is manifeſt both from the Law of God, and the *Jewiſh* Writings, that to put the Sickle to the Corn before the Oblation-Day, which was the ſixteenth Day of the Month *Niſan*, was prohibited; yet notwithſtanding this Reſtriction, the wiſe Men allowed the People of *Jericho* to reap before that Day: And this the *Talmud* agrees in. Now if this had been omitted to be put in Writing, as it might eaſily have been, and *Joſephus* or any other Hiſtorian had ſaid, that he came eight Days before the Paſſover from *Hieroſolyma* to *Jericho*, but did not meet with his Friends at Home, becauſe they were ſhearing their corn in the Fields; I ſay, in this Circumſtance, is *Joſephus* altogether to be taxed with a Falſhood? This is the Method with ſome Perſons. But I would wave my own Opinion of the Matter, and conclude, that where two Authors cannot be by any means reconciled together, the Credit of either ought not to be ſuſpected. *Reland.*

“ ſhew their diſreſpectful behaviour to the donation he had ſet up; upon which it was their duty to give him ſome conſolation in his preſent extremity; for if they would but conſider within themſelves, they ought to pay to him a more ſplendid and magnificent regard then had been uſually given to other kings; and that the whole nation ſhould honour him with their tears, whom otherwiſe they would not deplore, but by their laughter and jeſts; wherefore, when they ſaw him give up the ghoſt, they ought to place the ſoldiers about the *Hippodrome*, as yet unacquainted with his death, (for he would not have it divulged without firſt putting this in execution,) and to command them to pour their darts upon every one ſhut up therein; by which deed, they would prove the occaſion of giving him a double joy, while they faithfully performed his laſt dying will, and honoured him with a remarkable ſcene of ſorrow.”

As he gave theſe commands, he let fall a flood of piteous tears, and begged them, by the love they bore him as a relation, and the fidelity he owed God, not to deny him the honour he deſired, which they promiſed to perform. Now any man may conjecture the diſpoſition of this man, who took pleaſure in what we have obſerved above. And from the deſire of life, ſhewed himſelf guilty of the barbarity exerciſed upon his relations, and who laid an injunction, contrary to the dictates of humanity, which was to put the whole nation into extreme mourning for the loſs of thoſe perſons they held deareſt in the world, by commanding one out of every family to be put to death, though guilty of no manner of injury, and no crime could be alledged againſt them; when thoſe perſons, who entertained but the ſmalleſt ſhare of virtue in them, in ſuch circumſtances, are wont to lay aſide the juſt animoſities they have harboured againſt their adverſaries.

CHAP. VII.

Herod *endeavours to lay violent Hands upon himſelf, and ſhortly after orders* Antipater *to be put to Death.*

WHILE he gave theſe commands to his relations, letters came from *Rome* from the Ambaſſadors he had ſent to *Cæſar*, in which he was acquainted, *Acme* had been put to death for aiding *Antipater*, by *Cæſar*, in a furious paſſion; and *Antipater* was left to his own diſpoſal, as being his king and father, either to baniſh, or put him to death, as he thought proper. *Herod*, upon receiving this Meſſage, found great conſolation: *Acme's* death revived his ſpirits, and the liberty given him to puniſh his ſon, gave him great relief; in the mean while his pains encreaſing, and finding himſelf in a condition to eat from his long faſting, he called for an apple and a knife, for he was uſed to pare his apples with his own hand, cut them in pieces, and eat them; having received the knife, he look'd about him deſigning to wound himſelf with it, which he had certainly done, had not his couſin *Actriabus* laid hold of his hand, and made a great noiſe; upon which the palace was filled with ſo much confuſion and diſorder, as if the king had actually been dead. *Antipater* ſuppoſing his father dead, took heart, as if he was upon the point of getting his liberty, and obtaining the kingdom without any oppoſition; and began to talk with the keeper of the priſon about his delivery, promiſing him ſeveral large preſents both for then and to come, as if this matter had been the only thing to be diſputed; but the keeper not only refuſed to do as he had deſired him, but after having received ſeveral ſollicitations to that end, he went and acquainted the king with his intentions: *Herod*, who before was upon no good terms with his ſon, when he heard the keeper acquaint him with the affair, made a loud exclamation, and, though in the greateſt agony and diſtreſs, ſmote his head, and erecting himſelf in his bed, ordered ſome of his guards to go immediately, and without any manner of delay, put *Antipater* to death, and buried him in *Hyrcania*, with little or no funeral honour.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Herod*'s Death, Teſtament, and Funeral.*

HEROD after this, having altered his intentions, made his will over again, and conſtituted *Antipas*, to whom he had before left the kingdom, tetrarch of *Galilee* and *Peræas*; but he gave the kingdom to *Archelaus*; and to his ſon *Philip*, brother of *Archelaus*, he left *Gaulonitis*, and *Trachonitis*, and *Batanæa*, and *Peniades*, over which he ordained him a tetrarch; and bequeathed to his ſiſter *Salome*, *Jamnia*, and *Azotus*, and *Phaſaelides*, and five hundred thouſand drachms of ſtamp'd ſilver: Beſides, he took care of his other relations, to each of whom he gave great riches and annual penſions. He alſo bequeathed to *Cæſar*, ten millions of ſtamp'd ſilver, excluſive of his gold and ſilver veſſels, and his robes of an ineſtimable value; and he left to *Julia*, *Cæſar's* wife, and ſome others, five millions. Theſe things being performed, he died five days after he had ſlain *Antipater*: Having reigned after the death of *Antigonus* four and thirty years, and thirty ſeven years from his firſt being created king by the *Romans*; having been a perſon equally barbarous to every one about him, and of an unbridled paſſion, and of a temper above the dictates of law and reaſon: He was indeed favoured in a great degree by fortune, if any man can properly be ſaid ſo, as having from a private condition of life work'd himſelf into a kingdom; and though beſet with innumerable difficulties, had the fortunate ſucceſs to extricate himſelf out of every one of them, and leave this world in a very advanced age. As to what reſpects his domeſtic concerns, eſpecially his ſons, he imagined in his own opinion he was happy, as thinking he had gained the ſuperiority over his enemies; but in my judgment, I think he ought to be reckon'd a very miſerable and an unfortunate prince.

In the mean while *Salome* and *Alexas*, before the king's death was made known, ſent home the perſons, who had been ſhut up in the *Hippodrome*, telling them, the king had given orders for them to depart into their ſeveral provinces, and look after their eſtates. This was a ſenſible obligation to the whole nation, and now the king's death began to be every man's talk; and *Salome* and *Alexas* having aſſembled all the militia into the amphitheatre at *Jericho*, firſt of all read a letter, wrote to the ſoldiers, in which the king thanked them for their fidelity, and loyal behaviour to him; and begged them to preſevere in the like good intentions to his ſon *Archelaus*, whom he had conſtituted king. After this *Ptolomæus*, who had the keeping of the king's ſignet, read over the will to them, and told them, it could not be ratified without *Cæſar* firſt inſpected it. Immediately after this, loud ſhouts of joy were made in favour of *Archelaus*, and the ſoldiers, according to their companies, and the officers profeſſed the ſame friendſhip and loyalty to him, as they had done to the father, and begged God to be propitious and favourable to him.

After this, they made preparations for the king's funeral; in the performance of which, *Archelaus* ſtrove to render his father's exequies as magnificent as could be: To which end he provided very coſtly ornaments, that the corpſe might be attended with all imaginable pomp; which was carried out on a golden litter, embelliſhed with many and various ſtones of great value, the cover being of an azure colour, and the body cloathed in purple, with a diadem upon the head; and above that a crown of gold, and the right hand bore a ſcepter: His ſons, and a great number of his relations accompanied the litter; next to theſe were the ſoldiers, diſtinguiſhed by their ſeveral nations and names, and diſpoſed in the following order: Firſt went the guards; after them, a body of *Thracians*; after them, the *Germans*; and after them, the *Gauls*; every one of them being clad in their military habits. Theſe were brought up by the reſt of the army, as if they had been going out to war under their captains and centurions; theſe were followed by five hundred ſervants, who carried aromaticks: They marched eight furlongs to (1) *Herodium*; for he was buried there, according to his own directions. And in this manner did *Herod* depart this life.

Archelaus mourned for his father ſeven days, for ſo many days the law of our country requires. When he had finiſhed his mourning, and given the multitude an entertainment, he went up into the temple, and every one, wherever he paſſed, followed him with loud acclamations, each ſtriving to ſhew how exceeding great was his gladneſs. After this aſcending an eminence, on which was placed a golden throne, he ſeated himſelf on it, and received the people; to whom he diſcovered how grateful their loyal behaviour was to him; and returning them thanks, he told them, *He would not forget the obligations he owed them for laying aſide the remembrance of the injuries his father had done them; for which he promiſed it ſhould be his conſtant endeavour, that nothing ſhould be wanting in him to repay the great marks of affection they had given him: That for the preſent he would abſtain from the name of a king, but would take upon him the honour of the title, if* Cæſar *ſhould ratify, by his authority, the teſtament his father had wrote: Upon which ground he could not accept of the honour, tho' the army at* Jericho *had been ſo urgent in putting the diadem upon his head, becauſe the will of him who was to confirm it to him was uncertain; but if he obtained the kingdom, his favour ſhould never be wanting to reward their benevolence and good will, and his conſtant endeavours ſhould be in all things, to ſhew himſelf better than his father.* They, as is uſual in the like caſes, with the populace, ſuppoſing thoſe who arrived to great power made a true diſcovery of their ſentiments in the beginning of their grandeur, the more ſoft and courteous *Archelaus* delivered himſelf to them, the more they praiſed and commended him, and delivered in writing, the ſeveral grants they deſired to be made them: Some were loud in their exclamations for a diminution of the taxes; others inſiſted to have thoſe priſoners ſet free, the great numbers of whom *Herod* had for a long kept in confinement. There were others earneſt in their ſollicitations to have the exhorbitant (2) tolls, levied upon goods in the markets, to be taken off. To all which *Archelaus* made not the leaſt denial, becauſe he endeavoured to gratify the people in every thing, eſteeming their love as the greateſt advantage to ſecure his kingdom; and thus having firſt made ſacrifice, he went and partook of an entertainment prepared for him by his friends.

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(1) *Herodium*, according to *Joſephus*, *lib.* xiv. *Antiq. c.* 25. *&* *de Bell. lib.* i. *c.* 11, *&* 16. was diſtant from *Hieroſolyma* ſixty Furlongs, where the Corpſe of *Herod* was carried, *Archelaus* accompanying the Funeral, full eight Furlongs, according to the 17th Book: How comes it then, that the firſt Book of the Wars ſays, *That the Body was carried two hundred Furlongs to* Herodium? Unleſs after *Archelaus* had ceaſed from following the Corpſe, the reſt of the Pomp was conducted through a winding Way, that it might appear *Herod*'s Corpſe, was not deprived the Exequies due unto it.

(2) *Epiphanius* has it thus: *Some loudly demanded the tolls, which* Herod *had ordained in the public Fairs, to be withdrawn.*

CHAP. IX.

How the People raiſed a Sedition againſt Archelaus; *and how he went to* Rome.

IN the mean while, certain *Jews* aſſembling together, through a deſire of ſome change in the government, were concerned for the death of *Matthias* and his followers, whom *Herod* had ſlain; for the apprehenſions they entertained of *Herod*, had deprived them of performing the honour of their exequies, becauſe they lay under condemnation of death, for the golden eagle they had pulled down: This conſideration made them heavily lament their loſt friends, and they threw ſeveral ſcandalous and reproachful aſperſions againſt the deceaſed king, as if by ſuch a procedure they could adminiſter comfort to their friends; accordingly, having met together in one place, they endeavour'd to induce *Archelaus* to revenge their ill treatment upon the perſons *Herod* held in eſteem; and, in the firſt place, to abdicate the prieſt *Herod* had conſtituted, and ſubſtitute in his room one better qualified according to the laws, and of a more virtuous life, to perform the function of the prieſthood. *Archelaus*, though he diſliked this bold attempt of theirs, yet condeſcended to it, becauſe he was ready to go his journey to *Rome*, which he had propoſed, in order to know the intentions of *Cæſar* about him: Wherefore ſending an officer to uſe his perſuaſions with them, to make them lay aſide the deſire of revenge they wanted, and to conſider their friends had ſuffered puniſhment, according to the law, and their demands were couched in very affronting terms, and the preſent time required deliberation, and there was an abſolute neceſſity to maintain peace, till he came back to them confirm'd in his kingdom, by the approbation of *Cæſar*, when he promiſed he would enter into a conſultation with them about what they required, and it would be much better for them in the mean time to remain peaceable, leſt the imputation of ſedition ſhould be thrown upon them.

Archelaus having given the captain this leſſon, ſent him to acquaint them with it; but they with great preſumption would not ſuffer him to ſpeak a word, and threaten'd him or any other perſon with death, who durſt take upon him to ſpeak any thing openly, that endeavoured to convince them of their miſtake, or reclaim them from their headſtrong attempts, eſteeming their own wills of greater importance than the authority of their governors; and thinking themſelves highly affronted, if they did not obtain, now *Herod* was dead, a method of revenge for the loſs of their dear companions, who had been ſlain in his life-time. Beſides, they were by ſo much the more enraged, as they imagined that to be law and juſtice, in which they found their pleaſure concerned, being buoyed up with extreme gladneſs, they were going to be revenged on thoſe they believed to be their worſt enemies; and tho' *Archelaus* deputed ſeveral perſons to go and confer with them, and ſome, not by any command of his, but of their own accords, went and endeavoured to reduce them to better ſentiments, yet none were permitted to make the leaſt remonſtrance. In fine, their angry diſpoſition was attended by a ſedition, which received a conſiderable increaſe by the great number of perſons who joined the adherents.

Near about this time approached the feſtival, in which our laws prohibit us to eat fermented bread, (for this feſtival is called the paſſover, and inſtituted in remembrance of their departure out of *Ægypt*, which they celebrate with great rejoicings; and the cuſtom is then, to kill a greater number of victims than in any other ſolemnity, and vaſt crowds of people from all parts of the country, and other places out of its territories, aſſembled to it, on account of religion.) The diſturbers of the peace extremely lamenting *Judas* and *Matthias*, the expounders of the law, had their aſſemblies in the temple, where they had ſtore of proviſions, which they had procured by begging. *Archelaus* apprehending from their inſolent procedure, ſomething of worſe conſequence might happen, ſent a centurion, at the head of a company of ſoldiers, to reſtrain the fury of their farther progreſs, before the contagion had ſpread itſelf through the reſt of the multitude, and to bring to him thoſe whoſe preſumption puſhed him on to foment the ſedition: Thoſe who favoured the faction of the expounders of the law, by their exclamations and loud murmuring, ſo irritated the people againſt them, that they made an attack upon the ſoldiers, and being very near them, threw ſtones upon the major part of their body. The centurion, and ſome few others being wounded, made their eſcape, and after this, they fell to ſacrificing again.

Archelaus ſeeing himſelf likely to be reduced to great danger, unleſs a ſtop was put to the late furious attempt of the multitude, ſent all the ſoldies and horſemen, to prohibit thoſe who were without, to give any aſſiſtance to thoſe within the temple; and to put to the ſword thoſe who had eſcaped the infantry, and were in hopes of being out of danger. In ſhort, about three thouſand men were ſlain by the cavalry, and thoſe who eſcaped, took refuge in the neighbouring mountains. *Archelaus* ordered a proclamation to be iſſued out, in which he commanded every one to return home, which they obeyed accordingly, and tho' emboldened by the novelty of the adminiſtration, they, apprehenſive of ſome worſe conſequences, left the feſtival.

After this *Archelaus* went down to the ſea, in company with his mother, carrying along with him *Nicolaus* and *Ptolomæus*, and ſeveral other friends, and leaving the care of his family, and adminiſtration of his kingdom, to the management of his brother *Philip*; alſo *Salome*, the ſiſter of *Herod*, accompanied him, together with their children, and ſeveral other relations, under colour of aſſiſting *Archelaus* in his obtaining the kingdom, but in effect to give him oppoſition, and principally to complain about what had been tranſacted in the temple. *Archelaus* was met at *Cæſarea* by *Sabinus*, *Cæſar*'s procurator in *Syria*, who was haſting into *Judea*, to guard *Herod*'s money, but *Varus* getting the ſtart of him, diverted him from his journey, for he came upon the ſollicitation of *Archelaus* by *Ptolomæus*, and to compliment *Varus*: *Sabinus* neither offered to ſeize upon the caſtles of *Judea*, nor to put his ſignet upon the treaſure, but left it to *Archelaus*, till *Cæſar* had determined of it; and after he had given him this permiſſion, he went and reſided at *Cæſarea*; but after *Archelaus* had ſet ſail for *Rome*, and *Varus* was departed into *Antiochia*, *Sabinus* went to *Hieroſolyma*, and ſeized upon the palace; and afterwards ſending for the governor of the garriſons, and all others in the adminiſtration, he diſcovered he would exact an account of their tranſactions, and diſpoſe of their caſtles according as he pleaſed. Notwithſtanding this procedure, the garriſons remained ſteady to the orders *Archelaus* had left them, and defended every thing he had commanded them, tho' not with a pretence of preſerving them for *Cæſar*.

About this time *Antipas*, *Herod*'s ſon, ſailed to *Rome*, in order to obtain the government, being buoyed up with hopes of reigning, from the promiſe *Salome* had made him, as having a better title to the kingdom, having been made and conſtituted king in the former will, which ought to be more valid than the latter teſtament. He took along with him his mother and *Ptolomæus*, the brother of *Nicholaus*, once *Herod*'s eſpecial friend, and then entirely devoted to his intereſt. But the perſon who principally induced him to put in his claim to the kingdom, was *Irenæus*, a rhetorician, and who, for the vaſt fame of his eloquence, was intruſted with the management of the principal affairs of the nation; ſeveral perſons uſed their remonſtrances with him to bring him over to the ſide of *Archelaus*, as the elder brother, and who had been named king in the ſecond will, but all their aims were ineffectual. Upon his arrival at *Rome*, all his relations joined him, not through any love they bore him, but to ſhew their hatred to *Archelaus*. being deſirous to regain their liberty, and live under the protection of the *Roman* governor: Beſide, if they found his affairs not ſucceed, eſteeming *Antipas* to favour their ſeveral deſires more than *Archelaus*, they were reſolved to give *Antipas* all the aſſiſtance they were able to place him in the kingdom. And *Sabinus* accuſed, in ſeveral lettets he wrote to *Cæſar*, *Archelaus*.

Archelaus having ſent a letter to *Cæſar*, in which he endeavoured to defend his right, as alſo the will of his father, and *Ptolomæus* with an account of *Herod*'s money, and his ſignet, eagerly waited for the event. *Cæſar* having peruſed the letter, as alſo the letters *Varus* and *Sabinus* had ſent him, and learning how much money was left, and what were the annual revenues of the kingdom, and that *Antipas* had diſpatched another epiſtle to him to put in his claim to the government, he convoked his friends to hear their opinions, and among them *Caius*, the ſon of *Agrippa*, and *Julia*, daughter of *Auguſtus*, but whom he had adopted, to whom he gave the precedence, and ordered any perſon who would, to pronounce what opinion he thought beſt in the preſent circumſtances. Upon this *Antipater*, the ſon of *Salome*, a man of conſummate eloquence, and a profeſt enemy to *Archelaus*, was the firſt who ſtood up, and thus ſpoke: *That* Archelaus'*s behaviour in putting in his claim to the kingdom, was nothing elſe but plain baffling and ridicule, as he had thruſt himſelf into the kingdom before* Cæſar'*s conſent gave liberty to do ſo; and he objected to him, the preſumption he had ſhewn, in putting to death ſo many perſons upon a feſtival; who, had their actions been wicked, yet ought to have been reſerv'd for puniſhment by a foreign and lawful power, and not to have been ſo audaciouſly chaſtized by a man, who, if he be regarded as a king, commits a manifeſt injury to* Cæſar, *as* (1) *not knowing yet, what he will determine about him. But if he be looked upon as a private man, the caſe then is far worſe, becauſe he had no right, during his putting in his claim to the regal dignity, to have* Cæſar *allow him any thing; for ſuch a ſtep was the way to deprive* Cæſar *of the authority he had over them. Beſide, he charged him with making ſeveral changes among the officers of the army, and ſeating himſelf on the royal throne, and determining of controverſies, as if he had been really king, and approving of the publick demands of the people; and, in fine, tranſacting every thing by his own authority, ſo that his mind could ſug-*

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(1) *Epiphanius* turns this Paſſage thus: ‘Who, ſuppoſing they acted injuriouſly, ought nevertheleſs to be
‘ puniſhed by others, who could have reſtrained them by a lawful and deputed Power; for it was not right
‘ he ſhould take the Chaſtiſement ſolely to himſelf. And beſide, if he was conſidered as a King in that
‘ Action, he affirmed, he had done *Cæſar* an heinous Offence, becauſe, being ignorant how he would deter-
‘ mine of his Affair, he had preſumed to uſe a regal Authority. But if as a private Man he had committed
‘ the Action, he told them, the Aggravation of his Crime was greater, becauſe, not being in actual Poſſeſſion
‘ of the Kingdom, he had taken Puniſhment upon ſome Perſons, about whom he ought to have waited for
‘ *Cæſar*'s Decree.’ *Hudſon*. *Injuria erat, judicio nondum finito, auctoritatem ad ſe non pertinentem, arripere,* that is, *It was an Injury, before the Affair was determined, to aſſume to himſelf a Power with which he was not legally inveſted.* Ibbetſon.

geſt no greater power to him, if Cæſar *had actually placed him in the kingdom. He charged him alſo, with ſetting at liberty thoſe who had been confined priſoners in the* Hippodrome; *and brought in ſeveral other accuſations, part of which were true, and other part not improbable; becauſe young men, fired with an over haſty ambition to govern, are wont to commit ſuch like things. He alledged alſo as a crime, his neglect of mourning for his father, and celebrating a coſtly entertainment the very night he died, which became the ground of the ſedition among the people. And that if, after his father had loaded him with ſo many favours, and performed ſuch great kindneſſes to him, he could repay his dead remains with ſuch uſage, as in the day time to put on an air of extreme ſorrow and mourning, and in the* (1) *night to abandon himſelf to revels and royal paſtimes; it was a plain demonſtration* Archelaus *would behave in the ſame manner to* Cæſar, *if he obtained the kingdom at his hands, as he had done to his own father; for he had danced and ſung as if his enemy had died, and not a father or a relation, to whom he owed the greateſt obligations. He ſhewed, his coming now to* Cæſar *was one of the greateſt affronts in the world, to endeavour obtaining the kingdom from him by his licence, when he had before acted in every thing according to his own pleaſure, which he could do no more, after the emperor had inveſted him with the authority. He inſiſted chiefly on the ſlaughter wickedly committed in the temple, and endeavoured to exaggerate it with all the words he was able, ennumerating, how on a ſolemn feſtival the perſons had been ſlain like ſo many victims, as well countrymen as foreigners, and how the temple had been filled with dead bodies; and that not by a ſtranger, but by one, who, aſſuming the lawful title of a king, had been puſhed on to the wickedneſs, in order, that obeying the dictates of a tyrannic and furious will, he might execute a piece of injuſtice which every one deteſted. Wherefore, that his father never had dreamt of giving him any hopes of ſucceeding to the kingdom, becauſe he was well acquainted with his diſpoſition, and had in his former will conſtituted his ſucceſſor, his adverſary* Antipas, *whom he had called to the kingdom, not when his ſoul was dead before his body, but when he was of a ſound mind and memory, and of ſufficient ability of body to undertake the management of publick buſineſs. And though his father had preſerved the ſame ſentiments before for him, as he had done in his ſecond teſtament, yet he had himſelf given ſufficient proofs what ſort of king he would make, who had already taken ſteps to deprive* Cæſar *of his power of beſtowing the kingdom, in whom alone was the lawful authority veſted to give it him; and had in a private condition made no ſcruple of cutting the throats of his fellow citizens in the temple.*

Antipater having thus ſpoke, and called ſeveral of his relations to witneſs what he had advanced, made an end of his harangue: Upon which *Nicolaus*, counſel for *Archelaus*, (2) ſtood up, and ſaid, 'That what had been committed in the temple, ought rather to be attributed to the obſtinacy of the ſufferers, than the authority of *Archelaus*; for they who put in practice ſuch attempts, commit not only an injuſtice, in that they give moleſtation to the innocent, but alſo in that they drive perſons, who would be peaceable and juſt, to ſeek means of revenge; for it is plain theſe men committed hoſtilities in words againſt *Archelaus*, but in fact againſt *Cæſar*: And it appears, that the authors of the tumult were the very perſons who ſallied out upon, and ſlew the men ſent by *Archelaus* to reſtrain the fury of the ſedition, without entertaining any reverence for God, or the ſolemnity of the day: And theſe are they whoſe defence *Antipater* is not aſhamed to eſpouſe, either that they may gratify him in proſecuting his hatred to *Archelaus*, or that he may trample upon all manner of law and juſtice; for certainly they who fall upon others, and by an injurious treatment vex them, at a time they expect no manner of inſult, are the men who drive them, unwilling, to have recourſe to arms in their own defence.' After this he made objections to every thing elſe that was urged in the behalf of the accuſed by their council. And added, 'That nothing affording any colour of injury was done, which had not been tranſacted by their own perſuaſions; and their actions were not in themſelves ſo wicked, for it was their hatred to *Archelaus* that made them ſo; and that their malicious endeavours was againſt a perſon their relation, whom their father had been ſo much obliged to, and whom themſelves were very much indebted to for the innumerable offers of friendſhip he had given them; that the will was made when their father was of ſound memory, and it was inconteſtable, that the ſecond was of greater validity than the firſt, becauſe *Cæſar* had penary authority given him to diſpoſe of every thing therein. It is not to be queſtioned, that *Cæſar* will imitate the furious temper of thoſe perſons, who received the principal advantages of *Herod*'s power while alive, and now endeavour to oppoſe the will of him now he is dead, and are therefore conſcious to themſelves, that they have not the leaſt pretence to *Herod*'s favour, which *Archelaus* can ſo juſtly claim; for *Cæſar* is not that man, who will go about to annul the will of his friend, and his ally, which is left entruſted to his care and fidelity. *Cæſar*'s virtue and honour, ſo much teſtified to all the world, is diametrically oppoſite to the malign diſpoſitions of thoſe perſons; nor will he be induced to pronounce the king of an undiſpoſing mind, who, in the firſt place, hath left the ſucceſſion and heirſhip to a good ſon; and, in the next, hath implored the fidelity of *Cæſar* himſelf, in the management of the affair; for when *Herod* made his will, he ſhewed ſo much prudence as to ſubmit every thing in it, to the pleaſure of *Cæſar*, leſt he ſhould be found to act imprudently in the choice of his ſucceſſor.’

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(1) *Joſephus* ſeems to point, that *Archelaus* conſumed all his Days in Tears and Lamentations, but every Night recovered the Gladneſs he had loſt in the Day-time. *Havercamp.*

(2) The Verſion of *Epiphanius* runs thus: *Nicolaus* roſe up in Order to ſpeak for *Archelaus*; and at length thus ſaid: 'That the Things which had fallen out in the Temple, were the Conſequences of the Sufferers baſe Improbity, rather than of the Power of *Archelaus*; for they had attempted ſo heinous an Act of Injuſtice, that they not only committed their Injuries and Contumelies againſt ſeveral, but pretended to revenge themſelves upon thoſe who were diſpoſed to live peaceably and religiouſly.' The Text in this Place, with a very few Alterations, is a Tranſcript from the *Vatican* Reading.

Nicolaus having run through his harangue, made an end of ſpeaking: But *Cæſar*, very courteouſly lifted *Archelaus* from the ground, who had caſt himſelf proſtrate upon it, ſaying, *He was the moſt worthy of the kingdom*; and giving ſufficient proofs of his diſpoſition to do no otherwiſe than the will directed, and as it ſquared with the intereſt of *Archelaus*. But finding *Archelaus*, by the great token of friendſhip he had given him, buoyed up with it, and in a manner ſecure in his thoughts of poſſeſſing the kingdom, he, for the preſent, confirmed nothing; but after he had diſmiſſed the council, he conſidered whether he ſhould confirm the kingdom to *Archelaus*, or divide it in common amongſt *Herod*'s ſons, eſpecially ſince all of them ſtood in need of his aſſiſtance.

CHAP. X.

An Account of a Sedition of the Jews *againſt* Sabinus; *and how* Varus *puniſhed the Authors of it.*

BEFORE a confirmation was made of any of theſe things, *Malthaæ*, the mother of *Archelaus*, died, and letters came from *Varus*, the preſident of *Syria*, notifying the rebellion of the *Jews*; for as ſoon as *Archelaus* was gone, the whole nation broke out into a rupture, and *Varus*, who was then preſent, puniſhed the authors of it; and having reſtrained the fury of the ſedition, which was riſen to a great height, he went to *Antioch*, leaving at *Hieroſolyma*, a legion to watch the motions of the *Jews*, if they attempted any thing. But he was not able to put an effectual ſtop to it; for upon *Varus* going away, *Sabinus*, in quality of *Cæſar*'s procurator, gave the *Jews* great diſturbance, hoping, by the numerous forces left with him, he ſhould be able to reſtrain them; for carrying wherever he went a body of armed guards, with whom he oppreſſed the *Jews*, he cauſed them to rebel; for they endeavoured to ſeize upon the caſtles by force, and with great boldneſs ſtrove to get at the late king's treaſure, being moved to it by a violent thirſt of gain.

The *Pentecoſt*, a feſtival ſo called by our country, was near at hand. Upon which great numbers flocked to *Hieroſolyma*, not only with a religious deſign, but were puſhed on to their journey, by the indignation they bore *Sabinus*. Several thouſands of *Galileans*, *Idumeans*, and *Hierichutians*, and all the people inhabiting beyond *Jordan*, and a vaſt multitude of *Jews* aſſembled together, being violently enraged againſt *Sabinus*, upon whom they were reſolved to revenge themſelves. Having divided themſelves into three bodies, they incamped themſelves in the following manner: The firſt body ſeized upon the *Hippodrome*; the ſecond ſat down on the eaſt ſide of the temple; and the third on the weſt ſide, near to the palace. Their deſign, by ſeizing upon theſe different quarters, was, to hemn in the *Romans* on every ſide, and ſo beſiege them. *Sabinus*, apprehending their great numbers and the alacrity they ſhewed, reſolving rather to ſuffer death, than not bear away the victory, as eſteeming conqueſt the only end of their wiſhes, wrote immediately to *Varus*, and, as is uſual, did not ceaſe to exhort him to come quickly to his aſſiſtance; for the legion he had left was reduced to the laſt extremity, expecting every moment to be taken and put to the ſword. Having ſeized upon an exceeding high tower, named *Phaſaelus*, in honour of *Phaſaelus*, *Herod*'s brother, and ſo called after he was ſlain by the *Parthians*, he gave the ſignal of battle to the *Romans* from thence, and ordered them to fall upon the *Jews* as they came out; and not having the courage himſelf to come down, and join his friends, he bade them, through an avaricious temper he entertained, firſt expoſe themſelves to the danger of death. Upon the *Romans* ſallying out, a ſharp engagement began, in which, though the *Romans* were ſuperior to the enemy, yet the *Jews* were not in the leaſt intimidated or diſcouraged at the danger, to which they ſaw themſelves expoſed, after great numbers of their men were laid dead upon the ſpot. On the contrary, getting up into the porticoes, which ſurrounded the outer incloſure of the temple, they made vaſt havock upon the *Romans* below, by throwing down ſtones upon them, partly with their hands, and partly with ſlings, the uſe of which they were exactly acquainted in. Beſide, they had a great number of archers among them, which terribly galled the *Romans*, who conſidering the height of the places the *Jews* were in, and the difficulty there was to come at them with their darts, were, without much hardſhip, put to the rout; the battle for ſome time continued in this poſture: At length the *Romans* burning with indignation, put fire to the porticoes when the *Jews*, who were in them, knew nothing of it. The fire being put in ſeveral places, and a great deal of combuſtible matter thrown upon it, made the flames preſently catch hold of the roofs. As the materials were full of pitch and wax, and the wax overlaid with gold, they immediately gave way to the fire, and the buildings, which were the worthieſt, of admirable beauty vaniſhed, and thoſe upon the porticoes, periſhed in an unexpected deſtruction. Some, as they fell down, drew along with them the ruins of the buildings; and others, ſurrounded by their enemies, were put to death. Many, finding no poſſibility of retreating from the danger that threatened them, and aſtoniſh'd at the diſmal ſcene of fire about them, either caſt themſelves into the flame, or, to avoid ſo terrible a death, threw themſelves upon the points of their own ſwords; and thoſe who endeavoured to get back the way they had aſcended were every man ſlain by the *Romans*, as having no arms, and entirely diſcouraged, their deſpair, for want of arms, giving them no manner of aſſiſtance; in fine, not a ſoul eſcaped that endeavour'd to get up again to the roofs. After this the *Romans*, breaking through the flames, where a paſſage was given them, ſeized upon the treaſury, where the ſacred money was repoſited; and the ſoldiers taking away the greater part of it, *Sabinus* openly received four hundred talents.

In the mean while, the *Jews* were extremely ſorrowful for the ill fortune of their friends, who had fallen in this engagement. The pillage made of the treaſury, and the other donations, gave them great uneaſineſs. However, they rallied ſome of the moſt valiant of their body, and inveſted the palace, threatning to put fire to it; and ordered the perſons within to come immediately out, promiſing *Sabinus* and his men, on that condition, their ſecurity and indemnity. Upon this, many of them who were in the palace, came out, and ſubmitted. Yet for all this, the *Jews* continued and intended their ſiege, undermining their walls, and exhorting the *Romans* to depart, and not to deprive them of their liberty, which they had long enjoyed under their predeceſſors. *Sabinus* was willing to depart from thence with his ſoldiers, yet durſt not truſt them, in regard of their former attempt; and he ſuſpected the too liberal offer his enemies had made him, but neglected it, becauſe he expected *Varus*. At the ſame time, infinite other troubles were raiſed in many other places of *Judea*, according as every one, either was incenſed with a deſire of gain, or a will to revenge, for two thouſand ſoldiers (who had formerly ſerved under *Herod*, and being at that time caſhiered, lived at home) aſſembled themſelves together, aſſailed thoſe of the king's faction, who made head againſt them, under the conduct of *Herod*'s nephew *Aciabus*, who never daring to encounter them in a place of equal advantage, in that they were old ſoldiers, and well exerciſed in war, defended himſelf, in that he held and kept himſelf as near as he could in the mountains and places of advantage. Moreover, *Judas*, the ſon of *Ezechias*, the arch-thief whom *Herod* overcame with ſo much difficulty at *Sephoris*, a city of *Galilee*, gathering unto him a band of deſperate men, made incurſions upon the king's dominions, and having taken all thoſe arms and weapons, which he could recover in that place, he armed, from the firſt to the laſt, all thoſe ſoldiers that were with him. He took away all the money which was reſerved for the king in that place, and affrighting the inhabitants round about him, he ſpoiled all thoſe with whomſoever he met aſpiring to the kingdom; not that he thought himſelf well enough qualified for that dignity, but becauſe he had gotten ſuch freedom in wickedneſs, he took the boldneſs to do any thing. While theſe troubles raged in every place, *Simon* alſo, who had been one of *Herod*'s ſervants, and both for his ſhape, ſtature, and ſtrength, was eſteemed amongſt all men, undertook the kingdom; and being attended by a mighty army, and proclaimed king by them, who were a wicked and unbridled multitude, and perſuading himſelf that he was worthy to be a king before any other; he firſt of all ſet the palace on fire in *Jericho*, and ſpoiled all that was therein; he burnt alſo many other royal palaces belonging to the king, which were in many places of the country, giving them free licence, who were his followers in the action, to bear away the prey that remained; and far more licentious pranks had he play'd, had not his practices been ſpeedily and wiſely prevented; for *Gratus*, who with the king's ſoldiers had joined himſelf with the *Romans*, and gathered all the forces that he had, went out againſt this *Simon*, and after a fierce battle, they on the other ſide of *Jordan* were put to flight; and fighting rather with courage than with military diſcipline, they were overcome; and whilſt *Simon*, in croſſing a valley, ſought to ſave himſelf by flight, *Gratus* met with him, and cut off his head. About the ſame time alſo, the royal palace of *Amatha* that was hard by *Jordan*, was burnt by men of a bad diſpoſition, as *Simon* was; and thus through the whole nation reigned this raging rebellion, becauſe the country had no king, who by his virtue might moderate the people; and becauſe the ſtrangers who were ſent to repreſs theſe mutinies, did rather incenſe them through their violence and avarice.

For a certain obſcure and baſe man, (neither eſteemed for virtue, nor worthy of regard for his riches, but being a ſhepherd utterly unknown before, and only famous for his huge ſtature and ſtrength) called *Athronges*, was ſo audacious to aſpire to royal dignity, and took pleaſure to offer violence, not valuing his life, and expoſing himſelf to all hazards for the only unbridled affection he bare to ſovereignty. He had four brothers of as goodly ſtature as himſelf, who were eſteemed for men of valour and execution, whereby they imagin'd they had the means offer'd them to obtain the kingdom. Each one of theſe had the command over a company; for a great company of people daily reſorted unto them, the charge of whom was committed unto his brethren, at ſuch time as any occaſion of war was offered; and he in the mean while wearing the diadem on his head, ordered, counſelled, and commanded all things. The power of this gallant endured a long time, who was not called king for nothing; for he diſpoſed all things according to his own pleaſure, and both he and his brethren were fleſhed with the ſlaughter of the *Romans*, and thoſe of the king's ſide, whom he hated alike; theſe by reaſon of the inſolence they had uſed during *Herod*'s life time; the other, in regard of thoſe injuries, which they lately ſuppoſed themſelves to have received by them: This hatred of theirs daily increaſed more and more; and there was no man that could eſcape their hands, both in reſpect of the gain ſought, and for the cuſtom they had to ſhed blood: They therefore at that time ſet upon the *Romans*, and ſurprized them on a ſudden, near to *Emmaus*, at ſuch time as they carried victuals and munition unto their camp; and having cloſed their centurion *Arius* with forty of their valiant footmen, they ſhot him through with their darts; the reſt, that expected nothing leſs than death, were ſaved by *Gratus*, who came in upon them with the king's ſoldiers; whereupon, leaving the dead bodies, they retir'd, continuing their war after this manner a long time, according as occaſion was offered. They had done much miſchief to the *Romans*, and far more injury to the nations of the *Jews*, at laſt they were ſurprized, the one in an encounter betwixt them and *Gratus*, the other in fighting againſt *Ptolomy*. The eldeſt was taken by *Archelaus*, and the laſt being diſheartened with the accidents, and ſeeing no means to eſcape (for beſides his other miſhaps, his ſoldiers were afflicted with ſickneſs) he with the reſt, upon *Archelaus*'s faith and oath, ſubmitted himſelf unto him; but this was done ſome little while after.

At that time all *Judea* was full of robberies, and as many ſeditious aſſemblies as drew together, ſo many kings were there elected, who were raiſed to the utter ruin of the commonweal. Amongſt the reſt, the *Romans* were they that ſmarted leaſt; but the murthers were executed againſt thoſe that were out of the country. *Varus* underſtanding by *Sabinus*'s letters, in what dangers they were, and fearing the overthrow of his third legion, he took with him the other two (for to the utmoſt power of *Syria* there were but three) and with the aſſiſtance of the kings and tetrarchs, he haſtened into *Jewry*, to relieve thoſe that were beſieged, commanded thoſe that were ſent out before he diſlodged, to meet him at *Ptolemais*; paſſing by the city of *Berythius*, he received a thouſand and five hundred ſoldiers at their hands, to attend him on his war. *Aretas* alſo, who was lord of *Patricus*, drawing himſelf into a confederacy with the *Romans*, in regard of that hatred he bare *Herod*, ſent him horſe and foot. When all theſe forces were aſſembled at *Ptolemais*, he delivered a part thereof to his ſon, and one of his friends, commanding them to make war againſt the *Galileans*, who bordered upon that city; who entered that country, and giving the inhabitants battle, put them to flight, took and burnt the city *Sephoris*, and ſold the inhabitants for ſlaves. *Varus* after this, marched with all his army to *Samaria*, which he ſpared, as having no hand in the ſedition; but encamped his men in a village called *Arus*, in the territories of *Ptolemais*, which the *Arabians*, ſent by *Aretas* to ſuccour *Varus*, entirely burnt, having great animoſities againſt the friends of *Herod*. The *Arabians*, marching from this place, ſacked another village called *Sampho*, of great ſtrength and beauty, and laid it in aſhes. Nay, whereſoever they took their rout, they let nothing eſcape their fury, but filled every place with fire and ſword. *Emmaus* alſo, now abandon'd by its inhabitants, was by command of *Varus* reduced to aſhes, to make a ſacrifice of it, for the perſons who had been before ſlain in it. Ftom hence he marched directly to *Hieroſolyma* with his army, where the *Jews*, who beſieged the legion there, at the firſt appearance of his forces, threw themſelves into flight, and left the ſiege half performed. The *Jews* remaining at *Hieroſolyma*, upon *Varus*'s ſevere reprimanding them, acquitted themſelves, by ſhewing, that the people, on account of the feſtival, had aſſembled together; and that the war had not been undertaken by their advice, but through the boldneſs and preſumption of foreigners; and that they had been ſtraiter beſieged by the *Romans*, than ever their intentions had ſuggeſted to beſiege them. Beſide, *Joſephus*, king *Herod*'s couſin, and *Gratus* and *Rufus*, with their armies, and the *Roman* who had been beſieged, preſented themſelves to *Varus*; but *Sabinus* forbore to come before *Varus*, but privately withdrew out of the city, and went to the ſea.

Upon this *Varus* diſpatched part of his army to go through the country, and enquire after the authors of the rebellion; and having made a diſcovery, he puniſh'd ſome who were more culpable than the reſt, and diſcharged others, crucifying about two thouſand for one and the ſame crime. After this, finding the forces he had on foot of little or no advantage, he diſbanded them; for they had been guilty of a great many enormities. However, *Varus*'s orders proved ineffectual; for the deſire of gain, which their licentious practices brought them, ſpurred them on to diſobey his commands. Underſtanding about ten thouſand *Jews* had muſtered together, he marched againſt them with all poſſible expedition, to put a ſtop to their deſigns. But the *Jews*, having not ſufficient courage to attack him, were, by *Archelaus*'s advice, induced to ſurrender every man among them to him. *Varus* having pardoned their revolt, ſent every one of their officers to *Cæſar*, who diſcharged ſeveral of them, but he puniſhed thoſe who were relations of *Herod*, and had joined them, becauſe they had unlawfully and unjuſtly, taken up arms againſt their own countrymen.

CHAP. XI.

An Embaſſy of the Jews *to* Cæſar, *and how* Cæſar *confirmed* Herod's *Will.*

VARUS, after theſe performances, went to *Antioch*, leaving the former legion to defend *Hieroſolyma*. In the mean time *Archelaus* met at *Rome*, with a new affair, and this was the cauſe: The *Jews* ſent ambaſſadors to *Rome*, through the means of *Varus*, who had given liberty ſo to do, with inſtructions to demand leave of living according to the laws and inſtitutions of their country. This embaſſy being diſpatched by decree of the whole nation, was compoſed of fifty perſons. Upon their arrival at *Rome*, they were joined by above eight thouſand other *Jews*. *Cæſar* having convoked into the temple of *Apollo*, a building he had erected with vaſt expence, a council as well of his friends, as of the principal *Romans*, the ambaſſadors came thither, attended with the whole body of the *Jews* then reſiding at *Rome*. *Archelaus*, joined with his friends, alſo appeared. As many as were the relations of the deceaſed king, refuſed to take the ſide of *Archelaus*, becauſe they hated him; and on the other hand, they thought it equally diſhonourable to eſpouſe that of the ambaſſadors, and oppoſe themſelves to the intereſts of a perſon ſo nearly allied to them, eſpecially before *Cæſar*. *Philip* alſo, at the inſtigation of *Varus*, who loved him, was come out of *Syria* to aſſiſt his brother; for *Varus* imagined, ſeeing the government was changed, that the kingdom would be divided, as there were great numbers deſirous of living according to their native laws, and that he might meet with an opportunity to obtain ſome part of it to himſelf.

Upon this ground, as ſoon as the ambaſſadors of the *Jews* had liberty to declare themſelves, they fearing to make any mention about diſſolving the kingdom, turned themſelves wholly upon accuſations on *Herod*'s iniquitous government, repreſenting, ‘ That he had been a king in name, but in effect, had conſtantly diſcovered the heavy burthen of the moſt lawleſs tyranny, and had exerciſed the moſt terrible oppreſſions; nay, by his own wicked inclinations had not ſtuck to invent ſeveral times new calamities to ruin the *Jews*; that although great numbers by his means had been doomed to ſeveral kinds of death, more diſmal than could be found acted in the preceding reigns, yet thoſe who remained were in a worſe ſituation than thoſe who had actually periſhed; not only becauſe their troubles had been heightened by his continual hatred to them, but becauſe they had been ſtripped of their poſſeſſions, and obliged to live a deſart ſort of life; that he had embelliſhed foreign cities from time to time, but by his vaſt expences had entirely impoveriſhed thoſe within his kingdom; that he had reduced his nation to the greateſt indigence, which, at his mounting the throne, he had found in a pretty flouriſhing condition, by ſeizing upon the effects of the nobility, upon every little pretence to put them to death, and by taking away the eſtates of thoſe he had a mind to grant life to. Beſide, that he had rigidly exacted annual tributes from every head in his kingdom; and, beſides the numerous taxes they paid, that he, his houſhold, friends, and ſervants, who had been ſet to collect the cuſtoms, extorted great preſents of money; for there was no obtaining an immunity from the injuries they ſuſtained, without ſome gold or ſilver. But we judge it neceſſary to be ſilent on the ſeveral debauchments of virgins, and raviſhments of matrons, committed with the greateſt inhumanity and ſcandal, becauſe the miſerable ſufferers receive in a manner, from a concealment of their injuries, the ſame ſatiſfaction, as if they had never been perpetrated. In ſhort, that they had received ſuch flagrant indignities from *Herod*, that ſuppoſing beaſts had uſurped the government over men, they could not have ſuffered worſe. That although their nation had ſuſtained ſeveral migrations and changes, yet in all their monuments and records, not one calamity could be found that equalled the preſent hardſhips *Herod* had brought their nation under. Upon which ground, they had joyfully received *Archelaus* for their king, becauſe they ſuppoſed it impoſſible to be done; but that whoſover ſucceeded to the kingdom, would behave in a more affable and moderate manner than *Herod* had done; and upon that account, in order to gain his favour, had paid a ſuitable deference to the remains of his father, and had gratified him in ſeveral other reſpects, if they could but have perceived him of a diſpoſition equal to what they had form'd of him. But that he, through fear he ſhould not be thought *Herod*'s ſon, made no more to do, but immediately ſhewed in what inclination of mind he ſtood affected towards his nation; and that before he had eſtabliſhed himſelf on a ſure foundation in his kingdom; becauſe he reflected, that *Cæſar* had an abſolute authority either to give or deny him the government: Nay, in the very beginning of his reign, he diſcovered to his ſubjects a true ſpecimen of his future worth; namely, what was the modeſty and equity he deſigned to govern with, by the abominable impiety he committed againſt God and his cities, in putting to death in the temple above three thouſand of his countrymen. Have we not juſt reaſon therefore to hate him, who to give a farther proof of his cruel temper, has reſolved to accuſe them for oppoſing and contradicting him in the ſteps he is taking to fix himſelf in the government? The ſum of what the *Jews* have deſired, is, that they may be delivered from a kingdom and the preſent adminiſtration, and be annexed to *Syria*, and placed under the juriſdiction of *Roman* governors; by which it will ſoon appear, whether they are a rebellious people, and addicted to changes or novelties in the governvernment; or a quiet and pacified nation, when they have an opportunity to live under a mild adminiſtration.’

When the *Jews* had made this ſpeech, *Nicolaus* utterly cleared the king of the accuſations alledged againſt them; ſaying, ‘ That *Herod*, as long as he had lived, had not been accuſed of any thing by them, and it was unjuſt for them, who had power while he lived to have puniſhed him, to blow up an accuſation againſt him after his death. As to what related to *Archelaus*, he told them, they were owing to their own improbity and injurious behaviour, who, after they had effected things contrary to the laws, and been guilty of their own havocks, whoſe buſineſs it ſhould have been to have reſtrained ſuch violences, were now buſy to make their complaints of injuries of their own ſeeking. Beſides, he charged them with endeavouring at an alteration in the government; and how they delighted in ſomething ſeditious and rebellious, as having no knowledge in what was to obey the dictates of juſtice, or the laws; but, on the other hand, that their deſires had been conſtantly ſeen to affect the ſuperiority in every thing.’ Thus far *Nicolaus*.

Cæſar, after he had heard both ſides, diſmiſſed the aſſembly; but a few days after, without abſolutely declaring *Archelaus* to be king, he conſtituted him *Ethuarch* over one half of the countries under *Herod*’s juriſdiction, and promiſed him the honour of the name of a king, if he behaved in a manner ſuitable to it. The other half, he ſubdivided into two other parts; he gave to *Herod*’s two other ſons, *Philip* and *Antipas*, who had diſputed the whole kingdom with *Archelaus*, the country beyond *Jordan*; and *Galilee* fell to his obedience, which annually brought him in two hundred talents. But *Batanæa*, with *Trachonitis*, and ſome part of *Zenodorus*, ſo called, with *Auranitis*, which fell to the houſe of *Philip*, yielded him an annual income of one hundred talents. But *Idumæa*, *Judæa*, and *Samaria*, fell to the ſhare of *Archelaus*; yet *Cæſar*, in regard the *Samaritans* had had no hand in the rebellion, remitted to them a fourth part of their tributes. Under the government of *Archelaus* were the cities following, to wit, *Straton*’s *Tower*, *Sebaſte*, *Joppa*, and *Hieroſolyma*. But in reſpect that *Gaza*, *Gadara*, and *Hippos*, were *Grecian* cities, *Cæſar* ſeparated them from his juriſdiction, and added them to the government of *Syria*. However, *Archelaus* received out of his government an yearly revenue of ſix hundred talents.

Now this is the diſpoſition of *Herod*’s poſſeſſions amongſt his ſons; and *Salome*, beſides the bequeſts her brother had made her, which were *Jamnia*, *Azotus*, and *Phaeſalis*, and five hundred thouſand drachms of ſtampt ſilver, obtained from *Cæſar* the *Palatinate* of *Aſcalonia*: Her annual revenues amounted to ſixty talents, and her palace was ſituated in the government of *Archelaus*. Beſides, the other relations of the deceaſed king, had their ſeveral legacies paid them, according to the direction of the will. *Cæſar* alſo, above what *Herod* had bequeathed to his two maiden daughters, gave them two hundred and fifty thouſand drachms of ſtampt ſilver, and married them to the ſons of *Pheroras*. Nay, *Cæſar* reſtored back to *Herod*’s ſons, the one thouſand and five hundred talents left him as a legacy, and only reſerved a few of the veſſels given him, not through any particular value for their richneſs, but to keep them ~~in his~~ remembrance.

CHAP. XII.

Of the falſe Alexander.

AFTER *Cæſar* had ordered things in this manner, a certain youth, a *Jew* by nation, brought up in the city of the *Sidonians*, and with a *Roman* freedman, adopted himſelf into the family of *Herod* from the ſimilitude of features he had with *Alexander*, *Herod*’s ſon, who had been put to death; for every one who had ſeen, both witneſſed it. This induced him to put in his pretenſions to the kingdom. With this view he aſſociated with him, a companion to aſſiſt him in the management of his attempt, who was a perſon of the ſame tribe, and a compleat courtier; beſide, he was a man of a baſe and inſinuating diſpoſition, and naturally made to excite commotions, and breed diſturbances. By the addreſs of this fellow, he was made to divulge, that he was *Alexander*, the ſon of *Herod*, who had been hitherto concealed by one of the perſons commiſſioned to put him to death; but that he had ſlain the others, and by that means preſerved him and his brother *Ariſtobulus*. This advice pleaſing him, he began to ſow his fallacious attempt amongſt every one he met with; ſo that when he came to *Crete*, the *Jews* there eaſily credited him, and ſupplied him with large ſums of money, which in the end ſo emboldened him, that he paſſed over to *Melus*. Upon his landing there, he received conſiderable ſupplies of money, becauſe they believed him deſcended from the royal blood, and hoped he would regain the throne of his father, and repay, in his turn, the ſervices they did him, in a grateful manner; this made him haſten to *Rome*, whither he was conducted by a party of his friends; but happening to be drove upon *Dicæarchia*, he found his affairs ſucceed ſo proſperouſly, that the inhabitants were induced to entertain the ſame fallacious opinion of him: In fine, they and all others, who had harboured any friendly ſentiments, or had any antient alliance with *Herod*, joined him, as if he had, in effect, been king; the reaſon of men’s coming into theſe ſentiments, was the willingneſs with which they receiv’d every thing he ſaid of himſelf; to all which the ſimilitude of his perſon greatly contributed; for as he not only eaſily perſuaded the very perſons who had been familiars with *Alexander*, that he was not any other man, but the very *Alexander* himſelf, ſo they too confirmed the ſame thing by oath to others. In the concluſion, the noiſe and reports ſpread about him increaſing in every place, at length came to *Rome*, when the whole body of the *Jews*, who inhabited there, came out to meet him, giving God thanks that he had been preſerved ſafe, beyond their expectations, and receiving him with marks of great gladneſs, becauſe of his mother's family, and conducting him through the roads he paſſed, ſeated aloft in a chariot, and accompanied with a royal retinue, every thing being done at the expence of his followers. Beſide, a vaſt concourſe of other people flocked about him, who, with loud acclamations of joy, ſhouted to him as he paſſed, and nothing was left unperformed, which is cuſtomarily done to thoſe, who are ſo preſerved beyond hope.

But when *Cæſar* came to receive intelligence of this affair, he could not induce himſelf to give any credit to it, becauſe he knew *Herod* could not be deceived in a matter of ſuch moment, and which ſo nearly touched him; however he could not vanquiſh his ſuſpicions, and accordingly ordered *Celadus*, one of his freedmen, who had had an old acquaintance with the young princes, to be ſent to, in order to bring *Alexander* before him. In conſequence of this, he went, but *Cæſar*'s deſire was equally to let the people have an opportunity of ſurveying him. In fine, *Cæſar* was not ſo much deceived as the others had been: There was a ſimilitude of features indeed about him, but not ſo much as to impoſe upon thoſe who had a nicer and ſharper judgment to make the diſtinction; for he was plainly convicted of being a counterfeit *Alexander*, both in reſpect of the hardneſs of his hands, occaſioned by labour and drudgery, and inſtead of the ſoftneſs of his body, which he ought to have had, to have made him appear delicately and royally educated, he had, on the contrary, a rough and harſh ſkin. *Cæſar*, upon finding that both the maſter and ſcholar had embarked in the ſame fallacious undertaking, and agreed in the ſame method of ſpeaking, asked *Alexander* what became of *Ariſtobulus*, after he had eſcaped with him out of priſon, and what was the reaſon he came not with him, to demand a piece of juſtice which was due to his high birth: To this he anſwered, that he had left him in the iſland of *Cyprus*, thro' fear of the dangers that uſually happen at ſea, that if any thing ſhould unfortunately befal him, the race of *Mariamne* might not totally be ruined, but that *Ariſtobulus* the ſurvivor might be preſerved. Upon the young man's affirming this, and the author of the forgery agreeing with him in it, *Cæſar* took him aſide, and thus ſaid: *If you will tell me the truth, this ſhall be your reward, that you ſhall be pardoned and indemnified from any danger: Wherefore acquaint me who you are, and who it has been who has induced you to this attempt: For the things you have meditated in your mind are the reſult of a piece of malice far ſuperior to your years.* Upon this, being unable to carry on his fallacy any farther, he expoſed the whole artifice to *Cæſar*, and how, and by whom it was deſigned. In conſequence of this, *Cæſar*, unwilling to break his honour, condemned the *Pſeudo-Alexander* to the galleys, as ſeeing him of ſufficient ſtrength to ſuſtain labour, but the author of the fraud he put to death. And the *Melians* were obliged to loſe the great ſums of money they had expended upon the falſe *Alexander*. And this raſh attempt of the counterfeit *Alexander* was concluded with this baſe cataſtrophe.

CHAP. XIII.

How Archelaus, *being again accuſed, is confined to* Vienna.

AFTER *Archelaus* was made ethuarch, he came into *Judea*, and deprived *Joazarus* the ſon of *Boethus* of the prieſthood, alledging, that he had conſpired with the rebels againſt him, and inveſted *Eleazar* his brother in the dignity. Beſide, he magnificently repaired the palace at *Jericho*, and turned half of the water, which ſupplied the village of *Neæra*, by a canal, into the plain, which he planted all over with palm trees. Moreover, he erected a town, and called it *Archelaus*, and, in oppoſition to the laws, married *Glaphyra*, the daughter of king *Archelaus*, who had been formerly his brother *Alexander*'s wife, and by whom he had had ſeveral children; for the *Jews* account it deteſtable to wed the wife of a (1) brother. Neither did *Eleazar* long enjoy the prieſthood, being deprived of it in his life-time, and *Joſhua* the ſon of *Sias* put in his room.

Archelaus having governed ten years, his brothers, together with the principal *Jews*, and *Samaritans*, unable any longer to bear his cruelty and tyranny, accuſed him before *Cæſar*, when they found he had run counter to the command he had given him, which enjoined him to uſe and treat his ſubjects mildly, and with great moderation. *Cæſar*, having heard the accuſation, was enraged, and ſent for *Archelaus*'s ambaſſador at *Rome*, who was alſo named *Archelaus*; he did not vouchſafe to write to him; *But you*, ſaid he, *embark immediately on board a veſſel, go to him, and bring him back without any delay to me.* In obedience to this command he poſted away, and at length came into *Judea*, where he found *Archelaus* at a banquet with his friends; upon which having declared to him *Cæſar*'s pleaſure, he adviſed him to haſten to his journey. When he came to *Rome*, *Cæſar*, having heard his trial before certain accuſers of his, condemned him to baniſhment, and aſſigned *Vienna*, a town in *Gaul*, for the place of his reſidence, and ſtript him of his money.

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(1) It is prohibited by the *Jewiſh* Conſtitution to take in Marriage the Wife of a Brother.

And before *Archelaus* ſet out for *Rome* upon the ſummons given him, he told his friends the following dream: *That he thought he ſaw ten full ears of corn, which he imagined bullocks were eating upon.* And upon wakening, (for he ſuppoſed his dream portended ſomething of conſequence to him) he ſent to the interpreters who were converſant in ſuch like things: The interpreters differing amongſt themſelves, as to their opinions, (for every one agreed not in the ſame interpretation) one *Simon Eſſæus*, having asked for liberty to ſpeak, ſaid thus to *Archelaus*, *That his viſion portended a ſudden mutation in the government for the worſe; for the bullocks denoted ſorrow, becauſe a bullock was a creature addicted to labour; as alſo a change in affairs, becauſe the ground which they tilled was unable to preſerve itſelf in a conſtant ſituation; that the ears of corn, as they were ten in number, intimated the like number of years, becauſe the ear of corn is produced but once in a ſummer. Upon which ground the end of the reign of* Archelaus's *government was near at hand.* And thus he gave the interpretation of his dream; for the fifth day after *Archelaus* had ſeen this viſion, the other *Archelaus*, who ſummoned him, came, by *Cæſar*'s command, into *Judea*.

Something of the like nature happened to *Glaphyra* his wife, daughter of king *Archelaus*, whom, as we have obſerved above, *Alexander*, *Herod*'s ſon, and brother of *Archelaus*, married when a virgin: After *Alexander* had been put to death by his father, *Herod* wedded her to *Juba* king of *Lybia*; after whoſe deceaſe, *Archelaus* took her in marriage when a widow, and reſiding in *Cappadocia*, putting at the ſame time away his wife *Mariamne*. When ſhe was wife of *Archelaus*, ſhe ſaw the following viſion, *She thought ſhe beheld* Alexander *ſtanding before her; at which being extremely rejoiced, ſhe imagined ſhe ardently embraced him: But Alexander ſeemed to complain to her, and ſaid,* Glaphyra, *And will you confirm that common ſaying, which is,* That credit ought not to be given to a woman? *You was affianced to me, and I married you a virgin; you have bore ſeveral children to me; but putting out of your remembrance the love I bore you, you have wedded another; and yet not content with debaſing my memory thus, you have preſumed to marry a third husband, the greateſt diſhonour and ſcandal to my family, which is, your wedlock with* Archelaus *my brother. However, I will not bury in oblivion my fondneſs and kindneſs for you; but I will clear you of all the infamy thrown upon you, by making you mine as you were before.* And having acquainted the women her companions with this, I imagined an account of theſe matters not foreign to this hiſtory, ſeeing they reſpected kings, and afford ſomething of an example to prove the immortality of the ſoul, and God's providence about human actions. Upon which ground I have judged them not unworthy to be recited here. If theſe relations ſeem incredible to ſome perſons, their opinion will prove no impediment to the matter, which is calculated for no other deſign, than to be a motive unto virtue.

In the mean while, *Archelaus*'s prefecture being added to *Syria*, *Cæſar* ſent (1) *Quirinus*, a man of conſular dignity, to make a ſeizure of his effects in *Syria*, and ſell the houſe of *Archelaus*.

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(1) He was twice ſent by *Cæſar* into *Syria*, but not upon the ſame Account; the firſt was upon the ἀπογραφὴ, of which *Luke* ii. 2. takes Notice, which was deſigned not only to bring to Account how many Forces *Judea*, the whole *Roman* Empire, the ſeveral Provinces, confederate Kings and Cities, could muſter. The ſecond Journey was upon an ἀπογραφὴ, which, properly ſpeaking, was not a true one, but only a Confiſcation of the Effects of *Archelaus*, and a levying a Tribute upon the Provincials, as is mentioned, *Acts* v. 37. for *Judea* being reduced, after the Baniſhment of *Archelaus*, into a Province, was ordered to remain under the Juriſdiction of the *Roman* Governors. He that wants to be more fully ſatisfied in this Matter, and in the Agreement of *Luke* and *Joſephus*, let him refer himſelf to *Montacute*, upon his Sacred Originals, and others who have handled this Subject.

The END *of the Seventeenth* BOOK *of the Antiquities.*

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
OF THE
ANTIQUITIES of the *JEWS*.

BOOK THE EIGHTEENTH.

Containing the Space of Thirty Years.

CHAP. I.

How Quirinus *was ſent by* Cæſar *to tax* Syria *and* Judea; *and* Coponius *to govern* Judea. *Alſo of* Judas Galilæus, *and the Sects among the* Jews.

QUIRINUS, the *Roman* ſenator, having paſſed thro' all degrees, offices, and dignities, until ſuch time as he obtained the conſulſhip, (a man of great account) was ſent to *Syria*, by *Cæſar*'s order, to do juſtice among the people, and to ſeſs and tax every man's goods. *Coponius*, a captain of horſe, was ſent with him, who was appointed to be governor of all *Judea*. *Quirinus* therefore came into (*a*) *Judea*, which was already united to *Syria*, to tax the goods of the inhabitants thereof, and to confiſcate *Archelaus*'s ſubſtance. And although at the firſt the *Jews* thought this tax very unreaſonable, yet notwithſtanding, without contradiction, they ſubmitted themſelves, being perſuaded thereunto by advice of the high-prieſt *Joazarus*, the ſon of *Boethus*; but after this, there aroſe a certain *Jew*, called *Judas*, the (*b*) *Gaulanite*, born in the town of *Gamala*, who having a certain man, call'd *Sadducus*, the *Phariſee*, in confederacy with him, laboured to ſtir up the people to rebellion, alledging, that the ſeſs was no other thing but a confeſſion of their ſervitute, exhorting all the nation to maintain their liberty, and putting them in hope, that they thereby ſhould happily eſtabliſh their eſtates, and enjoy their goods with ſecurity; and beſides this, obtain both honour and glory in the proſecution of ſuch an enterprize. Moreover, that God would not afford them a more aſſured way to ſettle their fortunes, than by this means; namely, if they would employ themſelves in the execution of their deſigns; and if, having conceived in their minds high and noble attempts, they forebore not to accompliſh the ſame, notwithſtanding the execution thereof coſt them their lives. Theſe ſpeeches of theirs were entertained by the people with great pleaſure; and by the ſame they were the more confirmed and heartened to rebellion; ſo that there was no kind of evil which theſe men ſet not on foot; nay, the whole nation was ſo full of miſeries, it was impoſſible to relate them; for the wars went on with ſuch fury, that it was impoſſible to reſtrain the violence thereof; ſo that they neither ſpared friends nor enemies, but were wholly given over to the ſpoil; there was nothing but robberies and murthers of the nobility, under pretence to eſtabliſh the eſtate of the commonweal, but, in effect, for their private profit ſake; whereby their cities were ruined with ſedition and murthers; in which the inhabitants killed one another after a ſtrange manner of fury and deſire they had not to ſpare any of thoſe who were not of their faction; and though they were afflicted with foreign enemies and famine, yet none of thoſe could pacify their fury, nor make them forbear to de-

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(*a*) His ſecond going into *Judea* was, in Fact, to collect the Seſs, having performed it for *Sentius Saturninus*, the Preſident of *Syria*, to whom *Tertullian*, *l.* iv. againſt *Marcion. c.* 48, aſcribes the former Seſs; but others to *Quirinus*, who, for his great Skill in the Eaſtern Affairs, was joined with *Saturninus*, with an extraordinary Authority.

(*b*) *Joſephus*, in *lib.* xx. calls him a *Galilean*, where he makes a plain Diſtinction between *Galilee* and *Gaulonitis*. But *Judas* may have this double Name, thus; namely, one of them from the Place of his Birth, and the other from that of his Education; as *Apollonius*, the Writer of the *Argonautick* Expedition, was call'd *Ægyptus*, from his Country, and *Rhodius*, from the City where he wrote.

ſtroy cities, and ſhed innocent blood, till at length the horrible miſchief took ſuch a head, that they conſumed the temple of God, and burned all the ſtately buildings, ſo dangerous a thing it is to change the manners and cuſtoms of a country; for *Judas* and *Saddacus* having introduced and raiſed a fourth ſect, and tying the ſectaries to their command, filled the whole commonweal with many troubles, and planted the roots of thoſe miſchiefs, which afterwards ſpread abroad from his unaccuſtomed ſect; for which cauſe, I think it not amiſs to diſcourſe briefly of theſe ſectaries opinions; whereby ſo many evils have fallen upon our nation.

There were three ſects among the *Jews*, of long continuance and antiquity, the *Eſſenes*, the *Sadduces*, and thoſe who were called *Phariſees*; of thoſe we have ſpoken of in our ſecond book of the wars of the *Jews*; and yet I think it not amiſs to ſpeak ſomewhat of them in this place alſo.

The *Phariſees* uſe a very auſtere and ſtrict kind of life, and addict not themſelves to any kind of delicacy, but diligently follow that which their reaſon induceth them unto. They honour their elders, neither dare they reply or reproach them for their admonitions. They attribute all things unto fate, and yet they take not an aſſent of will from man; ſuppoſing that God tempereth all things in ſuch ſort, that by his ordinance and man's will, all things are performed, good or evil. They believe alſo, that the ſouls of men are immortal, and after death they receive their reward, according as they have addicted themſelves to virtue or vice in their life times; the one to lie in perpetual priſon, the other to riſe again very ſhortly; for which cauſe they are in great eſteem among the people; and all that appertaineth to God, whether prayers or ſacrifices, are done as they give directions. So ample a teſtimony do the cities yield of their wiſdom, temperance, and honeſt life.

But the *Sadduces* are of opinion, the ſouls of men periſh with their bodies; they obſerve no other thing, but that which is in the law, and hold it a virtue to diſpute with their maſters concerning the decrees of their ſect. Their opinion is entertained by very few, yet they are ſuch, who, for the moſt part, are men of the beſt account; there is hardly any thing done without their advice, and when they are advanced to any honours, they are enforced to allow of that which the *Phariſees* ſhall propoſe, otherwiſe the common people will not endure them.

The *Eſſenes* attribute unto God the government and diſpoſition of all things. They ſay the ſouls of men are immortal, and the uttermoſt of their endeavour and delight is to maintain juſtice and equity. They ſend their offerings unto the temple, yet ſacrifice they not with other men, by reaſon they uſe more ſacred and different ceremonies; for which cauſe they are ſecluded out of the common temple, and ſacrifice apart; otherwiſe they are men of moſt reconciled behaviours, and ſuch as are wholly addicted to cultivate their land. They have one cuſtom, which is worthy of admiration, and ſuch a one, as is not to be found among any other, either *Greeks* or *Barbarians*, who make account of virtue, which they have practiſed from all antiquity; which is, that they poſſeſs their goods in common, neither doth the richeſt among them make more uſe of his poſſeſſions, than he that hath leaſt of all. They are at leaſt four thouſand in number, who have neither wives nor ſlaves, ſuppoſing that women are the occaſion of injuſtice, and ſlaves the cauſe of inſurrections, and living a-part by themſelves, they ſerve one another, and chuſe certain upright men among the prieſts, to gather the fruits and revenues of the land, to the end they may be maintained and nouriſhed thereby. In a word, they follow the ſame courſe of life that they do, who are called (*a*) *Poliſti* among the *Daci*.

The fourth ſect was founded by *Judas* of *Galilee*, which accordeth altogether, and in all things with the *Phariſees*, but they are extremely zealous of their liberty, acknowledging but one only God, lord and maſter of all things; and had rather both themſelves with their deareſt children and kindred, ſhould endure the moſt grievous and bitter torments that may be imagined, than call any mortal man their lord. Of which conſtancy of theirs, I forbear to diſcourſe any further at this time, for it is ſufficiently known unto divers who have been eye-witneſſes thereof; neither do I fear, leſt any one ſhould ſuppoſe thoſe things to be incredible, which I have ſaid of them; but rather that I have ſpoken leſs than they themſelves make evident in contemning their grievous tortures and puniſhments; which courage and magnanimity of theirs encreaſed very mightily amongſt our nation, being kindled by the moſt grievous injuries which were offered us by *Geſſius Florus*, our governor. By which means, at length it came to paſs, that they revolted and rebelled againſt the people of *Rome*. Thus much concerning the ſects among the *Jews*.

(*a*) *Rufinus* ſays, their Habits were coſtly, and very neat, at the Time *Judas* was Head of their Sect. *Joſeph Scaliger* ſays, that all the *Scythians* and *Thracians* were called *Nomades*, a common Name to all of them, and lived in Waggons; and that the firſt who philoſophized amongſt them, began to live in Towns and Villages, and were from thence called *Poliſti*.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

How Herod *and* Philip *erected Cities in Honour of* Cæſar. *Of the Succeſſion of the Prieſts and Governors, and the Things that happened to* Phraates *and the* Parthians.

AFTER that *Quirinus* had confiſcated *Archelaus*'s goods, and finiſhed the valuation of every man's eſtate (which happened thirty ſeven years after *Anthony*'s overthrow by *Cæſar* in the battle at *Actium*) he depoſed *Joazarus* from the prieſtly dignity, by reaſon of that ſedition, which the people ſtirred up againſt him, and eſtabliſhed *Annaus*, the ſon of *Seth*, in his place; but *Herod* and *Philip* took each of them the poſſeſſion of their tetrarchy, and diſpoſed of the affairs thereof. *Herod* incloſed *Sepphoris* with a ſtrong wall, and made it the chiefeſt city and ornament of *Galilee*. He fortified alſo another city, called *Betharamptha*, and named it *Julias*, in honour of *Julia*, the emperor *Cæſar*'s wife. *Philip* repaired *Panada*, ſituated near unto the head of *Jordan*, and called it *Cæſarea*. He repaired alſo the borough of *Bethſaida*, near unto the lake of *Gennaſereth*, and gave it the dignity of a city, both for the number of inhabitants, and for other pre-eminences, and called it *Julia* by *Cæſar*'s wife's name.

As for *Coponius*, the governor in *Judea*, who (as we have ſaid) was ſent with *Quirinus*, in his time there happened what followeth: At the feaſt of unleavened bread, which we call *Paſcha*, the cuſtom was for the prieſts to open the temple gates about midnight, at which time certain *Samaritans*, who ſecretly entered into *Hieroſolyma*, aſſoon as the gates were open, ſpread men's bones amidſt the porches, and over all the temple, whereby it came to paſs, that the prieſts began to keep a more diligent watch than they had done before. Some little while after *Coponius* returned to *Rome*, and *Marcus Ambivius* ſucceeded him in the government. In his time *Salome*, king *Herod*'s ſiſter, departing out of this life, bequeathed unto *Julia*, the city of *Jamnia*, and all the lands and country round about. She gave her alſo *Phaſaelis*, ſituate on the plain of *Archaelis*, where there are divers date trees, bearing moſt excellent fruit.

After *Ambivius*, *Annius Rufus* had the command; in whoſe time died *Auguſtus Cæſar*, the ſecond *Roman* emperor, after he had reigned fifty ſeven years, ſix months, and two days, and had *Antonius*, his co-partener in the monarchy for the ſpace of fourteen years: He lived in the whole ſeventy ſeven years. After *Cæſar*, ſucceeded *Tiberius Nero*, the ſon of *Julia*, his wife, who was the third *Roman* emperor: It was he that ſent the fifth governor into *Judea*, whoſe name was *Valerius Gratus*, who ſucceeded *Annius Rufus*: This *Gratus* depoſed *Ananus*, and appointed *Iſmael*, the ſon of *Fabius*, high-prieſt; and after his deceaſe, (for he lived but a little while after) *Eleazar*, the ſon of *Ananus*, was high-prieſt a year after. This *Eleazar* was alſo depoſed, and the prieſthood was given to *Simon*, the ſon of *Camithus*, who continuing in this dignity for a year's ſpace and no longer, *Joſeph*, called *Caiphas*, ſucceeded him. After *Gratus* had behaved himſelf thus, he returned to *Rome*, after he had remained in *Judea* for the ſpace of eleven years. After him came *Pontius Pilate*, and ſucceeded him in the government.

But *Herod*, the tetrarch, being entertained into *Tiberius*'s friendſhip, built a city in honour of his name, and called it *Tiberius*; and planted it in the fruitfuleſt part of *Galilee*, hard by the lake *Genneſereth*, and near unto the natural baths in the borough called *Emmaus*. This city was peopled by ſtrangers, who reſorted from all parts, and by many out of the country of *Galilee*, ſome of whom were conſtrained to inhabit the ſame. Some of thoſe likewiſe who were in authority repaired thither, and from all countries many flocked thither, who were not all aſſuredly held to be freedmen; all which he made free, and gave them great gifts, on that condition, that they ſhould not abandon the city. To ſome of them he gave houſes already built; to others lands very apt to be tilled, knowing that inhabiting ſuch a place was contrary to the laws and cuſtoms of his country, and the ordinances of the *Jews*; for *Tiberius* was built in a place full of *Sepulchres*; and our law ſaith, he who converſeth in thoſe places is held unclean and defiled for the ſpace of ſeven days.

At that time *Phraates*, king of *Parthia*, died, being treacherouſly killed by his ſon *Phraataces*, for this cauſe; after *Phraates* had begotten many lawful children, he took an *Italian* woman to be his concubine, called *Thermuſa*, whom with other preſents *Julius Cæſar* had ſent unto him. After he had begotten upon her his ſon *Phraates*, he was ſo much beſotted with her beauty, that he took her to his wife, and held her in high eſteem. She who could perſuade him unto all ſhe pleaſed, enforced herſelf to the uttermoſt to make her ſon king of *Parthia*, and ſeeing ſhe could not attain her end, except ſhe firſt found out the means to deliver herſelf from *Phraates*'s lawful children, ſhe perſuaded him to ſend them hoſtages to *Rome*: In a word, they were preſently ſent away, becauſe *Phraates* had not the power to contradict *Thermuſa*'s will; and only *Phraataces* was brought up in ſtate affairs, who thinking the time too tedious and long to want the kingdom till his father was dead, conſpired againſt him by the inſtigation and furtherance of his mother, with whom (as it was thought) he committed inceſt; in effect, being equally attainted of thoſe two enormous crimes, both for the murther of his father, and inceſt committed with his mother. He was univerſally hated by his ſubjects, who rebelled againſt him before he was ſettled in his kingdom; by which means he was overthrown, and died. The noblemen among the *Parthians*, perceiving it was impoſſible for them to maintain their ſtate without a king; and that their king ought lineally to be deſcended from the race of the *Arſacians* (becauſe by cuſtom, they were not to chooſe any out of another ſtock,) and ſuppoſing their ordinances had too much already been broken, and it would redound to their great diſhonour, if the kingdom ſhould be continued in the hands of ſuch a man who was deſcended from an *Italian* concubine, they ſent ambaſſadors to require *Herod* to come to be their king, who otherwiſe was hated by all the people, and accuſed of extreme cruelty. In a word, he was an unſociable man, and extremely cholerick, notwithſtanding he was of the blood of the *Arſacides*; and therefore the people flock'd about him, and killed him in a banquet made at a certain ſacrifice (for the cuſtom of the *Parthians* was, for every one to bear his weapon) or, as the common report was, he was killed when he was a hunting; for this cauſe they ſent ambaſſadors to *Rome*, requiring one of the hoſtages there might be their king. One *Vonones* was ſent unto them, who was preferred above all his brethren; for he ſeemed to be capable of that high degree of honour, as to command the two greateſt ſovereignties that were under the ſun; the one of his own nation, the other of a foreign dominion. But the barbarians, who were by nature inconſtant and moſt inſolent, ſhortly after repented themſelves; for they diſdain'd to execute the command of a ſlave, (for ſo called they a pledge) ſaying, *That the* Parthians *had not a king given them by right of war; but that which was the greateſt abuſe that could befal them, by an injury offer'd them in time of a ſhameful peace*; for which cauſe, they ſpeedily ſent for *Artabanus*, king of *Media*, who was of the race of the *Arſacides*. To this requeſt of theirs he willingly condeſcended, and came unto them with his army, and *Vonones* marched forward againſt him: At the firſt encounter, although the common ſort amongſt the *Parthians* favoured *Artabanus*, yet he was overcome, and fled to the mountains of *Media*; but not long after, having aſſembled a greater army, he once more ſet upon *Vonones*, and defeated him: At which time, *Vonones* retired himſelf, with ſome horſemen of his into *Seleucia*; but *Artabanus* having made a great ſlaughter of thoſe that fled, and wholly abaſhed the minds of the *Barbarians*, he retired to the city of *Steſiphon*, with thoſe people that accompanied him, and was afterwards made king of *Parthia*. *Vonones* arrived in *Armenia*, and at the firſt ſought to make himſelf king over that nation, ſending to this effect, certain ambaſſadors to *Rome*; but *Tiberius* repulſed his ſuit, in reſpect of his cowardice; but the rather, becauſe *Artabanus*, by an expreſs embaſſage, had threaten'd him with war; for thoſe of the greateſt power among the *Armenians* (who are thoſe who dwell about the flood *Niphaies*) maintained *Artabanus's* title; and *Vonones*, deſtitute of all hope to obtain the kingdom, yielded himſelf to *Sylanus*, who was governor of *Syria*; and in regard that he had been brought up at *Rome*, he was kept in *Syria*, and *Artabanus* gave *Armenia* to *Orodes*, one of his ſons.

Antiochus, king of the *Comagenes*, died alſo at that time; and there fell a debate betwixt the commons and the nobility; ſo that both parties ſent their ambaſſadors to *Rome*. The nobles demanded the kingdom might be reduced into divers provinces, and the people requeſted they might be honoured by a king, as they had been accuſtomed. The ſenate decreed *Germanicus* ſhould be ſent to ſettle the affairs of the eaſt, fortune thereby preſenting him with the occaſion of his ruin; for when he arrived in the eaſt, and orderly diſpoſed all things, he was poiſoned by *Piſo*, whereof he died, as is declared in another place.

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A Sedition of the Jews *againſt* Pilate: *Of CHRIST, and the things that happened to* Pollinas *and the* Jews *at* Rome.

PILATE, governor of *Judea*, led his army from *Cæſaria* to *Hieroſolyma*, where he wintered them, with an intent to bring in *Cæſar's* (1) ſtandards into the city, in contempt of our law, which forbiddeth us to make images; for which thoſe governors who were before him were won't to make their entries into the city without ſuch pictures or paintings. *Pilate* was the firſt, who unawares, and by night, entered *Hieroſolyma*, bringing with him his images, which, when the people underſtood, in great multitudes they reſorted to *Cæſaria*, beſeeching him for many days, that he would tranſport thoſe images unto ſome other place; but when *Pilate* denied them to perform their requeſt, becauſe the matter would redound to *Cæſar's* diſhonour; and the *Jews* alſo ceaſed not to ſolicit him ſome ſix days after, commanding his ſoldiers to lay in ambuſh in a readineſs, he ſat him down in the tribunal within the *Hippodrome*, making uſe of the opportunity of the place, becauſe it was moſt fit for a ſtratagem; there, being urged once more about the ſame buſineſs, he gave a ſign to his ſoldiers to beſet them, threatning them with death, except they would preſently give over their ſuit, and repair every one of them, with all ſpeed, to their own houſes; but they proſtrating themſelves upon the earth, and offering their naked throats, told him, they had rather die, than ſee their laws violated. *Pilate* amazed at the conſtancy they ſhewed in the converſation of their laws, ſuddenly cauſed *Cæſar*'s images to be tranſported out of *Hieroſolyma* into *Cæſarea*.

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And not long after, he intended to take money out of the ſacred treaſury, to cauſe water to be brought into the city through conduits, from a fountain more than two hundred furlongs off; which the people took ſo ill, that many thouſands of men aſſembled themſelves, exclaiming againſt *Pilate*; endeavouring thereby to make him give over his enterprize. Some of them alſo, uttered divers injurious ſpeeches againſt him, as it ordinarily falleth out amongſt an unbridled multitude, but he cauſed them to be encompaſſed by a great number of his ſoldiers, attired in popular habits, with cudgels, and, without diſtinction of perſons, fell on all thoſe whom they had encompaſſed, and ſo unmercifully laid on them who were naked and diſarmed, that ſome of them were killed, others grievouſly hurt; and after this manner was the tumult and ſedition appeaſed.

At that time was *Jeſus* a wiſe man, if it be lawful to call him a man; for he was the performer of divers admirable works, and the inſtructer of thoſe who willingly entertained the truth; and he drew unto him divers *Jews* and *Greeks* to be his followers. This was *Chriſt*, who being accuſed by the princes of our nation before *Pilate*, and afterwards condemned by our people, and puniſhed with crucifixion; yet they ceaſed not to love him, who had once ſet their love upon him; for he appeared alive again the third day, the holy prophets having ſpoken theſe and a thouſand more things about him. And a nation from him hath took the denomination of Chriſtians, who remain unto this very day.

Much about the ſame time, an unfortunate accident happened at *Rome* in the temple of *Iſis*, of a ſhameleſs nature, and which proved of bad conſequence to the *Jews*. I will in the firſt place take notice of the action committed upon the *Iſiaci*, and next turn my diſcourſe, and ſpeak of the things which befel the *Jews*: There was at *Rome* a lady named *Paulina*, of illuſtrious birth, and great character, for the exceeding deſire ſhe ſhewed to follow virtue. She was very rich, and extremely beautiful, being of that age, in which women are the moſt gay and ſprightly, and what was the faireſt qualification of all, her life was one continued ſcene of modeſty and virtue: She was married to *Saturninus*, a perſon every way accompliſhed to join ſo good a wife. It happened that *Decius Mundus*, a *Roman* knight of great diſtinction, fell in love with her, who, finding the large and coſtly preſents he made her, ineffectual to gain his deſires, was but the more inflamed, and offered to give her, if ſhe would let him only once lie with her, two hundred thouſand *Attic* drachms. But ſeeing that this was not proof ſufficient to win her, and extremely troubled to find his love rejected, he thought it the wiſeſt courſe he could take, to pine himſelf to death for the cruelty he ſuffered from *Paulina*. It was thus he had reſolved within himſelf to put a period to his life, and he had immediately done it, if an accident had not prevented him. *Mundus* had a freed woman which belonged once to his father, named *Ida*, artful to an extreme, in the management of any bad deſign; ſhe could not endure to ſee the young man her maſter, ſo obſtinately perſiſt in his reſolution of pining himſelf to death, which, ſhould he continue much longer in the ſentiments he harbour'd, he muſt, ſhe ſaw, inevitably do. Wherefore to prevent his purpoſe ſhe went and comforted him, telling him, ſhe could aſſure him there was a way to be found that would throw him into the embraces of *Paulina*. *Mundus* eagerly liſtening to her words, ſhe added, that for fifty thouſand drachms ſhe would make it her buſineſs to overcome *Paulina*'s chaſtity. This giving the young gentleman new hopes, he gave her the ſum of money ſhe aſked, and immediately took a quite different courſe with her, to what the others had done who had been employed to that end, as ſeeing that money or preſents had no effect upon her; for knowing ſhe was extremely devouted to the worſhip of *Iſis*, ſhe enters upon the ſcheme following: Having aſſembled ſeveral of the prieſts together, and diſcourſed with them a while upon the affair indifferently, and received from them a ſolemn promiſe of ſecrecy, and ſhewn them the money, the moſt efficacious article of all the reſt, twenty five thouſand drachms of which, ſhe told them, ſhould be paid them down in hand, and as many more upon bringing the matter to bear; ſhe then proceeded to lay open the fierce love of the young man her maſter, and begged them to try every method that he might have an interview with *Paulina*. The prieſts, won over by the great quantity of gold, received it, and promiſed to put in practice what ſhe deſired forthwith. In conſequence of the agreement, the eldeſt of the prieſts immediately went to *Paulina*, and deſired her to ſtep aſide, for he wanted to ſpeak with her. *Paulina* condeſcending to the requeſt, he then told her, that he was ſent from *Anubis*, the god having fallen in love with her, and ordered her to come to him; theſe words were very delightful to *Paulina*, and what ſhe had indeed wiſhed; ſhe boaſted among her acquaintance of the honour the god *Anubis* did her, and ſignified the whole affair to her huſband; and, in the concluſion, prepared a ſupper, and a bed for the god. Her huſband ſubſided, as knowing the inſurmountable chaſtity of his wife. Accordingly, *Paulina* went into the temple, and having ſupped, about the time of reſt the prieſts ſhut the gates of the temple, for *Mundus* had been concealed within before; and put out all the lamps in the *Sacrarium*. *Mundus* was not long in finding his miſtreſs, and all the night he revelled in her arms, ſhe all the while ſuppoſing him to be the god: *Mundus* made off before the prieſts, who knew nothing of the plot, were ſtirring, and *Paulina* in him beſore he was ſettled in his kingdom; by which means he was overthrown, and died. The noblemen among the *Parthians*, perceiving it was impoſſible for them to maintain their ſtate without a king; and that their king ought lineally to be deſcended from the race of the *Arſacians* (becauſe by cuſtom, they were not to chooſe any out of another ſtock,) and ſuppoſing their ordinances had too much already been broken, and it would redound to their great diſhonour, if the kingdom ſhould be continued in the hands of ſuch a man who was deſcended from an *Italian* concubine, they ſent ambaſſadors to require *Herod* to come to be their king, who otherwiſe was hated by all the people, and accuſed of extreme cruelty. 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At that time was *Jeſus* a wiſe man, if it be lawful to call him a man; for he was the performer of divers admirable works, and the inſtructer of thoſe who willingly entertained the truth; and he drew unto him divers *Jews* and *Greeks* to be his followers. This was *Chriſt*, who being accuſed by the princes of our nation before *Pilate*, and afterwards condemned by our people, and puniſhed with crucifixion; yet they ceaſed not to love him, who had once ſet their love upon him; for he appeared alive again the third day, the holy prophets having ſpoken theſe and a thouſand more things about him. And a nation from him hath took the denomination of Chriſtians, who remain unto this very day.

Much about the ſame time, an unfortunate accident happened at *Rome* in the temple of *Iſis*, of a ſhameleſs nature, and which proved of bad conſequence to the *Jews*. I will in the firſt place take notice of the action committed upon the *Iſiaci*, and next turn my diſcourſe, and ſpeak of the things which befel the *Jews*: There was at *Rome* a lady named *Paulina*, of illuſtrious birth, and great character, for the exceeding deſire ſhe ſhewed to follow virtue. She was very rich, and extremely beautiful, being of that age, in which women are the moſt gay and ſprightly, and what was the faireſt qualification of all, her life was one continued ſcene of modeſty and virtue: She was married to *Saturninus*, a perſon every way accompliſhed to join ſo good a wife. It happened that *Decius Mundus*, a *Roman* knight of great diſtinction, fell in love with her, who, finding the large and coſtly preſents he made her, ineffectual to gain his deſires, was but the more inflamed, and offered to give her, if ſhe would let him only once lie with her, two hundred thouſand *Attic* drachms. But ſeeing that this was not proof ſufficient to win her, and extremely troubled to find his love rejected, he thought it the wiſeſt courſe he could take, to pine himſelf to death for the cruelty he ſuffered from *Paulina*. It was thus he had reſolved within himſelf to put a period to his life, and he had immediately done it, if an accident had not prevented him. *Mundus* had a freed woman which belonged once to his father, named *Ida*, artful to an extreme, in the management of any bad deſign; ſhe could not endure to ſee the young man her maſter, ſo obſtinately perſiſt in his reſolution of pining himſelf to death, which, ſhould he continue much longer in the ſentiments he harbour'd, he muſt, ſhe ſaw, inevitably do. Wherefore to prevent his purpoſe ſhe went and comforted him, telling him, ſhe could aſſure him there was a way to be found that would throw him into the embraces of *Paulina*. *Mundus* eagerly liſtening to her words, ſhe added, that for fifty thouſand drachms ſhe would make it her buſineſs to overcome *Paulina*'s chaſtity. This giving the young gentleman new hopes, he gave her the ſum of money ſhe aſked, and immediately took a quite different courſe with her, to what the others had done who had been employed to that end, as ſeeing that money or preſents had no effect upon her; for knowing ſhe was extremely devouted to the worſhip of *Iſis*, ſhe enters upon the ſcheme following: Having aſſembled ſeveral of the prieſts together, and diſcourſed with them a while upon the affair indifferently, and received from them a ſolemn promiſe of ſecrecy, and ſhewn them the money, the moſt efficacious article of all the reſt, twenty five thouſand drachms of which, ſhe told them, ſhould be paid them down in hand, and as many more upon bringing the matter to bear; ſhe then proceeded to lay open the fierce love of the young man her maſter, and begged them to try every method that he might have an interview with *Paulina*. The prieſts, won over by the great quantity of gold, received it, and promiſed to put in practice what ſhe deſired forthwith. In conſequence of the agreement, the eldeſt of the prieſts immediately went to *Paulina*, and deſired her to ſtep aſide, for he wanted to ſpeak with her. *Paulina* condeſcending to the requeſt, he then told her, that he was ſent from *Anubis*, the god having fallen in love with her, and ordered her to come to him; theſe words were very delightful to *Paulina*, and what ſhe had indeed wiſhed; ſhe boaſted among her acquaintance of the honour the god *Anubis* did her, and ſignified the whole affair to her huſband; and, in the concluſion, prepared a ſupper, and a bed for the god. Her huſband ſubſided, as knowing the inſurmountable chaſtity of his wife. Accordingly, *Paulina* went into the temple, and having ſupped, about the time of reſt the prieſts ſhut the gates of the temple, for *Mundus* had been concealed within before; and put out all the lamps in the *Sacrarium*. *Mundus* was not long in finding his miſtreſs, and all the night he revelled in her arms, ſhe all the while ſuppoſing him to be the god: *Mundus* made off before the prieſts, who knew nothing of the plot, were ſtirring, and *Paulina* in the morning coming to her huſband, tells him how ſhe had ſeen the god *Anubis*, and makes great boaſt of what had been done her among her acquaintance: But they, when they conſidered the nature of the adventure, could not be induced to give credit to the whole affair, and on the other hand, when they reflected on the extraordinary chaſtity and high birth of *Paulina*, they ſtood in the utmoſt admiration, as finding nothing that could make them judge ill of her conduct. Three days after the perpetration of this fact, *Mundus* happening to meet *Paulina*, thus ſaid: Paulina, *you have ſaved me two hundred thouſand drachms, which you might have added to your ſtore, and yet you have fulfilled my deſires. Your loading me with reproachful words doth not in the leaſt moleſt me; but my diſguiſe under the name of* Anubis *gives me great ſatisfaction.* And after he had thus ſpoken he went his way. But *Paulina*, ſuppoſing he had been privy from the beginning to what had been tranſacted, tore her garment, and immediately went and told her huſband, with all the baſeneſs of the intrigue, and begged him not to ſlip any opportunity to revenge her diſhonour; he forthwith went and acquainted the emperor with the whole proceeding. *Tiberius* coming to a juſt underſtanding of every thing, after he had put the prieſts to the rack, crucified them, and *Ida*, the cauſe of their deſtruction, as having plotted every thing to the lady's diſhonour; he likewiſe razed the temple to the ground, and ordered the ſtatue of *Iſis* to be plunged into the river *Tiber*. He condemned *Mundus* to baniſhment, ſuppoſing that a puniſhment ſufficient for his crime, as having tranſgreſſed through the fury of his love. And this is the affair, in which the prieſts of *Iſis* ſo much diſhonoured their temple. I will now come to ſpeak of the accidents that befel the *Jews* who lived at *Rome*, as I before promiſed to do.

There was a man, a *Jew* by nation, a renegade from his country, as having been accuſed of living in contrariety to the laws, and fearing to be puniſhed for it; in fine, he was in every reſpect a very wicked and flagitious wretch. He reſided at this time at *Rome*, and profeſt himſelf to be the expounder of the *Moſaic* law; three others of the ſame principles with himſelf joined him, and *Fulvia*, a noble woman of *Rome*, made herſelf their pupil, having embraced *Judaiſm*. Upon this they perſuaded her to ſend purple and gold to the temple at *Hieroſolyma*, which they had no ſooner received, than they converted the things to their own uſes, and laviſhed them away. *Tiberius* being acquainted with this affair by *Saturninus*, whom the emperor had a friendſhip for, at the inſtigation of *Fulvia* his wife commanded all the *Jews* living in *Rome* to be baniſhed thence. Accordingly the conſuls muſtering them together, enliſted about four thouſand of their body, and ſent them to the iſland of *Sardinia*; but a great number, deſirous to keep up to the laws of their country, refuſed being enliſted, and were puniſhed. And thus for the tranſgreſſion of four men, the *Jews* were expelled the city.

CHAP. IV.

How a Sedition was raiſed by the Samaritans, *a great Number of whom* Pilate *put to Death. How* Pilate *was accuſed; and of the actions of* Vitellius *among the* Jews *and* Parthians.

THE *Samaritans*, in the interim, were up in a ſedition, occaſioned by a certain man, who accounted a lie of no ſignificancy, and did every thing to gain favour with the populace, ordering them to aſcend *Mount Garizim* with him, which, in their opinion, is a hill of the greateſt ſacredneſs of any, proteſting to them he would ſhew them, when they came there the holy veſſels which *Moſes* had (1) concealed under ground there. The *Samaritans* believing what he ſaid to be true, immediately took up arms, and made a village called *Tirabatha* the ſeat of their rendezvous, reſolving in a great body to aſcend the mountain. But *Pilate* ſeized before hand upon the road they had deſigned to take, with a body of horſe and foot forces, which he had detached to that end, who in the firſt encounter with thoſe that were aſſembled in the village, put ſeveral of them to the ſword, others to flight, and others they took priſoners. The moſt powerful and principal of thoſe they took, endeavouring to make their eſcape, *Pilate* put to death.

After this tumult of the *Samaritans* was appeaſed, their aſſembly ſent to *Vitellius*, a perſon of conſular dignity, and governor of *Syria*, and charged *Pilate* with the ſlaughter of thoſe who had periſhed; they repreſented how they had not revolted from the *Romans*, but, to find a ſafe refuge from the cruelties of *Pilate*, had only withdrawn themſelves into the village of *Tirabatha*. *Vitellius*, upon this remonſtrance, ſent his friend *Marcellus* to look into the affair of the *Jews*, and ordered *Pilate* to go to *Rome*, to anſwer there before the emperor, to the allegations brought againſt him. In obedience to this command, *Pilate*, after he had governed *Judea* ten years, returned to *Rome*, not daring to diſobey the order of *Vitellius*. But before he reached *Rome*, *Tiberius* departed this life.

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(1) Mr. *Reland*, from the *Samaritan* Chronicle, recites a Tradition about the *Ark*, and Holy Veſſels hid in Mount *Garizim* by the Command of God, under the Prieſthood of *Ozais*; of which mention is made 1 *Chron.* vi. 6. which is ſomething differently related in 2 *Maccab.* ii. 2. *Hudſon.*

Vitellius, in the mean while, went into *Judea*, and travelled up to *Hieroſolyma*, at the time the feſtival called the paſſover was celebrating: The *Jews* receiving him with extraordinary marks of diſtinction, he was pleaſed to remit to them the cuſtoms they paid for the fruits uſually vended at *Hieroſolyma*, and gave liberty to the prieſts to keep in the temple, as formerly, the ſacerdotal ſtole. But at this time it was repoſited in *Antonia*, a tower ſo named, and this cauſe following was the occaſion of it: *Hyrcanus*, the firſt of the prieſts of that name, (for there were ſeveral ſo called,) having built a tower near the temple, lived for the moſt part in it; and becauſe the ſtole was in his cuſtody, and he had the ſole right to wear it, he kept (*a*) it in the tower, at ſuch times as he was wont to put on a (*b*) private habit and go into the city. This practice was followed by his ſons and their children after them. But when *Herod* came to the throne he repaired this tower, which he found very conveniently ſituated, in a very magnificent manner, and gave it the name of *Antonia*, from *Anthony*, who was his friend; and as he found the ſtole there, ſo he preſerved it in the ſame place, ſuppoſing ſuch an action would ſecure him from any innovation of the people. And alſo *Archelaus*, *Herod*'s ſon, who ſucceeded to the government, followed the example of his father: But the *Romans* taking his kingdom to themſelves, ſeized upon the ſacerdotal ſtole, which was repoſited in the houſe built with ſtone, and ſealed with the ſignet of the prieſts and (*c*) treaſurers of the money, the governor of the citadel being obliged to keep a lamp burning every day in the place where it was put. (*d*) Every ſeventh day before a feſtival, the governor of the caſtle gave it out to them, and the high-prieſt having (*e*) purified it, uſed it, and the day after the feſtival, brought it again to be laid up where it was repoſited before; this was annually done, on the three grand feſtivals, and on the day of (*f*) faſting. *Vitellius* cauſed the ſtole to be kept, as had been cuſtomary to the *Jews*, and gave the governor of the tower expreſs orders, neither to make any enquiry into the place where it was kept, nor to give any attendance on the day it ſhould be demanded. *Vitellius*, in this action, having gained the good will of the people, put *Joſeph* the prieſt, otherwiſe called *Caiphas*, from the ſacerdotal dignity, and placed in his room *Jonathan*, the ſon of *Ananus* the prieſt, and afterwards returned to *Antioch*.

About this time *Vitellius* received a letter from *Tiberius*, in which he was order'd to enter into an alliance with *Artabanus*, the *Parthian* king. He had apprehenſions of him, as being his enemy, and his fears was augmented from his having ſeized upon *Armenia*; and leſt he ſhould raiſe commotions of worſe conſequence in the empire, adviſing *Vitellius* to put no faith in his friendſhip, unleſs he delivered up hoſtages for performance, and comprized his ſon in the treaty. *Tiberius* having wrote to *Vitellius* in this manner, he, by the large preſents of money he made the kings of the *Iberians* and *Albanians*, induced them, without any delay, to proclaim war againſt *Artabanus*. But they, upon conſideration, rejected his offer, and giving the *Scythians* liberty to travel thro' their provinces, they opened them a clear paſſage by the *Caſpian Sea*, and poured them upon *Artabanus*. By this means the *Parthians* again loſt *Armenia*, and the war being carried quite through the heart of the country, ſeveral of the nobility were ſlain, and the whole kingdom deſtroyed with fire and ſword: Beſide, the king's ſon, in an engagement, had the misfortune to be routed and ſlain, with ſeveral (*g*) thouſand forces. And *Vitellius*, by the power of the preſents of money he made among the relations and friends of the *Parthian* king, had likely to have taken *Artabanus*'s life away, by the aſſiſtance of thoſe he had bribed. But when *Artabanus* perceiv'd that there was hardly any way to avoid the

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(*a*) *Epiphanius* turns this Paſſage thus: 'In a Place contiguous to the Temple, he erected a Tabernacle, and 'there reſided for the moſt Part; where he alſo kept the Prieſtly Stole, and was the Perſon who guarded it, 'becauſe he had the ſole Liberty to put it on, when he entered the Temple; for at ſuch Times as he went 'into the City, he uſed the Habit of a private Man.'

(*b*) The *Talmudiſts* inſiſt, that neither the High-Prieſt, or the other Prieſts, had Liberty to wear the Stole, either in the City, or without the Temple. *Reland.*

(*c*) *Epiphanius* is ſomething different in the Verſion he has made of this Paſſage: 'It was kept, ſays he, 'under the Signet of the Prieſts and the Treaſurers of the Money; by whom alſo were the other Ornaments of 'the Temple and the Candleſtick kept, which was only upon Feſtival Days given out for the Uſe of the Prieſts: 'But after the Feſtival was over, it was reſtor'd back to be repoſited in its proper Place; and upon the Commencement of the three great annual Feſtivals, it was always thus given out and brought back again.'

(*d*) *Petit* ſays, It is probable that the Stole was not demanded on the ſeventh Day before the Feſtival, but only on the Day before it. *Hudſon.* This Account confirms the Tradition of the *Talmud* in *Joma*. i. 1. and other Places, where, 'tis ſaid, 'That ſeven Days before the Feſtival, the High-Prieſt prepared himſelf to celebrate Divine Worſhip.' *Reland.*

(*e*) The High-Prieſt made no Uſe of it, till he had purified it, becauſe it had been in the Cuſtody of Foreigners.

(*f*) From this Account, we find what were the Days the High Prieſt uſually put on the Prieſtly Stole, *viz.* on three ſolemn Feſtivals, meaning the Paſſover, Pentecoſt, and the Feaſt of Tabernacles; as alſo the Day of Faſting, which they call the Day of *Propitiation*. See *Bouſere* upon *Leviticus*, *p.* 648. and *Petit* in his *Anecdotes*, *Tom.* iv. *p.* 96. *Hudſon.* The High Prieſt, on the Anniverſary Day of Faſting, was uſed to wear theſe Garments, it being the 10th Day of *Tiſri*. *Reland.*

(*g*) *Epiphanius* gives this Paſſage another Air, in turning it thus: 'Thus was *Armenia* laid waſte, and all 'the Countries of the *Parthians* filled with Soldiers and Deſtruction. For the Nobles were in every Place put 'to the Sword, and every Corner of the Kingdom was a Scene of nothing but Confuſion and Lamentation. 'The Son of the Emperor loſt his Life in this Battle, with the Overthrow of a numerous Army; for ſeveral 'Thouſand *Parthians* revolted from him.'

deſigns of his enemies againſt him, and the probability of the ſchemes his principal ſubjects had formed againſt him, ſucceeding to their expectations; and having made a calculation of the number of partizans, who profeſſed their attachments to his intereſt, he could not help concluding, but that a great number of them was biaſſed by the money they had received, and the kindneſs they ſhewed him was nothing more than treachery at the bottom; and ſhould he put their marks of obedience to the teſt, he ſuppoſed he ſhould find them preſently withdraw over to thoſe who had already revolted and abandoned him. Upon the cloſe of all which conſiderations, he withdrew, and got in ſafety up into the higher provinces of his kingdom; and collecting a numerous army, compoſed of *Dahi* and *Saci*, he gave his enemies battle, and defeated them, by which means he regained what he had loſt.

Tiberius, upon the report of theſe ſucceſſes, ordered an alliance to be made with *Artabanus*, and upon the king's receiving the propoſition with marks of willingneſs, he and *Vitellius* had an interview at the *Euphrates*; having ordered a bridge to be erected over the river, they met each other in the middle of it, attended each with his guards; and, after the alliance was made, *Herod*, the tetrarch, received them at a ſumptuous entertainment, under a tent he had ſet up in the middle of the bridge. Shortly after, *Artabanus* ſent *Tiberius* his ſon *Darius* as an (*a*) hoſtage, with ſeveral preſents, among which was a man in height ſeven cubits, by nation a *Jew*, and named *Eleazar*, who, for his bigneſs, was ſtiled *the Great*. And afterwards *Vitellius* returned to *Antioch*, and *Certabanus* to *Babylonia*; but *Herod* deſiring to be the firſt in acquainting *Tiberius* with obtaining the hoſtages, ſent him the inſtrument of alliance, with a letter, in which he had with great accuracy ſet down every circumſtance, ſo that *Vitellius* had nothing left him to notify: And upon his ſending a letter to *Cæſar*, he received an anſwer back, that *Herod* had already ſignified to him the whole procedure, and he wanted no farther inſtructions. This nettled *Vitellius*, who imagining more than he ought to have done, that the indignity put upon him was not to be paſſed by, ſmothered in his breaſt the anger he had conceived for the affront, till an opportunity ſhould offer itſelf to purſue his revenge, which did not happen till *Caius* obtained the empire.

At this time *Philip*, brother of *Herod*, departed this life, in the twentieth year of *Tiberius*'s reign, after he had governed ſeven and thirty years *Trachonitis*, *Gaulanitis*, and *Batanæa*. He was a perſon naturally of a mild diſpoſition to his ſubjects, and of a peaceable temper, having reſided all his life-time within his own dominions. Whenever he went abroad, he was attended with a few choice perſons about him, always ordering his tribunal to be carried after him, that if any one met him who wanted his aſſiſtance, he might ſet it up there; on which placing himſelf, he adminiſter'd juſtice to the perſon grieved, and either puniſhed the guilty, or diſcharged the innocent. He paid his laſt debt to nature in *Julias*, and was carried to the monument which he had before ordered to be erected for him. He was interred in it with magnificent funeral pomp. As he died without iſſue, *Tiberius* ſeized upon his dominions, and annexed them to *Syria*; but ordered the tribunes which had been cuſtomarily collected in his tetrarchate, to be continued in it.

CHAP. V.

Herod *the Tetrarch, makes an Expedition againſt the King of the* Arabians, *and is defeated. Of the Death of* John the Baptiſt. *How* Vitellius *went up to* Hieroſolyma; *with ſome Account of* Agrippa, *and the Poſterity of* Herod the Great.

ABOUT the ſame time a difference fell out between *Aretas*, the *Arabian* king, and *Herod*, occaſion'd from the cauſe following: *Herod*, the tetarch, had married *Areta*'s daughter, and had for a long time lived with her. Upon his going to *Rome*, he called upon his brother (*b*) *Herod*, who was from another mother; for *Herod* was born of the daughter of *Simon*, the high-prieſt; and happening to fall in love with *Herodias*'s wife, who was daughter of *Ariſtobulus*, the brother of both of them, and the ſiſter of *Agrippa the Great*, he had the preſumption to make overtures of a match with her. The pretenſions he made her, being not againſt her inclination, it was ſtipulated between them, that ſhe ſhould marry him upon his return from *Rome*, and he ſhould put away *Aretas*'s daughter from him. After matters were thus concluded upon, he ſet forward for *Rome*. When he had tranſacted the affairs he went upon at *Rome*, he returned; but his wife in the interim came to hear of the agreement he had made with *Herodias*, and before her huſband ſhould hear of her knowing the whole

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(*a*) *Suetonius*, in the Life of *Vitellius*, *cap*. ii. ſays, That by his great Artifice, he not only brought the *Parthian* King to an Interview, but alſo to pay Veneration to the Legionary Standards.

(*b*) He was alſo called *Philip*; nay, I very believe (as *Grotius* ſays upon *Matt*. xiv. 3.) that among the nine Sons of *Herod the Great*, there were two of them called by the Name of *Philip*, but that one of them, born of *Simon* the High-Prieſt's Daughter, was ſirnamed *Philip-Herod*; and by the ſame Way of arguing, that he, about whom our Hiſtory here takes Notice, was called *Antipater*, or *Antipas-Herod*, and by an Addition was named *Philip the Younger*, to diſtinguiſh him from the other, who was Tetrarch of *Trachonitis*. There need no great Wonder to be made, that two in ſuch a Number of Sons, ſhould be called *Philip*, ſince in the ſame Number, there were two named *Antipater*, that Name and *Antipas* being of the ſame Import.

plot, ſhe deſired to be ſent to *Machæro*, a caſtle upon the frontiers of *Herod*'s government. *Herod*, little ſuſpecting his wife was any way privy to his deſigns, took care himſelf to ſend her thither. She having ſent before to *Machæro*, at that time under the juriſdiction of her father *Aretas*, and her father's governor having got every thing in a readineſs to eſcort her, went to him, from him into *Arabia*; and ſo from one governor to another with great diſpatch, till at length being arrived at her father's, ſhe open'd to him the whole ſecret and deſigns of *Herod*. This became the foundation of enmity between them, which was augmented by a diſpute then on foot, about ſome lands about *Gamala* on the frontiers. They muſtered each an army, and then proclaimed war againſt each other, diſmiſſing at the ſame time the reſpective ambaſſadors reſiding at their courts. Upon hazarding a battle, *Herod* received a defeat, with the loſs of all his forces, being betrayed by ſome deſerters who belonged to *Philip*, and had entered into his pay. *Herod* acquainted *Tiberius* with this piece of treachery in a letter he ſent him, which he being enraged at, and at the ſiniſter deſigns of *Aretas*, wrote to *Vitellius*, to whom he gave expreſs orders to proclaim war againſt him, and either take him alive in chains, or cut off his head and ſend it him. And theſe were the orders which *Tiberius* gave the preſident of *Syria*.

There were ſome of the *Jews* who imagin'd that the late defeat of *Herod*'s army was entirely owing to the death of *John*, ſirnamed *the Baptiſt*; and that their overthrow was but a juſt puniſhment for it. This perſon, who was a good man, and one who endeavoured to excite in the hearts of the *Jews* a deſire of following virtue, of keeping a ſtrict union among themſelves, and of honouring God with ſingleneſs of mind, was by *Herod*'s order put to death for exhorting them to come with a holy heart and be baptized; for he repreſented, that baptiſm would prove acceptable to God, ſince they uſed it not only for the expiation of ſins, but the cleanneſs of their bodies, their minds being purified before with righteouſneſs. Great numbers from all parts aſſembling to him (for they were vaſtly elated with the doctrines he preached) made *Herod* apprehenſive, leſt the great authority *John* had obtained, ſhould draw his ſubjects to a revolt, (for every one ſeemed attached to his opinion:) Upon which he judged it abſolutely neceſſary, before any innovation might take birth, to take him effectually out of the way, leſt his too long neglect might involve him in ſome fatal danger, which might make him repent. In ſhort, *Herod*'s ſuſpicions were the cauſe of his being thrown into priſon in the caſtle of *Machæro*, which we have already taken notice of, where he was ſlain. But the *Jews* were thoroughly perſuaded, that God, offended at *Herod*, had been the immediate cauſe of the defeat of his forces.

Vitellius, in the mean time, having put himſelf in a readineſs to carry the war againſt *Aretas*, took up two legions, with all his light armed forces, and the auxiliaries the confederate kings and allies had ſent him, and directed his march towards *Petra*, and came to *Ptolomais*. Upon his endeavouring to march through *Judea*, the principal *Jews* met him, and laid heavy imprecations upon his journey, as it was againſt their laws, and they could not bear to ſee images carried through their country, his ſtandards having ſeveral wrought in them. Upon theſe intreaties he changed the reſolution he had taken, and ordered his army to take their rout through the great plain, and in company with *Herod* the tetrarch and his friends, he went up to *Hieroſolyma*, with a deſign to offer (*a*) ſacrifice to God in the feſtival that was then celebrating. Coming at this time, he was received by the *Jews* with extraordinary reſpect and honour, among whom he remained three days; during which he diſplaced *Jonathan* from the prieſthood, and put his brother *Theophilus* in his room. On the fourth day he received a letter, notifying the death of *Tiberius*: Upon which he exacted an oath of the *Jews* for their ſteady obedience to *Caius*. Beſide, he recalled his forces, and ordered them into their quarters, having, now *Caius* was become emperor, not the power, as before, to undertake his expedition. It is ſaid *Aretas*, by ſome prophetic impulſe, declared, that it was impoſſible the *Roman* army ſhould come to *Petra*; for in a little time, either the general, or he who gave orders for undertaking the battle, or he who haſten'd to execute his commands, or he againſt whom the army was prepared, would die. In effect, *Vitellius* went back to *Antioch*. *Agrippa*, the ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, the year before *Tiberius* departed this life, went to *Rome*, to tranſact an affair with the emperor, as he had had the liberty before given him. I will now take an opportunity to ſpeak ſomething more copiouſly about *Herod*, and his poſterity, not only becauſe a detail of them will be of great ſervice to our hiſtory, but alſo it will ſhew an argument that a numerous offſpring, or all the grandeur of man avails nothing, without piety towards God, ſince, within the courſe of a hundred years, *Herod*'s poſterity, which was very numerous, happened almoſt to be all cut off. This ſhould be a leſſon to mankind to take warning from their infelicity, eſpecially when I ſhall come to mention *Agrippa*, a man moſt worthy of admiration, who from a private condition of life, and beyond the hopes of all who knew him, advanced himſelf to a ſtupendous height of grandeur. I have made mention of them in the foregoing; but ſhall now proceed to ſpeak of them in a more copious manner.

Herod had born to him of *Mariamne*, the daughter of *Hyrcanus*, two daughters. One of them, named *Salampſio*, was given by her father in marriage to *Phaſael* her couſin, ſon of *Phaſael*, brother of *Herod*; the other, called *Cypros*, was wedded to *Antipater*, who was alſo her couſin, being *Herod*'s nephew by his ſiſter *Salome*; *Phaſael* had by *Salampſio* five children, *viz.* *Antipater*, *Herod*, *Alexander*, and two daughters, called *Alexandra* and *Cypros*, who were married to *Agrippa*, the ſon of *Ariſtobulus*. *Tunius Cy-*

(*a*) The *Gentiles* were wont to offer Burnt-Sacrifices in the Temple at *Hieroſolyma*. *Reland*.

prius, a nobleman, took to his wife *Alexandra*, who died without leaving any children by him. *Cypros* had by *Agrippa* two ſons and three daughters, *viz. Berenice*, *Mariamne*, *Druſilla*. The ſons were called *Agrippa*, and *Druſus*, who died in his infancy. Their (*a*) father *Agrippa* was brought up with other brothers of his, namely *Herod* and *Ariſtobulus*; for theſe were the ſons of *Ariſtobulus*, the ſon of *Herod the Great*, by *Berenice*. *Berenice* was daughter of *Coſtobarus* and *Salome*, ſiſter of *Herod*. *Ariſtobulus* being put to death with his brother *Alexander*, by his father, left theſe in their infancy, as we have above obſerved. When they came to manhood, they married: *Herod*, brother of *Agrippa*, took to wife *Mariamne*, daughter of *Olympias*, the daughter of king *Herod*, and wife of *Joſeph*, ſon of *Joſeph*, brother of king *Herod*, by whom he had a ſon, named *Ariſtobulus*. *Ariſtobulus*, the third brother of *Agrippa*, married *Jotape*, daughter of *Sampſigeramus*, king of the *Emeſi*, by whom ſhe had a daughter born deaf, and named *Jotape*. Theſe were the deſcendants from the male line. *Herodias* their ſiſter, was married to *Herod*, the ſon of *Herod the Great*, whom he had by *Mariamne* the daughter of *Simon* the prieſt, and they had a daughter born to them, named *Salome*, after whoſe birth, *Herodias* reſolving to act contrary to the laws, married *Herod*, the brother of her husband by the ſame father, whom ſhe left in his life-time. *Galilee* was under his juriſdiction, and his daughter *Salome* was married to *Philip* the ſon of *Herod*, and who governed *Trachonitis*; but he dying without iſſue, *Ariſtobulus*, ſon of *Herod*, and brother of *Agrippa*, took her to wife. They had three ſons, *viz. Herod*, *Agrippa*, and *Ariſtobulus*. This is the pedigree of *Phaſael* and *Salmampſio*. *Cypros* bore to *Antipater*, a daughter named *Antipatra*, who was married to *Alexas Selcius*, the ſon of *Alexas*, and they had a daughter, named *Cypros*. *Herod* and *Alexander*, whom I have obſerved before to be the brothers of *Antipater*, both died without iſſue. *Alexander*, ſon of king *Herod*, who was put to death by his father, had *Alexander* and *Tigranes* by the daughter of *Archelaus*, king of *Cappadocia*: *Tigranes*, who was king of *Armenia*, happen'd to die without iſſue at *Rome*, while he was defending himſelf in a ſuit brought againſt him there. *Alexander*, brother of *Tigranes*, had a ſon, named after him, born to him, whom *Nero* ſent to be king of *Armenia*. This ſon had another called *Alexander*, who married *Jotape*, daughter of *Antiochus*, king of *Commagena*, and was afterwards conſtituted by *Veſpaſian* king of an iſland in *Cilicia*. *Alexander*'s poſterity, even from the womb, renounced the inſtitutions of the *Jews*, and fell over to the cuſtoms of the *Gentiles*; the reſt of *Herod*'s daughters died without iſſue. By this account it appears, that *Herod*'s poſterity was not totally extinguiſhed at the time *Agrippa the Great* roſe to the kingdom, and ſince we have here given a detail of *Herod*'s offspring, it now remains that I ſpeak of the variety of accidents into which fortune plunged *Agrippa*, and how he extricated himſelf out of them all, and, at length, arrived at the greateſt pitch of glory and grandeur that could be.

CHAP. VI.

King Agrippa *goes by Sea to* Rome *to* Tiberius Cæſar; *and being accuſed there by his Freedman, is caſt into Priſon: How after* Tiberius*'s Deceaſe,* Caius *ſet him at Liberty, and made him King over* Philip*'s Tetrarchy.*

A Little before king *Herod* died, *Agrippa* then reſiding at *Rome*, procured a ſtrict familiarity and acquaintance with *Druſus*, ſon of the emperor *Tiberius*: Beſide, he inſinuated himſelf into the friendſhip of *Antonia*, *Druſus the Greater*'s wife, who very much eſteemed *Berinice* his mother, and was, on that account, deſirous to advance the ſon. *Agrippa* was naturally of a valiant and generous diſpoſition, and while his mother lived, ſtifled in his breaſt the native bent of his temper, fearing to give her any occaſion of diſcontent. After the death of *Berenice*, when he found himſelf at his own diſpoſal, he lived in great profuſion, and waſted his effects very prodigally, making large preſents, and giving coſtly entertainments to *Cæſar*'s freedmen, thinking by ſuch a behaviour to gain them over to his advantage. But in a little time he was reduced to ſuch want, that he found it impoſſible to abide any longer in *Rome*. Beſide, *Tiberius* gave ſtrict orders for all the friends of his departed ſon, not to appear any more before him, leſt the ſight of them might recal to his remembrance the ſorrow he had ſhewn him, and augment his grief.

Upon theſe reaſons he took ſhipping, and ſailed to *Judea*, with a heavy heart, and dejected countenance, at the thought how he had conſumed all his money, and had nothing remaining to pay his creditors, who were very numerous, and watched every motion he made to hinder his eſcaping them: He found himſelf reduced to a condition in which he knew not how to turn himſelf; and his actions upbraiding him with a conſcious ſhame, he privately withdrew to a caſtle at *Malatha* in *Idumea*, where he was ſometimes for laying violent hands upon

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(*a*) In the Verſion of *Epiphanius*, it is thus: '*Agrippa* was brought up by his Father. As for *Herod*, *Ariſtobulus*, and *Berenice*, theſe three were the Children of *Herod the Great*.' But in the Verſion of *Gelenius*, it is thus mentioned: 'With their Father were the other Germain Brothers brought up, to wit, *Herod*, *Ariſtobulus*, and *Berenice*. Theſe were *Herod the Great*'s Nephews, by his Daughter. *Berenice* was his Niece, 'as ſhe was born of *Salome*, his Siſter, by *Coſtobarus*.

himſelf: *Cypros* his wife was exceedingly ſorrowful at the ſentiments he entertained; and concerted every meaſure in her power to divert him from his purpoſe: She wrote to *Herodias* her ſiſter, wife of *Herod* the tetrarch, repreſenting in her letter the circumſtances of her husband, what he had decreed, and the neceſſity that had brought him to ſo raſh a reſolve, begging her by the tye of kindred between them, to aſſiſt her all ſhe could, and endeavour to induce her husband to the ſame good end, ſince ſhe was an ocular witneſs herſelf how ſhe ſtrove every way to aſſiſt her husband, tho' her condition, as to riches, was not ſo plentiful. In fine, *Agrippa* was ſent for by his ſiſter and her husband, and ordered to live at *Tiberias*, where he had a certain ſum of money aſſigned him for his maintenance, and honour'd with the poſt of *Ædile* of *Tiberias*. But *Herod* continued not long in this good temper, though what he had done did not anſwer *Agrippa*'s neceſſities. At an entertainment at *Tyre*, ſeveral abuſive words were ſpoke at each other, and among the reſt *Herod* rediculed *Agrippa* for his poverty, and taxed him, by way of inſult, with maintaining him; which affront being of too flagrant a nature for *Agrippa* to bear, he withdrew to *Flaccus*, a man of conſular dignity, and then governor of *Syria*, with whom he had formerly, while he reſided at *Rome*, contracted an intimate acquaintance.

Meeting with a grateful reception from *Flaccus*, with whom was alſo his brother *Ariſtobulus*, then oppoſite to his intereſts, he took up his abode with him; the diſagreement, however, between them, did not create any impediment to hinder both of them from making advantage of the conſul's friendſhip; both of them meeting with a like reception. Notwithſtanding, *Ariſtobulus* continued to give ſuch long and frequent proofs of his hatred to *Agrippa*, till, at length, he made *Flaccus* his enemy, which was occaſioned from the following cauſe. The men of *Damaſcus* having a diſpute with thoſe of *Sidon* about ſome lands on the frontiers, which *Flaccus* was to determine, and knowing *Agrippa* had great intereſt with *Flaccus*, they endeavoured to gain him over to their ſide, by a promiſe of a large ſum of money. *Agrippa* accepted of the condition, and ſtrove all he could to aſſiſt the *Damaſcenes*; but *Ariſtobulus* having had intimation of the agreement about the money, accuſed his brother to *Flaccus*; who making an enquiry into the affair, and finding it true, put *Agrippa* from his friendſhip. *Agrippa* reduced, by this means, to the laſt extremity of want, came to *Ptolomais*, and having no place where to live at, he took up a reſolution to ſail to *Italy*. But his neceſſity obliging him to defer his journey, he ordered *Marſias*, his freedman, to uſe all the arts he was maſter of in his preſent neceſſitous circumſtances to borrow him money ſomewhere or other. *Marſias*, upon this, went to *Peter*, the freedman of *Berenice*, *Agrippa*'s mother, who by her will had been left to the care of *Antonia*, and deſired him to lend *Agrippa* a ſum of money upon his promiſſory note. *Peter* told him, *Agrippa* was indebted to him in a great deal of money already, and obliged *Marſias* to give him a note for twenty thouſand *Attic* drachms, deducting two thouſand five hundred out firſt. *Agrippa*, though this was a dear bargain, could not help complying with it. After he had received the money, he went to *Anthedo*, and hiring a veſſel, was upon the point of ſetting ſail. But *Hierennius Capito*, the procurator of *Jamnia*, hearing of his deſign, ſent a body of ſoldiers after him, to demand three hundred thouſand drachms due to *Cæſar*'s treaſury while he lived at *Rome*. This obliged him to abide where he was, and he pretended to the men he would pay them; but cutting the cables in the night time, he ſailed to *Alexandria*, where he deſired *Alexander Alabarcha* to truſt him with two hundred thouſand drachms. But he told him, he would not take his credit; but upon *Cypros*, his wife, demanding the favour, he had not the ſtrength to refuſe her; for he was charmed with her conjugal affection, and other excellent virtues and qualifications, that ſet her off in a fair point of light. *Cypros* giving her word for payment of the money, *Alexander* let them have five talents at *Alexandria*, and promiſed to advance the remaining part upon his firſt coming to *Dicearchia*, as having apprehenſions of *Agrippa*, whom he juſtly knew to be too laviſh and profuſe; after this, *Cypros* having taken a farewel of her husband to ſail to *Italy*, took her children and returned with them into *Judea*.

Agrippa happening to be drove upon *Puteol*, ſent *Tiberius Cæſar*, who was then at his retreat at *Capreæ*, a letter, in which he ſignified he was purely come to give him marks of his duty, and pay him a viſit, and deſired liberty to paſs over to *Capreæ* to him. *Tiberius* immediately wrote him back a very handſome letter full of civility, and mentioned how glad he was at his coming again to him at *Capreæ*. *Tiberius*, upon *Agrippa*'s appearing, ſhewed the ſame complaiſance to his perſon as he had done to his letter. He received him with open arms, and his viſit was exceeding welcome. But *Cæſar* the day after, receiving from *Hierennius Capito* a letter, in which he mentioned how he had advertiz'd *Agrippa* to pay three hundred thouſand drachms he had borrowed, and not ſatisfied on the day limited for payment; and that, in lieu thereof, he had withdrawn out of every place in his territories, ſo that he was quite bereaved of any future hopes to recover the money, was violently enraged, and ordered *Agrippa* to have no manner of acceſs to him, till he had ſatisfied the debt. *Agrippa* not at all diſmayed at *Cæſar*'s anger, begged *Antonia*, mother of *Germanicus* and *Claudius*, who was afterwards *Cæſar*, to lend him three hundred thouſand drachms, to keep fair with *Tiberius*. *Antonia*, for the memory ſhe bore of his mother *Berenice*, (they having been familiars together,) and the reflection of his having being educated with *Claudius*, ſupplied him with the ſum of money he wanted; upon which *Agrippa* paid his debt, and regained a free acceſs to *Tiberius*'s perſon; the emperor afterwards recommended his nephew to him, and expreſly ordered him to attend him at ſuch times as he appeared abroad; *Agrippa*, for the extreme favour *Antonia* had ſhewn him, began to be very aſſiduous in his attachement to *Caius*, who was her nephew, and in the higeſt honour among all perſons. Beſide, there was one *Thallus*, a freedman of *Cæſar*, and a *Samaritan* by nation, of whom *Agrippa* borrowed a million of drachms, and with part paid *Antonia* her debt, and with the reſt made vaſt entertainments to procure *Caius*'s friendſhip, which, as expected, brought him into far greater authority with him.

Agrippa inſinuating himſelf every day more and more into *Caius*'s intereſts, one day as they were riding together in the ſame chariot, they fell into a diſcourſe about *Tiberius*, when *Agrippa* (for they were alone) wiſhed to heaven that *Tiberius* might dye as ſoon as poſſible, and leave the empire to *Caius* who was more worthy of it: *Eutychus* who drove them, and was *Agrippa*'s freedman, took the words, but at that time ſaid nothing. Some time afterwards *Agrippa* accuſed him of ſtealing a coat of his, which was, in effect, true: *Eutychus* fled for it, and being taken was carried before the governors of the city, and aſked why he had run away; he told him, he had a matter of importance to communicate to *Cæſar*, which regarded his ſafety. Upon this, *Piſo* put him in chains and ſent him to *Capreæ*. *Tiberius*, who was become one of the moſt indolent princes living, kept him in this condition a long time. Ambaſſadors were obliged to wait a conſiderable time before they could gain admittance, and he was ſo far from having any regard to fill up the places of the governors, or other officers of his empire, that he commonly waited till they died. This behaviour was the ground that he commonly neglected to look into the accuſations of thoſe who were priſoners; his friends, obſerving this dilatory conduct of his, took an opportunity to aſk him the reaſon of it, upon which he anſwered: *That he purpoſely amuſed the ambaſſadors ſent him with delays, to hinder, by a ſudden diſmiſſion of them, new ones coming to him; by which he ſhould have no other buſineſs upon his hands, than receiving and diſmiſſing of ambaſſadors. That the governments he had once beſtowed, he left to remain in the poſſeſſors hands, that his ſubjects might reap the advantage from them; for every man in an eminent ſphere was prone to avarice; that thoſe governors, whoſe employments are not perpetual, but limited to a time, and who are ignorant how ſoon they may be diſplaced, are ſeen to puſh their avaritious views more ſtrenuouſly than ordinary. On the other hand, thoſe who are ſenſible of the length of their offices, are as it were ſatiated with the ſpoils and acquiſitions they have made, and therefore not ſo ready to commit their plunders and depredations. But that thoſe who find themſelves to be ſucceeded in a ſhort time, have not the opportunity or time to make the ſame advantage of their places as their predeceſſors have done, becauſe they are withdrawn before they have fixed themſelves any time in their employments. After this he proceeded to confirm his words by the following example: That a man who had been wounded happening to lye on the ground, a great number of flies hovered over and placed themſelves about his wound; a traveller chancing to come up to him, ſeemed to pity his condition, and ſuppoſing him in too weak a condition to drive away the flies, he drew nearer him, and offered to bruſh them away for him: But the wounded man begged him not to offer at ſuch a thing; the other asked him the reaſon why he refuſed to be delivered frow ſuch troubleſome company; to this he anſwered, you will but the more torment me in driving them away; for as they are now almoſt full of blood, they give me abundantly leſs diſturbance than before, and abate conſiderably of their uneaſineſs they have made me; now if theſe be drove away, new and hungry ones will ſucceed them, who will fall upon me now almoſt ſpent, and ſuck me to death. That theſe were the reaſons that induced him not to ſend governor after governor to his ſubjects, who were burthened with too many exactions to infeſt and plague them like the flies; ſince thoſe whoſe diſpoſitions were naturally inclined to covetouſneſs and to increaſe their fortunes, were perpetually in fear leſt ſo pleaſant an advantage and lucre ſhould be taken from them.* What I have advanced here about *Tiberius*'s temper is exceeding plain, ſince, during the two and twenty years he enjoyed the empire, *Judea* had only, in that time, two governors ſent it, which were *Gratus* and his ſucceſſor *Pilate*. Nor were the *Jews* the only people ſenſible of this temper of his, but he ſhewed himſelf the ſame to all his other ſubjects; he ſhewed a prodigious remiſſneſs in bringing his priſoners to a tryal, to the end they might not by death receive a period to the misfortunes under which they groaned: this was a procedure they, though criminal, did not deſerve; but he kept them in cloſe confinement, that the calamities under which they were preſſed might prove an addition to their miſeries.

This was the main reaſon why *Eutychus* was not brought to a tryal, but kept in confinement. *Tiberius* happening to remove, ſhortly after this, from *Capreæ* to *Tuſculanus*, about one hundred furlongs from the city; *Agrippa* begged *Antonia*, to uſe her intereſt in procuring *Eutychus* to be heard in relation to what he had accuſed him of. *Antonia* had a vaſt aſcendant over *Tiberius*, with whom ſhe was in great eſteem, not only on account of kindred's ſake, having been his brother *Druſus*'s wife, but eſpecially for her admirable chaſtity; ſhe remained a widow, and refuſed any ſecond marriage, though expreſly ordered by *Auguſtus* to marry *Sebaſtes*, chuſing rather to preſerve herſelf pure and virtuous as ſhe then was: Beſide this, a private tranſaction occurred in which ſhe gave *Tiberius* a greater opportunity than ever to think well of her: A great conſpiracy happening to be carried on by *Sejanus* againſt him, (a particular friend of *Antonia*'s husband, and at that time in the higheſt authority, as having under his command all the pretorian forces) great numbers of the *Senators* with their clients joined him, the whole army was corrupted to his intereſts, and his ſchemes received daily a conſiderable increaſe; ſo that his deſigns had certainly ſucceeded, had not *Antonia* by her prudent and dexterous management render'd them abortive; for aſſoon as ever ſhe came to hear what was meditating againſt *Tiberius*, ſhe wrote a very particular account of every minute circumſtance, and gave the letter to *Pallas*, a ſervant of hers ſhe could moſt confide in, to carry it to him at *Capreæ*.

Being thus throughly informed of the whole proceeding, he put *Sejanus* and all the *Partizans* in the conſpiracy to death. *Antonia*, whom he had before in great eſteem, was now more honoured by him, and *Tiberius* entruſted all his affairs of importance to her. In fine, *Antonia* deſiring *Tiberius* to examine him, was thus anſwered: *If* Agrippa'*s accuſation happens to prove falſe, the puniſhment to which I have expoſed* Eutychus, *is already heavy enough; but if the rack ſhall diſcover the truth of it, care then ought to be taken, leſt, while* Agrippa *is eager to have his ſervant puniſhed, the chaſtiſement falls not upon his own head.*

Agrippa, upon *Antonia*'s acquainting him with theſe words, was the more importunate with her to get the buſineſs examined into. *Antonia* finding *Agrippa* ſtill preſſing in his ſollicitations, and meeting with a favourable opportunity after dinner-time, when *Tiberius* was carried out in a litter with *Caius* and *Agrippa* before him, ſhe, as ſhe walked by his ſide, begged him to have *Eutychus* called and examined. Upon this, ſaid he, *I call the Gods to witneſs,* Antonia, *that not through any inclination of mine, but won by your intreaties, I ſhall do what I am going to act.* Having ſpoken thus, he ordered *Macron*, ſucceſſor to *Sejanus*, to bring forth *Eutychus*, who immediately was produced. *Tiberius* then asked him what he had to ſay againſt the perſon who had given him his liberty. To whom he anſwered: *My Lord,* Caius *here preſent, and* Agrippa *with him, rode in one chariot, and I ſat at their feet; and after ſeveral words ſpoke by each of them,* Agrippa *ſaid to* Caius, *Oh! that the day would come, when that old man is to depart, and leave yon ſucceſſor to the empire of the whole world; for if you take* Tiberius'*s nephew out of the way, there will be no obſtruction to your deſigns; the whole world will then be bleſt with Happineſs, and it will happen that I ſhall be partaker of ſome part of it.* *Tiberius* imagining there was a great deal of truth in theſe words, and having an antient grudge in his breaſt againſt *Agrippa*, for having, when he had commanded him to pay his devoirs to his nephew *Tiberius*, and the ſon of *Druſus*, acted in defiance of his orders, and ſubmitted himſelf wholly to the ſchemes of *Caius*, turning himſelf to *Macron*, he ſaid, *Put him in chains.* But *Macron*, partly becauſe he did not underſtand who he was ordered to put in chains, and partly becauſe he did not ſuſpect that *Tiberius* had reſolved ſo harſh an uſage upon *Agrippa*, made a demur to learn the emperor's mind the better. *Cæſar*, having fetched a round about the *Circus*, ſeized upon *Agrippa* ſtanding; *And this*, ſaid he, *verily* Macron, *is the man I commanded to be put in chains.* Upon this, *Macron* asked him, whom he commanded, to which he anſwered, *Agrippa*. *Agrippa* inſtantly fell to ſupplications, bringing to his remembrance the memory of his ſon, with whom he had been educated, and *Tiberius*, of whoſe bringing up he had had the management and care: But this artifice was ineffectual; the guards took him away in chains, cloathed, as he was then, in purple. As he was going along, it being violent hot weather, and but little wine was allow'd at eating, he had a very great thirſt upon him, and his mind was but ill-affected, which made him in an uneaſy (1) ſituation. Upon caſting his eyes upon one of *Caius*'s ſervants, named *Thamaſtus*, who was carrying ſome water in a baſon, he asked him to give him a little to drink; upon which the man reached him the baſon, and *Agrippa* having drank, ſaid to him: *I can aſſure you, my lad, that this action of thine ſhall prove for thy good. When I ſhall get clear of theſe Chains, I will uſe my ready endeavours to obtain thy liberty from chains; becauſe thou haſt not thought much to ſerve me, as well in ſlavery, as when I was in grandeur and high degree.* And what *Agrippa* thus ſaid to him was not falſified; for when he came to the kingdom, he obtained his liberty from *Caius*, when he was made *Cæſar*, and conſtituted him ſuperintendent over his affairs; leaving orders, when he was dying, to his ſon *Agrippa* and *Berenice*, to continue him in the ſame employment, in which he died in an advanced old age. All theſe circumſtances, in proceſs of time, came to paſs.

While *Agrippa* was kept in chains, and ſtood with ſeveral others alſo in chains, before the palace, he was forced, through the grief he conceived, to lean himſelf againſt a tree. It happened a bird, by the *Romans* called *Bubo*, or an *Owl*, perched upon the tree againſt which he was leaning. Upon this, one of the priſoners who was a *German* by nation, having caſt his eyes upon the bird, asked the ſoldier who guarded him, who the perſon in purple was, and coming to know it was *Agrippa*, originally a *Jew*, and one of the greateſt account in his nation, he asked the ſoldier leave to go nearer him to ſpeak with him; for he had a mind to ask ſome queſtions of him, about the affairs of his country. Having obtained leave, he came up and ſtood by him with an interpreter, and thus ſaid: *Young Man, your ſudden altered condition ſits heavy upon your ſpirits, as it brings you a great and inſupportable grief. You will not eaſily believe my words, which unfold to you what God hath provided for you; namely, that you are to eſcape your preſent misfortunes; but know (for I call the gods of my country, and the deities of this place, through whoſe pleaſure we here ſtand in chains, to witneſs my words) that I am neither going to alarm your ears with any raſh words, or to amuſe you with vain hopes; for ſuch kind of predictions, though the prophet ſhould be ſacred, would be of leſs conſequence to any man, than if he had never been acquainted with them. Upon this ground, I have at my own peril, judged it neceſſary to lay open to you what God had pronounced ſhall happen. It is impoſſible but that you ſhall ſoon be delivered from theſe chains, and arrive to ſo great an height of grandeur and power, that all who now pity your condition,*

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(1) *Epiphanius* turns this Paſſage thus: "Having an Uneaſineſs upon his Spirits, he caſt off all his Grandeur to look for every thing that might contribute to leſſen his Miſfortunes, and happening to eſpy one of *Caius*'s Servants; *&c.*

ſhall unanimouſly ſtile you happy; beſide, you ſhall have an eaſy cataſtrophe, and leave your children in the poſſeſſion of your great riches; but remember that the next time you ſhall ſee this bird, you are to dye five days after.(1) *Theſe are what will happen, according to the appointment of God, who hath vouchſafed to ſend to you this bird. And as I was acquainted with them, I thought it an injuſtice not to communicate to you what I knew, that you being apprized by certain ſigns of your future felicity, might think the misfortunes you at preſent ſuffer of a triffling conſequence. But when you ariſe to this pitch of felicity, ſee that you keep us in remembrance, that by your means we may eſcape the misfortunes under which we now groan.* This preſage of the *German*, which was afterwards held in ſo much admiration, ſeemed at firſt to *Agrippa* very ridiculous. *Antonia*, in the mean time, was very much concerned for *Agrippa*'s caſe, and to her misfortune found the way difficult to ſpeak to *Tiberius* about it, with whom there was no poſſibility of interceeding. However, ſhe won *Macron* ſo far, that the centinels ſhewed themſelves more tender and compaſſionate, eſpecially the centurion who was (2) coupled with *Agrippa*; beſide, that he might have water every day allowed him, and his freedman and friends liberty to viſit him, and other indulgences were given him to recreate his body; nay, *Silas* his friend, and *Marſias* and *Stechus*, two of his freedmen, had free admittance to carry him proviſions, and adminiſter to him all manner of comfort: Moreover they brought him coverings, under colour of ſelling them, and in the night time ſpread them under him, the ſoldiers of *Macron* being ordered to do no leſs. This method was continued ſix months, and *Agrippa*'s circumſtances were in this ſituation.

Tiberius going back to *Capreæ* fell ill of an indiſpoſition which at firſt gradually ſeized upon him, but the diſeaſe encreaſing to ſuch a height, that finding himſelf in no liklihood to live, he ordered *Euodos*, his freedman, whom he loved above the reſt, to call his ſons to him, ſaying, he was deſirous to ſpeak with them before he died. He had no ſons of his own living, for *Druſus* his only one, was dead. There were ſurviving a ſon of his, named *Tiberius*, and ſirnamed *Gemellus*; and *Caius*, the ſon of his brother *Germanicus*, a youth well accompliſhed, and in great favour with the people on account of the virtue of *Germanicus* his father. The people entertained very favourable ſentiments of *Caius*, becauſe he was of a winning and mild diſpoſition, affable and courteous in his diſcourſe, and one who had a deſire to ſhew himſelf to every body not inferior in dignity to the beſt: This behaviour procured him from the ſenate and people an extraordinary deference; and all the nations, which were reduced to provinces of the empire, were either captivated with his genteel depoment and diſcourſe, or won to his favour by what they had heard of him. His death was attended by a general and great mourning; but not from any reflection of how terrible a ſtroke his deceaſe was to the empire; their lamentations were ſincere, as if it had been their own caſes, for every one thought his death nearly to touch him. This general concern for him was of a ſingular advantage to his ſon to conciliate the good affections of every one; but what proved of the greateſt conſequence, was the army attaching itſelf ſo firmly to him, that they judged it advantageous to them to ſacrifice their lives, if it was found neceſſary, in his defence, ſo they but aſſerted his right to the empire.

Tiberius having charged *Euodus* the following day, to bring early in the morning his ſons to him, he prayed the Gods of his country to give him a ſign who was to ſucceed him in the empire, endeavouring all he could, to leave his nephew his ſucceſſor, but placing greater confidence in the token God was to give him, than in his option and choice: In fine the omen was propoſed to him, and he, who came firſt to him the next day, was to be his ſucceſſor. Meditating this affair in his mind, he ſent to the preceptor of his nephew, ordering him to bring the youth to him early the next morning, ſuppoſing within himſelf that God would favour his choice. But God rendered his artifice abortive. Having reſolved upon this, when it was day-light he commanded *Euodus*, to call the youth within who came firſt: *Euodus* ſtepping out, and finding *Caius* before the door of the bed-chamber, for *Tiberius* was not yet come, his breakfaſt having been prepared later than ordinary, and *Euodus* was not throughly acquainted with the emperor's intentions, ſaid, your father calls you, and with that he introduced him. But *Tiberius*, upon caſting his eyes upon *Caius*, began to reflect upon the power of God; and thinking that his empire was wreſted from him, ſince he had no longer the power to do as he pleaſed, he wept extremely at the conſideration of the power being taken from him, of putting what he had decreed in execution. He alſo lamented *Tiberius* his nephew, whom, he found, by the omen, entirely abandoned from entertaining any thoughts about the empire, and reduced to great dangers of his life, becauſe, he ſaw, his ſafety ſhould depend upon others, who would be more powerful than him, and who would not ſuffer him to live with them; neither, as he ſuppoſed, would his kindred be of any ſervice to him, with him who ſhould be emperor, ſince he would not only apprehend and take him on that account, but plant ſnares to take away his life, partly for his being the next in dignity to him in the empire, and partly to ſecure himſelf againſt him. *Tiberius*, beſide, was ſtrangely infatuated to predictions from nativities, to which he more abandoned himſelf, eſpecially thoſe which were fortunate, than the fortune-tellers themſelves. Upon this ground eſpying *Galba* on a time coming to him, he ſaid to ſome of his friends who were about him, *Behold the perſon who will one time be honoured with the* Roman *empire.* He was, of all the emperors, the moſt attached to the belief of ſuch predictions, and as he found ſeveral things exactly correſpond with them, ſo he imbibed them, and put them in practice in his ordinary affairs. He was, however, extremely dejected at the event that had happened, and heavily mourned, as if his nephew had been put out of the world; often accuſing himſelf that he had ſhewn ſo eager a regard to ſuch methods of experiment, when he might have died free from trouble, and ignorant of what was to happen; but that the thing was then irrevocable as to himſelf, and he muſt now leave the world with a ſenſibility of the misfortunes that were to happen to the perſon who was deareſt to him. Yet though his grief was exceeding great at the conſideration that the ſucceſſion of the empire was ſo unexpectedly to fall to the ſhare of another, he, though with reluctance, and againſt his inclination, thus ſaid to *Caius*: ‘My ſon, tho’ *Tiberius* is nearer affianced to me than you, yet, purſuing my own ſentiments, and obeying the ſuffrage of the Gods, I deliver into your hands the *Roman* empire; but I ſolemnly entreat you, when you are advanced to the honour, you do not blot out of your remembrance either me or my benevolence, who have raiſed you to ſo high a degree of grandeur, or forget the kindred between you and *Tiberius*; but that you underſtanding how I have been the author of your advancement, through propitious Gods, and an execution of their decree, you repay the obedience I have ſhewn to their pleaſure, with a ſuitable behaviour, and give regard to *Tiberius*, as he is your kinſman. And that you may come to a right knowledge, that as long as *Tiberius* ſurvives, he will be the defence and bulwark of your empire, but his death a ſource of innumerable misfortunes; the government by yourſelf, when arrived to ſuch eminent grandeur, will be attended with dangerous conſequences, and the Gods will never ſuffer to go unpuniſhed things acted with manifeſt injuſtice, and which obliterate a decree expreſly commanding to the contrary.’ However, theſe words of *Tiberius* were not ſufficient to perſuade *Caius*, tho’ he promiſed to put them in execution; but as ſoon as he was advanced to the empire, he not only put *Tiberius* the nephew, to death, but was himſelf ſhortly after taken away by a plot laid againſt him.

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(1) This is the Prophecy of the *German* from the Sight of the Owl, which otherwiſe was looked upon as an unlucky Omen. *Ovid*, in the 6th of his *Metam. v.* 430. ſays,

—— —— Tectoque prophanus
Incubuit Bubo Thalamique in culmine ſedit.

(2) Meaning him to whom *Agrippa* was delivered into Cuſtody; for the ſame Chain coupled the ſoldier and the guilty perſon. *Seneca* witneſſeth this in *Ep.* 5. about which conſult *Briſonius de Formulis*, *Lib.* 5. *p.* 474.

Tiberius having at this time declared *Caius* his ſucceſſor to the empire, ſurvived a few days, and then died, after he had enjoy’d the abſolute command two and twenty years, five months, and three days. *Caius* was the fourth *Roman* emperor. As ſoon as the *Romans* received the news of the death of *Tiberius*, they ſecretly rejoiced at the glad tidings, but had not courage enough to induce them to believe it; not but what they eagerly wiſhed ſo, but they were afraid, leſt, won too ſoon by a falſe rumour, they ſhould diſcover their joy, and afterwards be accuſed for it, and their too haſty gladneſs ſhould be attended with ill conſequences; for *Tiberius*, of all men living, had brought as bad, if not worſe, calamities upon the *Roman* ſenators: He was a man eaſily moved to anger upon every pretence, which was inſurmountable; and if, at any time, he found an opportunity to exert his hatred to any perſon, his natural diſpoſition to cruelty puſhed him on to an arbitrary procedure, and death was the reward of the moſt trifling tranſgreſſion. This conſideration, tho’ the *Romans* were very willing to think the report of his death true, hindered them from enjoying the ſatisfaction they found in it, becauſe of the miſchiefs they plainly ſaw ſet before their eyes, which would inevitably attend them, if it happened to be falſe. *Marſias*, *Agrippa*’s freedman, having heard of his death, ran immediately to acquaint him with it; and finding him in the paſſage that led to the bath, he put his head to his ear, and whiſpered in the *Hebrew* tongue, *The lion is dead.* *Agrippa* underſtanding what he meant by theſe words, and conceiving extreme gladneſs, *I give you*, ſaid he, *ſincere thanks, and will endeavour to repay handſomely, as well all former ſervices you have done me, as this glad meſſage, provided what you have told me happens to be true.* The centurion, who had the care over *Agrippa*, having took notice of the great haſte *Marſias* came in, and the gladneſs *Agrippa* was in at the words he had told him, and ſuſpecting they had ſpoke ſomething of an indirect nature, immediately demanded what were the words ſpoke between them. At firſt they endeavour’d to divert him, but the centurion inſiſting upon being inform’d, *Agrippa*, conſidering he was his friend, opened the whole matter to him without any heſitation: The centurion preſently gave ſigns of the joy he had in common with him, becauſe they made for *Agrippa*’s intereſt, and ſet proviſions before him; but while he was regaling himſelf, and drinking in a plenteous manner, a perſon came in, bringing word *Tiberius* was alive, and deſigned, in a few days, to return to the city. Theſe words troubling the centurion, who thought he had done what would expoſe his life to danger, in making merry with *Agrippa* on the report of *Cæſar*’s death, thruſt *Agrippa* from the bed, and ſaid, *Do you ſuppoſe to deceive me, and go unpuniſhed, in telling me a falſe report of the emperor’s death, and not ſuffer for this freedom of your tongue?* Thus ſaying, he ordered *Agrippa*, whom he had before looſed, to be bound, and a ſtricter guard to be ſet over him, which he was obliged to bear that night; but a rumour the next day ſpreading throughout the city, that *Tiberius* was actually dead, the citizens were ſo emboldened as to believe it, nay, ſome rejoicing at it, to offer up ſacrifice; which was followed by two letters from *Caius*, one to the ſenate, ſignifying the death of *Tiberius*, and his ſucceeding to the empire; and the other to *Piſo*, prætor of the city, notifying the ſame thing, and ordering *Agrippa* to be diſcharged out of the ſoldiers cuſtody, and conveyed to the houſe he reſided in before his impriſonment. From this time he lived here without

out any apprehenſions, and when in his confinement he had more than ordinary liberty, and lived with leſs reſtraint. When *Caius* came to *Rome*, he brought along with him the corpſe of *Tiberius*, and, after the cuſtom of his country, interred it with great magnificence; and would the ſame day have releaſed *Agrippa* from his chains, if *Antonia*, not through the leaſt hatred to the priſoner, but to make *Caius*'s character appear decent at that time, had not hindered him; fearing ſoon a diſcharging of *Agrippa* would make the world think he received *Tiberius*'s death with too great a ſhew of gladneſs. Notwithſtanding, ſeveral days were not paſt, before he commanded him to be brought home to him, ſhaved, and another garment put upon him; and placing, afterwards, a diadem upon his head, he made him king of the tetrarchy which was *Philip*'s, adding to it the tetrarchy of *Lyſanias*, and giving him a chain of gold in lieu of his iron one, and of the ſame weight; and then ſent *Macullus*, maſter of his horſe, into *Judea*.

In the ſecond year of *Caius Cæſar*'s empire, *Agrippa* deſired leave to ſail to his kingdom, to put affairs in ſome tolerable ſituation, promiſing, after he had rectified things as they ought to be, he would return back to him. The emperor granting this requeſt, he went into his native country, and to the aſtoniſhment, and little expectation of his countrymen, was beheld a king, giving at the ſame time evident demonſtration how powerful was fortune over men, in relation to his former poverty and his preſent grandeur. Some, as they had relied on his hopes, openly declared him happy, while others could not induce themſelves to believe his alteration of condition true.

CHAP. VII.

How Herod, *the Tetrarch, was baniſhed.*

IN the mean time *Herodias*, *Agrippa*'s ſiſter, and wife of *Herod*, the tetrarch of *Galilee* and *Peræa*, envied her brother his good fortune, when ſhe ſaw him advanced to a loftier pitch of dignity than her huſband, and who, obliged to withdraw out of his province, becauſe of his inſolvency, was returned with ſo vaſt an augmentation of dignity, and ſo much ſplendor. This made her burn with anger, and the ſtupendous alteration of her brother's condition, eſpecially when ſhe beheld him adorned with all manner of royal ornaments, carried through the crowds of people, made her ſo violently uneaſy, that ſhe could not ſtifle her reſentment, but endeavoured to puſh her huſband on, by her perſuaſions, to take at our to *Rome*, and ſtrive to obtain the ſame honour, repreſenting, ‘That ſhe could not think of enjoying life, if *Agrippa*, the ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, who had been condemned to die by his own father, and who, reduced to the laſt extremity of poverty, had been obliged to ſeek his maintenance at their hands, and through fear of his creditors had took flight by ſea, ſhould return back inveſted with the honours of a king; while he, who was a king's ſon, and called to government by his father, contented himſelf with a private and mean condition, ſitting ſtill when he ought to vindicate his honour, and endeavour to obtain the ſame rank. But *Herod*, if you never before now had any mortification to be ſunk beneath a father from whom you are deſcended, yet now at leaſt put in your pretenſions to a dignity to which you are allied, and do not ſervilely ſtoop to a man, at this time more great than you, who was not aſhamed to beg your ſtore; nor let it be ſaid that his poverty has had greater influence than our affluance and great riches; and imagine it a diſgrace to be inferior to him who but yeſterday was beholden to your pity and alms. Let us then go to *Rome*, and uſe our utmoſt efforts, and ſpare no manner of coſt, either of gold or ſilver, which will be much more ſerviceable in obtaining a kingdom, than keeping them by us.'

But *Herod*, for the preſent, rejected her offer: As he loved his eaſe and quiet, and had apprehenſions of the diſtractions and troubleſome affairs at *Rome*, he endeavoured to bring his wife over to a more reaſonable ſenſe of things. But *Herodias* was by ſo much the more eager in gaining her huſband's conſent, as ſhe ſaw him declining from the journey ſhe was ſollicitous to undertake; ſhe bade him conſider the dignity of a kingdom, and on that ſcore leave nothing uneſſayed. In fine, ſhe never ceaſed, till ſhe had brought him to give his conſent, and condeſcend ſo far, till he found it impoſſible with his honour to retract what ſhe made him promiſe. In fine, having made as magnificent preparations as he could, and been at all the expence he was able, he ſailed to *Rome*, carrying his wife along with him. But *Agrippa* having received intelligence of *Herod* and his wife's deſign and preparations, (*a*) made ready for the ſame journey; and hearing that they had weighed anchor, he diſpatched *Fortunatus*, one of his freedmen, to *Rome*, with preſents and a letter, wrote directly againſt *Herod*, giving *Fortunatus* expreſs orders, if he found an opportunity to ſpeak by word of mouth to *Caius*, and acquaint him with the affair. *Fortunatus* made ſuch diſpatch after *Herod*, and was ſo quick in his voyage, that *Herod* had only time to preſent himſelf to *Caius*, before he appear'd and delivered his letter. Both of them ſtruck upon *Dicearchia*, and found *Caius* at *Baiæ*, a ſmall town of *Campania*, and about five furlongs diſtant from *Dicearchia*. The place is

(*a*) *Noldius*, in his Hiſtory of *Idumæa*, p. 263. ſuppoſes *Agrippa* altered his Sentiments, ſince it does not appear that he went to *Rome*. For my Part, I doubt whether *Agrippa* propoſed to follow *Herod*, ſince, in the Ninth Chapter following, it is evidently ſaid, he went to *Rome*, after he had made Preparations ſuitable to his Dignity and Quality.

adorned with very magnificent palaces, which the emperors have erected, each ſtriving to outdo his predeceſſor in ſplendor. Beſide, the place affords hot baths, which ſpontaneouſly flow out of the ground, and are great reſtorers of health to thoſe who make uſe of them; and more than that, there are ſeveral very fine ornaments, that create very great delight. While *Caius* was giving audience to *Herod*, who appeared firſt, he received the letter *Agrippa* ſent him, and peruſed it: It was directly levelled at *Herod*, and accuſed him of conſpiring againſt *Tiberius* and *Sejanus*, and of holding then a criminal correſpondence with *Artabanus*, the *Parthian* king, againſt the government of *Caius*; and to prove what he advanced, he alledged only one thing, which was, his having laid up in his magazines a ſufficient quantity of arms to equip ſeventy thouſand ſoldiers. This diſcovery violently enraged *Caius*, who immediately put the queſtion to him, and asked him if the charge of having the arms was true. *Herod* confeſſing he had the arms, (for he was afraid to ſpeak any further, leſt he ſhould be taxed with falſhood) *Caius* concluding the account of his revolt plain and credible, took away from him his tetrarchy, and added it to *Agrippa*'s kingdom, to whom he alſo gave his money, and condemned *Herod* to perpetual baniſhment, aſſigning him a place at *Lugdunus*, a town of *Gaul*, to reſide at. And upon learning that *Herodias* was *Agrippa*'s ſiſter, he gave him alſo her money, and ſuppoſing ſhe would not cordially affect to be partner of her husband's misfortunes, he told her, that her brother ſhould be her protector: Upon this, ‘ Great Emperor, ſaid ſhe, you have ‘ ſpoke as became your dignity, but the love I ‘ bear my husband is an impediment that hinders me from making ſuch uſe of your favour ‘ as I would; for as I have ſhared in his proſ‘ perous condition, I cannot forſake him in his ‘ adverſe fortunes.’ *Caius*, enraged when he ſaw the loftineſs of her mind, condemned her to perpetual baniſhment with her husband, and beſtowed her effects upon *Agrippa*. This was a puniſhment very deſervedly inflicted by God on *Herodias*, for the hatred ſhe harboured to her brother, and her counſelling *Herod*, her husband, to give way to her artifice and womaniſh ſpeeches. *Caius* in the firſt and ſecond years of his government, managed affairs with that prudence, modeſty, and candour, that he procured the entire favour not only of the *Romans*, but of all his other ſubjects. But in proceſs of time, the exceeding great power he was inveſted with, ſwelling his ambitious ſoul, he began to baniſh from his breaſt the ſentiments which mankind ought to entertain, and making himſelf a God, he did every thing in derogation of the honour due to the ſupreme deity.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Embaſſy of the Jews *to* Caius. *How* Caius *ſent* Petronius *into* Judea, *with Orders to make War upon them, provided they refuſed to receive his Statue.*

A Sedition happening to ariſe at *Alexandria* between the *Jews* who reſided there, and the *Greeks*, three ambaſſadors were choſen by either faction, and ſent to *Caius* at *Rome*. One of thoſe for the *Alexandrians* was named *Apion*, who inſinuated ſeveral malicious things againſt the *Jews*, and objected how they refuſed to pay deference to *Cæſar*; for it was alledged, that every nation, ſubject to the *Roman* empire, had erected ſtatues and altars to *Caius*, and paid him divine honours, but that the *Jews* were the only people who deemed it diſhonourable to dedicate either any ſtatue to him, or ſwear by his name. Theſe, and other heavy allegations did *Apion* produce againſt the *Jews*, thinking, by ſuch a procedure, to exaſperate *Caius* againſt them, which fell out accordingly, and anſwered his expectations. *Philo*, the chief of the *Jewiſh* embaſſy, a perſon every way accompliſhed, brother of *Alexander Alabarcha*, and tolerably verſed in philoſophy, prepared to make a defence againſt *Apion*'s accuſations; but *Caius* abſolutely forbid him, and ordered him to keep out of his ſight; and his indignation was carried to ſo great an height, that every one concluded the *Jews* would have a terrible reckoning to pay for it. *Philo* withdrew with this diſhonour, bur ſpoke to the *Jews* about him, bidding them be of good heart, for *Caius* was incenſed; but, in effect, that God was an enemy to their cauſe.

Caius, enraged that the *Jews* were the only perſons who diſhonoured him, ſent *Petronius*, ſucceſſor to *Vitellius* in his government, his ambaſſador into *Syria*, with orders to break into *Judea* with a numerous army, and ſet up his ſtatue in the temple of God, if they willingly received it, but on their refuſal, to force them to a compliance, and then do it. *Petronius*, having took upon him the government of *Syria*, made preparations to put *Caius*'s commands in execution; and gathering together as many forces as he could, and taking with him two *Roman* legions, came to *Ptolomais*, to winter, as if, in the beginning of the ſpring, he had deſigned to open the campaign; and ſent a letter to *Caius*, in which he ſignified his reſolution: The emperor, commending his vigilance, adviſed him to be very artful in his proceedings, and, under colour of their diſobedience, make war upon them. Upon this ſeveral thouſands of *Jews* flocked to *Petronius* at *Ptolomais*, and begged him not to force them to tranſgreſs and violate the laws of their country: ‘ But if you ‘ are abſolutely reſolved, ſaid they, to carry the ‘ ſtatue, and ſet it up in the temple, firſt perform ‘ your commands by killing every man of us, ‘ for, as long as we are alive, we will never ſuffer ‘ thoſe things to be done, which our laws prohi‘ bit, and which our law-giver and fore-fathers ‘ have confirmed by their teſtimonies.’ To this *Petronius*, in an angry manner, anſwered: ‘ If I had reſolved upon this by my own authority, or followed the dictates of any counſel of mine in it, then your petition would have ſeemed equitable and fair; but ſince *Cæſar* hath ordered me to put it in execution, I hold it abſolutely neceſſary, to pay obedience to his command; leſt my acting contrary to it, I bring deſtruction upon my own head.’ To this the *Jews*: ‘Since then, O *Petronius*, it is your opinion nothing which *Cæſar* hath commanded you ſhould be omitted, we muſt be plain, that we cannot ſuffer ourſelves to act any thing what the laws have prohibited; we, who have hitherto depended on the bounty of God, and we, whoſe anceſtors have ſealed them by their ſufferings, have to this day perſevered in an inviolable obſervance of them; neither can we bring ourſelves to commit ſuch an impiety, as through the apprehenſions of death, to trangreſs thoſe ordinances, which, if we juſtly obſerve them, God hath intended for our good. But, provided our laws are preſerved in ſafety to us, we will bear any kind of calamity, becauſe we are aſſured, that to thoſe who expoſe themſelves to danger in this reſpect, a certain refuge remains, and that God will be of our ſide, if, in vindication of his honour, we hazard the dubious lot of fortune, or expoſe ourſelves to difficulties. On the other hand, if we comply to your demand, we ſhall give manifeſt proofs of a diſhonourable indolence, becauſe then we ſhall be thought willingly to have tranſgreſſed the laws, and God alſo will exert his violent indignation againſt us, for not making him, even in your opinion, a more powerful perſon than *Caius*.’

Petronius finding from this ſpeech, how obſtinately they were bent, and that it was impoſſible for him to ſet up *Caius*'s ſtatue in the temple without making war upon them, and ſhedding a great quantity of blood, took the friends and ſervants he had about him, and went to *Tiberias*, to look more narrowly into the ſituation of the *Jewiſh* affairs: The *Jews*, in the interim, perceiving that a war with the *Romans* would be attended with dangerous conſequences, but that a violation of their laws would be followed with worſe effects, aſſembled together again, to the number of ſeveral thouſands, went to *Petronius* at *Tiberias*, and ſuppliantly begged him not to force them to an extremity, nor pollute their city by erecting the ſtatue. ‘What then, ſaid *Petronius*, you are deſigned to make war upon *Cæſar*, without conſidering his martial preparations, and your own weakneſs.’ But they: ‘We have no thoughts of making war, but we will ſooner die than do any thing contrary to our laws.’ And having ſo ſpoke, they caſt themſelves proſtrate upon the ground, and reaching out their ſwords, ſaid they were ready to ſuffer death in their defence. This behaviour was continued during forty days, and they wholly neglected to till the ground, though it was ſeed-time, perſiſting in the firm reſolution they had taken, of ſooner ſacrificing their lives, than being witneſſes of the ſetting up of the ſtatue.

Things being in this ſituation, *Ariſtobulus*, brother of king *Agrippa*, and *Helcias*, ſirnam'd *Magnus*, with ſeveral other principal men of that family, and of the *Jews*, went to *Petronius*, ſupplicating him; ‘That ſince he was an occular witneſs of the obſtinate temper of the people, he would enter upon no violent meaſures which might drive them to deſpair; but rather write to *Caius*, how the *Jews* by no manner of reaſoning could be brought to receive his ſtatue; and that neglecting to till their lands, they ſtood in oppoſition to his commands, and yet refuſed to enter into a war, as having not an equal quantity of forces: That they were ready to ſhed the laſt drop of their blood, before they would ſuffer an infringement upon the laws of their country, and muſt be obliged, from the neglect of ſowing their ſeed, to enter upon robberies and depredations, becauſe they had nothing to defray their tribute: That perhaps ſuch remonſtrances as theſe might induce *Caius* to alter his ſentiments, remove his haſty reſolution, and baniſh from his breaſt the thoughts he had harboured of deſtroying their nation. But that, if he perſiſted in his deſign of making war upon them, then he ſhould be at liberty to put his enterprize in execution.’ This was the advice *Ariſtobulus* and the perſons with him gave *Petronius*; who finding *Ariſtobulus* and the reſt very urgent in their ſpeeches; and that the affair was of very weighty conſequence, about which they made all the intreaties imaginable; and ſeeing the *Jews* perſevere in an inſurmountable conſtancy, diametrically oppoſite to his deſigns, he thought it great injuſtice ſo many thouſand of *Jews*, only to humour (*a*) *Caius*, in a frantick fit of his, ſhould ſuffer death, for which their religion, and piety towards God, ſhould be made the cauſe; upon which he judged it far more expedient to ſignify to *Caius* by a letter, of the ill conſequence it would be to him to be angry for not putting his commands ſooner in execution, (for it might be he might bring him over to better ſentiments) but if he continued in the ſame made opinion as before, he would then put himſelf in a readineſs to carry the war among them; yet, on the contrary, if he found his anger turned upon him, he imagined it but a duty incumbent on perſons who practiſed virtue, to hazard death for the ſake of ſuch a number of men. In fine, he reſolved to gratify the petitioners in what they had asked.

Having aſſembled ſeveral thouſands of the *Jews* at *Tiberias*, and hemmed them in with the army he had with him, he told them, it was not his own will, but what *Caius* himſelf had commanded, to ſhew them the ſudden effects of his diſpleaſure, for preſuming to go againſt what he had decreed; and that he was under an indiſpenſible obligation to put his order in execution, whoſe favour and kindneſs had advanced him to his preſent honour: ‘Yet, ſaid he, I cannot but ſuppoſe it injuſtice in me to hazard my own ſafety and honour for

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(*a*) He imagined it a Piece of Barbarity to take away the Lives of ſeveral Thouſand Men, through his Deſire to humour *Caius*'s Madneſs, and thought God would look with Indignation at the Action, and his Life be attended with no future proſperous Events. *Epiphanius*.

your preſervation, who are a numerous multitude, in that you ſtrenuouſly endeavour to maintain ſuch an excellent law, for which, as it belongs to your country, you are of opinion, you ought to ſacrifice the deareſt thing you have I will throw my confidence in God, and make it a matter of religion, not to ſuffer your temple to be violated by the profane actions of princes. I will then write to *Caius*, and acquaint him with your diſpoſition, and ſtrive all I am able, not to let you ſuffer in a thing you have ſo unanimouſly propoſed to yourſelves to defend. May God, whoſe power is ſuperior to any human art or ſkill, aſſiſt and preſerve you in a conſtant obſervation of your country's laws; and make that he, having now tranſgreſſed all meaſure, by his extreme deſires, may not go on to expect the honours cuſtomarily paid to God. If *Caius* ſhall pour down his heavy diſpleaſure upon me, I will ſubmit myſelf to any manner of dangers, and ſuſtain all manner of hardſhips, which ſhall poſſibly befal either my body or ſoul, rather than be an eye-witneſs to ſee you die, who are ſo many in number, for the honeſt cauſe you ſo vigorouſly endeavour to maintain. Go, then, each of you, whither your ſeveral employments call you, and ſtrenuouſly betake yourſelves to culture, and the tilling of your lands, mean while, I will diſpatch letters to *Rome*, and not think it time ill ſpent to promote every thing for your intereſt ſo far, as either I or my friends have power to act for you.'

When he had ſpoke thus, and diſmiſſed the aſſembly, he exhorted the principal of them to betake themſelves to huſbandry, and endeavour by their ſpeeches to put the people in better hopes; as for himſelf he ſtrove to put them into a more lively and better temper. God, no doubt, declared his preſence to *Petronius*, and aſſured him he would ſtand by him in every thing; for he had ſcarcely made an end of ſpeaking to the *Jews*, before God ſent down upon the earth a large ſhower of rain, which, as the day was very clear and ſerene, fell beyond all peoples expectations or hopes, no manner of ſign of rain being in the ſky, and the drought, which had been upon the ground all the year, made mankind deſpair of any rain, even when they ſaw the air overcaſt with clouds. The *Jews*, ſeeing this large ſhower fall beyond what they ever imagined, were immediately animated with an aſſured hope, that *Petronius*'s petition for them would not be rendered vain: Beſide, *Petronius* was by ſo much the more ſtruck with admiration, as he plainly ſaw that God favoured the *Jews*, and ſhewed himſelf on their ſide; ſo that they, who could not induce themſelves to believe it, had not courage now to contradict it. This he ſignified to *Caius* in the letter he ſent to him, which was from one end to the other, entirely calculated to perſuade and induce him not to drive to madneſs ſo many thouſand men, by putting them to death; for that there was no other method of drawing them from an obſervation of the laws, than by compelling them by force of arms, neither would he deprive himſelf of the revenues he received from them, nor brand himſelf to future generations with any diſhonour, or an ill name. Add to this, that he ſhewed him the power of God in a manifeſt manner, who preſided over them, and left nothing that might convince him of his extraordinary ſuperiority; in all which *Petronius* was very importunate.

King *Agrippa*, who was now at *Rome*, grew more and more into *Caius*'s favour and friendſhip. He provided an entertainment for him, in which he made it his ſole endeavour to excel all others, not only in the magnificence of the feaſt, but in the ſumptuous ſplendor, the delights and coſtly pleaſures at it. Beſide, there were none, nay, not *Caius* himſelf, who were able to equal, much more to excel, his magnificence; for he had provided every thing he was able to make the entertainment appear extraordinary, and indulge *Caius*'s luxurious appetite. This extravagant proceedure in *Agrippa* made *Caius* extremely pleaſed, and to admire his generoſity to him, who ſtrove above his ability, in the prodigious expence he was at to gratify him: Wherefore deſiring to emulate *Agrippa*'s liberality, which he had calculated to pleaſe him, he ſpoke to him, (being very much unbended with the wine he had drank, and in an humorous fit, *Agrippa* at the ſame time inviting him to drink to him,) in the following manner: 'I am conſcious, ſaid he, 'of the honour you have before now done me; and the great kindneſs you have ſhewn me, though at the hazard of ſeveral dangers, which *Tiberius* threatened you with, and now you omit nothing, though above your ability, to gratify and pleaſe me: Wherefore, ſince it would be a ſhame for me to be overcome with the favour and friendſhip you give me ſuch ample proofs of, I am now willing to make a retaliation, by giving you all thoſe things I ſtand indebted to you for. As for the preſents I have made you, I confeſs they are but of ſmall conſequence; but now I am ready, as far as in me lies, to ſupply you with that which may complete your happineſs.' *Caius* ſpoke thus, as ſuppoſing he would have aſked for an extenſion of his dominions, or the tributes of ſome cities. *Agrippa*, though he was reſolved within himſelf what to aſk, yet continued ſilent ſome time, and then anſwered him, 'That his former attachment to his intereſt, againſt which *Caius* had enjoined him, was not deſigned to draw any advantages of profit from it, nor had he done any thing now to pleaſe him, that he might gain thereby the leaſt gratuity; for his former kindneſſes were abundantly great, and more than a perſon, who had more arrogance and ambition than he, could poſſibly expect; for though they were leſs than you could have given me, yet they were greater than the expectation and dignity of me who received them.' *Caius*, ſurprized at his extreme modeſty, and the continence of his mind, inſiſted now the more to make him ſpeak what it was he had a mind he ſhould give him: To whom he made this anſwer: 'Since, my Lord, through the kindneſs you have for me, you make it appear that I am worthy to be farther gratified by you, I aſk for none of thoſe things that may any way contribute to enrich me, ſince what I already owe to your favour, hath put me in a more conſpicuous ſtation than the reſt of mankind: What I ſolicit you for will gain you a pious name, and make God to favour your intentions, and procure me a glorious eſteem among thoſe who ſhall hear it, ſince I ſhall be thought to have influence to obtain every thing within your power, for thoſe who ſhall ſtand in need of my aſſiſtance. I beg and pray you then to think no further about fixing up your ſtatue in the temple of the *Jews*, which you have authorized *Petronius* to do.'

Though *Agrippa* ſaw this requeſt attended with a great deal of danger, (for whatever could not perſwade *Caius*, that was moſt certain to bring death to the perſon who asked it) yet as he judged it an affair of great conſequence, as in reality it was, he was reſolved to try the chance of fortune in it. *Caius*, taken with the officious liberality of *Agrippa*, and fancying it diſhonourable, at the time he had voluntarily urged him to make his requeſt, before ſo many witneſſes to be branded with a falſhood, as if he preſently repented himſelf of his promiſe; and admiring *Agrippa*'s extraordinary virtue, who, inſtead of being ſolicitous to augment and increaſe his own dominions, make his revenues larger, or extend his authority, had ſolely confined himſelf to preſerve peace in his country, and intercede for the laws and the majeſty of God, granted his requeſt; and wrote to *Petronius*, commending him in raiſing an army, and adviſing him what he thought expedient to be done to the *Jews*. 'But if, ſaid he, it ſhould happen that you have already ſet up my ſtatue, let it not be taken away; but if you have not put it up, trouble yourſelf no farther about it; for I would have you diſband the army, and put in execution the orders I at firſt gave you; for as (1) I am willing to oblige *Agrippa* in this matter, I have no occaſion for the ſtatue's being put up, he being a perſon whom I eſteem much more than that I ſhould deny him any thing he deſires or intreats of me.' This was the letter wrote by *Caius* to *Petronius*, before he received the epiſtle he ſent him, which notified how the *Jews*, on account of the ſtatue, were ready to break out in an open rebellion; for the temper they were in, gave but too rebellious ſigns, they threatened the *Romans* with a campaign. This was a ſore mortification to *Caius*, who thought they preſumed on this, only to make a trial of his power. As he was a prince who had no manner of ſhame at heart, and accounted honeſty of no conſequence at all, and let looſe his fury upon every one, according to his own will, with whom he had a mind to keep no meaſures, he ſuppoſed it to his honour and advantage to diſplay his indignation in its full courſe, and accordingly wrote to the following effect:

'Since you have preferred the preſents the *Jews* have made you, to my commands, and have endeavoured to oblige them, by doing things which I did not give you authority to act, (2) I charge you, who have made yourſelf the judge, to think what you are to undergo, when you ſhall feel the whole weight of my anger fall upon you, and I have made you an example to preſent and future ages, to admoniſh them, that an emperor's commands are not to be trifled with.'

Caius wrote this letter to *Petronius*, but he happened not to receive it while *Cæſar* was alive, thoſe ordered to bring it having met with a long paſſage at ſea; another letter, notifying the emperor's death, came firſt to hand: God, from this, may be juſtly ſaid not to be unmindful of the dangers *Petronius* expoſed himſelf to, for the defence of the *Jews* and their honour. After God, who was offended at the preſumption he took in arrogating to himſelf divine worſhip, had cut him off, every one as well at *Rome*, as throughout the whole empire, eſpecially thoſe ſenators who had the greateſt authority, and upon whom *Caius* had exerciſed his ſpleen and anger, endeavoured to repay *Petronius* the ſervice he had done. *Caius*, indeed, died ſhortly after he had wrote his letter to *Petronius*, in which he denounced death to him. But I ſhall wave here the cauſe of *Caius*'s death, and the manner in which the conſpiracy againſt him was carried on; of all which I ſhall take notice in the ſequel. *Petronius* firſt received the letter, which notified *Caius*'s death, and afterwards that, in which he was commanded to finiſh his life with his own hands. He was extremely pleaſed to hear the news of *Caius*'s death, but the more ſurprized at the providence of God, which, in ſpite of all obſtruction, had rewarded him ſo, for the honour he had preſerved for the temple, and the aſſiſtance he had given the *Jews*. And thus did *Petronius* eſcape the danger of dying, to which he was unwarily expoſed.

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(1) The Verſion of *Epiphanius* is vaſtly different, and runs thus in *Engliſh*: 'I am willing to oblige *Agrippa* in this, who is a Perſon I did always honour, and ſhall now give greater Proofs of my Favour to him. This was the Letter *Caius* wrote to *Petronius* before the Sedition took a more violent Courſe; for the Diſpoſitions of every one were in a Ferment, and their Proceedure gave a manifeſt Diſcovery of their Inclinations, that if a contrary Meſſage was ſent back, they were ready to enter into an open War with the *Romans*. But *Caius*, whoſe Inclinations were prone to ignoble Ends, a Contemner of others Advice, ready in every Action he thought neceſſary to be done, or give Proof of his unbridled Paſſions, and ignorant how to moderate himſelf; but deeming it to his Reputation, to put in Execution every Thing that tended to his Pleaſure, afterwards wrote to *Petronius*, &c.'

(2) *Epiphanius* turns this Paſſage thus: 'I command you to be your own Judge, and chuſe what you merit to ſuffer, who has rouſed me up to ſo violent a Paſſion, as to make you an Example to Perſons preſent and to come, that no Man ſhould dare to contemn the Orders of an Emperor.'

CHAP

CHAP. IX.

The Accidents that befel the Jews *at* Babylon, *occaſioned by* Aſinæus *and* Anilæus, *two Brothers.*

MUCH about this time the *Jews* in *Meſopotamia*, but chiefly thoſe at *Babylon*, fell under great misfortunes, under the preſſure of which ſo vaſt a number of them ſuffered death, that hiſtory cannot produce a like example: I will give an accurate account of this matter, and fetch from the very original, the cauſe of this diſaſter.

Nearda is a city of *Babylonia*, exceeding populous, and miſtreſs of a large and fruitful tract of land, which abounds not only in a great many choice bleſſings, but is remarkable for its numbers of men. Add to this, that it lies not open to the aſſaults of its enemies, being on every ſide ſurrounded with the *Euphrates*, and walls of great ſtrength. The city *Niſibis* alſo is incloſed within the ſame river. The *Jews* confiding in the natural ſtrength of theſe places, repoſited here the didrachms which each was accuſtomed to pay to God, and all their other votive money. They made theſe two cities as common treaſuries to put their money in, which was tranſmitted at an appointed time to *Hieroſolyma*, under a convoy of ſeveral thouſands, through fear of the *Parthians*, to whom *Babylonia* was then tributary. There were among theſe *Jews* two brothers, named *Aſinæus* and *Anilæus*, originally from *Nearda*, whoſe mother (for their father was dead) had procured them to be put to the trade of a weaver, a buſineſs ſo far from being accounted a ſhame to any one, that the men in the ſeveral nations followed it. One day the maſter, who preſided over the work, and learnt them their art, charged them with coming too late to their employment, and fell to beating them. They imagining their correction a diſhonour to them, and what they did not deſerve, ſeized upon all the arms which were kept in the houſe, and withdrew to a place where the river divides itſelf, and where was wont to be great plenty of paſture, and of fruits, uſually laid up againſt the winter. They were preſently joined by a great number of neceſſitous young men, whom having equipped with arms, and declar'd themſelves their captains, it was reaſonable to ſuppoſe they would ſoon make themſelves the original and cauſe of great commotions and diſturbances. In fine, having ſecured themſelves ſo as not to have any fears of being attacked, and erected a kind of fortreſs, they deputed ſome of their body to go and demand tribute of the ſhepherds for their ſheep, as much as was neceſſary for their ſupport, adding, they would be friends to thoſe who obey'd them, and would defend them from the aſſaults of any enemies they had; but threatning on their non-compliance with their commands, to deſtroy all their cattle: The ſhepherds judging it unſafe to diſobey them, put their commands in execution, and took care to ſend them the number of ſheep they demanded. By this means their ſtrength increaſed, and they had now power to act whatſoever they pleaſed. Every one endeavoured to ſide with them, and they conſtantly threw a terror in thoſe who attacked them. In fine, they became the talk far and near, till at laſt the *Parthian* king became acquainted with their tranſactions.

After the governor of *Babylonia* came to be acquainted with this affair, he was willing to reſtrain them in the beginning, before the ſedition diffuſed and ſpread itſelf too far; and, to that end, having collected as large an army as he was able, compoſed of *Parthians* and *Babylonians*, he marched quickly againſt them, reſolving to fall upon and attack them, before they had any intelligence of his preparations: Accordingly having ſet down at a certain lake, he kept himſelf very quiet, but the next day, which happening to be the *Jewiſh* ſabbath, whereon the *Jews* are uſed to retire from all manner of labour, ſuppoſing the enemy durſt not attack him, but that he ſhould take them priſoners without hazarding a battle, he proceeded unawares in a ſlow manner, deſigning to fall upon them at unawares; but *Aſinæus*, who with his companions were ſitting with their arms placed about them in a careleſs manner, ſaid, 'My men, the neighing of horſes aſſails my ears, not of ſuch as live in the paſtures, but thoſe who carry riders upon their backs. And I am certain I hear the ſound of bridles, which makes me fear they are enemies coming upon us to attack us; let ſome perſon run and ſee, and bring word back what is the danger that hangs over us, but I wiſh my words may prove falſe.' After he had thus ſaid, certain men preſently went to ſee what was doing, who immediately returning, ſaid, 'You are not deceived in the conjecture you made about your enemies, who will now no longer ſuffer us to continue our actions with impunity; we are circumvented, and doomed to be ſlain like ſo many ſheep: For a numerous army marches againſt us, and we are obliged to ſit ſtill from the law of our country that prohibits our arms.' But *Aſinæus* was of another opinion to the ſpie, in relation to what was to be done: He thought it more prudent and juſt to take courage from the neceſſity into which they had fallen, and violate the law, ſo they but revenged the affront, and were ſure of death for it, than to ſit ſtill and give their enemies an occaſion to rejoice at their deaths. Upon this he preſently ſnatch'd up his arms, which greatly contributed to ſpirit up the reſt to behave with an equal bravery: In fine, they attacked the enemy, a great number of whom they ſlew upon the ſpot, as falling upon them with a kind of diſdain, as if they had been already ſure of their victory, but, in the concluſion, they were forced to turn their backs and fly.

The news of this battle coming to the ears of the king of *Parthia*, he ſeemed in admiration at the courage of the brothers, and deſiring to ſee and ſpeak with them, he ſent one of his guards, in whom he could moſt confide, who ſpoke to them in this manner: ‘King *Artabanus*, though a ſufferer by your injurious treatment, in that you have invaded his kingdom, yet is willing to baniſh his reſentment, and look upon your virtue; upon which he hath ſent me to give you a tender of his friendſhip, that you may go to him without any apprehenſions or fears, ſince he is deſirous to give you a teſtimony of the kindneſs he bears you; beſides he promiſes you large preſents, which will be of conſiderable advantage to increaſe your native courage.’ *Aſinæus* waved going, but ſent his brother *Anilæus* with ſuch preſents as he had about him. Accordingly *Anilæus* went ſtraitways, and had eaſy admittance to the king. When *Artabanus* ſaw that *Anilæus* was come by himſelf, he asked him what was the reaſon why *Aſinœnus* his brother did not accompany him. Upon hearing that he had hid himſelf through fear among the fens, he called upon the gods of his country, to witneſs that he had no intentions to injure thoſe who threw themſelves into his protection; upon which he ſtretched out his hand to him, the ſure token of ſafety to all who come to crave the protection of the kings of that country; for none ever acts treacherouſly, after he has afforded his hand, neither has any one any room to doubt, who before might entertain ſuſpicion, after he has ſuch a teſtimony of friendſhip; after *Artabanus* had done thus, he diſmiſſed *Anilæus* to go and perſuade his brother to come back with him to him. *Artabanus* did this with no other intent, than to ſet the valour of theſe two *Jewiſh* brothers, as a reſtraint upon his governors, who were upon the point of revolting; for he was fearful of loſing their alliance, and reflected, if he made war upon them, their rebellion would ſooner diſcover itſelf; nay, he had apprehenſions while he ſhould be buſied in managing a war againſt them, in order to reduce them to obedience, *Aſinæus* and the *Babylonians* ſhould either increaſe their ſtrength, or, upon report of his being engaged in a war, enter into an expedition againſt him; or, if they were not able to do this, ſeize upon an opportunity, and commit greater waſte upon the places lying near them.

Artabanus puſhed on by theſe ſentiments and reflections, diſmiſſed *Anilæus*. In fine, *Anilæus* went and perſuaded his brother, telling him a long ſtory of the king's friendſhip, and kindneſs for them, and the promiſe he made them. In the concluſion both returned to the king. When they came before him, *Artabanus* received them with great civility, and ſeemed ſurprized at *Aſinæus*, in that he had behaved ſo gallantly; but was the more aſtoniſhed, when he ſaw him of ſo low a ſtature, and at firſt ſight contemptible to thoſe who looked upon him, who ſet him as nothing; upon which the king would ſay to his friends, that his ſoul, if compared to his body, was conſiderably more large, and extended. Once at an entertainment *Artabanus* happened to ſhew *Aſinæus* to one of his *Pretorian* officers, named *Abdagaſes*, and to acquaint him what a perſon he was, and how bravely he had behaved in battle. Upon which *Abdagaſes* deſired he would give him leave to kill him, and ſo make him atone for the ſeveral injuries he had done the *Parthian* kingdom: To which the king ſaid, ‘I cannot permit that againſt a man, who hath thrown himſelf into my protection, eſpecially ſeeing I have given him my hand, and by my oath aſſured him of my ſafeguard; but if you are a perſon well skilled in war, and of a courageous ſpirit, you have no need to make me forſwear myſelf, in order to puniſh the injuries done the *Parthian* kingdom: You have my leave when he returns, to fall upon him with the forces under you, but let me have no knowledge of your deſign.’ Accordingly in the morning having ſent for *Aſinæus*; ‘It is time, ſaid he, young man to depart back to your followers, leſt more of the officers who are with me, happen to be ſpurred on, to put you to death, when I neither know or dream any thing of it. I throw the land of *Babylonia* under your protection, to preſerve it by your care free from robberies and depredations, for it is a piece of juſtice in me, to think well of you, after I have kept my promiſe inviolably with you, not only to reward you in ſmall occurrences, but to teſtify the favour I bear you in things that regard your life and ſafety.’ Having ſpoke thus, and loaded *Aſinæus* with preſents, he preſently diſmiſſed him. Upon his return he built ſome new caſtles, and ſtrengthen'd the old ones with new fortifications, and in a little time grew ſo powerful and conſiderable, that none, who from ſuch a beginning durſt atrempt to raiſe himſelf into authority, ever was inveſted with more. The *Parthian* officers, who were ſent into the neighbouring provinces, courted his alliance; the honour he received from the *Babylonians* was but of ſmall importance, for his authority was conſiderably augmented, and all *Meſopotamia* was at his nod and beck; and for fifteen years his good fortune received daily a freſh increaſe.

Having procured themſelves the acquiſition of every good thing, a misfortune began to attend them from the following cauſe: It was after they had fallen from that extraordinary courage which had raiſed them to ſo much dignity, and diſhonoured it by a ſhameleſs abandoning the laws of their country, and giving themſelves up to luſt and inordinate pleaſure. There happened to come one of the *Parthian* captains to take upon him the adminiſtration of the country that lay contiguous to *Anilæus*, who brought along with him his wife, a woman who ſeemed, with the excellent qualifications ſhe was endowed, to ſnatch away the praiſe from all the reſt; the admirable ſhape of her perſon, was of great advantage to her in this matter; now whether *Anilæus*, brother of *Aſinæus*, had heard the fame of her beauty reported, or had had a full view of it with his own eyes; he, however, became her lover and her enemy at one and the ſame time, partly becauſe he ſaw

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he had no hopes of enjoying her without making uſe of violent means to accompliſh his ends, and partly becauſe he believed he was not able to reſiſt his furious deſires. In fine, the huſband was declar'd an enemy to them, and a battle was fought, in which he loſt his life. By this means the wife of the deceaſed was taken priſoner, and afterwards married to her lover: This match, however, was attended with ſeveral dangerous circumſtances both to the perſons of *Anilæus* and *Aſinæus*; nor did the woman enter their houſe without great diſturbance to their repoſe, which proceeded from the following cauſe: When the captive woman was married to her firſt huſband, ſhe hid her houſhold Gods, (for it is cuſtomary with all people in that country to have the images of God in their houſes, and upon taking a journey, to carry them along with them,) and after the cuſtom of her country, carried them about with her, and ſecretly paid her adoration to them; when ſhe became *Anilæus*'s wife, ſhe adored them in the very ſame manner ſhe had done in her firſt huſband's time: Upon this, thoſe companions of theirs whom they moſt honoured, reproved *Anilæus* for his abſolute neglect of the *Hebrew* inſtitutions and laws, by taking a wife who was a ſtranger, and a violater of their ſacrifices and religious worſhip which was ſolemnly preſcribed them; that he ought then to take care, leſt, abandoning himſelf too much to the enjoyment of her, he made not her beauty the cauſe of diſplacing him from the government and power which God had ſo fortunately beſtowed upon him. But they found their remonſtrances ineffectual, and that one of their deareſt companions, for a little more freedom than ordinary he had took in his words, had the unhappineſs to loſe his life, who, as he was dying, through the love he bore to his country's laws, wiſhed God to repay *Aſinæus* and *Anilæus* with a puniſhment due to his murther, and that all their companions and confederates might meet with the like chaſtiſement from their enemies, becauſe the former had been the cauſe of the wickedneſſes that had been committed; and the latter had lent him no manner of aid or aſſiſtance, while he was forced to ſuffer ſuch an hardſhip in the defence of the inſtitutions of his country: This was a cruel reflection to them; however, they were obliged to ſubmit patiently, as being conſcious to themſelves, that their preſent happineſs was entirely owing to their valour, and no other thing. But coming to hear of the worſhipping of thoſe Gods which the *Parthians* pay adoration to, they thought the diſhonour *Anilæus* did their laws, was not to be bore with any longer, and aſſembling a great number of their body together, they went to *Aſinæus*, and with loud exclamations againſt *Anilæus*, remonſtrated, 'That he ought, if he had not the ability to ſee what was of advantage to them, now to correct and amend what was done, before he, and all his followers, fell a ſacrifice for his brother's tranſgreſſions.' Beſide, they upbraided him with his brother's marrying a foreign woman, a thing diametrically contrary both to the practice of their country, and the laws received in it, and with paying adoration to Gods, which the woman did, in diſhonour to the religion of their own God which they adored. *Aſinæus* was well acquainted with the whole affair, and knew too well that his brother's erroneous proceeding in his marriage had been the cauſe of a great many misfortunes, and would ſtill be ſo; however, he bore with him, through the love he had for him as his brother, and the vaſt affection, which entirely ſubdued him, with which he loved. But when he found greater numbers every day flocking to him, who were more loud in their complaints, he was at length obliged to go and confer with *Anilæus* about the allegations brought againſt him, when, amongſt other things, he reproved him for his paſt actions, and begged him to forbear for the future from doing the like, and to ſend home his wife to her relations. But his remonſtrance on this article was to no effect. The woman, ſuppoſing the people buſied themſelves in ſuch crowds upon her account, and apprehending *Anilæus*, for the love he bore her, might fall into ſome worſe misfortune, took *Aſinæus* out of the way by poiſon, which ſhe mixed in his meat. Neither did ſhe ſeem any way fearful for what ſhe had done, as thinking ſhe ſhould have found the man who dearly loved her, the judge of her action.

Anilæus now finding himſelf without a partner in the government, led an army into the villages of *Mithridates*, a man of principal note among the *Parthians*, and who had received in marriage the daughter of king *Artabanus*. Theſe he ravaged, and took away a great quantity of money he found in them, beſides a great number of ſlaves, ſheep, and other things, which to the poſſeſſors were of no little value to the happy enjoyment of their lives. But *Mithridates*, who happened then to be in that country, having heard of the ſacking of the villages, was extremely nettled to think that *Anilæus*, to whom he had given no manner of diſturbance before that time, ſhould begin to make hoſtilities upon him, and when he was no enemy to the preſent dignity he enjoyed; upon which he collected as many cavalry as he was able, out of the flower of his dominions, and with them went out to meet *Anilæus*, as if his deſign had been to have given him battle. When he was come to one of his villages, he ſhut himſelf up in it, and kept himſelf quiet, reſolving the next day to engage him, which was the ſabbath on which the *Jews* relax themſelves from all manner of labour. *Anilæus*, receiving intelligence of this from a *Syrian* ſtranger, who belonged to another village, and who gave a true account of other matters, and ſignified to him the place *Mithridates* was going to ſup in, refreſhed his own army very ſeaſonably, and as ſoon as it was night took his route, reſolving to fall upon the *Parthians*, when they but little thought of his approach; and accordingly about the fourth watch he ruſhed upon them, ſome of whom he ſlew as they were aſleep, and others he took priſoners. Having taken *Mithridates* alive, he put him upon a naked aſs, a thing accounted by the *Parthians* the moſt diſhonourable. After he had led him in this manner into a wood, his friends adviſed him to put *Mithridates* to death; but he endeavoured to diſſuade them from ſuch a reſolution, by remonſtrating,

ting, ‘ That it would not be at all to their intereſt to put to death *Mithridates*, who was a prince of the chiefeſt rank among the *Parthians*, and by ſo much the more nearly allied to the king, as he had married his daughter; that what they had already done, would hardly be borne with; and though *Mithridates* had been diſhonourably treated, yet the thought of owing his life to them, would make him remember the kindneſs he ſtood indebted to them for. But if, on the other hand, he be put to death, the king will not ſit quiet with the affront, who has it in his power to make terrible havock among the *Jews* in *Babylonia*, to whom it will be of conſiderable advantage to live peaceably on two accounts; firſt, as they are your relations, and next, as you will have no manner of refuge, if affairs run amiſs with you, after he has reduced the major part of their youth to his obedience.’

After he had reflected upon theſe things, and mentioned them to thoſe about him, he eaſily altered their opinion, and then releaſed *Mithridates*. At his return, his wife reproach'd him for his neglect and unwillingneſs, as he was the king's ſon-in-law, and had been ſo baſely uſed, to purſue thoſe who had injured and reviled him; and with great indolence to live ſatisfied with his ignominious condition, after he had been led captive by the *Jews*. ‘ Either now, ſaid ſhe, valiantly return back upon them, or I ſwear by the Gods of my country to diſſolve the nuptial band between us.’ Thus was *Mithridates* the ſecond time, partly through the diſlike he had to the daily reproaches thrown at him, and partly through the fears he entertained of his wife's proud ſpirit, and of her divorcing herſelf from him, induced, though againſt his inclination and temper, to muſter up as great an army as he could, with which he marched againſt the enemy, thinking the owing of his life to the *Jews* of no value, if, as he was a *Parthian*, he ſhould be again repulſed by them in this ſecond expedition.

Anilæus coming to hear of the deſign *Mithridates* had to lead a numerous body of forces againſt him, thought it diſhonourable to keep himſelf ſhut up within his fens, and not march out to meet him; accordingly, ſuppoſing that fortune would fall proſperous on his ſide, as it had done before, and that his enemies would meet with the ſame defeat, he, after having inſpir'd his men with courage, led out his forces. A great number joined him, in hopes of plundering the enemy, and of throwing, at firſt ſight, a terror into the enemy, as they had done before. But travelling full ninety furlongs through dry and deſart places, and in the very noon time of day, they began to be exceeding thirſty, and the ſight of *Mithridates* ſomewhat terrified them. In fine, what by their violent thirſt, and the heat of the weather, they were not able to ſuſtain their arms. Upon this, *Anilæus* was obliged to betake himſelf to a ſhameful flight, ſeeing the enemy was ſtrong and hearty, and his men weak and enervate: A great ſlaughter was made amongſt his men, and ſeveral thouſands of his army were ſlain upon the ſpot. *Anilæus* and thoſe about him, betook themſelves to a precipitate flight, and withdrew into a wood, giving thereby to *Mithridates* an opportunity to rejoice at the victory he had obtained over them. *Anilæus* was preſently joined by a numerous multitude of deſperate men, who ſet their lives at little value, while they found any ſhew of relief in their preſent condition; their number was equal to the body that had been ſlain, but as they were a rude and undiſciplined multitude, they were not of equal ſervice to thoſe perſons who had ſacrificed their lives in the field of battle. With theſe *Anilæus* made an inroad into the *Babylonian* villages, and by the vigour and fury with which he puſhed on his arms, he made terrible havock and depredations on every ſide. Upon this, the *Babylonians* and thoſe who had undertaken the war, ſent to *Nearda* to the *Jews* there, demanding *Anilæus* to be ſurrendered up to them. But finding their meſſage rejected, (for, had they been never ſo willing, they could not have ſurrendered him,) they invited them to enter into a peace with them. In the concluſion, they themſelves acquainted them they were deſirous of nothing more, and accordingly certain perſons with the *Babylonians* were ſent to treat with *Anilæus* about it. The *Babylonians*, upon this, made diligent enquiry into the place where *Anilæus* had encamped himſelf, when falling ſuddenly upon them, over-charged with wine and ſleep, they took a great many, and ſlew others, and among them *Anilæus* himſelf.

The *Babylonians* having thus got clear of the fears they had of *Anilæus*, (who had been a continual impediment to their pouring their revenge upon the *Jews*; for they, from the different ſyſtems of their laws, were (*a*) always at variance with one another, and that ſide, which had the greater number, was ſure the firſt to fall and commit hoſtilities upon the other) and ſlain thoſe who ſided with *Anilæus*, they made a ſally upon the *Jews*; the *Jews* finding themſelves unable to withſtand either their force in battle, or to live peaceably among them, and not brooking the injuries they ſuſtained, removed to *Seleucia*, a principal city of that country, built by *Seleucus*, the ſon of *Nicanor*; a great number of *Macedonians* and *Greeks* inhabit it, beſide a great multitude of *Syrians*, who reſide among them. Hither the *Jews* withdrew, and, during the ſpace of five years, enjoyed great tranquility and repoſe, but the ſixth year after their former overthrow, a ter-

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(*a*) *Epiphanius* turns this Paſſage thus: And they cut off the Head of *Anilæus*, by which Means the *Babylonians* delivered themſelves from the Troubles and Fears *Anilæus* gave them. They had a conſtant Enmity to them, and their Diſagreement was perpetually in a Ferment. The Cauſe of this Diſſention was about a paternal Law, which he oppoſed, and was therefore made the Ground of ſeveral Animoſities, ſpurred on equally between them; ſo that if any one found a fit Opportunity, he was ſure not to let it ſlip to diſplay his Revenge in: But this Procedure became at laſt the principal Cauſe of the Ruin of *Anilæus*. The *Babylonians* began to be very hot upon the *Jews*, who not being able to withſtand their Fury, &c.

rible peſtilence invaded *Babylonia*, which occaſioned new removals to be made out of the city, which, becauſe they fell upon *Seleucia*, the calamity became of more fatal conſequence, for a reaſon I ſhall now relate.

The *Greeks* and *Syrians*, living in *Seleucia*, were at a hot variance and diſpute, yet the *Grecians* had the ſuperiority. But upon the *Jews* coming there to inhabit, the ſedition broke out afreſh, and the *Syrians* carried the higher hand, as they were aſſiſted by the *Jews*, men very ready to engage in any danger, and willingly drawn in to engage in another's diſpute. The *Greeks* who found themſelves very much weakened by the diſſention on foot, perceiving there was no other way left them by which they might regain their former authority, than by making a ſeparation between the *Jews* and the *Syrians*, went and talked with thoſe *Syrians*, to whom they had been old acquaintance, and promiſed them their friendſhip and alliance; this propoſition was readily hearkened to. After a few conferences were held between both parties, in which the principal of each ſide negotiated the alliance, a reconcilation was at length concluded upon. And having ſtipulated thus between themſelves, they ſuppoſed they could not give each a ſurer token of their friendſhip, than by falling equally upon the *Jews*. In conſequence of which, attacking the *Jews*, when they little imagin'd ſuch an aſſault upon them, they ſlew above fifty thouſand of their body, and every man among them had certainly periſhed, had not ſome, through the pity of their friends and neighbours, made their eſcape; theſe removed to (*a*) *Cteſiphon*, a great city, and ſituate on the confines of *Seleucia*, where the king annually winters, and where a great part of his baggage is repoſited: However, they found not here a firm and ſafe habitation; for the *Seleucians* were little mindful of the honour of their king. In fine, all the *Jews* in that place were extremely fearful of the *Babylonians* and *Seleucians*, becauſe the *Syrians* had entered into a confederacy with the *Seleucians* to make war upon them. This obliged them to withdraw to *Nearda* and *Niſibis*, where they placed their ſafety in the ſtrength and fortifications of thoſe cities; and their hopes were increaſed from the great numbers of valiant men, who reſided in them. And theſe are the things which belonged to the *Jews* in *Babylonia*.

(*a*) See *Strabo*. *Hudſon*; *Cteſiphon* was a *Grecian* City, and bordered upon *Seleucia*. The King of the *Perſians* conſtantly wintered in it. *Amm. Marcellinus, lib.* xxiii. *cap. 6. pag. 286. Cteſiphon* was firſt erected by *Varanes*; and afterwards, by King *Pacorus*, amplified with Men and ſtrong Walls, and by a *Greek* Name called *Perſis*, beſtowing upon it prodigious Quantities of Money, and rendering it as magnificent and ſtately as could be. *Spanheim*.

The END *of the Eighteenth* Book *of the Antiquities.*

FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

ANTIQUITIES of the JEWS.

BOOK THE NINETEENTH.

Containing the Space of Three Years and Six Months.

CHAP. I.

How CAIUS *was ſlain by* CHÆREAS.

C*AIUS*'s raging madneſs was not only poured down upon the *Jews* at *Hieroſolyma*, and thoſe who inhabited in the neighbouring countries, but he diffuſed it thro' all countries, and over every ſea, where the *Roman* empire had authority, which he filled with innumerable ills, ſuch and ſo many as never was known before. But what fell the ſevereſt ſacrifice to his barbarity was *Rome*, which he not only put upon a level with other cities, but tormented its citizens a thouſand various ways; eſpecially the ſenators, and thoſe who were *Patricians*, who, through the glory of their anceſtors, turned every man's eyes upon them; he alſo meditated innumerable things againſt thoſe who were called the *Equites* or *Knights*, who, in reſpect of their dignity and riches, were held in equal honour with the ſenators themſelves in the city, becauſe from their body the choice was transferred to the ſenate honour. *Caius* treated theſe gentlemen with ignominy, and deprived them of their dignity, and often robbed them both of their lives and their riches, nay, he ſeveral times made the ſtripping them of their money, a pretence for taking away their lives. Moreover, he arrogated to himſelf divine honours, and required his ſubjects to give him greater reverence than was fit for man; he frequented the temple of *Jupiter*, which is called *Capitolina*, the moſt celebrated of all the temples among the *Romans*, and had the preſumption to ſtile himſelf the brother of *Jupiter*. Beſide, he committed ſeveral other actions which plainly ſhewed he was no better than a madman, eſpecially this one following: When he thought it too much trouble to paſs in a boat from *Puteoli*, a city of *Campania*, and imagining the ſame ſuperiority belonged to him over the ſea, as he exacted from the land, he raiſed a bridge from one promontory to the other, which reached thirty furlongs by ſea, and rode in his chariot over the bridge, for he thought the performance of ſuch a journey was correſpondent to the dignity of a God; there was not a ſingle temple of the *Greeks* which he did not rifle; and all the pictures, fine ſculptures, ſtatues, and other decorations and gifts in them, he ordered to be brought him. 'For it 'was not convenient, he ſaid, that valuable 'things ſhould be repoſited in any other place, 'than in the moſt beautiful and valuable place, 'which was the city of *Rome*.' He took the things from thence, and commanded them to be carried to his own palace to adorn it, and his gardens and other fine ſeats he had in *Italy*: Beſide, he had the preſumption to order the ſtatue of *Jupiter*, which the *Greeks* worſhipped in the city of *Olimpias*, and which was called from thence, *Olimpius*, and made by *Pludias* the *Athenian*, to be brought to *Rome*. But his command herein was diſobeyed; for the men who had the care of it, acquainted *Memmius Regulus*, that the moment it was moved out of its place, it would break in pieces. Wherefore it is ſaid, that *Memmius* regarding what the men ſaid, and ſome other omens, ſomething too incredible, was induced to let it ſtand where it was, and wrote to *Caius* about it, in order to excuſe his not complying with his commands: This, however, brought him into great danger of his life, from which he was releaſed by the ſudden death of *Caius*.

He proceeded ſo far in his madneſs, that, upon a daughter being born to him, he carried the infant up into the *Capitol*, and laid it at the feet of *Jupiter*'s ſtatue, ſaying, the offſpring was common betwixt him and *Jupiter*, and had two fathers, and adding, in the midſt of the multitude, that he left it to their deciſion, who of the two were greater. Though he behaved himſelf thus, yet the people bore with him; beſide, he gave ſervants an abſolute liberty to accuſe their maſters, and to alledge crimes, as they pleaſed againſt them: The allegations brought againſt them were by ſo much the more terrible, as they were ſecretly managed either by their own advice, or to procure his favour: Theſe methods of procedure, were ſo arbitrarily carried on, that *Claudius* was accuſed by *Pollux* his ſlave, and *Caius*, when his uncle's life was brought in queſtion, thruſt himſelf among the judges to hear his trial, hoping to get an opportunity of taking away his life; but his deſign was fruſtrated. After he had filled all the empire with nothing but calumny and malice, and inveſted ſervants with ſuch extraordinary power againſt their maſters, then conſpiracies began to be frequently laid againſt him. Some were extremely enraged at him, and waited for any opportunity to revenge the injuries he had done them; others were for taking him off before their calamities were attended with more fatal conſequences; his death was of vaſt advantage to the ſecurity and protection of the laws of ſeveral nations under him, eſpecially of our nation, which ten thouſand to one had entirely been deſtroyed, had not ſo ſudden a death ſnatched him out of the world. I will here give a brief detail of the ſeveral things that happened prior to his death, becauſe it may be of great advantage to fix a belief of God's extraordinary power, of great comfort to thoſe under misfortunes, and of ſome advice to thoſe who think happineſs is perpetual, and that there is no way to fall into adverſity, unleſs virtue accompany it.

His death was plotted three ways, each of which was managed by a valiant perſon. *Æmilius Regulus*, born at *Cordula* in *Iberia*, brought ſome other confederates into his ſchemes, and was reſolved, either by their aſſiſtance, or with his own hand, to take him away; *Caſſius Chæreas*, a tribune, was head of another band of conſpirators; and *Annius Minucianus*, at the head of a powerful body of men, was prepared to level all his fury upon the tyrant. The cauſe of their different conſpiracy was their hatred to *Caius*; and *Regulus*, as he was a perſon naturally angry, and hateful to any baſe action, was more emboldened than the reſt; he was ſtout and valiant, of an open diſpoſition, and had not the artifice to conceal his deſigns; he communicated his ſcheme to ſeveral friends and others, who ſeemed ready to enter into the conſpiracy. *Minucianus* was puſhed on to take *Caius* out of the world, through a deſire he had to revenge *Lepidus* his moſt particular friend, and one of the moſt principal citizens, whom the emperor had put to death; beſide, he was ſhocked at *Caius's* unbridled anger, on whomſoever he poured down his indignation, whom he no ſooner ceaſed to perſecute with his inveterate malice, then he had put them to death. *Chæreas* was extremely aſhamed of the ignominy *Caius* had thrown at him, in calling him ſoft and effeminate, and for that he ſaw his friendſhip for him was repaid with continual apprehenſions of death, and that the cutting him off from the ſociety of mankind was not derogatory to a man of worth and honeſty. In ſhort, it was agreed to communicate their deſign to all who had any regard to the late injuries done them, and were deſirous to rid themſelves of them by the death of *Caius*; for it was likely their ſchemes would ſucceed, and it would be a glorious thing if they did, to have ſo many good men unanimouſly combined together, who, with the hazard of their lives, had been deſirous to maintain the ſecurity of the city and the empire. But *Caſſius*, deſirous of a great name, and conſidering as he was tribune of the guards, he had a freer acceſs to the emperor than the others, was prodigiouſly animated to take away his life.

In the mean time the *Circaſian* games, to the ſight of which the *Romans* are wonderfully given, were celebrating. Vaſt numbers flocked to the *Circus*, where it is a cuſtom to aſk any thing they deſire of their emperors, who, thinking it unjuſt to contradict them, always agree to their petitions. Hereupon they petitioned *Caius* with great warmth to (1) remit to them ſome of their tributes, and eaſe them of thoſe taxes which were a burthen and load upon the ſubjects; this ſeemed not well reliſhed by the emperor; they began to be more loud in their expoſtulations, upon which he ordered his guards to diſperſe themſelves and apprehend the diſturbers, and immediately puniſh them.

Thus he commanded, and the guards, as ordered, put his words in execution, upon which a great many were put to death. The people were ſpectators of this procedure, and immediately ceaſed from making any further noiſe, when they had an example before their eyes of the death inflicted upon thoſe who were againſt the rigid exaction of the tributes. This ſtep made *Chæreas* the more urgent to enter into his conſpiracy againſt *Caius*, to make him deſiſt from his inhuman barbarity towards mankind: He had ſeveral times thoughts of falling upon him as he ſat at table at his meat, but ſeveral reaſons diſſuaded him from it; not that he had any ſcruples about killing him, but that he might find a ſeaſonable and proper opportunity not to miſs in his aim, but have ſufficient ſtrength to complete what he had reſolved upon.

He had been a long time in the military poſt he then enjoyed, but was quite tired with being ſo long a table companion of *Caius*. After

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(1) New Taxes and unheard-of Grievances firſt raiſed by Publicans, *&c.* There was not one Species of Thing, or Degree of Man, on whom was not laid ſome Tax. *Suetonius* in the *Life of Caius*. *Spanheim*.

Caius had made him collector of the tributes, and ſome other cuſtoms then unpaid, and which were due to *Cæſar*'s treaſury, he ſhewed himſelf not ſo urgent or vigorous in levying them, in this obeying the dictates of his mild temper rather then *Caius*'s commands, when he found them encreaſed as large again as before; beſide, the people petitioning him to deal gently with their ſhattered condition, he took their caſe into conſideration, and gratify'd them all he could, by which means he raiſed *Cæſar*'s indignation againſt him, who upbraided him with ſoftneſs in the tedious time he took to levy his taxes. This was not all; he, beſide, caſt ſeveral other reproaches at him, and the ſeveral times he gave him the watch-word, which was every day he was to perform duty, he gave him the name of ſome (1) woman, which was very diſhonourable. He ſhewed himſelf guilty of this procedure at the time he was himſelf worthy of reproach in certain miſteries of his own inſtitution, in which he dreſſed himſelf in a woman's habit, and put veils over his head, in order to counterfeit the appearance of a woman; yet notwithſtanding this, he had the aſſurance to upbraid *Chæreas* as he did. *Chæreas*, upon receiving the watch-word, was conſtantly very much nettled, and the more when he gave it to others, who uſually laughed at him, and made him the ſport of the other tribunes; for when it was his turn to receive the watch-word from *Cæſar* himſelf, they would tell him before hand to bring juſt ſuch another ridiculous name as before. This made him conceive greater boldneſs, in order to procure him confederates, as one who was not moved thereto, without ſufficient reaſons: Among theſe was *Pompedius*, a man of ſenatorial dignity, and who had acted in all the honourable poſts of the republick, but otherwiſe, a meer *Epicurean*, who hated buſineſs, and a vaſt lover of eaſe and pleaſure; he was accuſed by *Timidius* his enemy, for caſting ſcandalous and defamatory words at *Caius*, and produced as a witneſs *Quintilia*, an actreſs, whoſe beauty had procured her a great many ſweet-hearts, and among them *Pompedius*; But *Quintilia* ſeeming enraged that her lover ſhould be falſely, as indeed it was, accuſed to death, *Timidius* then inſiſted for her being put to the rack; this exaſperating *Caius*, he gave *Chæreas* orders to put her immediately to the rack; and in this command he was by ſo much the more urgent, as he ſuppoſed he would ſhew himſelf more than ordinarily rigid, in order to wipe off his diſgrace of being thought tender hearted and ſoft. As *Quintilia* was conducting to the rack, ſhe trod upon the foot of one of the conſpirators, giving him a ſign not to have any fears about her being rackt, but take courage, for ſhe would hold out with conſtancy and boldneſs. *Chæreas* tormented her in a very ſevere manner, to which he was obliged by neceſſity, and not any inclination of his; but finding the tortures could extort no manner of confeſſion from her, he carried her before *Caius*, ſo bruiſed and mangled all over her body, that every one could not look upon her without a ſenſe of compaſſion. The ſight of her, juſt then as ſhe had been tormented, moved *Caius* with ſome pity, who diſcharged her and *Pompedius* from the accuſation brought againſt them; beſide he gave *Quintilia* a ſum of money, as a recompence for the injuries her body had received, and the great conſtancy ſhe had ſhewn under her vaſt pains.

This procedure extremely troubled *Chæreas*, as if he had been the cauſe of the misfortunes theſe two perſons had endured, to whom *Caius* himſelf had been pleaſed to adminiſter ſome ſort of comfort, and he ſaid to *Clemens* and *Papinius* tribune with him, 'We have not been wanting, O *Clemens*, to perform every thing that conduced to the ſecurity of the emperor; for of thoſe who have conſpired againſt his government, ſome by our care have been put to death, and others ſo miſerably tormented, that even *Caius* has ſeemed in pity for them. But in the mean time with what ſurpriſing courage do we lead out our army. *Clemens* made no reply, but gave evident tokens in his countenance how much aſhamed he was of thoſe commands; and when he conſidered his own ſafety, he thought it imprudence to rebuke the emperor with words for his furious behaviour.' Upon this *Chæreas*, taking heart, began to ſpeak to him in a more free and open ſtrain, and to lay open the ſeveral calamities to which both the city and empire had been expoſed. 'That the people ſaid *Caius* was their author, but if the truth was narrowly ſearched into, it will be found that I, my *Clemens*, and *Papinius*, and more than us, have adminiſtred the rack to the *Romans*, and the reſt of mankind; in which we have not ſo much put in execution *Caius*'s commands, as obeyed our own wills, when we had the power to make him leave committing his barbarous puniſhments upon his citizens and ſubjects. We pay duty to him not as ſoldiers, but as guards and hangmen; and the arms we bear are not for the defence of liberty, or the empire of the *Romans*, but for the ſecurity of him, who hath humbled as well their minds as bodies to ſlavery. Beſide, we daily pollute ourſelves with the blood of thoſe we either put to death or queſtion by the torture, and it is probable we ourſelves ſhall one day by order of *Caius* be doomed to the ſame puniſhment; for his kindneſs to us is not the effect of any affection he bears us, but rather proceeds from a motive of jealouſy: Add to this, when he gives a looſe to his furious temper, to which numbers will be expoſed to death, (for it is not likely he will refrain from his anger, whoſe indignation is actuated not to defend juſtice or equity, but made ſubſervient to gratify his own ambition) we ſhall then become a ſacrifice to his rage, when it ſhould be our buſineſs to ſecure every one in his rights and liberty, and drive away the dangers that hang over our heads.'

Clemens approved and commended *Chæreas*'s opinion, but enjoined him to ſecrecy, leſt it ſhould ſpread among a great number of people, and that which ought to be buried in the deepeſt ſilence, ſhould happen to be devulged, and a diſcovery made of his conſpiracy, before the matter was brought to a concluſion, and then they ſhould be hurried away to condign puniſhment; that every thing was to be ſubmitted to the event of time, and their own deſtiny; wholly throwing themſelves upon fortune, which might unexpectedly aid them in their deſigns; for his great age made him incapable of putting ſuch a great enterprize in force: *Yet I am able, perhaps, my* Chæreas, *to put ſome better advice into you than the ſchemes you have plotted; however no one can give you more honeſt counſel. Clemens*, after this, withdrew, full of the words he had heard and ſaid himſelf, and extremely perplexed. But *Chæreas*, very ſolicitous about putting his deſigns in execution, immediately went to *Cornelius Sabinus*, who was a tribune with them, whom in another reſpect was a man of worth, and a lover of liberty, and a profeſt enemy to the preſent government and ſituation of affairs, and one who would, without the leaſt heſitation, enter into the meaſures he had been forming: He ſuppoſed it would be for his advantage to lay open and propoſe the affair to him, fearing leſt *Clemens* ſhould make a diſcovery of the proceeding, and betray them; and conſidering of what bad conſequence it would be to delay the time.

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(1) *Caius* gave *Chæreas*, *Cupid*, or *Venus*, or any other Name of that Sort for his Watch-word, *Dion. lib.* lix. *p.* 662. He gave him *Priapus*, or *Venus*. *Suetonius*.

Sabinus receiving the propoſal with a great deal of alacrity, as having been animated before with the ſame deſire, and had been obliged to ſtifle his reſentments, only becauſe he could find no one to whom he could ſafely communicate his deſigns; but having met with a perſon who aſſured him to keep ſecret the things he had heard, and diſcloſed his mind to him, he began to be more confirmed in his mind, and begged *Chæreas* not to ſpin out the time in uſeleſs delays. In the concluſion both of them went to *Minucianus*, who was animated with the ſame deſire of exerting himſelf, and no way inferior to them in the greatneſs of his mind, but lay under ſuſpicions of *Caius*'s murther of *Lepidus*. *Minucianus* and *Lepidus* were peculiar friends from one common apprehenſion of danger to one another.

All thoſe perſons who were inveſted with any degree of dignity, were terribly afraid of *Caius*, who exerciſed his rage upon them without controul; and they were no leſs apprehenſive of one another, for the ill ſentiments they bore to the preſent management of affairs; during which, they neither durſt openly ſpeak to one another what they thought, nor make any diſcovery of the hatred they bore to *Caius*, for fear of puniſhment, which was a continual curb to them. But aſſoon as they came to know the mutual enmity they had to *Caius*, they made no ſcruple then to combine in one common intereſt.

When they had aſſembled together, and mutually ſaluted one another, (for it was cuſtomary before with them in their meetings to give the chief mark of honour to *Minucianas*, both on account of his great dignity, as being the moſt eminent citizen, and of the abundant praiſe allowed him when he happened to urge any diſcourſe) he began the conference, and asked *Chæreas* what was the watch-word the emperor had given him that day; for it was a common talk in every corner of the city how he jeered and ridiculed *Chæreas* in the watch-words he gave him. *Chæreas* made no manner of ſtop at the rediculouſneſs of the word, but returned *Minucianus* the compliment, that he put ſo much fidelity in him as to condeſcend to confer with him: 'But give me, *ſaid he*, a 'watch-word of liberty, and my thanks ſhall 'never be wanting to tell you, how much above 'my own nature you have rouſed me. There 'is no occaſion for a long detail of words to animate and fortiſy my ſpirits, if you are joined 'to the ſame intereſt with me, and both of us 'were led by the ſame ſentiments before we met 'here together. I am girt but with one ſword, 'but it will ſecure us both: Come then, let us 'betake us to the thing that requires our help: 'Lead the way, if you pleaſe, and I will follow 'your conduct; or let me go before, and I will 'truſt to your aid and aſſiſtance. There is no 'want of iron to thoſe who undertake an enterprize with valour and reſolution; for in ſuch 'a caſe iron itſelf receives an edge. I chearfully throw myſelf upon the execution of this 'buſineſs, and am no way ruffled at, or fearful 'of, the conſequences that may attend me; for 'while I mourn the caſe of my country, plunged 'from the higheſt pitch of liberty to the loweſt 'ſlavery, the efficacy of its laws and authority 'ſubverted, and every one doomed to deſtruction through chains, I have no time left me 'to reflect upon the dangers that may befal my 'perſon. But what I wiſh is, that I may be 'thought worthy of your credit in this affair, 'ſince to think otherwiſe, will not be to your 'advantage and ſafety.'

Minucianus perceiving the drift of his words, embraced him very affectionately, and praiſing and commending his magnanimous reſolution, put a double ardor into his mind, and diſmiſſed him with a great many wiſhes and prayers. Now ſome confidently affirm, that theſe words of *Chæreas* were the main things that confirmed *Minucianus* to enter into the conſpiracy. When *Chœreas* entered the court, it is reported, a voice on a ſudden came out of the croud, bidding him put in execution his deſigns, for God would aſſiſt him; and that at firſt he had ſuſpicions, leſt ſome of the conſpirators had diſcovered him, and he ſhould be taken; but that at laſt he found they were the words of one adviſing him to the action, either from one who ſtood againſt him, and made him the ſignal, (being perſuaded to it from ſome who were conſcious of the matter) or from God, who ſurveys the actions of mankind, from whom he had orders for it. However it was, the conſpirators conſiderably increaſed in their number; every one was armed, both ſenators, knights, and the reſt of the ſoldiers who were made privy to it. There was not a man but thought *Caius*'s death would prove a great happineſs to him. Upon which account, every one endeavoured all they could, not to be behind hand in this laſt action, to give exemplary proofs of their reſolution; and with the greateſt alacrity and vigour, ſo far as either words or deeds would influence, to procure the downfal of the tyrant.

Caliſtus alſo eſpouſed their cauſe: He was *Caius'*, freedman, and one who by a prodigious advancement of power, had almoſt an equal ſhare of authority with the tyrant, through the fear every one had of him, and the vaſt riches he had accumulated. He received gifts from every quarter, and refrained his hands from the commiſſion of no manner of injuries, oppreſſing every one under his juriſdiction with an inſurmountable rigour: Beſide he was ſenſible of *Caius*'s implacable temper, and his great obſtinacy, that whatever he once reſolved upon, there was nothing could divert him from it, and knew he was in danger on ſeveral accounts, and that his great quantity of money was not the leaſt pretence made to cut him off. Theſe conſiderations made him cultivate the acquaintance of *Claudius*, to whom he went over privately, hoping, if he aſſumed the empire, after *Caius* was removed, his extraordinary authority would be a means of continuing him in the ſame honour with him, as one who had given him a fair teſtimony of his kind and loyal behaviour to him; for he had the boldneſs to extol himſelf, how being commanded by *Caius* to take *Claudius* away by poiſon, he had deferred it ſeveral ways; *Caliſtus* ſeems to me induſtriouſly to have forged this, in order to procure the favour of *Claudius*; ſince neither *Caius*, had *Caliſtus* been minded to have ſaved *Claudius*, would have patiently borne with his excuſes; nor would *Caliſtus*, had he been ordered in an affair he wanted to have done, eaſily have turned his back upon it; neither, ſuppoſing he had committed this ill action, or more, that *Caius* had commanded him, would he not have been deſervedly puniſhed for it? Wherefore *Claudius* was by a divine providence ſnatched from the fury of *Caius*, and *Caliſtus* actually forged this pretended kindneſs, to which he had not given any the leaſt indulgence.

But all the endeavours of *Chæreas* were daily hinder'd by the ſlow advances of ſeveral of the conſpirators; for *Chæreas*, ſore againſt his will, was obliged to delay the buſineſs, to the perpetration of which, he was of opinion, every moment was conducive; for he had ſeveral times an opportunity offered him of falling upon him, when he went up to the capitol to perform ſacrifice for the health of his daughter; or of throwing him down headlong, as he ſtood upon the top of his palace, (an high building overlooking the *Forum*) and threw from thence gold and ſilver money among the people; or of putting him to death, as he celebrated the myſteries which he himſelf had inſtituted; for he apprehended no harm from any perſon, ſo long as he was ſollicitous to perform every thing according to decorum; neither had he the leaſt ſuſpicion that any one was forming any thing againſt him. And though it be no diſcovery to have had a power of killing him given him, as from the gods, yet he had force ſufficient to take him off without the aſſiſtance of a ſword. *Chæreas* was ſo offended at the other conſpirators, that he was apprehenſive the critical time was loſt, and they, for their parts, ſuppoſed he had juſt grounds for complaint; and that it was for their advantage to haſten, as much as poſſible, the execution of this deſign. Notwithſtanding, they required ſome further time for the prepetration of the buſineſs, leſt, if ill ſucceſs ſhould happen to attend them, the whole city ſhould be put into an uproar, by ſearch after the conſpirators, and all their courage ſhould not be ſufficient to forward their deſigns upon *Caius*, after every paſſage to him was guarded and ſhut up againſt them with greater care; that it would be much ſafer when the ſhows were exhibited in the palace, to ſet upon the affair, (theſe ſhows being celebrated in honour of *Cæſar*, who was the firſt that transferred the authority of the people to himſelf, and to which aſſemble to ſee them the *Roman Patricians*, with their wives and children, and *Cæſar* himſelf) when it would be an eaſy matter, ſo many thouſands of people being ſhut up in ſo narrow a compaſs, to fall upon him as he enter'd, when even his guards, ſhould they be never ſo deſirous, could give him no aſſiſtance.

Chaereas, upon this, waited from day to day, and when the ſhows came, it was reſolved to put in execution their deſign on the firſt day. But fortune, which hinder'd therein, was ſuperior to the counſel they had taken againſt him; three days of the ſolemnity were paſt without performing any thing, and they found ſome difficulty on the laſt to bring the ſcheme to bear. Upon this *Chæreas*, having aſſembled the conſpirators, ſpoke to them to this effect: ‘That a great deal of time was elapſed, which reproached them with indolence ‘ in putting in execution ſo honeſt and commendable an action. It will be a lamentable thing ‘ if, by any one's diſcovery, the affair we have ‘ undertaken be reduced back to nothing, and ‘ *Caius*, then enraged, turn his fury upon every ‘ one with greater ſpite. Do not we ſee, that ‘ we take from ourſelves, and every body elſe, ‘ that ineſtimable jewel, liberty, and increaſe ‘ *Caius*'s tyranny to a more inſupportable height, ‘ when it ſhould be our duties to procure ſecurity for them and us to come, and to obtain ‘ for others a laſting felicity, which will gain ‘ us admiration and honour?’ They, having nothing to object againſt what he had ſaid, and refraining to approve only his advice, ſeemed aſtoniſhed, and ſaid nothing; upon which, ſaid he, ‘Why, my brave ſouls, do we ſpin out the ‘ time in delays, or turn our backs cowardly ‘ upon our enterprize? Do not you ſee this is ‘ the laſt day of the games, and that *Caius* is ‘ ready to take a voyage after it? For he has ‘ prepared him veſſels to go to *Alexandria*, in ‘ order to viſit *Ægypt*. Will it not be a brave ‘ action in you, to let the ſhameleſs man depart ‘ and eſcape you, and exult over ſea and land ‘ with a magnificent pomp of the *Romans*? We ‘ ſhall juſtly be accuſed, as being aſhamed of ‘ thoſe things that ſhall happen, if any *Ægyptian*, through a ſenſe that his frantick behaviour, is not to be ſuffered among ingenuous ‘ and free men, ſhall put him to death. I will ‘ no longer be any impediment to your ſchemes, ‘ but I am ready this day to expoſe myſelf to ‘ danger, and am willing to ſuffer any thing that ‘ may happen; neither do I think I ought, let ‘ the affair be what it will, to procraſtinate it ‘ any longer, for what can be more tormenting ‘ to a brave and generous heart, than that

‘ another, while I am alive, ſhould put *Caius* ‘ to death, and rob me of that honour.’

Chæreas, having ſpoke thus, was puſhed on by an impulſe of his mind to put the deſign in execution; the reſt were emboldened with what he had ſaid, and all of them ſeemed willing to join with him in it without delay: In fine, *Chæreas* early in the morning, was to preſent himſelf at the palace with his equeſtrian ſword by his ſide; for it was cuſtomary for the tribunes to have their ſwords girded to them, when they demanded from the emperor the watch-word, and it was *Chæreas*'s turn by chance this day to receive one. The crouds of people flocked into the palace with great hurry and confuſion, ſqueezing and preſſing one another, in order that each might firſt obtain a place of ſeeing the games; which great contention *Caius* ſeemed well pleaſed with, as the ſenators and knights were deprived of proper places, and obliged to throng in, and ſit promiſcuouſly together, the men with the women, and the ſlaves with the free born men. But a paſſage being left open and guarded for *Caius*, he ſacrificed to *Auguſtus Cæſar*, in whoſe honour the games were exhibited; and upon killing the victim, ſome of the blood happened to daſh upon the garment of one of the ſenators, named *Aſprenas*, which *Caius* laughed at, but proved ominous to *Aſprenas*, for he was ſlain with *Caius*. It is ſaid *Caius* this day was more affable than he was naturally obſerved to be ever before, and he ſpoke ſo mildly, that every one was ſurprized at it. When he had finiſh'd his ſacrifice, he turned himſelf to the games, and took his place in the theatre, ſurrounded with his chiefeſt friends; at this time there was a theatre erected, as was annually done, after the following manner; there were two doors, one of which opened to thoſe who paſſed out into the open air, and the other to thoſe who either went into or out of the *Portico*, that thoſe who were ſhut up within might not be diſturbed, and that the actors and muſicians, as they went out of the ſame tent, which was encloſed, might have free egreſs and regreſs. As the people were ſitting, and *Chæreas* with the reſt of the tribunes not far from *Cæſar*, who was on the right ſide of the theatre, *Batibius*, a perſon of ſenatorial rank and pretor, asked *Cluvitus*, a conſul, who ſat next him, if he had received any news, but with ſo low a voice, that none could over-hear him. Upon his ſaying, none had been told him; then to day, my *Cluvitus*, is the play of a tyrant's downfal to be acted: To whom replied *Cluvitus*, *Huſh, my brave man, let* (1) *none of the* Grecians *over-hear that word*. After this a great number of apples, and choice birds were thrown among the ſpectators, which *Caius* ſeemed to take vaſt pleaſure in, and rejoice that a kind of contention was begun for them, and that the audience ſtrove one againſt another who could procure the moſt. There were two things now fell out, which were looked upon as *Miracles*. A *Mime* was introduced, in which the captain of a band of robbers was faſtened to a croſs, and a pantomime introduced the play of *Cyneras*, in which *Cyneras* himſelf was ſlain, and his daughter *Myrrha*, and a great deal of blood was artificially ſhed, as well about the perſon crucified, as about *Cyneras*. And it appears to have been the ſame day, on which *Philip*, the ſon of *Amyntas*, as he went into the theatre, was ſlain by his friend *Pauſanias*. *Caius* was in a doubt, whether he ſhould ſtay to the end of the ſhow, as it was the laſt day, or go waſh himſelf, take ſome refreſhment, and return back, as he had already uſed; but *Minucianus*, who ſat above him, fearing leſt the time ſhould ſlip out of his hands without effecting any thing, roſe up when he ſaw *Chæreas* gone out, in order to ſpur him on to the execution of the deſign; upon this *Caius* taking ſoftly hold of the ſkirt of his robe, whither, my good man, are you going. But he, as if he had been afraid of *Cæſar*, ſat down again; but his apprehenſions again prevailing over him, he roſe up the ſecond time; upon which *Caius* gave him no hindrance from going out, as ſuppoſing he went out upon ſome neceſſity of nature. *Aſprenas*, who was alſo one of the conſpirators, adviſed *Caius* to go privately out, as he uſed, to waſh himſelf and dine, and then come back again, being deſirous to put a finiſhing ſtroke to what was decreed againſt him.

Chæreas, and thoſe about him, were reſolv'd to take advantage of the time, and not to forſake the place where they had diſpoſed themſelves in, but puſh on their purpoſe, being nettled to think of making any more delay, ſince it was then the ninth hour of the day. *Chæreas*, upon *Caius*'s delaying to come out, had thoughts of going back into the theatre, and attacking him as he was ſitting; but he conſidered before-hand with himſelf, that this could not be done without great hazard to himſelf, and much bloodſhed amongſt the knights and ſenators who were there. Though this reflection touched him, yet he earneſtly longed for falling upon him, judging it reaſonable not to defer any longer his death, which would be attended with liberty and ſecurity to every one. When they were juſt upon going to enter into the theatre, they were acquainted from a ſudden ſhout that was made, that *Caius* was riſen up: Upon this the conſpirators turned about, and endeavoured to remove the mob of people, under colour of *Caius*'s having been offended at it; but, in effect, to ſecure themſelves, and clear him of his guards, in order to execute their deſign upon him. He was preceeded by *Claudius* his uncle, and *Marcus Vinetius*, his ſiſter's huſband, as alſo *Valerius Aſiaticus* (whoſe great dignity and reverence paid them, made it impoſſible, had they been ever ſo much minded, for them to have thruſt them out of the place,) and *Caius*, in company with *Paulus Arantius*, followed after. When he came into the palace, he turned from the paſſage where his ſervants were ranged to wait upon him, and where *Claudius* and the reſt were marching before, and went into an unfrequented place to find the baths, and ſee certain boys (*a*) who were come out of *Aſia*, to ſing him ſongs in the myſteries he celebrated, and to dance the *Pyrricha* in the theatres. *Chæreas* immediately preſented himſelf before him, and demanded the watch-word. Upon his giving him a reproachful and ridiculous word, *Chæreas*, without ſtaying for any more ſecurity, directed his arm exactly at *Caius*, and with his drawn ſword gave him a wound, but not mortal. There are ſome who ſay that *Chæreas* purpoſely did thus, that he might not kill *Caius* at one ſtroke, but by a repetition of wounds torment him the more. But this aſſertion ſeems to me incredible, ſince fear in the execution of ſuch matters allows not a perſon to have recourſe to his reaſon or reflection. But if *Chæreas* thought ſo within himſelf, I account him the moſt fooliſh man living, in chuſing rather to give an indulgence to his anger, than free himſelf and his fellow conſpirators immediately out of danger, eſpecially ſeeing there wanted not a great many ways of aiding *Caius*, had he not ſhortly loſt his life. Wherefore it ſeems that *Chæreas* had thoughts of doing his party as much prejudice as *Caius* himſelf, if (when he was able, upon the proſperous carriage of his deſign, to ſecure himſelf againſt the anger of thoſe who would have endeavoured to revenge *Caius*, and he was under an incertainty whether the plot would anſwer his expectations in the execution or no) he had fooliſhly and raſhly ſhewn himſelf deſirous to have deſtroyed both himſelf and his time too. But every man, for me, may uſe his judgment in this affair, as he pleaſes. *Caius*, extremely tormented with the wound he had received (for the ſword being forced in between his ſhoulder and neck, ſtuck in his *Thorax*, and could pierce no farther) neither gave any ſigns of ſurprize in crying out, nor called for the aſſiſtance of any one; whether it was he could not confide ſufficiently in any one, or he had no ſuſpicions of what had happen'd to him, only the extremity of his torment forced him to ſigh, and he immediately withdrew farther off. *Cornelius Sabinus*, who was ready in his mind before-hand for him, coming up to him, thruſt him upon his knees, and a great many more of the conſpirators ſtanding round him, they were actuated by one conſent, and ſmote him with their ſwords, and the word given to one another was *Strike Home*. It is confeſſed on all hands, that *Aquilas* gave him the laſt blow, which made him give up the ghoſt. However that be, *Chæreas* undoubtedly is to be ſuppoſed the author of his murther; for though he had joined with him ſeveral others to perform the action, yet he was the firſt who meditated it, and above all the reſt marked out the way how to put it in execution, and was the firſt who communicated his deſign with the others. When they had approved the diſcourſe he made about the murther, and he had aſſembled them (diſperſed up and down) to one place, and put every thing in a prudent and wiſe order, he gave them admirable advice, and accommodated a ſet ſpeech, in order to adviſe them to it; ſo that he both animated them with courage to enter into the conſpiracy, and when the time required force, and ſeveral hands to be uſed, was ſeen the firſt to accede to it, and to be carried along with a deſire of boldly attempting it; and, indeed, *Caius*'s death was an eaſy matter for the others to perform, when *Chæreas* had already given him his death's wound; ſo that whatever the other conſpirators did, ought to be attributed to *Chæreas*'s advice, to his extraordinary courage, and the valiant labour of his hands.

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(1) From HOMER's Iliad X. v. 90.

Caius, expoſed to this death, laid dead upon the ſpot, covered over with wounds. But *Chæreas* and his aſſociates, after they had thus ſlain him, thought it impoſſible to make their eſcape in ſafety back through the way they came; whether the heinouſneſs of their action intimidated them (for it was no ſlight affair to have ſlain an emperor, who was grateful to and well received by a frantic multitude, and an army that would make enquiry after him with great bloodſhed) or whether they were afraid from the narrowneſs of the way where the murther was committed, and the great number of ſervants and ſoldiers who that day guarded the emperor, and were in a readineſs, hindered them, is incertain. In fine, they took another way, and withdrew to the houſe of *Germanicus*, father of *Caius*, whom they had ſlain. The houſe joined to the palace, which nevertheleſs was but one building, though amplified and enlarged by thoſe who ſucceeded in the empire, and was called by ſeveral names; ſome part, from him who had begun to raiſe any new building as an addition to it; and ſome part, from him who had begun to repair any old one.

Hither they withdrew, where they thought themſelves ſecure enough for the preſent, as the murther of the emperor was not yet diſcovered. The *Germans* were the firſt who came to know ſomething about *Caius*'s death. Theſe were a body of guards, called ſo from their nation, out of which were choſen thoſe who conſtituted the *Celtic* legion, men prone to anger, a national infirmity of theirs, which is common with the other *Barbarians*, who ſhew little forecaſt or thought in the management of affairs. However, this miſqualification is counterpoiſed by their exceeding great ſtrength and fierceneſs, which makes them uſually enter upon the firſt onſet in a battle, and on whatever part they direct their arms, they are of no ſmall advantage towards carrying the day. When theſe *Germans* had got ſome intelligence of *Caius*'s murther, they were extremely grieved, not meaſuring the matter by his virtues, but by their own advantages (for *Caius* had procured their favour by the large donations he made them) and with drawn ſwords ſeeking out *Cæſar*'s murtherers, they ran thro' the houſes with *Sabinus* at their head, who was

(*a*) Boys ſent out of *Aſia* to ſing Hymns, and dance the *Pyrricha*. ***Suetonius*** mentions the ſame Thing in his Life of *Caius*, *ch.* lviii. ' Boys, deſcended of Noblemen, were ſent for out of *Aſia*, and inſtructed how to ' act Plays upon the Stage.' *Idem* in the Life of *Julius Cæſar*, *ch.* xxxix. ' Princes Children, out of *Aſia* ' and *Bithynia*, danced the *Pyrricha*.' *Dio. Caſſius*, *lib.* lix. *p.* 663.

a tribune, and their captain, to which poſt he had not been advanced by his own or his anceſtor's valour, (for he was a *Gladiator*) but the mere ſtrength of his body had raiſed him to that dignity. After they had cut to pieces *Aſprenas*, the firſt they met with, whoſe robe, as we have obſerved above, was ſprinkled with the blood of the victim, an accident that portended what was to befal him; the next they met with was *Norbanus*, a principal citizen, and who had amongſt his anceſtors ſeveral perſons who had been generals in ſeveral engagements; but they ſeemed to value little his nobility.

Norbanus finding this, put his reliance upon his ſtrength, and encloſing in with the man who firſt ſet upon him, he wrenched the ſword out of his hand, and ſeemed reſolved not to loſe his life cowardly; but a great number ſeeing this, ſurrounded and ruſh'd upon him; upon which, with the many wounds he received, he was forced to ſubmit to ſuperior force. *Antejus* was the third, a perſon of ſenatorial dignity; he fell upon the *Germans* with a few about him, not caſually or raſhly, as the former two had done, but was led to it by a deſire of ſurveying, and receiving with his own eyes a kind of ſatisfaction the ſight of *Caius* as he lay dead. His hatred to him was the principal cauſe of his miſtake in this matter. The father of *Antejus*, named the ſame with him, had been drove into baniſhment by *Caius*, who not content with puniſhing him ſo, had ſent a band of ſoldiers to put him to death; this was the cauſe that had brought him to pleaſe his eyes with a ſight of *Caius*'s body. When he found the houſe in a ſort of confuſion, he had thoughts of ending himſelf, but he had not the cunning to eſcape the *Germans*, who narrowly ſearched every corner, and with an undiſtinguiſhed fury, put all they met, guilty or not guilty, to death. And thus did theſe perſons loſe their lives.

In the mean while the report that *Caius* was murthered, was carried into the theatre, which made every one gaze with aſtoniſhment at one another, but they ſeemed unwilling to believe thoſe who told it. Some there were who received the news of his death with gladneſs, and though they would have given any thing to have been ſo happy, yet their fears hindered them from believing it as they would; others were plainly diffident, and could not think that any ſuch thing had happened to *Caius*; they could not hearken to the truth of the report, and were perſuaded the act could not be done by any human violence. But this was a number of women and children, and ſlaves, and ſome of the ſoldiers, who had been enriched and puffed up with the gratuities made them, had received *Caius*'s pay, and been inſtruments of his tyranny and fury, and acceſſaries to the deaths of many of the beſt citizens. The women and young men were, as is common with the vulgar, captivated with the ſight of the games, gladiatorial rewards, and gifts of fleſh, which were repreſented in ſhew only to pleaſe and humour the people, but in fact to ſatisfy the raging cruelty of *Caius*; and the ſlaves, for the liberty given them of accuſing and deſpiſing their maſters, to whom leave was granted them to fly to him for protection at ſuch times as their maſters injured them. It was an eaſy matter to obain credit to an accuſation maliciouſly forged againſt their maſters, and to purchaſe their liberty on making a diſcovery of their effects, and alſo to obtain money, as a reward of their proſecuting them, having an eighth part of their perſonal eſtates aſſigned them for it. The *Patricians*, to whom the rumour ſeemed credible, partly becauſe they had been acquainted ſomething before hand with the plot, and partly becauſe they had earneſtly wiſhed and deſired it, not only concealed their gladneſs which they received from what was told, but alſo pretended that they had heard nothing at all. One party was apprehenſive leſt it ſhould be ſeduced into puniſhment, for being too haſty in opening the opinion of their minds, while another, which was privy to the whole proceeding, was by ſo much the more cautious to keep every thing in private, as it was a partizan in the conſpiracy. Others ſeemed ignorant of every tittle, fearing to ſay any thing to any one whoſe intereſt prompted him for a continuance of tyranny, leſt they ſhould be betrayed in *Caius*'s life-time, and condemned to puniſhment; for there was another report ſpread abroad, that *Caius* had received ſome wounds, but was alive, and under the care of his phyſicians. And there was not a man to be truſted, to whom any one durſt, with any ſafety to himſelf, communicate what he thought; for he was either a friend of *Caius*, and therefore ſuſpected as one who favoured the tyrant, or he was an enemy of his, and therefore depreciated the belief of what was told him, through the hatred he had to him. Beſide, another rumour was whiſpered about, which took away all the comfort the *Patricians* had conceived, which was, that in diſregard to the danger *Caius* had been expoſed to, and unmindful of ſeeing his wounds taken care of, he had eſcaped into the *Forum*, bloody as he was, and was there haranguing to the people; this was inconſiderately planted by thoſe, who were reſolved to raiſe a commotion, and drawn to either ſide according as they heard matters divulged: However, they kept cloſe within doors, fearing to be expoſed to ſome miſchief on their going abroad. They imagined things would not go with them ar their own ſentiments ſuggeſted, but according to the notions their judges and accuſers entertained of them.

When the body of *Germans*, with their drawn ſwords in their hands, had inveſted the theatre, the ſpectators began to be apprehenſive of their ſeveral lives; and were terrified at any one's coming in, as if they had been that moment going to be ſacrificed to their rage, they remained in the utmoſt confuſion, becauſe they thought themſelves in great dangers, if they continued any longer in the theatre. Upon this breaking in upon them, the whole theatre was in a terrible uproar with the noiſe of the audience ſupplicating the ſoldiers, and excuſing themſelves to them, for that they knew nothing of what related to the carrying on of a ſedition, if any ſuch had been fomented,

mented, or of any other thing that had been done, that therefore they ought not to meddle with them, nor require puniſhment of them who were entirely innocent, for the audaciouſneſs of other people, and deſired they would let them enquire after the authors of whatever fact had been committed; theſe and a great many more things they urged with tears in their eyes, and invocations upon God to redreſs their preſent danger, as if they had been upon the point of ruin. This procedure entirely diſarmed the ſoldiers of their rage, who now were ſorrowful for what they had reſolved in their minds againſt them. For it was really a cruel thing, and ſeemed ſo to them, though irritated, when they had faſtened the heads of thoſe with *Aſprenas* upon an altar. This ſight put the ſpectators into a greater concern, as they conſidered the extraordinary dignity of the perſons, and could not refrain from commiſerating the ills to which they had been expoſed: So that, in all likelihood the apprehenſions of their preſent danger, had rendered them uncertain and dubious how they ſhould eſcape the like calamity. This then effectually removed the joy and gladneſs thoſe had conceived at *Caius*'s death, who had reaſon to hate him, becauſe they were every moment in fear of loſing their lives, and ſaw no hopes on which they could confide, that gave them any manner of eaſe.

There was one *Euariſtus Arruntius*, a crier of goods to be ſold, and of a ſhrill and loud voice, who equalled the richeſt of the *Romans* in wealth, and who, in any thing he had a mind, had great intereſt in the city to promote, as well for the time preſent as to come. After he had brought himſelf to a ſhew of extreme ſorrow (for tho' he was an utter enemy to *Caius*, yet fear dictating a great many thoughts to him, he put aſide the pleaſure he then conceiv'd, and artfully contrived a method to ſecure himſelf,) he put on a mourning garment, a thing uſual with thoſe who are deſirous to retain their valuable effects, and went into the theatre, and there proclaimed the death of *Caius*, being unwilling the multitude ſhould remain any longer in ignorance of thoſe things which had happened. After this, he went about the pillars of the palace, and called aloud to the ſoldiers, and the tribunes with him, order'd them to ſheath their ſwords, and notified to them, that *Caius* was dead; this immediately ſecured thoſe who had aſſembled in the theatre, and all the others who accidently fell upon the *Germans*, for while there was any hope left them that *Caius* was alive, they refrained from no manner of cruelty: They had ſo great a kindneſs for him, that they would have been contented to have loſt their lives for him, provided they could have been able to deliver him in ſafety from the ſnares laid againſt him, or ſnatch him from his cruel cataſtrophe. When they came to be thoroughly convinced that he was dead, they preſently releaſed their hands from taking any further revenge on two accounts; firſt, as they thought it of no advantage to them to give a teſtimony of their readineſs to ſerve him, now he was dead; and next, becauſe they feared, ſhould they go on to commit their injuries, the ſenate would puniſh them, ſhould the adminiſtration fall into their hands. And thus the *Germans*, though with compulſion, abated the fury, with which they had fallen upon the *Romans*, on account of the death of *Caius*.

In the mean while *Chærcas* was vaſtly ſolicitous about *Minucianus*, for fear he was fallen into the hands of the *Germans*, and ſlain. He went to each of the ſoldiers, and begged and prayed them to ſpare him, and made diligent enquiry himſelf, leſt he was put to death. *Minucianus* accordingly was brought before *Clemens*, who diſmiſſed him, and teſtified the juſtice of the deed, which ſeveral of the ſenators had committed, and commended their courage who had meditated it, and ſhewn themſelves not ſcrupulous or dubious to put it in execution; 'For that, he ſaid, it was a common thing with tyrants, to be puffed up with the thought of having liberty to commit their injuries; but their period was not happy, becauſe every good man hated them, and they plunged themſelves into the ſame misfortune which befel *Caius*, who, before any ſedition or conſpiracy was fomented againſt him, became his own enemy; and the injuries he committed, and the diſdain he ſhewed of the laws, were the reaſons why his beſt friends turned his adverſaries, and had made themſelves the murtherers of *Caius*, who in reality died by his own procurement.'

They now began to riſe up from their ſeats in the theatre, and thoſe who were within fell into great tumults, through the hurry and haſte they made to get out of doors. *Alcyon*, a phyſician, was the cauſe of it, whom ſome people took hold of, as if it had been to cure ſome wounded perſons; upon which he ſent away thoſe who were with him, to go and bring proper implements to apply his plaiſters, but, in effect, that they might get out of the danger that threatened them. In the mean while, the ſenate aſſembled in the *Curia*, and the people convened together in the *Forum*, where the *Comitia* were held, to make enquiry after the murtherers of *Cæſar*, the people ſeemed very hot in the affair, but the ſenate only made a ſhew of it. *Valerius Aſiaticus*, a perſon of conſular dignity, ſtept into the midſt of the rioters, who were in a rage at not knowing who had ſlain the emperor, and ſeveral of them wiſhfully aſking him, who was the perſon who had perpetrated the deed, he anſwered aloud, *I wiſh I had been he.* The conſuls made a decree, very much exaggerating *Caius*'s conduct, and ordering the people then aſſembled, and the ſoldiers to retire to their homes; to the former, promiſing hopes of remitting their taxes; and to the other, giving aſſurance of paying their arrears, provided they kept themſelves within the bounds of their duty, and refrained from committing any hoſtility. The ſenate feared to exaſperate them, apprehending, ſhould they turn themſelves to plunder and rifle the temple, the whole number of the ſenators was now met, and eſpecially thoſe who were privy to the murther of *Caius*, with great joy and elated minds, as having now the authority in their hands.

CHAP. II.

How the Senators *contended for a Popular Government, but the Army for a Monarchy; of the Murther of the Wife and Daughter of* Caius, *and of* Caius's *Morals.*

WHILE affairs remained in this ſituation, *Claudius* was immediately drawn out of his houſe; the ſoldiers having aſſembled about it, and had ſome conferences about the future management of the public, found it impracticable for the people to govern ſo weighty a concern, and that it was not for their intereſt to let the adminiſtration be put in their hands: And if any one of thoſe, to whom reverted the chief authority, ſhould happen to be made emperor, it would be to their conſiderable diſadvantage, as they had had no hand in promoting him. In ſhort, it was agreed and thought expedient, ſince nothing was actually reſolved upon, in relation to what form of government was to ſucceed, to elect *Claudius*, uncle of the deceaſed emperor, and ſuperior in dignity to any of the ſenators who were aſſembled, whither his high birth, or education was conſidered, and who, being made emperor, would honour and gratify them for the ſervice they had done him. Aſſoon as they had thought upon this expedient, they put it in execution; for *Claudius* ſhortly after was taken away by the ſoldiers. *Cneius Sentius Saturninus*, though he was told of this taking away of *Claudius*, and that he aſſumed the empire with reluctance, (though in reality, willingly, and of his own accord,) roſe up from his ſeat in the ſenate-houſe; and, without any manner of fear, made an exhortation to the more generous and valiant members, which was to this effect: '*Romans*, though it may be thought incredible, after ſo long a time, to be offered with liberty, which no man can hope for, yet we enjoy it; but are incertain how long it will remain with us, being placed in the power of the Gods, whoſe gift it is. It has ſufficient in it to make us all rejoice; and though we ſhould fall from it, yet it will then contribute ſomething to our happineſs; for one hour is enough to good and honeſt men, if it be well ſpun out in a free country, and adminiſtered by laws, under which it formerly flouriſhed. I will mention nothing of that liberty which was loſt before I was born, but, burning with an inſatiable deſire of that at preſent, I will eſteem thoſe the happieſt whoſe fortune directed them to be born and educated in it; and think they ought to be honoured next the Gods, who have, though late, and in this our age, made us to taſte of it; and wiſh it may remain ſound and ſafe for ever. This day is enough for all of us young and old; thoſe who are old will account it an age if they can but die partakers of the bleſſings of liberty; and we who are young will reap advantage from the virtue of thoſe from whom we are deſcended, which was of ineſtimable conſequence to them. Wherefore, at preſent, nothing ought to be of greater or more antient conſideration to us, than to direct our lives according to virtue; which is the only thing that can procure liberty for mankind, and preſerve them in it. I have heard of things that have formerly been tranſacted, and I am well verſed in thoſe I myſelf have been preſent at; how great are the evils tyrants bring upon cities, by hindering virtue, and taking away from valiant men their liberty, and by making mankind flatterers, and ſtand in awe of them; while affairs are adminiſtered, not with any cautious regard to the laws, but their own will and pleaſure: This made *Julius Cæſar* entertain thoughts of taking away the authority of the people; and, by a violation and infringement of the obſervation of the laws, he was the man who put the republic into confuſion, having made himſelf ſuperior to them; and as he abandoned himſelf to every thing that gratified his deſires, ſo the city was torn in pieces by all manner of miſchiefs; every one making it his buſineſs as much as he could, who had thoughts of ſucceeding him in the government, to aboliſh the inſtitutions of his country, and drain the city, as much as poſſible, of all its brave and generous inhabitants, becauſe they thought ſuch ſteps as theſe made for their ſecurity, if they could but confer with men of baſe and villainous principles, and not only humble the ſpirits of thoſe who bore the faireſt character in the city, but bring them under ſure deſtruction: Of whom, though there have been great numbers who have diſplayed their tyrannic temper in the adminiſtration of affairs, yet *Caius* is the only one, who has ended his life this day, who hath approved himſelf a more enormous governor than any of the reſt, by the many cruelties he not only hath committed upon his citizens, but upon his relations and friends, by letting looſe upon them his inſupportable anger and fury, inflicting his tyranny and barbarity upon every one without diſtinction, to puniſh unjuſtly thoſe who fell under his clutches; and raging with an equal fierceneſs upon mankind, and the Gods; for tyrants have not the only ſatiſfaction in pleaſing themſelves by injuring ſome particular ſets of men, or to vex the conditions of ſome, and inſult their wives; but they place their greateſt gain in removing out of the number of the living the entire families of their adverſaries. All lovers of liberty are declared enemies to tyrants, whoſe kindneſs they have not power to conciliate, and who patiently ſubmit to the calamities to which they are expoſed. When they find they are conſcious of the innumerable ills they load ſome with, and that they heroically bear up with diſdain againſt their adverſe fortune, they, as they are not able to conceal the malicious deſigns of their minds, have their laſt recourſe in giving them promiſes of ſecurity, not to be diſcredited, provided they can effectuate their purpoſe upon them at laſt.

‘ Wherefore, ſince you are delivered from theſe misfortunes, and obnoxious to no authority, but what yourſelves are inveſted with, which is the beſt in the world to form a republic, to compoſe all preſent differences, to put things in a ſecure ſituation for the future, and to eſtabliſh the antient glory of the city, you ought, each of you, to conſider what is for the common advantage of all; or, on the contrary, if what hath been already provided happens to give offence, to give your opinions, and that without apprehenſion of any danger, ſince you are no longer enſlaved to ſuch kind of maſters, who can with impunity diſturb the peace of the city, and put to death thoſe who happen to ſpeak their minds freely, as they ſhall think fit, and their humours direct them. Nothing gave the late tyrant a greater ſhare of ſtrength and power, than the indolence of thoſe, who had not the courage to ſay the leaſt thing againſt his proceedings. The ſweets of reſt had allured them, and they had accuſtomed themſelves to live after the manner of ſlaves; for as many of us as have heard of the intolerable calamities of thoſe parted at a great diſtance from us, have been eye-witneſſes of the misfortunes of our neighbours, who, fearing to die virtuouſly, have abandoned themſelves to a death joined with the greateſt diſhonour. It is but juſtice, before every other conſideration, that the murtherers of a tyrant ſhould be rewarded with the chiefeſt honours, and eſpecially *Chæreas Caſſius*; for he was the only man, after the Gods, who, by his advice, and the ſtrength of his arm, hath purchaſed our liberty; whom you ought not to put in oblivion, but decree honours for regaining your liberty; as one who was the firſt under the tyrant to conſult means to procure your liberty, and the firſt who expoſed himſelf to danger. You ought to ſhew, that what he has done was tranſacted by your advice, and done by your order. ’Tis a charming buſineſs, and what behoves men, who ſtile themſelves *free*, in the firſt place to make retaliation to their benefactors, eſpecially in ſuch a degree, as he hath demonſtrated himſelf to us in: He is not like *Caſſius* and *Brutus*, who put *Julius Cæſar* to death; for they ſowed the ſeeds of diſcord and civil war in the bowels of the city, and he, on the contrary, hath ſlain a tyrant, and delivered the city from every miſchief he occaſioned.’

Sentius delivered himſelf in this ſpeech, which both the ſenate and as many *Equites* as were preſent received with great gladneſs. After he had made an end of ſpeaking, one *Trebellius Maximius* bounded upon him, and pulled off his finger a ring, in which was a ſtone with the effigies of *Caius* upon it, which, as was thought, through eagerneſs of ſaying and doing as he had reſolved, he had forgot to take away; the engravement was preſently broke to pieces. The debates containing till late at night, *Chæreas* demanded a watch-word from the conſuls who gave him, liberty. Matters going thus, every one preſent was aſtoniſhed, and could hardly believe what paſt; for, a hundred years after the authority had been taken away from them, the power again reverted to the conſuls to give the watch-word; for before the city was put under the authority of an empero the conſuls had an indiſputable authority over the army. When *Chæreas* had received the watch-word, he gave it to the ſoldiers who ſtood for the ſenate; for there were four cohorts who were rather inclined to have no emperor at all than to live under a tyrant. They departed with their tribunes, and ſhortly after the people went their ways, full of hope, and greatly elated that the adminiſtration was fallen upon them, and they were to be no longer ſubject to an emperor. *Chæreas* was in great eſteem with them.

Chæreas, vexed to think that *Caius*'s wife and daughter remained behind, and that not all the family was cut off (becauſe it might happen that whoſoever remained behind, that perſon might remain a plague to the laws and the city) and willing to put the reſolution of his mind in execution as ſoon as might be, and give a finiſhing ſtroke with gladneſs to his hatred againſt *Caius*, he ſent *Julius Lupus*, one of the tribunes, to put *Caius*'s wife and daughter to death. As *Lupus* was a kinſman of *Clemens*, this buſineſs were committed to him in order, as it were, to make him a party concerned in the murther, and gain him ſome kind of honour from the citizens; as if he had been privy all along to the counſel and advice of thoſe who had perpetrated the deed. Some of the conſpirators were of opinion it was inhuman to exerciſe ſo much cruelty upon a woman, ſince *Caius* had done every thing he did from a natural diſpoſition, and not from any impulſe of hers; which were the reaſons the city drooped under the afflictions to which it was expoſed, and ſo many ſtout and valiant men had loſt their lives. Others thought different to this, and laid every thing that had been done to her charge, and made her the cauſe of all the ills *Caius* had been guilty of; and chiefly, that ſhe had given him a philtre to force him to love her, and turn his mind wholly upon her; and that, after ſhe had reduced him to madneſs, ſhe had conſpired every thing that in her lay againſt the welfare of the *Romans*, and the whole world under their obedience. When they had fallen upon this opinion, which was to put her to death (for thoſe who diſſuaded them could avail nothing) *Lupus* was commanded to go; who, without making any manner of delay, ſnatched the firſt opportunity that preſented itſelf to put his commands in execution; for fear his miſtake ſhould loſe any thing, which the common ſafety then required. When he entered the palace, he found *Cæſonia*, *Caius*'s wife, proſtrate upon the ground, near the dead body of her huſband, (which was deſtitute of every thing uſually allowed the dead, all beſmeared with the blood of his wounds) and heavily lamenting for him, with her daughter near her. There could be nothing heard in her mourning and lamentations but accuſations of *Caius*, who had always refuſed to believe her, at ſuch times as ſhe had given him her admonitions. Theſe words were taken in two ſignifications, and thoſe who heard them were dubious what conſtruction to put upon them; becauſe they yielded an handle, to thoſe who had a mind, to turn them two different ways: Some were of opinion they were to be taken as if ſhe had adviſed him to think more ſoberly of his ways, and to leave off puniſhing the citizens ſo cruelly; for fear they ſhould put him to death, after the way he himſelf practiſed. But others were rather inclined to think, that ſhe, as ſoon as the rumour about the conſpirators was handed about, adviſed *Caius* to make no manner of ſtop, but immediately put every one of them to death; and ſo put himſelf out of the fear of any danger: And it was objected, that he had ſhewn himſelf much ſlower for action, after he had been adviſed by her to ſuch a thing: Theſe are what *Cæſonia* ſpake, and what mankind talked about her. When ſhe ſaw *Lupus* come in, ſhe pointed to the dead body, and to him, and with many tears and ſighs bade him draw nearer; but, ſeeing him confounded, and coming to do ſomething which he did not like, and learning the reaſon of his meſſage, ſhe very readily offered her naked throat to him; and imploring heaven and earth, as thoſe who are reduced to ſuch miſerable circumſtances are wont, ſhe commanded him to make no longer work of it, but inſtantly diſpatch her as he was ordered. *Cæſonia* thus, with a valiant and courageous ſpirit, died under the hands of *Lupus*; afterwards he ſlew her daughter, went back to *Chæreas*, and to acquaint him with the news.

Caius having reigned four years, wanting four months, (1) over the *Romans*, thus died; a man, even before he attained the empire, cruel, indolent, extremely wicked, abandoned to his pleaſures, a lover of accuſers, apprehenſive of danger, and violently given to cruelty and bloodſhed. His authority ſeemed to be calculated for no other purpoſe than to be fooliſhly cruel and proud; only to injure thoſe he had the leaſt intereſt to maltreat, and to procure him an exceſſive quantity of riches, by committing innumerable murthers and tranſgreſſions againſt the laws. He was deſirous to have made himſelf above the gods, and ſuperior to the laws; but was ever obnoxious to the cenſures of the people. Whatever the laws condemned as baſe and ignominous, that he commended, and ſet at a higher rate than any act of virtue. He was forgetful of his friends, though they were his beſt, and had been tried in the moſt conſiderable affairs; if he happened to be angry, he would inflict puniſhments for the ſmalleſt faults. Thoſe who were remarkable for any degree of virtue, he held them for his enemies; and on every thing he had a mind to have, he was turned with an unbridled and inſurmountable deſire to obtain it. Hence he was puſhed on to commit inceſt with his (2) ſiſter, which brought a greater hatred of the citizens upon him than before; who having not heard of ſuch a thing for a long time before, could hardly believe it, and were reſolved to ſhew their enmity to the author of the crime. No one can ſay he built any great work, that was in itſelf really grand and worthy of an emperor, or which will be of any ſervice to men of the preſent and the next age; except the receptacles which he made (3) about *Rhegium* and *Sicily* for the corn ſhips that came out of *Ægypt*. Theſe indeed, it muſt be confeſſed, are a work of extraordinary magnificence, and of great uſe to mariners; but they are not finiſhed, but remain imperfect for want of vigorouſly carrying them on: The reaſon was his deſire after things of no advantage, and his conſuming his money upon his pleaſures (which were of no profit to any body elſe but himſelf) while he was wholy forgetful of things that would have been far more to his glory and advantage. He was a very good orator, and was well verſed in both the *Greek* and the *Latin* tongues: He preſently comprehended whatever he heard ſpoken, and could make a ready and quick reply to what others took time to prepare: He was ſo accompliſhed that he ſeemed to have more perſuaſion in his words than any other, on two accounts; the one from his excellent and happy genius; and the other, from the great exerciſe he uſed to encreaſe his native ſkill. Indeed, it was neceſſary he ſhould addict himſelf much to learning, as he was the ſon of the (4) nephew of *Tiberius* by the brother's ſide, and ſo came to the ſucceſſion of the empire: And as his ambition prompted him on to obtain the preference, in this reſpect, he had good reaſon to excel the reſt. Beſide, *Caius* ſtudied eloquence, in order to procure the eſteem of his relation, who was then emperor, and carried the prize from all the *Romans* of his time. However, all the good things he had collected from his learning, were not prevalent enough to conquer the untoward diſpoſition which his licentious behaviour brought upon him; ſo difficult is it for thoſe to govern and rule themſelves who are not interrupted or hindered from doing what they pleaſe. At firſt, becauſe he joined to him ſome friends out of the beſt and moſt honeſt of men, and copied after thoſe who were eminent for their great learning and fame, he was honoured and reſpected by his ſubjects; but in proceſs of time they withdrew their kindneſs from him, becauſe he began to ſhew his inſolent behaviour and furious temper to them; upon which their hatred increaſing with his ways, he was conſpired againſt and ſlain by them.

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(1) *Caius* reigned three Years and eight Months. *Dio*. p. *669*. three Years, nine Months, and twenty-eight Days; and *Suetonius in Caio*, he reigned three Years, ten Months, and eight Days.

(2) *Druſilla*, whom *Suetonius* mentions *in Caio*, c. lxxiv. who ſpeaks of other Siſters of *Caius*, thus: *Cum omnibus ſororibus ſuis ſtupri conſuetudinem fecit*, *He debauched all his Siſters*, *Dio* alſo takes Notice of the Amour between *Caius* and *Druſilla*, and between him and the reſt of his ſiſters, c. lix. p. *648*.

(3) *Suetonius* takes no Notice of this Work among thoſe done or begun by *Caius*.

(4) The ſon of *Tiberius*'s brother's ſon, *viz*. *Germanicus*, the ſon of *Druſus*, Brother of *Tiberius*.

CHAP. III.

The Manner how Claudius *was taken out of his Houſe, and carried into the Camp; and how the Senators ſent Ambaſſadors to him.*

CLAUDIUS, as I have obſerved above, having turned another way, from that which the perſons with *Caius* took, and finding the houſe in a confuſion, which *Caius*'s death had occaſioned, began to be very anxious about himſelf, and accordingly went and hid himſelf in a narrow place. He had no ſuſpicions of any thing that could endanger his life, but his high-birth. He led a private ſort of life, in which he behaved himſelf with modeſty, and was contented with his preſent condition, entirely devoting himſelf to the proſecution of learning, chiefly the *Grecian* authors, and every way avoiding all contention and noiſe. While the common ſort of the people were in confuſion, and all the palace filled with the fury of the ſoldiers, and the guards themſelves ſeeming as if they had partaken of the fears and diſorders the private men were in, thoſe who were called *Pretorians*, the moſt conſiderable part of the whole army, were deliberating what was to be done in the government. As many as were preſent, little minding the puniſhment of *Caius*, which, they believed, had not undeſervedly fallen upon him, endeavoured all they could to conſult upon the beſt meaſures in the preſent circumſtances; eſpecially ſince the *Germans* had exacted puniſhments of the murtherers, more to gratify their own cruelty, than with any regard or view to their common advantage. All theſe reflections increaſed *Claudius*'s concern, who was fearful of himſelf, eſpecially when he ſaw the heads of *Aſprenas*, and the others who had loſt their lives, carried and born about. He ſtood in a certain place, to which was an aſcending by a few ſtairs, in order to keep himſelf in ſecret. Aſſoon as *Gratus*, one of the ſoldiers who guarded the palace, ſaw him, having but a faint knowledge of his face by reaſon of the darkneſs, and ſuppoſing it was ſome man who had ſecretly planted himſelf there, he approached nearer: Upon which *Claudius* deſiring him to retire back, he began to puſh forward, and taking hold of him, knew him, and ſaid to thoſe who followed him, *This is* Germanicus; *Come, let us make him Emperor. Claudius* ſeeing them prepared to take him out of his place, and fearing to be put to death as *Caius* had been, begged them to ſpare him; recalling to their minds that he had led a life inoffenſive to every one, and what had been done he was plainly a ſtranger to. To this *Gratus* with a ſmile, gave him his right hand, and ſpoke to him to this effect: *Ceaſe to ſpeak ſo ſuppliantly, when you ought with courage and an elated mind, to think of an empire, which the gods have taken away from* Caius, *and given as a reward to your virtue, through a ſenſe they have for the advantage of the world. Come then, and vindicate the throne of your anceſtors.* Theſe words ſupported him, who was ready to ſink between the extremes of fear and gladneſs.

By this time a great number of the guards were drawn together to *Gratus*, who ſeeing *Claudius* carrying away, diſcovered in their faces their concern, ſuppoſing he was hurried away to be made a ſacrifice for the late cruelties, who had all his life-time given evident ſigns of his abhorence to the fatigues of buſineſs, and the din of multitudes; and, during *Caius*'s reign, had been expoſed to a great many dangers. Some were of opinion that the conſuls ought to have had intimation of the affairs; a great number of ſoldiers aſſembling about them, the defenceleſs multitude fled, and *Claudius*, by reaſon of the weakneſs of his ſtrength, had much trouble to get forward; for thoſe who ſupported his litter, finding an opportunity to make their eſcape, as he was carrying along amidſt the acclamations of the people, ruſhed haſtily out of the danger, as having loſt all hopes of their maſter's ſafety. Upon coming into the court of the palace (the firſt place in *Rome* that was inhabited, according to the account of thoſe who have wrote of its antiquities) and conferring upon the care of the commonwealth, they were augumented with a far greater concourſe of ſoldiers, who came with a deſire of ſeeing *Claudius*, and were importunate to make him emperor, through the love they had to *Germanicus*: For he was his brother, who had left behind him, to every one he had been acquainted with, the moſt conſummate character, and glorious name: They conſidered the great avarice of thoſe who preſided in the ſenate, while they were inveſted in the adminiſtration of affairs; and the actions they had been guilty of: Beſide, while they were conſulting upon the difficulty of the affair, they reflected with themſelves, ſhould any other perſon but *Claudius* ſucceed to the government, or the empire be veſted in any one man beſides himſelf, it would be of dangerous conſequence to them; for *Claudius*, who would owe the gift of the empire to him, to their grant and kindneſs, would remember the favour, and repay it with an honourable return ſuitable to their deſerts.

Theſe matters were thus managed among them, and to every one they diſcloſed what they had been doing, who hearing the reſolution taken, came readily into it: Upon which, they carried *Claudius* on high, quite ſurrounded with armed men, to the camp; for fear of being interrupted in their march. But, in the mean while, a diſſention happened between the people and ſenate. The latter were deſirous to regain their former dignity, and baniſh, while the time gave them an opportunity, the ſlavery, which the inſolence of tyrants had introduced. The former, on the contrary, envied them this felicity, and underſtanding that an imperial government was a bridle upon their deſires, and a retreat for them againſt the tyranny of men in power, they were glad at the taking away of *Claudius*, as they ſuppoſed, upon his being made emperor, an effectual ſtop would be put to all civil diſcord, which was likely to grow like that which happened under *Pompey*. Beſide, the ſenate coming to underſtand, that the ſoldiers had carried *Claudius* to the camp, ſent ſome of the members that excelled in dignity to admoniſh him, *Not to uſe any violent meaſures in obtaining the empire, but ſubmit to the ſenate; that as he was one of their body, he ſhould ſtill remain ſo, and bade him condeſcend to the laws, and reflect on the things conducing to the advantage of the commonwealth, and recal to his remembrance the calamities to which the city had been expoſed under its former tyrants, and the misfortunes he had himſelf ſuſtained under* Caius; *and not, when he pretended to hate the cruelty of the tyrant, which others ſo inſolently uſed, preſume to level his rage upon his country: Wherefore, if he pays obedience to the ſenate, and copies after the peace and virtue of his former life, he ſhall be loaded with honours by free citizens, and procure the name of being one of the beſt of men, for not diſdaining to ſubmit to the laws. But if he is deſirous to forſake them, and cannot grow wiſer from the unfortunate end of* Caius, *then they will not ſuffer him; for they had no ſmall number of ſoldiers on their ſide; and they had a large quantity of arms remaining, and a multitude of ſlaves who were ready to join them. But that their aſſurance was well grounded, in that both fortune and the Gods would give them their aſſiſtance, who endeavour'd to fight for, and defend that which was honeſt and legal in itſelf; for ſuch were they who fought in defence of the liberty of their country.*

The ambaſſadors *Veranius* and *Brocelius*, tribunes of the people, delivered themſelves in the words above; and falling upon their knees, they earneſtly begged and interceded, that the city might not be expoſed to any war or farther hardſhips. But when they ſaw *Claudius* ſurrounded with a numerous band of ſoldiers, too powerful for the conſuls to cope with, they added, *If he deſired the empire, he ought to receive it from the ſenate; for he would exerciſe it with greater felicity and happineſs who ſhould happen to receive it as a gift of their benevolence.*

CHAP. IV.

Of the Actions performed by Agrippa *in Favour of* Claudius; *and how he, having obtained the Empire, commanded* Caius's *Aſſaſſins to be put to Death.*

CLAUDIUS, who was acquainted with what arrogance the ambaſſadors were ſent him, was ſo prudent, however, to ſhew them ſigns of moderation for the preſent: He had baniſhed from him fear; the ſoldiers, on one ſide, animating him with courage; and king *Agrippa*, on the other, adviſing him not to put out of his hands an empire which was voluntarily given him. *Agrippa* having performed every thing over *Caius*, as became a perſon whom he honoured, (for he took and embraced the dead body of *Caius*, and having placed it upon a bed, covered it as much as he could, and then went to the guards, and acquainted them that *Caius* was alive, and told them, that he had ſent for phyſicians to come and dreſs his wounds) as ſoon as he heard that *Claudius* was taken away by the ſoldiers, he haſtened to him, whom he found in a great confuſion, and ready to comply with the demands of the ſenate: Upon which he endeavoured to confirm him, and adviſed him to take upon him the government of the empire. When he had ſpoke thus to *Claudius*, he returned the ſame way back as he came; and being ſummoned by the ſenate, with perfumed hair, as if after ſome debauch, he went and aſked the ſenators, what had been done about *Claudius*. When they had acquainted him with the real proceedings, they aſked him his opinion about the adminiſtration: Upon which he told them, *He was ready to lay down his life for the dignity of the ſenate*; but adviſed them, by the way, *to have a ſpecial regard to the commonweal*; and that *thoſe who aimed at the empire had need of arms, and ſoldiers to put them on, leſt they ſhould be found unprepared, and expoſed to danger.* To this the ſenate made anſwer, *That they had not only a large quantity of arms, money, and an army ready at hand, but a new band of men, which they could procure by manumitting their ſlaves.* Agrippa, upon this, ſubjoined, *I wiſh, O ſenate, things may ſucceed according to your expectations; but I will not ſcruple to open my mind to you, ſince my words are calculated for your preſervation. Know then, the ſoldiers who ſtand for* Claudius, *are all veterans, and have been a long time trained up in military engagements; but our men, a company of raw and untractable men, and a band of ſlaves, unexpectedly ſet at liberty: They are not only ignorant how to uſe the ſword, but we ſhall lead them out undiſciplined, againſt men ſkilled in the art of war, and who know how to marſhal and range themſelves. It is then my opinion to ſend to* Claudius, *to deſire him to lay aſide the empire, and I myſelf am ready to undertake the embaſſy.*

Agrippa having ſpoke thus, the ſenate conſented, and ſent him, with ſome others, joined with him, on the embaſſy. He took *Claudius* aſide, and acquainted him with the fearful condition of the ſenate, and cauſed him to return an anſwer in the ſtile of an emperor, and anſwerable to the dignity and authority of ſuch a perſon. In ſhort, *Claudius* acquainted them, *That he did not wonder the ſenate were ſo much offended at the government of an emperor, ſince* *their members had been ſo much diminiſhed by the cruelty of thoſe who had already been advanced to the empire: That they were now going to taſte of the mildneſs of better times, now he was advanced to ſit at the helm of the commonweal, when he ſhould enjoy the empire but in name, and every one, in fact, ſhould have an equal ſhare of the government with him: That upon this account, they could have no reaſon to diſtruſt him, who in their preſence had managed ſeveral affairs.* The ambaſſadors having received this anſwer, were diſmiſſed. After this, *Claudius* aſſembled the army, and made a ſpeech to them, and then exacted an oath of obedience to him from them; and (*a*) gave to each of his body-guard five thouſand drachms, and to their officers a donative in proportion, and promiſing the reſt of the army, wherever diſperſed, a preſent in the ſame manner.

The conſuls, late at night, aſſembled the ſenate in the temple of *Jupiter Victor*. Some of them abſconded in the city through fear, when they had heard of *Claudius*'s ſpeech, while others of their body withdrew to their eſtates in the country, waiting what would be the event of affairs. When they had no longer any hopes of their liberty, eſteeming it ſafer and better to live an indolent and inactive life in ſlavery, free from any danger, than be in a continual ſuſpence, and their ſafety ſtill in danger with their dignity about them. However, not above an hundred of the members met together, and when they had deliberated upon the preſent poſture of affairs, there iſſued into the temple a ſudden ſhouting of the ſoldiers who were in their intereſt, demanding the ſenate to chuſe an emperor who was ſkilled in military engagements, and not proceed to ruin the government by the adminiſtration of many perſons at once; for the empire was not to be conferred upon every one, but upon a ſingle perſon; and they permitted them to ſee who was moſt worthy of the honour.

The affairs of the ſenate were now reduced to a worſe ſtate than ever, both as they were fallen from their antient grandeur, and they were apprehenſive of *Claudius*. However, there wanted not ſome to aſſert the government on account of their great merit, and intermarriages. Among theſe competitors was *Marcus Minucianus*; who, relying on his great nobility, and his marriage with *Julia*, the ſiſter of *Caius*, was animated with a deſire of obtaining the empire; but the conſuls reprimanded him for it, and alledged one excuſe or other to diſſuade him from his purpoſe. *Minucianus* alſo put *Valerius Aſiaticus*, one of *Caius*'s murtherers, from entertaining the like ſentiments. And there was much blood ſpilt, as if thoſe who aimed for the empire, had ſtruggled with *Claudius* for it; and upon this occaſion a great number of gladiators, and the ſoldiers who were centinels in the city, and the rowers who had flocked to the camp, all joined, and were ready at hand; ſo that ſome of thoſe who put in their pretenſions to the empire, in order to ſpare the city, and others, through the fear they had of themſelves, dropt their endeavours.

Chæreas and his aſſociates, coming in the morning to the ſenate, began to make an harangue to the ſoldiers, who perceiving them with their hands to order ſilence, and that *Chæreas* was ready to ſpeak to them, they began to make a tumult, and would not ſuffer a word to be ſpoke, becauſe their inclinations were to live under the dominion of one man. They required they might have an emperor, and could not bear any longer delay. The ſenate was in great ſuſpence, both how they ſhould govern and be governed as to an emperor. For the ſoldiers rejected their authority, and *Caius*'s murtherers could not endure that their honourable and auguſt body ſhould ſtoop beneath the inſolence of the ſoldiers. Things being in this ſituation, and *Chæreas* in a paſſion at the ſoldiers for asking for an emperor, promiſed he would give them a general, if any one of them would bring him a watch-word from *Eutychus*. This *Eutychus* was the charioteer of *Praſinas*, a man perfectly devoted to *Caius*, and one who employed the ſoldiers in building houſes for his horſes, and doing other ſervile offices. Theſe and a great many other things did *Chæreas* reproach them with, and threatened he would bring them the head of *Claudius*; for he told them, *It was an unworthy thing, after a madman, for a fool to have the empire.* They, nothing moved with his words, drew their ſwords, and twiſted up their enſigns, and marched directly to *Claudius*, to join thoſe who had already ſworn to him. Thus was the ſenate deſerted by its own men, and the conſuls themſelves reduced almoſt to the condition of private men. Every place was full of nothing but ſorrow and lamentation, no one knowing what would become of himſelf; and *Claudius* being incenſed againſt them, they threw ſcurrilous language at one another, and every one ſeemed to repent himſelf of what had been done. *Sabinus*, upon this, who was one of the conſpirators, ſtept among them, and ſaid, *He would ſooner loſe the laſt drop of his blood, than ſuffer* Claudius *to be made emperor, or ſee the city reduced to ſlavery*; and with that he upbraided *Chæreas* with too mean a deſire of prolonging his life, if he, who had firſt given ſigns of contempt of *Caius*, ſhould think it advantageous to live, when even that way his country had no hopes of regaining its liberty. *Chæreas* told him, ‘It was the leaſt conſideration in his mind, to make any ſcruple of expoſing himſelf to death, yet he was reſolved to try the temper of *Claudius*.

They were in this ſituation: All over the camp nothing was ſeen, but who ſhould ſooneſt perform their duty to *Claudius*. When *Quintus Pomponius*, one of the conſuls, came thither, the ſoldiers charged him with endeavouring to perſuade the ſenate to aſſert their liberty, and

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(*a*) And he gave a Donative of Five Thouſand Drachms to every one of his Body-Guard; and beſtowed upon their Officers a Preſent of Money due to their former Services; but he promiſed the like Favour to the Soldiers who were abſent. *Rufinus*.

ruſhing upon him with their drawn ſwords, they had infallibly laid him dead on the ſpot, had not *Claudius* reſtrained them. He ſnatched the conſul from the danger that threatened him, and bade him ſit cloſe to his ſide; but the ſame regard was not paid to the other ſenators who were with him, for ſome of them were beaten and repulſed back as they went to pay him their compliments; and *Aponius*, after he had been wounded, was forced to withdraw in that condition, and every one of them were expoſed to ſome danger or other.

Agrippa, upon this, ſtept up to the emperor, and begged him to behave milder towards the ſenators; becauſe, if the ſenate was ill-treated by him, he would have no others to exerciſe his authority upon. This remonſtrance won over *Claudius*, who ſtraitway retired to the palace, whither the ſoldiers, to the great mortification of the people, bore him on a litter thro' the middle of the city. *Chæreas* and *Sabinus*, two of *Caius*'s murtherers, appeared publickly, though *Pollio*, whom *Claudius* had conſtituted captain over his body-guard, had warned them by an edict, not to appear openly. When *Claudius* arrived at the palace, he ſummoned his friends, and ſent them to caſt the lots upon *Chæreas:* They thought what he had done was a glorious action, but accuſed him as the author of perfidy, and judged it neceſſary he ſhould be puniſhed, to ſtrike a terror into others for the future. In the concluſion, *Chæreas* was brought out to puniſhment, and together with him *Lupus*, and ſeveral other *Romans*. It is ſaid, that *Chæreas* very valiantly ſubmitted to his misfortunes, not only in that he was not ſeen to change the colour of his face; but, in that too, when he reproached *Lupus* with ſhedding tears ſo effeminately. When *Lupus* pulled off his garment, and complained of the ſharpneſs of the weather, he told him, he acted diſhonourably in a thing, in which *Lupi*, or wolves, were not hurt; and when a great number of perſons followed after to have a ſight of him, and he was come to the place of execution, he aſked the ſoldiers, if he was trained up in murther, or had a new ſword, and bade him ſtrike with that, with which he had ſlain *Caius:* He loſt his head happily at one ſtroke; but *Lupus* through the apprehenſions he had, was not ſo happy as to loſe his life ſo ſoon; for having not the courage to ſtretch out his neck fitly, he was obliged to bear the repetition of ſeveral ſtrokes.

A few days after, when the ſolemn expiations were at hand, and the people of *Rome* carried in their hands their ſeveral libations, they honoured *Chæreas* with part, by caſting them into the fire, and prayed him not to be irritated at them, becauſe they had been ungrateful to him; this was the cataſtrophe which happened to *Chæreas*. *Sabinus* was not only pardoned by *Claudius*, but permitted to hold the ſame government he had enjoyed before; however, he judged it diſhonourable to falſify the faith he had given the conſpirators; and accordingly threw himſelf upon his ſword, and killed himſelf, by thruſting the blade up to the very hilt through his body.

CHAP. V.

How Claudius *reſtores to* Agrippa *his Paternal Kingdom, and amplifies it; and how he made Edicts in Favour of the* Jews.

CLAUDIUS, with great diligence, having diſpatched all thoſe ſoldiers he had any reaſon to ſuſpect, made an edict, in which he confirmed to *Agrippa* the kingdom *Caius* had given him, and conſtituted him king. Beſide, he added to his juriſdiction, all *Judea* and *Samaria*, which formerly were under the dominion of his grandfather *Herod*. He reſtored him theſe, as if they had been due to him by right of conſanguinity. Moreover, he gave him *Abila*, which belonged to *Lyſanias*, and all mount *Libanus*; and he made a covenant with him in the middle of the *Forum* at *Rome*.

After he had taken from *Antiochus* his kingdom, he gave him in lieu thereof part of *Cilicia* and *Comagena*. He alſo ſet at liberty *Alexander Lyſimachus Alabarcha*, with whom he had had a former acquaintance and friendſhip, and who had been his mother *Antonia*'s procurator, and who *Caius*, in a fit of paſſion, had thrown into chains. The ſon of this perſon married *Berenice*, daughter of *Agrippa*, who taking her, as yet a virgin, (for *Marcus*, the ſon of *Alexander*, was dead,) gave her to his brother *Herod*, for whom he begged of *Claudius* the kingdom of *Chalas*.

Much about this time a ſedition was blown up between the *Jews* and *Greeks* at *Alexandria*. As ſoon as *Caius* was dead, the nation of the *Jews*, who had been expoſed to ſeveral oppreſſions under his government, and cruelly harraſſed by the *Alexandrians*, began to reſume courage, and at length they had recourſe to arms. *Claudius*, hearing of this procedure, by his letter to the governor of *Ægypt*, commanded to put a ſtop to the ſedition. Moreover, on the interceſſion of the kings *Agrippa* and *Herod*, he ſent an edict to *Alexandria*, wrote to the following effect:

Tiberius Claudius Cæſar, Auguſtus Germanicus, Pontifex Maximus Trib. Pot. *Greeting:*

SINCE we know the Jews *formerly, who are in* Alexandria, *and are called* Alexandrians, *were ever ſince the building of the city ſent to live with the* Alexandrians, *and have an equal right to the city from the grant of kings, as appears from reſcripts and edicts; and that after* Alexandria *was ſubdued to our empire by* Auguſtus, *they have preſerved their laws and inſtitutions entire and ſound, by the aſſiſtance of* *the governors ſent thither at different times; and that no diſputes have been made on their account, even when* Aquila *preſided over* Alexandria, *and the ethnarch of the* Jews *died; but that* Auguſtus *prohibited any more ethnarchs to be made, and was deſirous that they ſhould be each ſubject to him, with a reſtriction, however, to have the free exerciſe of their laws, and not be compelled to violate the religion of their country: It hath nevertheleſs happen'd that the* Alexandrians *have raiſed themſelves up againſt the* Jews, *who inhabit with them, at the time* Caius Cæſar *was emperor who, through a furious and raging diſpoſition, becauſe the nation of the* Jews *would not do any thing againſt the religion of their country, and call him God, hath in a ſtrange and ſurprizing manner depreſſed them. I will therefore that nothing, becauſe of* Caius's *madneſs, be taken away from the* Jews, *which hath been granted them, but that the inſtitutions under which they have lived be confirmed to them, and that they have liberty to remain and continue in the obſervation of the laws of their country; and I command both parties to avoid by all manner of means the fomenting or ſtirring up of any ſedition, after the publication of this my edict.*

This was the edict which was made in favour of the *Jews*, and ſent to the citizens of *Alexandria*; but the other diſperſed over the reſt of the world, was to this effect:

Tiberius Claudius Cæſar, Auguſtus Germanicus, Pontifex Maximus, Trib. Pot. Coſ. *again created, ſends greeting:*

WHEREAS the kings Agrippa *and* Herod, *my loving friends, have humbly beſought me to give leave to all* Jews, *living in every part of the* Roman *empire, to preſerve and have the ſame laws as thoſe formerly granted to the* Alexandrians; *to whoſe petition I have condeſcended: Neither have I only granted them this petition, but I have deemed them worthy of the things they have asked me, for the fidelity and friendſhip they have teſtified to the* Romans; *eſteeming it a very juſt thing, that no city, nay, not of the* Greeks, *ſhould be deprived of its privileges, becauſe under* Divus Auguſtus *they were preſerv'd to them: Wherefore I judge it expedient that the* Jews, *inhabiting any part of my empire, have liberty to obſerve the cuſtoms of their country, without any impediment; whom I now admoniſh to content themſelves with this favour of mine, and behave for the future with greater modeſty, nor condemn the religions of other nations, but watch their own laws. Wherefore I will, that my ſeveral governors of cities and colonies, as well within as without* Italy, *as alſo kings and princes, make a tranſcript of this my edict, and poſt it up within thirty days in ſome place whence it may conveniently be read.*

CHAP. VI.

Of the Things acted at Hieroſolyma *by* Agrippa, *after his Return into* Judæa, *and the Letter* Petronius *ſent the* Doritæ, *in favour of the* Jews.

THESE edicts being ſent to *Alexandria*, and through the whole world, *Claudius Cæſar* amply teſtified of himſelf how he ſtood affected towards the *Jews*. And not long afterwards he diſmiſſed *Agrippa* to go and take care of his kingdom, at his departure giving him a more ſignal ſhew of honour, by writing to the governors of the provinces, and the ſeveral procurators, and charging them to entertain him friendly and handſomely. *Agrippa*, as was reaſonable to ſuppoſe a man would do, whoſe affairs in every article had been attended with ſucceſs, made all poſſible haſte in his return. When he arrived at *Hieroſolyma*, he offered ſacrifices of thankſgiving, that he might omit nothing which the law preſcribed. He ordered ſeveral *Nazareans* to be ſhaved; and hung up within the incloſure of the temple, above the treaſury, a chain of gold, of equal weight with the iron one, which had bound his royal hands, as a melancholy gift of fortune, and a teſtimony of the change of his condition for the better; to be alſo a leſſon, that the greateſt things may tumble down, and it was God who uſually lifted up thoſe things which fell down; the dedication of the chain was a plain demonſtration to every one, that king *Agrippa* for a trifling reaſon had been thrown from his proſperous ſtate to the condition of a ſlave, and that from a priſoner he had raiſed himſelf to be a king, and made himſelf more ſplendid than before: From which this leſſon may be gathered, that it is often found in mankind, the higheſt are eaſily tumbled down, and thoſe who ſtoop under afflictions are again mounted to a greater degree of honour and dignity.

Having performed all due rights which the worſhip of God required, he removed from the high-prieſthood *Theophilus*, the ſon of *Ananus*, and ſubſtituted in his room *Simon*, the ſon of *Boethus*, ſirnamed *Cantheras*. *Simon* had two brothers, and his father *Boethus* had married king *Herod*'s daughter, as we have obſerved above: He, his father, and brothers, had all enjoyed the prieſthood, as the three ſons of *Simon Onias* had done, under the empire of the *Macedonians*, as we have ſpecified in the foregoing.

The king having thus rectified the prieſthood, the *Hieroſolymites* were filled with extraordinary love and kindneſs for him. He remitted to them a tax which every houſe paid, and thought it diſhonourable to be outdone by them in any act of kindneſs. He conſtituted *Silas* general over his forces, who had been tried with him in ſeveral dangers. Some time after this the *Doritæ*, a company of young men, and who preferr'd their inſolence to any ſenſe of religion, being naturally of a bold and puſhing behaviour, ſet up the ſtatue of *Cæſar* in the ſynagogue of the *Jews*. This extremely irritated *Agrippa*, for they had committed the ſame thing as if they had gone about to ſubvert the laws of the country. Wherefore he immediately went to *Publius Petronius*, who was then governor of *Syria*, and made an accuſation againſt ſeveral of the *Dorians*. *Petronius* being equally enraged at the action, which he looked upon as an heinous crime, in that it was done in oppoſition to the laws, wrote a very ſharp letter to the *Dorians*, who had revolted, to this effect :

Publius Petronius, *ambaſſador of* Tiberius Claudius Cæſar Auguſtus Germanicus, *to the magiſtrates of the* Dorians, *greeting :*

‘SINCE ſome of you have proceeded to ſo great an height of inſolence, that, when *Claudius Cæſar Auguſtus Germanicus*, had made his edict, permitting the *Jews* to live conformably to their own laws, you did not pay obedience to his command, but have acted in every thing contrary thereto, prohibiting the *Jews* from making their aſſemblies, by placing *Cæſar*'s ſtatue in their ſacred place, in which you have committed an injuſtice both againſt the *Jews* and the emperor himſelf, whoſe ſtatue would have better ſtood in his own than in another's temple; and that in a place where their aſſemblies are celebrated, when it is a juſtice by nature for every one to be maſter of his own place, (for it would be ridiculous to mention my decree after the emperor's edict, in which he hath given liberty to the *Jews*, to uſe their own laws and inſtitutions, and further confirmed to them to have an equal right of the city with the *Greeks*.) Thoſe who had the preſumption to act thus againſt the command of *Auguſtus*, which hath given great offence to thoſe who ſeem their principal men, and who declare the whole tranſaction hath been owing to the furious temper of the people, and not to any advice or counſel of theirs, I give orders, by the centurion *Vitellius Proculus*, to be brought before me, in order to render an account of their behaviour; but I charge the chief magiſtrates, that the guilty (unleſs they have a mind to be thought acceſſary to the inſult that has been committed) be diſcovered to the centurion, and that they uſe their endeavours to avoid giving any occaſion of contention or diſpute (which the late procedure ſeems to me to threaten) becauſe nothing is more a my and my dear friend *Agrippa*'s heart, than that the nation of the *Jews* may not be expoſed to ſeek an opportunity of aſſembling together, under colour of ſtanding upon their defence, and raiſe a ſedition which may reduce them to madneſs. And that you may better be acquainted with the mind and opinion of *Auguſtus* concerning this buſineſs, I have added to theſe preſents what he decreed about *Alexandria*, which, though every one may be acquainted with, yet my honourable friend king *Agrippa* read them over to me before my tribunal, at the ſame time inſiſting that the *Jews* were not to be deprived of the favour of *Auguſtus*. Wherefore I decree, that you ſeek no occaſion for the future of raiſing any ſeditions, or fomenting any diſturbances, but that every one be at perfect liberty to worſhip God after his cuſtom and practice.’

This was the proviſion *Petronius* made, and the care he took that every enormity which had been committed might be rectified and puniſhed, and that the *Jews* for the time to come might not be expoſed to the like calamities. *Agrippa* alſo took the prieſthood from *Simon Cantharas*, and reſtored it to *Jonathan*, the ſon of *Ananus*, whom he eſteemed the worthier perſon. But *Jonathan* had no good ſentiments of ſo great a dignity, and rejected it with this apology : ‘I am glad, O king, you are pleaſed to confer this honour upon me, and am well ſatisfied to think you have voluntarily and ſpontaneouſly heaped this dignity upon me, though God deems me unworthy of the prieſthood. I am content to have once put on the holy veſtments, for then I received them with a more fervent zeal of devotion than I ſhould now. If you are pleaſed that another more worthy than me ſhall be honoured with the prieſthood, think not much to be taught by me : I have a brother, O king, void of all offence both towards God and you; I recommend him to you, as one who is deſerving of the prieſthood.’ Theſe words pleaſed the king, who put *Jonathan* aſide, and gave the prieſthood to *Mathias*, as his brother had adviſed him Not long after this, *Marſus* ſucceeded *Petronius* in the government of *Syria*.

CHAP. VII.

Of Silas, *and why King* Agrippa *became angry with him. How* Agrippa *began to carry a Wall about* Hieroſolyma, *and the Favours he conferr'd upon the* Berytians.

SILAS, who was general over the king's army, becauſe of the fidelity he had ſhewn *Agrippa* in every turn of his fortune, and the boldneſs he had expreſſed to ſhew himſelf a companion in all his dangers, and who had expoſed himſelf to the worſt of hardſhips, was in very great favour with the king, who thought he was under an indiſpenſible obligation to confer upon him an honour equal to the conſtant friendſhip he had ſhewn him : This made *Silas* deſirous of equalling the king in every thing, and whenever he was with him, he always delivered his words with the greateſt liberty, 'till at length his converſation and diſcourſe began to be troubleſome to *Agrippa*, for he was ever extolling himſelf, and bringing to remembrance *Agrippa*'s mournful fortune, which gave plain proofs in what temper at that time he ſtood affected to him. Beſides, he was frequently telling him of the ſeveral labours and difficulties he had undergone for him. This behaviour of *Silas*, which was carried to too great a length, ſeemed to throw a ſtain upon the reputation of *Agrippa*, who begun to be nettled with, and hate the ſumptuous treatment given him. The calling to mind time which has been acted without any famous atchievements, is an unpleaſant buſineſs, and 'tis a fooliſh man's part to be always telling what and how many the favours are, which he has done to any one. *Agrippa*, at length, was ſo violently moved with anger againſt *Silas*, that giving way more to his indignation than the dictates of his reaſon, he not only took from him his poſt of general of his army, but alſo threw him into priſon, and confined him in his own country. But in proceſs of time this diſpleaſure vaniſhed, and he called his reaſon to his aſſiſtance, which made him think well of the man, and run over in his mind the many labours he had undergone for him. With theſe ſentiments, when he celebrated his birth-day, on which all the perſons under his juriſdiction kept feſtival, he ordered *Silas* to be preſently releaſed from his confinement, and brought to ſit down at the table with him. *Silàs* happening to be pretty free, thought he had juſt reaſon to be offended, which he made no endeavour to hide from thoſe who brought him; and ſaid, ‘To what honour does the king call me, who am about to periſh immediately? He will not ſuffer me to enjoy the rewards of my kindneſs to him, but hath robbed me of it with diſhonour. Doth he ſuppoſe to deprive me of the liberty of ſpeaking? But on this will I lie, and pour out my words with greater force, and tell out of what dangers I have ſnatched him, and the labours I have ſuſtained for his ſafety and dignity; for all which ſervices, he has rewarded me with chains, and an obſcure priſon. Theſe are circumſtances I ſhall certainly never forget. Perhaps when I am dead, the memory of the glorious actions I have atchieved, will remain with me.’ He ſpoke theſe words with ſome vehemence, and ordered them to go and acquaint the king with them; who, finding the incurable temper he was in, left him in priſon.

At this time *Agrippa* alſo fortified the walls of *Hieroſolyma*, which faced the new city at the publick expence, partly by encreaſing their breadth, and partly by raiſing their height; and he had certainly made them impregnable againſt all human force, had not *Marſus*, the governor of *Syria*, ſignified by a letter to *Claudius Cæſar*, the attempt of the king; this made *Claudius*, who ſuppoſed ſome innovation was carrying on in the affair, ſent immediate orders to *Agrippa*, to refrain from building the walls; which command *Agrippa* thought prudent to obey.

Agrippa was of that diſpoſition by nature, that he endeavoured, by the preſents he made, to appear beneficent, and was extremely fond, by his liberality, to ingratiate himſelf into the affections of the people, and to obtain a famous character by his extreme and prodigious expences; taking pleaſure in making gifts, and rejoicing to live ſo, as to gain every one's good word, being vaſtly unlike *Herod*, who had the kingdom before him; for *Herod* was naturally prone to revenge, in which he was inexorable, barbarouſly puniſhing, and keeping no meaſures with thoſe he hated, and declaring himſelf a better friend to the *Greeks* than the *Jews*, in the preſents of money he made the cities of foreigners, in order to beautify them: For in ſome he erected baths and theatres; and in others, temples and porticoes; but never vouchſafed to embelliſh even one city of the *Jews* with the leaſt ornament, or any preſent that was worthy to be mention'd. But *Agrippa*, on the contrary, was of a ſweet and mild temper, and juſtly beneficent to every one. He was humane to all foreigners, but bountiful to his countrymen; and more ſo, which was mixed with pity to the condition of thoſe in adverſity. This made him conſtantly reſide at *Hieroſolyma*; and he was a religious guardian of the inſtitutions of his country. Add to theſe conſiderations, he preſerved himſelf in every thing ſo pure and unſpotted, that not a day paſſed, in which he did not ſacrifice according to the preſcription of the law.

There happened in this conjuncture, to fall out the following remarkable accident: One *Simon*, a native of *Hieroſolyma*, who was accounted very ſkilful in the laws, aſſembled the people, when the king was gone to *Cæſarea*, and had the boldneſs to accuſe him, as if he had not been religious, and deſerved to be deprived of any paſſage into the temple, which was only to be opened to natives. The governor of the city immediately wrote a letter to *Agrippa*, in which he informed him of the words *Simon* had ſaid. The king, upon this intelligence, ſent for *Simon*, and ordered him to be placed next him, (for at that time he was ſitting in the theatre) and then with a ſedate and meek voice, he asked him to tell him, *If any thing was done there contrary to the laws?* *Simon*, who had nothing to ſay for himſelf, begged his pardon for what was paſt. The king, upon this, became reconciled to him, which was more than any one expected, as thinking clemency a more excellent qualification in kings, than anger; and knowing that men in an high ſphere were more recommended for acts of lenity, than of indignation. In ſhort, he diſmiſſed *Simon* with a conſiderable preſent beſtowed upon him.

Having erected ſeveral things, one upon another, he honoured the *Babylonians* in a very particular manner. He built them a theatre, which for elegance and beauty excelled ſeveral others, beſides a ſpacious and magnificent amphitheatre, baths, and porticoes; in the compleating of which, he ſpared no manner of coſt, either towards the beauty or the magnitude of them, exhibiting ſhows in the theatre, and bringing thither all kinds of muſicians, and other things that could contribute to form pleaſure and delight. But in the amphitheatre he gave ſigns of his ſurprizing and great ſoul, by the number of gladiators he introduced; where, willing to afford the ſpectators a ſcene of delight by the repreſentation of a battle, he ordered two companies, each containing ſeven hundred men, to come forth and engage. The body of men was compoſed of the criminals he had, in order to puniſh themſelves, and what was acted by way of war, was turned into the ſatisfaction of a peace. And this was the method he took to put a period to the lives of all theſe men.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Actions Agrippa *afterwards performed to his Death; and the Manner in which he ended his Life.*

AFTER *Agrippa* had made an end of celebrating at *Berytus*, the ſolemnities of which we have took notice above, he removed to *Tiberias*, a city of *Galilee*. And, indeed, theſe actions procured him great admiration from other kings; for *Antiochus*, king of *Commagena* and *Samſigeramus*, king of the *Emeſi* and *Cotys*, who reigned in *Armenia the Leſs*, and *Polæmon*, who ſwayed the kingdom of *Pontus*, and *Herod* his brother, who was alſo king of *Chalcis*, came to pay him a viſit. All theſe great perſonages he entertained with great hoſpitality and chearfulneſs, and in his management gave full demonſtration of the moſt prudent behaviour; and made himſelf not ſeem unworthy of the illuſtrious preſence of ſo many kings. But while they abode with *Agrippa*, *Marſus*, governor of *Syria*, came upon them. The king, willing to preſerve his uſual reſpect for the *Romans*, went out to meet him full ſeven furlongs. *Marſus* ſeeing him bring the other kings along with him in the ſame chariot, gave birth to ſudden jealouſy in his breaſt; for ſuſpecting their agreement together, and the great friendſhip between one another, he judged the union of ſo many powerful men would prove dangerous to the intereſts of the *Romans*. Immediately upon this, he ſent a friend of his to each of them, with orders to bid them, without delay, to return to their ſeveral dominions. This gave *Agrippa* a very ſenſible diſtaſte, and from that moment a rupture broke out between them. *Mathias* was put out of the prieſthood, and *Eliomeus*, the ſon of *Cinthøras*, placed in his room.

Three years were now elapſed, ſince his firſt taking poſſeſſion of the whole kingdom of *Judea*, when he entered the city of *Cæſarea*, which before was called the tower of *Straton*. Here he celebrated ſhows in honour of *Cæſar*, when he underſtood that the days were ſolemn and inſtituted to him. A great concourſe of thoſe who were any ways dignified, or held poſts of honour in the government, came from all parts of the province to be ſpectators at them. On the ſecond day of the ſolemnity, *Agrippa* dreſſed in a garment of admirable workmanſhip in ſilver, came into the theatre, early in the morning; where the ſilver being illuſtrated with the beams of the ſun that darted upon it, caſt a ſurprizing luſtre, and ſtruck thoſe who caſt their eyes upon it with ſomething awful and aſtoniſhing. Upon this ſome flatterers, whoſe words carry no good in them, ſhouted aloud with acclamations of God, and told him: 'Be propitious to us; and though 'we have hitherto honour'd you as a man, yet 'we for the future will account you above a 'mortal condition.' However, the king neither reproved them, nor rejected their groſs and impious flattery. He happened, ſome ſhort time after this, to caſt his eyes upwards, and eſpy an owl to perch over his head upon a rope; he immediately underſtood this for an omen of his misfortunes, as it had formerly been a meſſenger of his proſperity. The reflection went to his heart, and made him deeply lament within himſelf. Add to this, he was ſeized with a pain in his bowels, which from the beginning gave him vaſt torture. Upon turning himſelf about, and looking earneſtly upon his friends, he ſaid, 'Behold, I who am your God, am obliged now 'to depart out of this life. Fate now acquaints 'me, that all your words are groſs flatteries; 'for I, whom you ſtile immortal, am going to 'be ſnatch'd away by death. But we muſt ſubmit 'to the lot of fate, ſince God is pleaſed to order it ſo; neither have we lived ignominiouſly 'or wickedly, but in a ſtate which mankind 'account the moſt happy.' While he ſpoke theſe words, his torments grew more and more upon him; upon which he was preſently carried to his palace, and a report immediately ſpread throughout the city, that the king was at the point of death. All the people preſently, with their wives and children, ſat down with ſackcloth thrown over them, after the cuſtom of their country, and beſeeched God by prayer, to prolong the king's life; and every place was full of nothing but lamentation and bewailing. The king lying in an upper chamber, and having a full view of the people proſtrating themſelves on the ground below, could not refrain from tears; but, the pains in his belly increaſing, five days longer, he gave up the ghoſt, in the fifty fourth year of his age, and the ſeventh of his reign; four of which he reigned under *Caius Cæſar*. He enjoyed the tetrarchate of *Philip* three years, and in his fourth year had *Herod*'s tetrarchate annexed to his government; the three laſt years he reigned, were finiſhed under *Claudius Cæſar*, in which he governed over the aforeſaid countries, beſides *Judæa*, *Samaria*, and *Cæſarea*, which were added to his dominions. His revenues ariſing therefrom were vaſt, amounting to twelve hundred millions of drachms, yet he was obliged to borrow more of other people; for he was exceeding liberal in the preſents he made; his expences were above his incomes, and his munificence was wanting of any nigardneſs.

But in the mean while, before the report that the king was dead had reached the ears of the people, *Herod*, the dynaſt of *Chalcis*, and *Helcias*, maſter of the horſe, and a friend of the king's, with one conſent, ſent *Ariſto*, a perſon in whom they could confide, to put *Silas* to death, who was their enemy, as if the king had given orders for it.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Things tranſacted after the Death of Agrippa*; and how* Claudius, *becauſe of the Ignorance of* Claudius Junior *in managing Affairs, ſent* Cuſpius Fadus *to govern* Judea, *and the whole Kingdom.*

THIS was the laſt end of *Agrippa*'s life, who left behind him a ſon of his name, called *Agrippa*, about ſeventeen years of age; and three daughters, one of whom, named *Berenice*, about ſixteen, was married to *Herod*, her uncle. The two others were virgins, *viz. Mariamne* and *Druſilla*; *Mariamne* was about ten, and *Druſilla* about ſix years of age, and both were affianced by their father; *Mariamne* to *Julias Archelaus*, ſon of *Chelcias*; and *Druſilla* to *Epiphanius*, the ſon of *Antiochus*, king of *Commagena*. As ſoon as the news of *Agrippa*'s death was publiſhed, the people of *Cæſarea* and *Sebaſte*, forgetting all former favours, declared themſelves enemies, by throwing abuſive ſpeeches at the king, which are diſhonourable to mention; and the ſoldiers, moreover, who were pretty numerous, went to his palace, from whence they took away the ſtatues of the king's daughters, and carried them to the ſtews, where they placed them upon the roofs of the houſes, and committed every unbecoming and ungenerous action upon them, more than what any tongue can expreſs. Add to this procedure of theirs, their making, in large bodies, entertainments in the publick places, crowned with garlands, and perfumed with ointments, drinking healths to *Charon*, and carouſing among one another, through gladneſs the king was dead. Thus they ſhewed themſelves forgetful not only of *Agrippa*, to whoſe extreme liberality they were ſo much indebted, but alſo of his grandfather *Herod*, who had built them ſeveral of their cities, and made them harbours, and erected them temples of great magnificence and beauty, and at a vaſt expence.

Agrippa, the ſon of the deceaſed king, was now at *Rome*, under the tuition of *Claudius Cæſar*. When *Cæſar* received intelligence of *Agrippa*'s death, and of the contumelious and diſhonourable proceedings of the people of *Cæſarea* and *Sebaſte* againſt him, he was ſenſibly touched at his lot, and extremely enraged at the ingratitude of the citizens. This made him reſolve to ſend immediately his ſon *Agrippa* to take upon him the ſucceſſion of the kingdom; and to that end, was deſirous to exact an oath of obedience from him. But his freedmen and others of his friends, who had an influence over him, diſſuaded him from it, by remonſtrating the danger to which he would expoſe himſelf in committing a kingdom of ſuch greatneſs to a meer youth, and one who was not out of his infantile ſtate, who was far from being able to ſupport the weight of ſuch large dominions, when a kingdom commonly proved of great difficulty for a man in years to govern. This advice *Cæſar* judged had ſome weight in it; who, in conſequence thereof, ſent *Cuſpius Fadus* to be governor of *Judea*, and the whole kingdom, heaping this honour upon him for the ſake of the deceaſed king, to hinder *Marſus*, with whom *Agrippa* had been at variance, from having any thoughts of the kingdom. *Fadus* was principally commanded to chaſtize the citizens of *Cæſarea* and *Sebaſte* for the diſhonour they had done the deceaſed king, and the contumely put upon his daughters, who were yet alive. Moreover, he ordered the companies of *Cæſareans* and *Sebaſtens*, and five cohorts, to paſs over into *Pontus*, and there reſide; and to put into their places a like number of ſoldiers out of the *Roman* legions, which were in *Syria*. Notwithſtanding theſe orders, they did not put them in execution; but ſent an embaſſy to *Claudius*, which won him over to their intereſt, and obtained in the end liberty to remain in *Judea*. Theſe very forces became afterwards the ſource of the greateſt calamities the *Jews* ever felt, the ſeeds of a cruel war being ſown under *Florus*; and when *Veſpaſian* ſubdued *Judea* to his obedience, as we ſhall obſerve immediately in the ſequel, he drew them out of the province.

The END *of the Nineteenth* BOOK *of the Antiquities.*

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

ANTIQUITIES of the *JEWS.*

BOOK THE TWENTIETH.

Containing the Space of Two and Twenty Years.

CHAP. I.

The Rupture between the Philadelphians *and the* Jews. *Of the Sacerdotal Stole.*

AGRIPPA being dead, as we have obſerved in the foregoing, *Claudius Cæſar* ſent *Caſſius Longinus* to ſucceed *Marſus*. The emperor did this to honour the memory of the king, who had ſeveral times wrote to him in his life-time, requeſting him to let *Marſus* continue no longer in the government of *Syria*. When *Fadus* came procurator into *Judea*, he found the *Jews* who dwelt in *Peræa* in a ſedition againſt the *Philadelphians*, about the frontiers of a village, named *Nias*, well ſtocked with men of great courage. The citizens of *Peræa*, alſo, when their principal men knew nothing of the matter, took up arms, and ſlew ſeveral of the *Philadelphians*. When *Fadus* came to hear theſe things, he was extremely nettled, that they had not reſerved the whole diſpute to be chaſtiſed by him, if they thought the *Philadelphians* had injured them, but had unadviſedly run to take up arms; in conſequence of this, he apprehended three of the principal ringleaders of the ſedition, and commanded them to be put in chains; one of whom, named *Annibas*, he ſhortly afterwards ordered to be put to death; but *Amarus* and *Eleazar*, the other two, were condemned to baniſhment. *Tholomeus*, alſo, the chieftain of the gang, who had done ſeveral outrages upon the *Idumeans* and *Arabians*, was not long after brought bound to him and puniſhed. Thus by the care and vigilance of *Fadus*, *Judea* was cleanſed of robbers. After this he ſummoned the prieſts and elders of the city of *Hieroſolyma*, as the emperor had given him orders, and admoniſhed them to repoſite in the caſtle of *Antonia*, the ſacerdotal veſtment and ſtole, which the high-prieſt was only uſed to wear, that the *Romans* might have poſſeſſion of it, as formerly. They had not the courage to contradict him; but aſked *Fadus* and *Longinus* (who was alſo come to *Hieroſolyma*, with a numerous body of forces, and feared that the things *Fadus* demanded them to perform, would drive the *Jews* to attempt ſome reſolution,) to give them liberty firſt to ſend ambaſſadors to *Rome* to *Cæſar*, to obtain leave of keeping the ſacred ſtole in their cuſtody, and then to abide till they were certified of the anſwer *Cæſar* returned them. They told them, they might ſend ambaſſadors, provided they would leave in their hands their ſons for hoſtages. The *Jews* chearfully liſtening to this propoſal, gave them their ſons, and the ambaſſadors were immediately diſpatched upon their errand. Upon their arrival at *Rome*, *Agrippa junior*, the ſon of the deceaſed king, who then, as we have obſerved above, lived with *Claudius Cæſar*, coming to be acquainted with the occaſion of their journey, went and aſked *Cæſar*, that he would be pleaſed to grant the petition of the *Jews*, in relation to the ſacred ſtole, and remit to *Fadus* the orders he made concerning what they eagerly requeſted.

Claudius, upon this, having aſſembled the ambaſſadors, told them, he granted what they had aſked, and ordered them to thank *Agrippa* for it; for it was to his interceſſion they were indebted, and he had gratified them in their requeſt; and, beſide this anſwer he returned them, he ſent a letter to *Fadus* to the following effect:

Claudius Cæſar Germanicus, *chief Tribune the fifth time, choſen Conſul the forth time, Emperor the tenth time, Father of his country, To the Magiſtrates, Senate, and People of the* Hieroſolymites, *and to the whole nation of the Jews, Health:*

WHEREAS Agrippa, *my pupil, whom I have under my care, hath introduced* *to me your ambaſſadors, who have returned the ſence they have of my care and providence for your nation, and very much intreated me to let you preſerve in your cuſtody the ſacred ſtole and the crown. Now I grant you what you have petitioned me, in conformity to what* Vitellius, *the beſt of men, and my honourable friend, hath done before me. I have gratified your requeſt, to which I have been induced through my own piety, and my intention to let every one worſhip God, according to the cuſtom of his country, and my knowledge, that by ſo doing I ſhould gain with king* Herod, *and the younger* Ariſtobulus, *much favour, whoſe pious loyalty to me, and kind wiſhes for you, I have at heart, and with whom I have a ſtrict friendſhip, they being my moſt honoured friends. I have wrote to them and to* Cuſpius Fadus *the procurator, about theſe things. And the names of thoſe who bring theſe preſents, are,* Cornelius, *the ſon of* Cero; Tryphon, *the ſon of* Theudion; Dorotheus, *the ſon of* Nathaniel; Joannes, *the ſon of* Joannes. *Given on the fourth of the Kalends of* July, *in the Conſulſhips of* Rufus *and* Pompey Sylvanus.

Beſide this, *Herod*, brother of the deceaſed *Agrippa*, who at this time preſided over *Chalcis*, petitioned *Claudius Cæſar* to be veſted with the power of the temple, and of the ſacred money; and alſo to have liberty to create the high-prieſts; all which he obtained from *Cæſar*, and he, and all his poſterity, continued in the ſame priviledge till the end of the war. *Herod*, having obtained this grant, removed *Cantheras*, who was ſo called, from the prieſthood, and was the inſtrument in placing *Joſeph*, the ſon of *Camus*, in his room and dignity.

CHAP. II.

In what Manner Helena, *Queen of the* Adiabenians, *and her Son* Izates, *embraced the* Jewiſh *Religion; and how* Helena, *upon a terrible Famine raging at* Hieroſolyma, *diſtributed Corn to the Poor.*

ABOUT the ſame time *Helena*, queen of the *Adiabenians*, and her ſon *Izates*, embraced the religion of the *Jews*, on the following account: *Monobazus*, king of the *Adiabenians*, ſirnamed *Bazus*, happened to fall ſo deeply in love with his ſiſter *Helena*, that he proceeded ſo as to marry her; and in the end, got her with child. As he ſlept on a time by her, reſting his hand upon her belly, he thought, while aſleep, he heard a voice, which commanded him to take his hand from her belly, for fear of doing hurt to the infant ſhe was big with, who by the providence of God had a beginning, and would be made happy in a glorious end. He ſeemed in ſome confuſion at the voice, and when the ſon was born, named him *Izates*. *Monobazus* had an elder ſon than he whom he had by *Helena*, and ſome others by other wives; but this, as if he had had but one only ſon, ſhared all his affections, and that in a plain manner. Hence a jealouſy was laid between the ſons of the ſame father, and *Izates* became very much hated by the other brothers; the enmity grew daily, and every one ſeemed in great diſorder at the preference given to *Izates* by their father. *Monobazus* was perfectly acquainted with his ſons proceedings, yet forbore puniſhing them, as he knew their malice proceeded from no innate cauſe; but from a deſire each of them had to love him: Having loaded *Izates*, (of whom he had great apprehenſions of fear, leſt the hatred to which he was expoſed might reduce him to ſome unforſeen accident,) with many preſents, he ſent him to *Abenerigus*, king of the caſtle of *Spaſinas*, to whom he was deſirous of committing his ſon's welfare. *Abenerigus* received the youth with a great deal of frankneſs, and entertained him with a ſingular affection; and, at length, gave him his daughter *Samacho* in marriage, with whom he received a portion of a province, which brought him a pretty handſome income.

Monobazus being now in an advanced age, and perceiving he had not much longer time to live, was deſirous to ſee his ſon before he died. With this view he ſent for him, and received him with open arms, and made him a preſent of the country of *Carras*, which is ſo called. This region abounds plentifully with the *Amomus*; and here 'tis the relicks of the ark, in which *Nocahus* is reported to have eſcaped the deluge, remain, which thoſe perſons who have a mind may yet ſee. This was the country in which *Izates* abode till death cloſed the eyes of his father. The day *Monobazus* departed this life, *Helena* his queen aſſembled the nobles, governors, and other officers of the kingdom. Upon their coming, *I cannot ſuppoſe*, ſays ſhe, *that you are ignorant how my husband's conſtant deſire was, that* Izates *ſhould be his ſucceſſor in the kingdom, and how he always thought him worthy of that honour: Nevertheleſs I wait your determinations upon this affair; for happy is he who receives a kingdom, not from one, but the concurrence of many.* She ſpoke to try the pulſes of thoſe who were aſſembled. They upon hearing theſe words, as the cuſtom of the country was, firſt paid their reverences to the queen, and then ſaid: *That they were ready to confirm the choice of her husband the king; and that they would willingly pay obedience to* Izates, *whom his father, and the wiſhes of every individual among them, had jointly preferred to his other brothers.* After which they added, *That they could wiſh, that his brothers and other relations were put to death, in the firſt place, to ſecure the kingdom to* Izates; *for taking them away would effectually remove all thoſe apprehenſions, which their hatred to him but too juſtly occaſioned.* *Helena* to this, returned them thanks, for the love and duty they expreſſed to her; but begged them to defer their putting any ſentence in execution concerning the putting to death of the brothers, till *Izates* came and approved of their reſolution. They who adviſed their being put to death, finding the queen againſt the ſteps they had reſolved upon, adviſed her then to put them in priſon, 'till he came, for her own ſecurity; and bade her, in the mean while, appoint ſome perſon, in whom ſhe could confide, guardian of the kingdom. *Helena* was gained over to conſent to this, and conſtituted the eldeſt ſon, named *Monobazus*, procurator thereof, by placing a diadem upon his head, and giving him his father's ring, which was his ſignet, and the *Sampſera*, as they call it; after which, ſhe ordered him to take upon him the adminiſtration for them 'till his brother came. But *Izates*, having heard of the death of his father, was not long in coming; upon which *Monobazus* voluntarily quitted his employment, and *Izates* ſucceeded to the kingdom.

While *Izates* reſided at the caſtle of *Spaſinas*, a *Jewiſh* merchant named *Ananias*, who had liberty of going into the houſe where the king's women were kept, inſtructed them in the religion of God, which the *Jews* practice in their country. As ſoon as *Izates* came to hear of this procedure, he was drawn in to embrace the ſame opinion; and *Ananias*, with many intreaties and importunities, waited upon him, when his father called him to *Adiebene*. It happened, alſo, that *Helena* having received inſtructions from another *Jew*, embraced the ſame tenets. When *Izates*, upon the kingdom's devolving upon him, came to *Adiebene*, and ſaw his brothers in priſon, and his other relations confined, he was extremely uneaſy at the ſteps which had been taken, and thinking it an equal injuſtice either to put them to death, or keep them any longer in confinement; and eſteeming it of as bad conſequence not to guard them who bore in remembrance the injuries done them, he ſent ſome of them with their children to *Rome* to *Claudius Cæſar* as hoſtages, and others to *Artabanus* the *Parthian*, on the ſame account.

Izates finding his mother pleaſed with the rites and cuſtoms of the *Jews*, haſtened to be thoroughly initiated into them himſelf. And imagining he was not a complete *Jew* 'till he was circumciſed, he prepared to undergo it. But his mother coming to hear his intention, ſhe endeavoured to diſſuade him from it, by telling him he was going to heap deſtruction upon his head; *that he was a king, it was true, but he would very much alienate the affections of his ſubjects from him, when they came to hear he affected the cuſtoms of ſtrangers, which were ſo foreign to his own, and that they would by no means ſuffer one who was a* Jew *to be king over them.* Theſe words in ſome meaſure refrained him from his purpoſe. *Izates* went and communicated what his mother had ſaid to *Ananias*, who approving of her advice, but threatening to leave him if he did not comply with his requeſt, departed from him, for he told him, *He was afraid, leſt, upon the affairs be divulged and made known, he ſhould be called to an account for it, as one who adviſed him to it, and inſtructed him in a buſineſs which was not to his honour or reputation*; and added, *that he might worſhip God without circumciſion, if he was but reſolved to follow the plain duties which the* Jewiſh *inſtitutions preſcribed; for that was a more material thing to the* Jews *than circumciſion.* And when he acquainted the king that God would pardon him, ſuppoſing he did not perform the thing, as being obliged by neceſſity to the contrary, and the danger he feared from his ſubjects; he was induced to yield to him. But not long after, when ſtill his deſire of being circumciſed remained within him, another *Jew* came out of *Galilee*, named *Eleazarus*, who was reckoned a very profound man in the knowledge of the laws of his country, and who forced the king to finiſh what he had deſired; happening one time to go to him to compliment him, he found him reading the laws of *Moyſes*; upon which, 'You do not know, *ſaid he*, the injury 'you both do the law, and God himſelf; it is 'not ſufficient that you read the law, but you 'are firſt to comply with the things preſcribed 'in it. How long then will you remain in uncircumciſion? if you have not peruſed the law 'that enjoins circumciſion yet, now read it, that 'you may know to what impiety you expoſe 'yourſelf.' When the king heard this, he deferred the affair no longer; but withdrawing into another chamber, and ſending for a phyſician, he performed the command given him; and then ſending for his mother and *Ananias* his preceptor, he acquainted them, that what he had wiſhed was performed. They were immediately ſeized with aſtoniſhment and fear, leſt, if the report of it got amongſt the people, he ſhould incur any danger of loſing his kingdom, his ſubjects never being likely to ſuffer, that a perſon ſhould reign over them, who affected to follow the cuſtoms which obtained place amongſt other nations; and leſt they ſhould be expoſed to ſome difficulties, as if the fault was to be laid to their parts. But God guarded againſt thoſe events of which they were ſo terribly afraid; for *Izates* (though encompaſſed round with misfortunes) and his children were preſerved in the greateſt ſecurity, God providing a way of ſafety for them in the greateſt diſtreſſes, and ſhewing that thoſe who looked towards him, and put their confidence in him alone, were never deprived of the fruits of their piety. But of theſe matters we will ſpeak ſomething in the ſequel.

When *Helena*, the mother of the king, ſaw every thing in the kingdom in a profound ſtate of peace, her ſon happy, and, through the providence of God, admired by all foreigners, ſhe was moved with a deſire of taking a journey to *Hieroſolyma*, and there pay her adoration in the temple of God, which was ſo univerſally celebrated, and offer up ſacrifices by way of return of thanks, for the bleſſings that attended her family; to this end, ſhe begged her ſon to permit her to go thither. He, with a great deal of alacrity, granted his mother's requeſt; and to make her journey the more complete, made great preparations for it, and furniſhed her with a large ſum of money; upon which ſhe went to the city of *Hieroſolyma*, attended by her ſon a good way in her journey. Nothing could be more ſeaſonable to the *Hieroſolymites* than her arrival; for a terrible famine at that time oppreſſing the city, and great numbers periſhing for want of proviſions, queen *Helena* ſent ſome of her people to *Alexandria* to buy up corn, and others to *Cyprus* to purchaſe dried figs. Upon their return, which they performed with wonderful expedition, ſhe diſtributed the proviſions among the poor and neceſſitous; and from the extenſive liberality ſhe gave proofs of, ſhe left a glorious character throughout all our nation. Beſide, when *Izates* came to hear of the famine, he ſent conſiderable ſums of money to the principal *Hieroſolymites*. But the liberalities of theſe cities, which they extended to our city, we will treat of in the ſequel.

CHAP. III.

How Artabanus, *King of the* Parthians, *apprehending their treacherous Deſigns, withdrew to* Izates; *who, by his Aſſiſtance, was reſtored to his kingdom: And how* Bardanes *his Son proclaimed War againſt* Izates.

ARTABANUS, king of the *Parthians*, underſtanding plots were contriving againſt him by his governors, and thinking it unſafe to ſtay any longer among them, reſolved to withdraw to *Izates*, with a deſign to find a way from him that might be to his advantage, and, if poſſible, a return into his kingdom. In conſequence of this reſolution, he went to him, carrying in his train about a thouſand perſons of his relations and domeſticks, and in his journey, happened to meet *Izates*, whom he knew very well, but was himſelf unknown to him. Upon coming nearer him, he firſt complimented him, after the practice of his country, and then ſaid, *O king, do not deſpiſe one who is your ſervant, neither reject one who is your ſuppliant; the change of fortune hath caſt me down; and from the dignity of a king, I am fallen to the condition of a private man, and am come to implore your aſſiſtance; reflect then on the inſtability of fortune, and think that your own ſafety depends equally upon me, as yourſelf; for if you ſuffer me to live unrevenged, then great numbers more will ſhew their inſolence, towards other kings.* He uttered theſe words with tears in his eyes, and a dejected countenance. *Izates*, as ſoon as he heard his name mentioned, and ſaw *Artabanus* ſtanding before him in a ſuppliant manner, leapt from his horſe; *And be of good cheer*, ſaid he, *O king, and do not be dejected at your unfortunate condition, as if no remedy could be put to it, for your ſorrow ſhall ſoon have a change, and you ſhall find a better friend and ally than perhaps you could hope for; for I will either carry you back into the* Parthian *kingdom, or give you mine.*

Thus ſaying, he lifted *Artabanus* upon his horſe, and followed after on foot, giving him this mark of honour, as if he had been the greater king. When *Artabanus* ſaw this, he ſeemed uneaſy, and ſwore by his then unhappy condition and honour, unleſs he mounted his horſe again and lead the way, he would diſmount. Upon this, willing to humour him, he jumped up on horſe-back, and having conducted him to his palace, he conferred all poſſible honour upon him, and allowed him the principal place at all his entertainments and aſſemblies, regarding not his preſent condition, but his former dignity, and reflecting in his mind how common it was, for every perſon, one time or other, to be expoſed to adverſe fortune. In fine, he wrote a letter to the *Parthians*, in which he adviſed them to receive *Artabanus*, giving them his word and honour, and confirming the ſame by an oath, that he ſhould bury in oblivion whatſoever had been done and paſt, and promiſing them to be his ſecurity for performance of the ſame. The *Parthians* returned anſwer, and ſaid, they were not againſt his coming back, but they had not the power to let him, as the kingdom was entruſted to another, (for one named *Cinnamus*, had took upon him the kingdom,) and were apprehenſive, ſhould they do ſo, a ſedition might ariſe. This reſolution of their's coming to the ears of *Cinnamus*, he ſent a letter to *Artabanus*, (having been his pupil, and one who was of a meek and ſincere diſpoſition) in which he bade him rely on the aſſurance he gave him, and come and take the kingdom from him. In conſequence of this, *Artabanus*, wholly relying on the promiſes made him by *Cinnamus*, returned. *Cinnamus*, in the mean time, came out to meet him, and, having complimented and ſaluted him by the name of king, he took the diadem from his own head, and placed it upon his.

Thus was *Artabanus*, by the aſſiſtance of *Izates*, reſtored to his kingdom, out of which he had been before expelled by his own ſubjects. Notwithſtanding this change, he was not unmindful of the ſervices *Izates* had done him; but made him a recompence, by conferring the greateſt honours in his power upon him; for he permitted him to wear an upright *Tiara*, and to ſleep in a golden bed, honours only granted to the *Parthian* kings; and beſides, he made him a preſent of a large and fruitful country, which he took from the kingdom of *Armenia*. The region was called *Niſibis*, and the *Macedonians* formerly built in it the city of *Antioch*, which they called *Mygdonia*. And theſe were the honours the king of the *Parthians* conferred upon *Izates*.

It was not long after this, before *Artabanus* died, leaving his ſon *Bardanes* his ſucceſſor in the kingdom; who went to *Izates*, and adviſed him to enter into an alliance with him, levy auxiliaries, and join with him in a war againſt the *Romans*. However, he could not induce him to make the league with him; for *Izates* being well acquainted with the power and ſucceſs of the *Romans*, thought he was going to attempt things which would be impracticable in their conſequences. Beſide, as he had five ſons, and all young, whom he had ſent to learn our language, and be initiated into the diſcipline and cuſtoms of our country, and had (as we have obſerved above) ſent his mother to pay her adoration in the temple; he was not ſo active to undertake an expedition ; and therefore uſed his endeavours to hinder *Bardanes* from his reſolution, by frequently telling him of the forces of the *Romans*, and the actions they had performed ; ſuch a detail might deter him from his attempt, and cool his ardent deſire of engaging in a war. But the *Parthian* king was irritated at mentioning theſe things, and preſently denounced war againſt *Izates*. But the expedition he made againſt him prov'd of no manner of advantage; for God render'd abortive all the hopes he had framed to himſelf: For the *Parthians*, when they found what the intentions of *Bardanes* were, and that he had reſolved to carry the war againſt the *Romans*, took him out of the way, and placed his brother *Gotarzus* in the kingdom; and this prince, not long after, had the miſfortune to loſe his life by treachery. *Vologeſes*, his brother, ſucceeded him, who committed all his dominions to his other two brothers, born with him of the ſame father, giving *Media* to *Pacorus*, his eldeſt brother, and *Armenia* to *Tiridates* the younger.

C H A P. IV.

How the Arabians *made War upon* Izates, *from the Treachery of his Subjects, and how* Izates, *by the Providence of* God, *eſcaped out of thier Hands.*

MONOBAZUS, brother of the king, and the other relations, ſeeing *Izates*, through his piety to God, ſurrounded with the greateſt happineſs, were moved with a deſire of relinquiſhing the cuſtoms and rites of their country, and conforming to the government of the *Jews*. But they were ſoon diſcovered in what they did, and the grandees of the kingdom were heinouſly offended at them: However they concealed, as much as poſſible, their indignation, and waited only for an opportunity, which they wiſhed for, to puniſh them. With this view they wrote a letter to the king of the *Arabians*, in which they promiſed to give him a large ſum of money, if he would make an expedition againſt their king, and aſſured him they would abandon him on the firſt attack; for it was their reſolution to revenge themſelves upon him for contemning the cuſtoms of his country; and having bound one another with a firm oath, they begged him not to prolong the time. The *Arabian* readily came into the agreement, and having muſter'd up a good body of forces, ſet forward upon his march. Upon the firſt attack of both armies, before they came to cloſe in, every one, as it had been agreed, abandoned *Izates*; and, as if they had been ſeized with a pannic fear, turned their backs upon their enemies, and ſcowered off. This procedure did not, however, diſhearten *Izates*; but, knowing he was betray'd by his nobles, he withdrew into his camp, and having enquired into the reaſon of their flight, and finding they had entered into an agreement with the *Arabian* king, he puniſhed the authors of the treachery; and the next day engaging the enemy again, he put a great many to the ſword, and obliged the reſt to throw themſelves into a precipitate flight. He gave chace to the king, and forced him into a caſtle, which was called *Arſamus*, which he vigorouſly aſſaulted, and in the concluſion took it by ſtorm; and, taking all the ſpoil he found in it, which was very conſiderable, he march'd back into *Adiebene*, without having had the ſatiſfaction of taking *Abias* alive, who finding himſelf hemmed in with the enemy on every ſide, put an end to his life with his own hand.

The grandees of the *Adiebenians* being thus fruſtrated in their firſt attempts, and put, by the aſſiſtance of God, into the hands of their king, could not, however, remain quiet, but wrote a ſecond time to *Vologeſes*, then king of the *Parthians*, and in their letter, begged him to put *Izates* to death, and place over them any other king who was a *Parthian*; for they ſuggeſted they could not but hate their preſent king, who had abrogated the laws of his country, and was attached to the cuſtoms of ſtrangers. The *Parthian*, upon this report, was animated to undertake a war; but finding he had no juſt pretence on which to ground a falling out with him, he ſent to have reſtored him the honours his father had inveſted him with, and on his refuſal to return them, he denounced war againſt him. *Izates* hearing this, was extremely perplexed in his mind, and ſuppoſed his honour was concerned, ſhould he depart from what had been made him as a preſent, and that, ſhould he do ſo, he ſhould be taxed with having complied to it through cowardice. Upon conſultation, he found the *Parthian* would continue ſtill reſtleſs after he had received back the honours; and therefore he was reſolved to commit himſelf to the providence of God in this difficulty, thinking him the moſt able to defend and protect him: With this view, he ſhut up his children and wives in a certain caſtle which was well fortified, and ſtored the place with a ſufficient quantity of proviſions, and then laid waſte all the hay and forage round about with fire. Having put things into this poſture, he waited the approach of the enemy. The *Parthian*, with a numerous body of foot and horſe, happening to appear ſooner than was believed (having made long marches, and incamped near the river which parts *Adiebene* from *Media*;) *Izates* alſo pitched his tents not at a great diſtance from him, having collected together about ſix thouſand men. While things remained in this ſituation, a meſſenger ſent from the *Parthian* came to *Izates*, and gave him a detail of the exceeding forces and ſtrength of his maſter, and the extent of his dominions (which reached from the river *Euphrates*, to the frontiers of the *Barbarians*) and added the number of kings who were his vaſſals; threatening, in the concluſion, that he would certainly be puniſhed for his ingratitude to his lord, and that the God, whom he adored, would not be able to ſnatch him out of his hands. The meſſenger having delivered himſelf in this arrogant manner, *Izates* told him, he knew the power of the *Parthians* was vaſtly ſuperior to his, but was certain, that the God he adored was above all mankind; and having returned this anſwer, he turned himſelf to beſeech God, and throwing himſelf proſtrate upon the ground, and covering his head with aſhes, he burſt out in this ejaculation: 'O Lord, who haſt dominion 'over all things, if I have not in vain devoted 'myſelf to thy goodneſs, but have worthily 'accounted thee the only and chief Lord of 'all things, come to my aſſiſtance now! not 'ſo much to revenge my enemies for my ſake, 'as becauſe they have preſumed to extol them'ſelves againſt thy power, and have not been 'afraid to let looſe their boaſting language 'againſt thee.' Thus, with a flood of tears, and deep lamentation, he ſupplicated God, who from heaven heard his petition; for that very hour *Vologeſes* received a letter, in which was wrote, 'That the *Dalnæ* and *Sæce*, in 'contempt of his authority, now he was ab'ſent, had, with a numerous body of forces, 'made an expedition, and laid waſte *Parthia* 'with their depredations.' This terrifying him, he drew up his army, and returned without effecting any thing of what he came about. And thus did *Izates*, by the providence of God, eſcape the menaces of the *Parthian* king.

Not long after this (having paſt the fifty fifth year of his age, and being in the fourth year of his reign, he paid his laſt debt to nature) leaving behind him four and twenty ſons, and four and twenty daughters: But, before his death, he gave expreſs orders to *Monobazus* to aſſert his right to the ſucceſſion of the kingdom; being deſirous to gratify him with this favour for the vigilance he had uſed in preſerving the kingdom for him, at ſuch time as he returned home after the deceaſe of his father. When *Helena*, his mother, received intelligence of her ſon's death, ſhe ſeemed extremely afflicted, as was very probable for a mother who was deprived of a very dutiful and religious ſon. However, ſhe conceived ſome ſatisfaction, when ſhe heard that the ſucceſſion was devolved upon her elder ſon; and, in conſequence of it, made all the haſte ſhe could to him: But upon her return to *Adiabene*, ſhe ſurvived her ſon *Izates* not long. *Monobazus* took the bones of his mother, and of his brother, and ſent them to *Hieroſolyma*, where he ordered them to be interred in the pyramids, which were in number three, three furlongs diſtant from the city, and erected at the charge of his mother. But we ſhall have an opportunity in the ſequel to ſpeak of the actions performed by *Monobazus* in the courſe of his life.

CHAP. V.

Of Theudas, *and the Sons of* Judas Galilæus, *and what Kind of Calamity afflicted the* Jews *on the Day of their Paſſover.*

WHILE *Fadus* continued procurator of *Judea*, one *Theudas*, a fortune-teller, perſuaded a numerous company of perſons to collect their effects together, and to follow him, as their captain, as far as the river *Jordan*; for he told them he was a prophet, and by the command of his voice could part the waves of *Jordon*, and make a clear paſſage open itſelf to let them paſs through; by which ſpeeches he deluded a great many. *Fadus*, however, watched their motions, and reſtrained them from purſuing their mad courſe, by ſending a troop of horſemen after their heels, which falling unexpectedly upon them put many of them to the ſword, and took others priſoners. *Theudas* himſelf was taken captive, his head cut off, and ſent to *Hieroſolyma*. Theſe are the moſt material actions which fell out in *Judea*, during the government of *Cuſpius Fadus*, the procurator.

Fadus was ſucceeded by *Tiberius Alexander*, who was ſon of that *Alexander* who was *Alabarcha* of *Alexandria*, and the moſt eminent perſon of his time in that city, both for birth and riches; and who gave, by his great piety to God, a fine example to his ſon *Alexander*; but he could not remain in the inſtitutions and morals his father had inſtructed him in. It happened, under the government of theſe procurators, that a terrible famine afflicted *Judea*, when queen *Helena*, with a great ſum of money bought corn out of *Ægypt*, and diſtributed it among the poor and neceſſitous, as I have obſerved a little before. Add to this, the ſons of *Judas Galileus* were put to death, for perſuading the people to a revolt, while *Quirinus* was making a cenſe in *Judea*, as we have mentioned in the foregoing; theſe were *Jacob* and *Simeon*, who, by command of *Alexander*, loſt their lives upon a croſs. *Herod*, king of *Chalcis*, deprived *Joſeph*, the ſon of *Camydus*, of the prieſthood, and beſtowed the dignity upon *Ananias*, the ſon of *Nebedæus*. *Tiberius Alexander* was ſucceeded by *Cumanus*; and *Herod*, brother of king *Agrippa* the Great, paid his laſt debt to nature, in the fourth year of *Claudius*'s empire, leaving behind him three ſons: *Ariſtobulus*, whom he had by his firſt wife *Mariamne*, and *Bernicianus* and *Hyrcanus*, whom he had by *Berenice*, the daughter of his brother. *Claudius Cæſar* gave his kingdom to the younger *Agrippa*.

A ſedition was blown up in *Hieroſolyma* while *Cumanus* governed *Judea*, which was attended with fatal conſequences to a great number of *Jews*. But I will firſt lay open the cauſe of what afterwards happened. The feſtival of the paſſover falling out to be celebrated (at which time it is a cuſtom with our nation to eat no manner of fermented bread, and a great concourſe from all parts round aſſemble to celebrate it) *Cumanus*, apprehending ſome diſturbance might ariſe, ordered a cohort of ſoldiers to take their arms, and ſtand by the porticos of the temple to hinder any tumult that might happen: This was no more than what had been uſually done by ſeveral other procurators of *Judea* before *Cumanus*, when this ſolemnity was on foot. On the fourth day of the feſtival, one of the ſoldiers expoſed openly his naked genitals, the ſight of which being full in the eyes of a great many perſons, they ſeemed in a violent rage, and exclaimed, that the affront was not to be born with, and that they were not ſo much abuſed by it as God, who was heniouſly diſhonoured. Some among them, of a more daring mind, reproached *Cumanus*, and told him he had ſuborned a ſaucy fellow in the action. *Cumanus* hearing this, was irritated at the reproach given him; notwithſtanding which, he begged them to refrain from any deſire of making a tumult, or ſtirring up a ſedition, while the ſolemnity was celebrating. But finding his exhortations had no effect upon them, and that, on the contrary, they grew the more ſcurrilous and abuſive, he ordered all the ſoldiers to withdraw into *Antonia*, a caſtle, as we have obſerved before, looking over the temple. The multitude, ſeeing the body of ſoldiers advance, were ſtruck with a pannic fear, and threw themſelves into a diſordered flight; but the paſſage being very narrow, and the enemy ſeeming at their heels, they joſtled one another as they ſtrove to eſcape, and by their exceſſive ſqueezing, proved the occaſion of killing ſeveral of their number. Twenty thouſand were reckoned to have loſt their lives in this tumult: Thus the paſchal ſolemnity was converted into a ſcene of lamentation and mourning, and every one, unmindful of ſacrifices or orations, abandoned himſelf to grief and ſorrow; and thus, for the ſhameleſs behaviour of one man, ſo many thouſands of the *Jews* had this melancholly exit.

But this calamity was ſcarcely ended before another misfortune followed it; ſome of thoſe who itched with a deſire of diſturbing the peace, happening to meet (in a publick road, about one hundred furlongs from the city) *Stephanus*, one of *Cæſar*'s ſervants, as he was travelling, they fell upon him like ſo many robbers, and ſtript him of every thing he had about him: This procedure coming to the ears of *Cumanus*, he preſently ſent a detachment of ſoldiers, with orders to ravage the villages that lay contiguous to the place where the robbery had been committed, and to apprehend the principal inhabitants, and bring them bound in chains to him. In conſequence of this, a terrible havock enſued, and one of the ſoldiers happening to find the moyſaical laws, which had been repoſited in one of the villages, tore them in pieces in the ſight of all; which prophane act was attended alſo with a great many inſults and jears upon them: The *Jews*, coming to hear of this, aſſembled together in a numerous body, and went down to *Cæſarea*, where *Cumanus* then reſided, and there very earneſtly begged him he would vindicate, not them, but God, whoſe laws had been ſo villainouſly diſhonoured; for they would ſpill the laſt drop of their blood ſooner than be ſpectators of ſuch enormous abuſes put upon the laws of their country: *Cumanus*, apprehending from theſe words the people might again be induced to raiſe a commotion, in obedience to the advice his friends gave him, cut off the head of the ſoldier who had diſhonoured the laws, and by that means appeaſed a tumult, which was on the point of blazing out again.

CHAP. VI.

How a Sedition broke out between the Jews *and* Samaritans; *and how* Claudius *terminated the Difference.*

A Rupture happened now to break out between the *Jews* and *Samaritans* on the following account; it was cuſtomary for the *Galileans*, at ſuch times as they went to *Hieroſolyma*, againſt any ſolemn day, to take their rout through the country of *Samaria*. It happened, as they were upon their journey, ſome of the inhabitants of a village, named *Ginea*, ſtanding upon the confines of *Samaria* and the great plain, fell upon them, and ſlew ſeveral of their body upon the ſpot. The principal of the *Galileans* coming to hear of this procedure, went to *Cumanus*, and begged him to puniſh the deaths of thoſe who had been ſlain. But he having received a conſiderable preſent of money from the *Samaritans*, was won over to eſpouſe their cauſe, and gave no ear to the other's complaints. The *Galileans*, finding this, were very much exaſperated, and animated the people of the *Jews* to take up arms, and defend their liberties; remonſtrating, that ſlavery of itſelf was very bitter; but when injuries and inſults were added to it, then it was intolerable. The magiſtrates, upon this, endeavoured to take meaſures to appeaſe and ſoften them, and promiſed them to induce *Cumanus* to inflict a juſt puniſhment upon the authors of the murthers that had been committed. All this was ineffectual, and they gave no manner of ear to their remonſtrances; but taking inſtantly up arms, and ſummoning to their aſſiſtance *Eleazarus*, the ſon of *Duneus*, who had been a robber ſeveral years, and lived in the faſtneſſes of the mountains, they went and ranſacked ſome villages which belonged to the *Samarians*, and then laid them in aſhes. This affair coming to be told *Cumanus*, he took up a company of *Sebaſtas*, with four cohorts of foot, and a body of *Samaritans* in arms, and marched with them againſt the *Jews*, to whom he gave chace, and ſlew ſome, and took others priſoners alive. Thoſe *Jews* reſiding at *Hieroſolyma*, who were principally diſtinguiſhed by their birth and honour, ſeeing to what a melancholy and lamentable ſtate things were reduced, cloathed themſelves in ſackcloth, and covered their heads with aſhes, and every way prayed and begged the diſturbers of the government (ſetting before them their ruined country, their temple formerly laid in aſhes, and they with their wives and children carried into ſlavery) that they would change their reſolution, and, throwing away their arms, remain quiet for the time to come, and return each of them to their ſeveral homes. Theſe words had the deſired effect, and they immediately diſperſed themſelves. But the robbers again withdrew into their faſtneſſes, and from this time all *Judea* continued unmoleſted from them.

But ſome of the chief *Samaritans* not content with this, went to *Numidius Quadratus*, who was governor of *Syria*, and then reſided at *Tyre*, and accuſed the *Jews* with having pillaged their villages, and ſet fire to them, and, ‘It is not ſo much trouble to us, ſaid they, the misfortune we have ſuſtained, as the contempt put upon the *Roman*, to whom, as judges, if they were any ways injured or prejudiced, they ought rather to make their complaints, than offer, as if they lived under no ſubjection to the *Roman* government, to continue their incurſions; and that was the reaſon of their coming before him, to obtain a ſuitable recompence for the injuries they had ſuffered, and to which they had been expoſed.’ This was the plan of the accuſation the *Samaritans* preferred againſt the *Jews*, who, on their parts, ſaid the *Samaritans* were both the authors of the ſedition, and the outrages that had been committed, and that *Cumanus* had been corrupted by bribes which they had given him, for which he had concealed and diſſembled the authors of the perſons being ſlain, who had periſhed. *Quadratus*, being thus acquainted with the affair, differed giving any judgment, ſaying, he would pronounce ſentence upon the affair when he came into *Judea*, and had looked more narrowly and cautiouſly into the proceedings; thus, without effecting any thing of the buſineſs they came about, they were obliged to return. It was not long after this, before *Quadratus* came to *Samaria*, where having ſearched into the whole buſineſs, he was ready to pronounce ſentence, and declare that the *Samaritans* were the actual perſons who ought to be accuſed. But coming to hear that ſome *Jews* had been endeavouring to foment a freſh diſturbance, and that *Cumanus* had taken them, he crucified them; and going thence to a village which was named *Lydda*, not inferior to many in reſpect of its magnitude, as he was ſitting on his tribunal, and hearing the trial of the *Samaritans*, a certain man of their nation ſtept up and told him, that a certain *Jew*, named *Dortus*, and ſome others with him, who were conſtantly deſiring to make ſome change in the government, about four in number, had ſollicited the people to revolt from the *Romans*. *Quadratus* finding this, ordered the men to be put inſtantly to death; and ſent *Ananias* the high-prieſt, and *Ananus* the governor of the temple, bound to *Rome*, to give an account of their actions to *Claudius Cæſar*; and alſo gave orders to the principal *Samaritans* and *Jews*, and to *Cumanus* the procurator, and to *Celer*, who was a tribune, to depart for *Italy* to the emperor, and abide to his award, which he ſhould make in the diſpute they had with one another. Mean while, he, fearing the *Jews* might attempt ſome innovation, went to *Hieroſolyma*, which he found very peaceable and quiet, and then celebrating a ſolemn feſtival. This calm proſpect made him believe things would remain as he found them, upon which he left *Hieroſolyma*, and withdrew to *Antioch*.

Cumanus, and the *Samaritan* nobles who had been ſent to *Rome*, obtained from the emperor a fixt day to hear and determine of their differences. *Cæſar*'s freedmen, and other friends, ſtickled hotly for the *Samaritans*, who had certainly got the better of the *Jews*, if the younger *Agrippa*, who was then at *Rome*, upon hearing that the *Jewiſh* elders were reduced to great ſtreights, had not interceeded very much with *Agrippa*, the emperor's wife, to perſuade her huſband, when the cauſe came to a hearing, to puniſh the authors of the revolt according as ſhould ſeem beſt to his own juſtice: *Claudius* upon this, being prepared and wrought upon before-hand, having heard what each party had to ſay in its vindication, and finding that the *Samaritans* had been the real authors of the late miſchiefs, commanded thoſe who were come before him to be put to death, and condemned *Cumanus* to be baniſhed, and *Celer* the tribune to be carried back to *Hieroſolyma*, and there conveyed publickly through the ſtreets; and then to loſe his life.

CHAP. VII.

Felix *becomes Procurator of* Judea. *Of the younger* Agrippa *and his Siſters.*

CLAUDIUS, after this, ſent into *Judea Felix*, the brother of *Paleas*, to govern the affairs of that country, and when he had himſelf reigned over the empire full twelve years, he preſented *Agrippa* with *Philip*'s tetrarchate, and *Batamea*, and augmented his dominions with *Traconitis* and *Abila*, (which was the tetrarchate of *Lyſanias*) but he took from him *Chalcis*, after he had held it four years. After *Agrippa* had received theſe ſeveral conſiderable gifts, at the time he conſented to be circumciſed, he gave his ſiſter *Druſilla* in matrimony to *Azizus*, king of the *Emeſians*; *Epiphanes*, ſon of king *Antiochus*, having rejected the match, and relinquiſhed her, becauſe he would not embrace the *Jewiſh* religion, though he had made his promiſe to the lady's father formerly ſo to do. Beſide this, he married *Mariamne* to *Archelaus*, the ſon of *Heleias*, to whom ſhe had been affianced before by *Agrippa*, and from this couple was born a daughter named *Berenice*.

But it was not long before the marriage between *Azizus* and *Druſilla* was diſſolved upon the following cauſe. *Felix*, who at this time governed *Judea*, happening to caſt his eyes upon *Druſilla*, who excelled moſt women in a delicate face, fell in love with her; upon this he ſent to her one of his friends named *Simon*, a *Jew*, and by nation a *Cypriot*, who pretended to be a magician, in order to perſuade her to leave her huſband and marry him, and promiſing to make her happy, if ſhe would not deſpiſe him: She, little conſidering what ſhe was about, and willing to eſcape the envy of her ſiſter *Berenice*, who, on account of her beauty, had done her ſeveral piques and ill turns, in order to act contrary to the laws of her country, and marry *Felix*, ſuffered herſelf to be perſuaded by him, and having a ſon from him, ſhe called his name *Agrippa*. But how this young man with this woman periſhed in an eruption of mount *Veſuvius* in the time of *Titus Cæſar*, I will make mention in the ſequel.

Berenice, after the death of *Herod* (who was both her huſband and her uncle) having remained a widow a conſiderable time, and a report being handed about, that ſhe had had criminal acquaintance with her brother, perſuaded *Polemon*, who was then king of *Cilicia*, to circumciſe himſelf and marry her; for ſhe thought this would be an effectual ſtratagem to wipe away her ignominy and diſgrace. *Polemon* readily embraced the propoſal on account of her great riches. But their marriage was not of long continuance before it was broken; for *Berenice* through her intemperate luſt, as was reported, forſook *Polemon*, who, upon the diſſolution of his marriage agreement, forbore to conform himſelf to the inſtitutions and cuſtoms of the *Jews*. About the ſame time *Mariamne* repudiated *Archelaus*, and married *Demetrius*, the moſt eminent *Jew* at *Alexandria* either for birth or riches, for he poſſeſſed the alabarchate; and having a ſon born to him, he called his name *Agrippinus*. But I ſhall have an opportunity of giving a more accurate and ſuccinct account of theſe particulars in the ſequel.

CHAP. VIII.

How Nero, *upon the Death of* Claudius, *ſucceeded to the Empire; of the cruel Acts he committed. Of Robbers,* Sicarij, *and Impoſtors, under* Felix *and* Feſtus, *Procurators of* Judea.

CLAUDIUS *Cæſar* died after he had held the empire thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days, being taken out of the world by poiſon, or, according to the account of ſome, by his wife *Agrippina*. This woman's father was *Germanicus*, the brother of *Cæſar*, and her firſt huſband was called *Domitius Ænobarbus*, of an illuſtrious family at *Rome*; when he died, and ſhe had been a widow ſome time, *Claudius* took her in marriage, and a ſon of her's named *Domitius* was brought into the family: He had before taken out of the way *Meſſalina*, on account of her jealouſy, of whom he had two children called *Britannicus* and *Octavia*, who had that name given by *Cæſar*, after he had adopted him for his ſon.

Agrippa, apprehending that when *Britannicus* came at age his father would confer the empire upon him, and deſiring to be before hand with it for her own ſon, it is reported, prepared thoſe things, which put an end to his life, and then ſent *Burrhus* the general of the army immediately with the tribunes and freedmen, who had great authority, to carry *Nero* to the pretorian camp, and proclaim him emperor. *Nero*, thus having obtained the empire, privately poiſoned *Britannicus*, and not long after openly ſtabbed his mother, whom he repaid with this uſage, who was not only his mother, but who, by her artifice, had placed him in the empire. Beſide this, he put to death his wife *Octavia*, and ſeveral illuſtrious men of *Rome*, as if they had actually conſpired againſt him.

But I paſs by theſe things, to ſpeak of more general occurrences; for ſeveral hiſtorians have tranſmitted accounts of *Nero*'s actions in their writings; ſome of whom, to ingratiate themſelves into his favour, have neglected the truth; while others, through hate and madneſs at his criminal life, have proſecuted their rage with ſo many ſhameleſs lies againſt him, that they ſeem the perſons only worthy to be condemned of the crimes they charged him with: Though it is no wonder to me they have tranſmitted in their books falſe words about *Nero*, when they have neither committed to memory the actions performed in the times of their predeceſſors, nor preſerved the veracity of hiſtory; though they could have no pretence to hate them, having lived ſo long a time after them. Indeed, to thoſe who totally reject and diſregard birth, it may be lawful to write juſt as their fancies dictate to them; for ſuch a licentious ſcope of writing ſeems to be what they take pleaſure in: But to us, who have made it our purpoſe to purſue truth as our only guide, it ſeems beſt to touch but lightly upon thoſe incidents which are foreign to our work; but we ſhall conſtantly take a pleaſure in thoſe occurrences which any way relate to the *Jews* our countrymen, and what befel them, not to run them over curſorily; but expatiate upon their calamities and miſcarriages. But I return to reſume the thread of my hiſtory.

When *Nero* had enjoyed the empire one year, and *Azizus* the king of the *Elleſæans* had departed this life, his brother *Soemus* ſucceeded him in his kingdom. *Ariſtobulus*, ſon of *Herod* king of *Chalcis*, received from *Nero* the government of the leſſer *Armenia*. And *Agrippa* received as a preſent from him a part of *Galilee*, including *Tiberias* and *Taricheæ*, which he commanded to be under his government, and added to theſe places *Julius* a city of *Pereas*, and fourteen villages ſtanding upon the confines of it.

In the interim the *Jewiſh* affairs grew daily worſe and worſe, for the country was again filled with robbers, and a gang of impoſtors, who ſeduced the multitude. *Felix* was conſtantly apprehending ſome or other of them, and was as ſure to put them to death. He took by ſtratagem *Eleazar* the ſon of *Diameus* alive, who was at the head of a numerous company of robbers: He made pretence of giving him his word to indemnify him from any danger, under colour of which he decoyed him to come to him, when he took, put him in chains, and ſent him in that condition to *Rome*. *Felix*, in the mean while, had an inveterate hatred to *Jonathan* the high-prieſt, who had ſeveral times admoniſhed him to adminiſter, with greater precaution, the affairs of the *Jews*; to prevent himſelf, who had petitioned *Cæſar* to ſend him governor into *Judæa*, from being expoſed to the complaints and murmurs of the people. *Felix*, however, ſtrove to find out a way to be rid of a perſon, who was a continual trouble to him; for admonition, to thoſe who are bent upon illegal actions, commonly proves unwelcome: With this view therefore *Felix* adviſes one *Dorus*, an *Hieroſolomite*, and an intimate (1) friend of *Jonathan*'s, with a promiſe of a large ſum of money, to let the robbers fall upon him, and pnt him to death. *Dorus*, complying with his demand, put the following ſtratagem in execution, by means of the robbers, to bring *Jonathan* to an untimely cataſtrophe: Some of them, under pretence of worſhipping God, went up to the city, with daggers hid under their garments, and mixing there among the ſervants of *Jonathan*, put him to death. This murther remaining unpuniſh'd, the robbers afterwards, without any apprehenſions at all, went up to *Hieroſolyma* at the publick feſtivals, carrying daggers hidden about them, as they had done before, and, blending among the multitude, put ſeveral of their enemies to death, and ſlew others, to which they had been hired with money; and this not only in the ſeveral parts of the city, but in the temple itſelf; for they were not afraid to commit murther even there, as if by ſuch an action they gave no manner of blemiſh to religion. I ſuppoſe this a main reaſon that God, hating their impiety, turned his preſence from the city, and, imagining the temple no longer a pure habitation for him to dwell in, brought the *Romans* upon us, and poured fire throughout the city to purify it, and carried us, with our wives and children, into captivity, with a deſign that, taught by the force of our calamities, we ſhould come to a better ſenſe of our miſcarriages.

Theſe impious actions, which the robbers were conſtantly committing, made the city be filled with abominable wickedneſs; impoſters, and men full of deceit, perſuaded the multitude to follow them into the deſart; for there, they told them, they would ſhew them manifeſt prodigies and ſigns, which by the care and providence of God were to happen: In conſequence of this, great numbers, who put their belief in what they heard, received a juſt puniſhment for their folly; for *Felix* put ſeveral of them to death. Near about this time there came a man out of *Ægypt* to *Hieroſolyma*, who pretended to be a prophet, and induced the common ſort of people to aſcend mount *Olivarus* with him, which is an hill about (2) five furlongs from the city; it was here he ſaid, he would ſhew them, how the walls of *Hieroſolyma* ſhould tumble down by the virtue of his command, through which he promiſed them he would open a paſſage for them to paſs through. *Felix*, when he came to hear this, ordered his ſoldiers to ſnatch up their arms, and putting himſelf at the head of a body of foot and horſe, he made an irruption upon *Hieroſolyma*, where he fell upon the *Ægyptian*, and thoſe of his party, and killed on the ſpot about four hundred of their number, and took two hundred alive. But the *Ægyptian*, having the fortune to eſcape out of the engagement, immediately vaniſhed out of ſight. The robbers, after this, ſpurred the people again to undertake a war with the *Romans*, telling them, they ought by no means to obey them, and thoſe who refuſed to come into their meaſures, had their towns and villages ſack'd and laid in aſhes by them.

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(1) Becauſe he is here called a Prieſt, and *Iſmael* the Son of *Phabus* is ſaid to be the next Succeſſor to him, and not to have ſucceeded *Ananias* the Son of *Nebedeus*; it may ſeem to be doubted, whether this *Jonathan* ought to have a Place in the Number of the Prieſts, ſince (Archiereos) is a Name given to others beſides the Prieſts. Thus *Valeſius* upon *Euſebius*'s Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, Book XI. Chap. 23. writes, *Poſt Joſephum Camei Filium ponendus eſt* Ananias Nebedei *Filius*, *de quo* Joſephus *capite tertio Libri viceſimi. Poſt hunc fuit* Iſmaelus Phabæi *Filius*, *ab* Agrippa *Juniore factus*, *i. e.* after *Joſeph* the Son of *Cameus Ananias* the Son of *Nebedeus* is to be placed. Of whom *Joſephus* in the third Chapter of his twentieth Book, After him was *Iſmael* the Son of *Phabeus* conſtituted (Prieſt) by the younger *Agrippa*. I have thought convenient to inſert this Perſon in the Liſt of the Prieſts. *Joſephus* writes in the laſt Chapter, that there were twenty-eight Prieſts from the Time *Herod* enjoyed the ſovereign Authority to the Deſtruction of the Temple. The Account of them is as follows:

1 *Annanelus.*
2 *Jeſus* the Son of *Phabus.*
3 *Ariſtobulus.*
4 *Simon* the Son of *Boethus.*
5 *Matthias* the Son of *Theophilus.*
6 *Joazar* the Son of *Boethus.*
7 *Eleazar* the Son of *Boethus.*
8 *Jeſus* the Son of *Sio.*
9 *Ananus* the Son of *Seth.*
10 *Iſmael* the Son of *Phabus.*
11 *Eleazar* the Son of *Ananus.*
12 *Simeon* the Son of *Camithus.*
13 *Joſephus Caiphas.*
14 *Jonathan* the Son of *Ananus.*
15 *Theophilus.*
16 *Simon* the Son of *Boethus.*
17 *Matthias.*
18 *Alioneus.*
19 *Joſephus* the Son of *Camydus.*
20 *Ananias* the Son of *Nebedeus.*
21 *Jonathan.*
22 *Iſmael* the Son of *Phabus.*
23 *Joſephus.*
24 *Ananus.*
25 *Jeſus* the Son of *Damnæus.*
26 *Jeſus* the Son of *Gamaliel.*
27 *Matthias* the Son of *Theophilus.*
28 *Phannias* the Son of *Samuel.*

But take *Jonathan* out of this Number, and there will not be 28. *Reland.*

(2) All the Books of *Joſephus*, whether *Greek* or *Latin*, have the Word *Pente*, or Five. But *Grotius* upon *Acts*, Chap. 1. ver. 12. and *Waſerus de Ant. Menſ. Hebr.* Book 1. c. 12. are of Opinion, this Paſſage ought to be amended, becauſe it is ſaid, *Acts*, chap. 1. ver. 22. That Mount *Olivet* is diſtant from *Hieroſolyma* the Space of a *Sabbatical* Journey, which was eight Furlongs. But the Paſſage in *Luke* may be reconciled with this Account of *Joſephus*, namely, becauſe the firſt Part of the Foot of the Mountain was juſt five Furlongs from the City, but Chriſt aſcended three Furlongs farther upwards.

Beſide theſe commotions, the *Jews*, who inhabited *Cæſarea*, and the *Syrians*, in the ſame city, happened to fall out among themſelves about having an equal right to the freedom of the city; for the *Jews* inſiſted, as their king *Herod* had founded and built *Cæſarea*, and was by nation a *Jew*, they had a right to the precedence; the *Syrians*, on the contrary, did not object againſt the things alledged in favour of *Herod*, but they ſaid, the city, before he built it, was called the tower of *Straton*, at which time not a *Jew* reſided in it. This diſpute happening to come to the ears of the governors of the province, they apprehended the authors of the ſedition on either ſide, whipt them, and ſo for ſome ſhort time put a ſtopt to any farther tumult. But the *Jews*, buoyed up with their great wealth, which made them look upon the *Syrians* with contempt, began again to throw their ſcurrilities at them, thinking by this method to work them up to a provocation. The *Syrians*, who were inferior to the *Jews*, as to wealth, were, notwithſtanding, elated in their minds, as the greateſt part of them, who worked for the *Romans* in thoſe places, were *Cæſareans* and *Sebaſtens*, and therefore they returned their reproaches upon the *Jews*. Hence began a fierce contention, which was attended by throwing ſtones at one another, and concluded with ſeveral being wounded on both ſides, and ſlain. But the victory inclined to the ſide of the *Jews*. When *Felix* ſaw this procedure, and that it little differed from an open war, he ran out and intreated the *Jews* to be peaceable; but finding his words had no effect, he ſent his ſoldiers in arms upon them, and put a great many of them to death, and took a larger number priſoners; and ſome of their houſes, which were ſtored with effects of value, he granted his men to plunder. But thoſe who were of a more moderate temper among the *Jews*, and were perſons of dignity, and careful to preſerve themſelves and their families, went and begged *Felix* to make his ſoldiers retreat by ſound of trumpet, and ſpare what was remaining, allowing them to repent of the fault to which they had expoſed themſelves. In conſequence of this, *Felix* was moved by their intreaties.

About the ſame time, king *Agrippa* conferr'd the prieſthood upon *Iſmael*, who was the ſon of *Phabus*. And a violent commotion was raiſed between the (*a*) pontifices and the prieſts and principal men among the people of *Hieroſolyma*; in fine, each of them having collected a company of mutinous fellows, and ſuch as were ready to undertake any change in the government, they placed themſelves at their head; and in the places where they happened to meet one another, ſometimes they fell to reproaches, and ſometimes to throwing ſtones, while no body durſt offer to reſtrain them. Thus with an unparallel'd licentiouſneſs, they carried on their proceedings, as if the city had been without a governor; nay, the pontifices were puſhed on to ſo ſhameleſs an height of impudence, that they did not ſtick to ſend their ſervants to the barns, to rob the prieſts of the tenths that were due to them; this occaſioned ſome of the prieſts, whoſe circumſtances were but narrow, through want of proviſion, to ſuffer a miſerable and neceſſitous death; for thus did the violence of this faction bear down all equity and right.

Upon *Porcius Feſtus*'s being ſent by *Nero* to ſucceed *Felix*, the principal *Jews*, who dwelt in *Cæſarea*, went to *Rome*, and preferred an accuſation againſt *Feſtus*, who had certainly been puniſhed for the injuries he had done the *Jews*, had not *Nero* been wrought upon by the interceſſion and prayers of his brother *Pallas*, who then was in great eſteem with the emperor. Beſide, two of the chiefs of the *Syrians*, who were at *Cæſarea*, bribed *Burrus*, who was preceptor of *Nero*, and wrote his *Greek* epiſtles, with a large ſum of money, to get from *Nero* a letter in their favour, to take from the *Jews* the right they had to the city in common with the *Syrians*. *Burrus*, having petitioned the emperor to that end, obtained leave to write ſuch a letter. And from this very letter all thoſe miſfortunes which fell upon our nation afterwards, took birth: the *Jews* that dwelt in *Cæſarea*, when they underſtood what had been wrote to the *Syrians*, continued in a ſedition, till the time the war broke out.

When *Feſtus* came into *Judea*, *Judea* happened then to be infeſted with robbers, who pillaged and laid in aſhes all the towns they entered. And it was now, that thoſe named *Sicarij*, a ſort of robbers, encreaſed to a very great number; theſe perſons uſed ſmall ſwords, not much different from the *Perſian Acinax*, but ſomething more bent inwards, ſuch as the *Sicæ* among the *Romans*; and from hence was this name given to theſe robbers, who committed a great deal of havock and bloodſhed, for

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(*a*) Gr. *Archieres*, is a Name that not only, in my Opinion, includes thoſe who poſſeſſed the Dignity of the High Prieſthood, and thoſe who were to ſucceed them, and their Officiates; but alſo the Princes of the four and twenty Families.

they came on ſolemn days, and blending themſelves among the multitude of people, which aſſembled from all parts to the city on account of religion, they killed whom they thought fit with the greateſt eaſe, and very often they put on arms, ruſhed into the towns of their enemies, pillaged, and then ſet fire to them. *Feſtus* finding this, ſent a body of horſe and foot againſt them, who, through the artifice and cunning of a fellow who pretended to be a fortune-teller, and through the promiſe he made to preſerve them and put an end to their troubles, provided they would follow him as far as the deſart, ſeduced them thither. But *Feſtus* not only put the deceiver to death, but his ſoldiers ſlew alſo thoſe who accompanied him.

Much about this time king *Agrippa* erected near the *Xyethus*, in the royal place at *Hieroſolyma*, which formerly belonged to the ſons of *Aſmoneus*, and was their palace, a very magnificent building, and of great magnitude. As he built on a riſing ground, it afforded a very delightful proſpect to thoſe who had a mind to take a view of the city: The king was very fond of this, and, when he was pleaſed to amuſe himſelf in his turret, he could ſurvey every thing that was tranſacted in the temple. But the elders of *Hieroſolyma*, obſerving this, were extremely offended; for neither the cuſtom of our country, or our laws, ſuffered any but the prieſts to be ſpectators of what was done in the temple, eſpecially when ſacrifices were offering: For this reaſon they built a very high wall above the *Eſcedra*, which was in the inner part of the temple, and faced the going down of the ſun. This wall, being thus raiſed, not only took away the proſpect from the king's turret, but from the portico which ſtood on the weſt ſide of the temple, where uſually were kept *Roman* centinels to guard the temple on ſolemn days. Not only king *Agrippa*, but eſpecially *Feſtus* the governor, were very much offended hereat, and ordered the wall to be pulled down; upon this they deſired leave to ſend ambaſſadors to *Nero* about the affair, for they could not think of ſuſtaining their lives any longer, when any part of the temple was pulled down. Upon obtaining leave from *Feſtus*, they deputed ten principal men of their body, and *Iſmael* the prieſt, and *Heleias* the ſacred treaſurer, to go to *Nero*; the cauſe being debated before him, he not only pardoned them in what they had done, but granted them liberty to let the wall ſtand; in this action, gratifying his wife *Popea*, who, as a religious woman, had interceeded with him for the *Jews*. He ordered the ten elders to depart back, but kept *Heleias* and *Iſmael* as hoſtages. Theſe proceedings coming to the king, he conferred the prieſthood on *Joſeph*, ſon of *Simon*, who had formerly been prieſt, and who was ſirnamed *Cabus*.

CHAP. IX.

Of Albinus, *under whoſe Government* James *was put to Death; Of the Buildings of* Agrippa.

WHEN *Cæſar* received the news of the death of *Feſtus*, he ſent *Albinus* to be governor of *Judea*; mean while the king took the prieſthood from *Joſeph*, and gave it to the ſon of *Ananus*, of the ſame name. It is ſaid that the elder *Ananus* was one of the happieſt men living, for he had five ſons, and every one happened to ſerve God in the prieſthood, after he himſelf had performed the functions of that high dignity a long time; a thing which never happened to any other prieſt among us: However, the younger *Ananus*, whom we have juſt now obſerved to have received the ſacerdotal dignity, was of an implacable temper, and remarkably audacious, following the ſect of the (*a*) *Sadducees*, who, above all other *Jews*, are (*b*) ſour and harſh in their determinations; as we have taken notice in the foregoing. *Ananus*, as he was of this caſt of mind, ſuppoſing he had a fine opportunity thrown into his hands, as *Feſtus* was dead, and *Albinus* upon the road, he aſſembled a court compoſed of judges, and bringing before them the brother of *Jeſus*, who

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(*a*) The *Talmudiſts* in the Book *Joma*, teſtify that the High-prieſt, before he was admitted to celebrate the Day of Expiation, was obliged to take an Oath, not to follow the Tenets of the *Sadducees* in making Incenſe; from hence then it appears there were ſometimes High-prieſts out of the *Sadducees*. *Reland*.

(*b*) In the 13th Book, Chap. 10. of the foregoing Hiſtory, the *Sadducees* are ſaid to be vaſtly ſevere in their Determinations; and the *Phariſees*, on the other Hand, as meek in inflicting Puniſhments. *Spanheim*. This Remark, that the *Sadducees* were more rigid than the other *Jews*, in the Puniſhments they inflicted, is illuſtrated by what is mentioned in *Megillath Taanith*: The *Sadducees* are ſaid to have wrote the Book *Tammuz*, which they make a *Canon*, and in this it is mentioned that ſome were ſtoned, ſome burned, and others differently puniſhed, which is confirmed by that rigid Sentence of theirs, *Eye for Eye, and Tooth for Tooth*. Hence it ſeems, the *Sadducees* are firſt mentioned, as they who were for a ſevere Puniſhment upon *Peter* and *John*. Acts 4, 1, and 5, 17. On the contrary, the *Phariſees* are read Acts, 5, 34. to have ſhewn a more mild and moderate Behaviour. For *Gamaliel*, the *Phariſee*, is ſaid to have adviſed the diſmiſſing the Apoſtles; and there are ſeveral other Paſſages both in the Body of the *Phariſaical* Laws, which is the *Talmud*, and in other Places, from which we are taught, that the *Phariſees* were exceeding merciful in puniſhing Offenders. See *Lightfoot* upon *John* XVIII. 31. *Joſephus* in his Life, who was a *Phariſee*, praiſes his Clemency, and how he forbore to puniſh thoſe who were in his Power, and that more than once; becauſe he thought it a Wickedneſs, to put to Death an *omoeulon*, or one who was his Countryman. *Reland*.

was called Chriſt, named *James*, and ſome others with him, he preferred an accuſation againſt them, as being guilty of violating the laws; after which they were ſurrendered to be ſtoned to death. Thoſe citizens who were enemies to ſuch raſh proceedings, and accounted ſtrict obſervers of the laws, took the meaſures which had been thus purſued in a heavy manner, and privately ſent ambaſſadors to the king, begging him he would be pleaſed to ſend *Ananus* a letter, and warn him in it, not to attempt ſuch another thing, for that it was againſt all manner of juſtice. Beſide, ſome of them met *Albinus* as he was travelling from the city of *Alexandria*, and repreſented to him, that *Ananus* had no liberty to (*a*) ſummon a court of judges without his conſent. *Albinus*, won over by the ſpeech theſe perſons made, wrote a very ſharp letter to *Ananus*, in which he threatened to puniſh him. Upon which king *Agrippa* deprived him of his prieſthood, which he had held three months, and conſtituted *Jeſus*, the ſon of *Damnæus*, prieſt in his room.

Upon the arrival of *Albinus* at *Hieroſolyma*, he took all the care and diligence he was able, to put the province into a quiet ſituation, by inflicting death upon great numbers of the robbers. *Ananias*, the prieſt, daily grew into greater eſteem, and the people and citizens had a mighty kindneſs and favour for him; for he was well verſed in the method of acquiring money, and, by the preſents he made *Albinus* and the high-prieſt, he ſoftned and gained them over to his intereſt. Beſide this, he had a numerous company of wicked ſervants, who, joining to them a pack of fellows like themſelves, went to the barns, and took away the tenths of the prieſts, and had the impudence to cudgel thoſe, who were any obſtacle to their illegal deſigns: The other prieſts alſo and their ſervants became guilty of the like practices, when they found there were none to obſtruct them: Hence theſe prieſts, who uſually ſupported themſelves upon the tenths, died through hunger.

The robbers again, while the feſtival was celebrating, which now happen'd, entered the city in the night-time, and took alive the ſcribe of *Eleazar*, (who was governor of the temple) the ſon of the high-prieſt *Ananus*, bound and carried him away. After this, they ſent a meſſenger to *Ananias*, and ſaid, they would ſend back the ſcribe to him, provided he cauſed *Albinus* to releaſe ten of their brethren, then in his cuſtody. *Ananias*, reduced to this neceſſity, was obliged to ſolicit *Albinus* upon the affair, and obtained his requeſt; but ſtill the matter was attended with fatal conſequences. Hence aroſe worſe evils than before, for the robbers were conſtantly at work to apprehend ſome friends or relations of *Ananias*, a pretty many of whom they often took alive, but never releaſed without a competent number of their own men in exchange; by which means, having augmented their body to a conſiderable number, which filled them with freſh boldneſs, they renewed their hoſtilities all over the country.

King *Agrippa*, about this time, having amplified *Cæſarea*, which was call'd *Philippi*, with an additional number of buildings, in honour of *Nero*, called it *Neronias*. Beſide, he erected a theatre at *Berytus*, which coſt him a vaſt ſum of money, and he endowed it with annual games, for the celebration of which, he ſet a-part ſeveral thouſands drachms. Add to this, he gave the people corn, and diſtributed oil among them; and further, to ſhew his liberality, he erected in all parts of the city fine ſtatues, which were copied after the originals of the moſt famous ſtatuaries of antiquities, to which he added and brought all the fineſt ornaments of his kingdom. His ſubjects took occaſion from this proceedure of his, to ſhew their hatred, in that he had deprived them of their beſt ornaments, only to embelliſh a ſtranger city. *Agrippa* took the prieſthood from *Jeſus*, the ſon of *Damnæus*, and conferred it upon *Jeſus*, the ſon of *Gamaliel*; hence aroſe a diſpute between theſe two. When they had muſter'd upon either ſide a company of daring men, from reproaches they came to ſtones, which they threw plentifully at one another. But *Ananias*, being exceeding rich, diſtributed his money, and gained over a great number of *Partizans*. *Coſtobarus* and

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(*a*) Was the Procurator of *Judea* to be inſtructed, that the High-prieſt had no Liberty to do thus without his Authority? Was he ignorant of this? What would *Joſephus* mean by the Word *Peitheis*, or *won over?* Was he to be won over by their Words to believe thoſe Things true which they told him *Ananus* had done? But it muſt be remarked on the other Hand, that *Joſephus* writes, that the High-prieſt ſummoned the *Synedrim*, becauſe he thought he had a fit Opportunity for it, by Reaſon of the Governor's Abſence. If the Governor had no Authority to give Leave for aſſembling the *Synedrim*, why did *Ananus* judge this a proper Time in his Abſence? Beſide, if he tranſgreſſed in not calling together the *Synedrim* with the Conſent of the other *Jews*, Why did not *Joſephus* after the Words *Kalein ſunethrion*, *aſſemble the Court*, add the Words *Koris tes gnomes*, *without the Conſent* of them? Add to this, thoſe who were ſent to *Albinus* were ſent by Perſons in the City, the moſt eminent in the Knowledge of the Laws of their Country. It is not ſaid that they were any Ways dignified as Elders, or Generals of the People, which was neceſſary, as their Conſent was required to ſummon the *Synedrim*. Laſtly, were theſe Perſons, who ſay his Conſent was neceſſary, Members of the *Synedrim*, or were they preſent at it? If ſo, Why were they preſent at a *Synedrim* which was not lawfully conſtituted? Ought not they, as Members of the *Synedrim*, to have been asked by the High prieſt whether or no the *Synedrim* could be ſummoned? But where is this mentioned? If they were not Members of the *Synedrim*, who elſe among the People, were inveſted with Dignity ſufficient to have Liberty of granting the High-prieſt a Power of convening this Aſſembly? Theſe Perſons were certainly ſuch, who acquainted the Governor what had been acted, and inſtructed him how the Affair ſtood, and what was the Practice relating to it; upon which the Governor wrote in an angry Manner to the High-prieſt, being induced to it by the Words of thoſe who had mov'd him to it, and threaten'd to puniſh him, which *Agrippa* performed, by taking away from him his Prieſthood. If the High-prieſt had aſſembled the *Synedrim* without the Advice of ſome *Jews*, and had only tranſgreſſed in this Article, can we ſuppoſe *Albinus* would have proved ſo angry, and that *Agrippa* would have deprived him of the Prieſthood?

Saul, two perſons of royal deſcent, being related to *Agrippa*, and in great favour with the people, aſſembled each a band of deſperadoes; being of themſelves ready on all occaſions to commit their depredations on perſons inferior in ſtrength to them. Add to all this, our city, already expoſed to numberleſs calamities, was every day running to the worſe.

Albinus, hearing *Geſſius Florus* was on the road to ſucceed him, and willing to give the *Jews* ſome grateful act, brought forth thoſe priſoners who juſtly deſerved death, and ordered them to be executed; but of thoſe, whoſe offences ſeemed of light conſequence, he took a ſum of money, and diſcharged them. Thus the gaols were emptied of their priſoners, but all the country remained expoſed to the depredations of robbers.

In the mean while, thoſe *Levites* (who were a tribe of themſelves) who were ſingers, begging the king to ſummon the *Synedrim*, and let them have an equal liberty with the prieſts to wear a linnen ſtole, telling him he ought, during his reign, to inſtitute ſomething that was new to perpetuate his memory; their requeſt was not in vain, for the king, having obtained the conſent of thoſe who compoſed the *Synedrim*, granted the privilege to the *Choiriſters*, and left them at liberty to lay aſide their former garment, and wear that which they had petitioned for; and, while the other part of the ſame tribe was buſied in the ſervices of the temple, he permitted them, as they had petitioned, to proceed in learning to chant hymns. All theſe things were againſt the inſtitutions of our country, the violation of which was certainly to be attended with a deſerved puniſhment.

At this time, the building of the temple was finiſhed; and the people perceiving that above eighteen thouſand workmen would be idle, and want wages, who before were ſupported out of the work about the temple, and not caring to lay up the ſacred money for fear of the *Romans*, and having a regard for ſuch a number of workmen, they were deſirous to expend that treaſure upon them: For if a man laboured only one hour in the day, he was preſently ſatisfied for it. They went to the king, and adviſed him to build the eaſtern gate, for the portico of the outward temple looked over a profound valley, and reſted upon a wall of four hundred cubits high, and was built of ſquare ſtone of an exceeding white colour, the length of every ſtone was twenty cubits, and the depth ſix. It was the work of *Solomon*, who entirely built the temple. The king, to whom *Claudius Cæſar* had given the care of the temple, took the thing into his conſideration, and reflected that it was an eaſy matter to begin any undertaking; but the building of this was of great difficulty, eſpecially ſuch a portico as this was, which was a work that required a long time, and a great deal of money to compleat it. Theſe thoughts made the king give them a denial, but left them at liberty to beautify the city with white ſtone After this, he deprived *Jeſus*, the ſon of *Gamaliel*, of the prieſthood, and conferred it upon *Matthias*, the ſon of *Theophilus*, under whoſe pontificate the war broke out between the *Romans* and *Jews*.

CHAP. X.

A Detail of the High-prieſts.

I Now think it neceſſary, and very appoſite to this hiſtory, to treat a little of the high-prieſts; what was their original, and to whom this dignity was granted, and how many there were to the end of this war. Firſt, it is ſaid, that *Aaron*, the brother of *Moyſes*, performed the duties of the chief prieſthood to God; and that after his deceaſe, his ſons immediately ſucceeded him, who were followed in the dignity by all his poſterity; and that hence it became a law of our country, that no one ſhould be an high-prieſt of God unleſs he was deſcended of the line of *Aaron*; neither, ſhould it be lawful for any perſon of foreign extraction, even ſuppoſing he had been a king, to be advanced to the pontificate. The whole number then from *Aaron*, who as we have obſerved, was the firſt, to *Phanaſus*, who was made high-prieſt by the mutineers and faction at the time of the war, amounted to eighty three; thirteen of which number enjoyed the prieſthood during the time the tabernacle, built by *Moyſes* in honour of God, ſtood in the deſart while it flouriſhed, till the coming into *Jndea*, where king *Solomon* erected a temple to God. At the beginning, they continued in the prieſthood for life; but afterwards, the prieſts were obliged to withdraw, and be ſucceeded in their life-times. Theſe thirteen, who were deſcendants from *Aaron*'s two ſons, enjoyed the honour by a continued ſucceſſion. (*a*) Their government was firſt ariſtocratical, then monarchial, and afterwards

regal

(*a*) *Galenius* turns this Paſſage thus: Under theſe Prieſts, the Adminiſtration of the Republick was veſted in the Hands of the great Men, next of the Monarchs, Judges, and then of the Kings. *Epiphanius* ſays thus, The Republick of the *Hebrews* was firſt under the Government of the People, next veſted in the Hand of one Perſon, and laſtly, put under the Authority of Kings. See *Selden*, in his Book *De Synedriis*, c. 15. p. 647.

regal. The number of years theſe thirteen held the government, from the time our anceſtors, through the conduct of *Moyſes*, left *Ægypt*, till the building of *Solomon*'s temple at *Hieroſolyma*, ariſes to (*a*) ſix hundred and twelve years. After theſe thirteen prieſts, eighteen others enjoyed the dignity, who from the time of king *Solomon*, ſucceeded one another at *Hieroſolyma*, till *Nabuchodonoſor*, the *Babylonian* king, made an expedition againſt the city, burnt the temple, carried our nation to *Babylon*, and made captive *Joſadac* the high-prieſt. The time they continued in the prieſthood was four hundred ſixty ſix years, ſix months and ten days, being then under a regal government. Seventy years after this, from the time the *Babylonians* had brought deſtruction upon us, *Cyrus*, king of the *Perſians*, ſent back the *Jews* into their own country from *Babylon*, and gave them liberty to build the temple again. At their return, *Jeſus*, the ſon of *Joſadac*, one of the captives, who returned, received the prieſthood, who, with his poſterity, being fifteen in number, governed the people for four hundred and twelve years, till the days of *Antiochus Eupator*. This *Antiochus*, and his general *Lyſias*, were the firſt who deprived *Onias*, ſirnamed *Menelaus*, of the prieſthood, by putting him to death at *Berœas*; and, having deprived his ſon *Jacim* of the right he had to the ſucceſſion, conſtituted *Jacim* high-prieſt, who was a deſcendant of the line of *Aaron*, but did not belong to the family of *Onias*. This was the reaſon made *Onias*, brother-in-law of the deceaſed *Onias*, and of the ſame name with his father, take a journey into *Ægypt*, where having procured the friendſhip of *Ptolomy Philometor* and his wife *Cleopatra*, he obtained their conſent to let him erect a temple in the province of *Heliopolis*, like that at *Hieroſolyma*, of which they made him prieſt. We have ſeveral times had opportunities of mentioning this temple, which was built in *Ægypt*. *Jacim*, having continued in the prieſthood three years, died, but no one immediately ſucceeded him, and the city remained without an high-prieſt during ſeven years. When the ſons of *Aſſamonæus* came to the government, and carried their arms againſt the *Macedonians*, they created an high-prieſt, and inveſted *Jonathan* in the dignity, who held it ſeven years; but happening to loſe his life by the treachery and villainy of *Tryphon*, as we have took occaſion to obſerve in the foregoing, the prieſthood devolved upon his brother *Simon*: He, having continued in the prieſthood one year longer than his brother, was artfully ſlain at an entertainment, and ſucceeded by *Hyrcanus*, who held the dignity thirty years, and then dying in an advanced old age, the ſucceſſion devolved upon *Hyrcanus*, who was otherwiſe named *Ariſtobulus*: This perſon obtaining the government with the prieſthood, (for *Judas* was the firſt prieſt who placed a crown upon his head, which he wore one year) died of a violent diſeaſe, and was ſucceeded by his brother *Alexander*, who, after a twenty years continuance in the kingdom and prieſthood, died, and left his wife *Alexandra* with a power of beſtowing it upon her own ſon *Hyrcanus*: After ſhe had held the reigns of government nine years, ſhe died: *Hyrcanus* continued in the prieſthood the like number of years, but his mother dying, his brother *Ariſtobulus* made war upon him, and giving him a defeat, took the prieſthood from him, and thruſt himſelf into the kingdom, and performed the functions of the prieſthood. After he had reigned three years, and as many months, *Pompey* came to *Hieroſolyma*, to which he laid ſiege, and took it, ſent *Ariſtobulus* and his children priſoners to *Rome*, reſtored *Hyrcanus* to the prieſtood, permitted him to govern the nation, but enjoined him not to place a diadem upon his head. *Hyrcanus*, except the firſt nine years, reigned twenty four; but *Barzapharnes* and *Pacorus*, two generals of the *Parthians*, paſſed the *Euphrates*, made war upon *Hyrcanus*, took him priſoner alive, and made *Alexander*, ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, king in his room, who, having reigned three years, and as many months, had the misfortune to ſee *Soſſius* and *Herod* at the gates of *Hieroſolyma*, which they beſieged, took, and him priſoner, and afterwards carried him away to *Antioch*, where he was put to death by order of *Anthony*. *Herod*, after this, obtained the kingdom at the hands of the *Romans*, but made the high-prieſt no longer of the *Aſſamonæan* family, but conferred the dignity on perſons of mean extraction, and only to one who was deſcended of the ſacerdotal line; for after he had made *Ariſtobulus*, the nephew of *Hyrcanus*, who had been taken by the *Parthians*, he married his ſiſter *Mariamne*, to gain the affections of the people to him, who preſerved *Hyrcanus* in their remembrance; but having afterwards apprehenſions that a general revolt would be made over to *Ariſtobulus*, he took away his life at *Jericho*, by treacherouſly deſigning his death as he was bathing, when he had him drowned, as we have already obſerved in the foregoing. But *Herod*, after him, never conferred the prieſthood upon the deſcendants of *Aſſamonæus*; and his ſon *Archelaus* copied after him in the creation of prieſts; and after him the *Romans*, who conquered the kingdom of the *Jews*. The number of thoſe who enjoyed the prieſthood from the days of *Herod*, to the time *Titus* laid the temple and city in aſhes, amount

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(*a*) *Joſephus* in l. viii. c. 11. enumerates five hundred and eighty ſeven Years; but here (as *Voſſius* remarks in his Sacred Chronology, p. 170) he adds twenty Years more, which elapſed between the Death of *Eli* and *Samuel*, which, if we admit, there's no Need of the Amendment *Petit* hath made in this Paſſage.

to twenty eight, and the continuance of their ſeveral prieſthoods ariſes to one hundred and five years; beſides, ſome were veſted with the government under king *Herod* and his ſon *Archelaus*, after whoſe deceaſe the adminiſtration was ariſtocratical, but the government of the nation was committed to the prieſts, and what we have obſerved of the prieſts is ſufficient in this place.

CHAP. IX.

Of Florus, *the Procurator, who forced the* Jews *to take up Arms agaiuſt the* Romans; *the Epilogue.*

GESSIUS *Florus*, whom *Nero* had ſent to ſucceed *Albinus*, was the cauſe of innumerable calamities to the *Jews*; he was a *Clazomenian* by birth, and his wife's name was *Cleopatra*; by whoſe intereſt, as being a friend of *Poppea*, *Nero*'s wife, and himſelf equally cruel with him, he obtained the government of *Judea*, where he made ſo ſcandalous an abuſe of his authority, that the *Jews*, becauſe of his intolerable iniquity, openly commended *Albinus*, as if they had been infinitely obliged to him. *Albinus* indeed, ſtrove all he could to conceal from the eyes of the world his indirect ſchemes, and was very careful not to open his weak ſide to every one. But *Geſſius Florus*, on the contrary, as if he had been ſent to boaſt of his inhumanity, made a triumph of the calamities he did our nation, and left nothing unattempted that might contribute to his rapacious proceedings, and cruel proſecutions: He was implacable, and one who knew not what it was to be moved with pity, and ſo exorbitantly covetous, that he made no difference between things of great or ſmall conſequence. He would ſhare the booty which robbers made, great numbers of whom followed a licentious courſe of life, and thought, as he went partner with them in the ſpoil they procured, they had no room to be any ways fearful of themſelves. This was a melancholy proceeding, and the miſerable *Jews*, finding there was no meaſure of their misfortunes, and unable to hold out againſt the depredations the robbers made, were compelled to abandon their habitations, and fly; ſuppoſing to find a more quiet life any where among foreigners. But what avails it to inſiſt longer on this head. It was through *Florus*, who forced us to it, that we took up arms againſt the *Romans*, and judged it ſafer and more honourable to die in the arms of one another, than ſuffer by piece-meal. This war was begun in the ſecond year of *Florus*'s adminiſtration, and the twelfth of *Nero*'s empire; when, how much we ſuffered through compulſion, and how many hardſhips we were expoſed to, thoſe who have a mind to be fully ſatisfied in the ſeveral particulars, may read them in the books we have wrote of the *Jewiſh* war.

I will here make an end of our antiquities, after which I begin to write of this war. The antiquities take in an account of matters, from the firſt man to the twelfth year of *Nero*'s empire, and tell of the misfortunes and ſufferings we ſuſtained in *Ægypt*, *Syria*, and *Paleſtine*, and the havocks the *Syrians* and *Babylonians* made among us, and the ſeveral ways the *Perſians* and *Macedonians* took to vex and wear away our ſtrength, and after them the *Romans*; all which, I preſume, I have traced with ſome accuracy. Beſides, I have made it my endeavour to give a detail of the ſeveral high-prieſts among us, whoſe dignity was exiſting above two thouſand years: I have added to this, an account of the ſeveral kings, as they ſucceeded one another, I believe, without error; and mentioned the actions they performed, and in what manner they behaved in the public adminiſtration of their kingdom: To which I have farther inſinuated the government of the monarchs (Judges) as they have occurred to me from the ſacred writings, which, at the beginning of this hiſtory, I promiſed to perform: And I dare take upon me to ſay, that, having thus brought to a concluſion this work which I deſigned, no other perſon, though never ſo willing, whether *Jew* or *Gentile*, could have related the facts mentioned in it, with more truth to the *Greeks*: For I call my countrymen to witneſs the great helps I have given them, as to the knowledge of our laws. I devoted myſelf to the underſtanding the *Grecian* learning, after I had made ſome progreſs in the rudiments of grammar; though a cuſtom of my country hindred me from making any great proficiency in it: For our nation little eſteem thoſe, who have learnt the languages of ſeveral nations, and who have procured a graceful and delicate turn in their diſcourſe, becauſe they think it a ſtudy only common with ſervants, and the perſons of their families; for thoſe alone are the learned with them, who have obtained a competent knowledge in the laws, and are able to give a wiſe interpretation upon any paſſage or word in the ſacred writings. This is the reaſon why many have addicted themſelves to this ſtudy, but ſcarce above two or three have made themſelves proficients, or immediately reaped the fruits of their labour. It will not be perhaps a thing out of the way, to ſpeak ſomething of myſelf, family, and the actions of my life-time, while there are people who can bear me witneſs if I acquaint them with the truth, or reprove me on the contrary: Upon which I ſhall here make an end of the antiquities, which are comprized in twenty books, and include ſixty thouſand verſes, (1) and, if God permit me, I will make a ſhort recapitulation of the whole, and treat of the war we had with the *Jews*, and the events that have befallen us to this day, which falls out in the (2) thirtieth year of the emperor *Domitian Cæſar*, and the fifty-ſixth year of my age. But I think to write four (3) books concerning God and his attributes, from the opinion of thoſe *Jews*, which they have received from their progenitors; and to treat of our laws, why we are permitted in ſome things, and prohibited in others by them.

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(1) The antient *Greeks* uſed to diſtinguiſh the Parts of their Diſcourſes, by *Sichoi*, Verſes, but *Sichos* doth not comprize a whole Period, but only a Part of it, which contained a diſtinct Senſe in itſelf, which made the number of the *Sichoi* ſwelled to a prodigious number. See *Millius* upon this Article.

(2) *Scaliger* objects a Miſtake to *Joſephus* in this Paſſage, who, ſpeaking of his Life, ſays, he was born in the firſt Year of *Caius*, and finiſhed his Antiquities in the thirteenth Year of *Domitian*; from whence he conjectures *Joſephus* ought to have mentioned one Year leſs, and numbered only fifty ſeven Years. But this is nothing to the Purpoſe; for *Caius* began his Empire in the 37th Year of Chriſt, on the Twenty-fourth of *January*, and *Domitian* entered upon the Empire in the Ninety third of Chriſt, on the Fourteenth of *September*; let us ſuppoſe then, *Joſephus* was born in the thirty ſeventh Year of Chriſt, in the Month of *December*, or in the thirty eighth Year, in the Beginning of *January*, while the firſt Year of *Caius* was in being, his fifty ſixth Year will then begin from *December* of the ninety ſecond Year, and after the Beginning of *Domitian's* twelfth Year, ſo that he was fifty-ſix Years of Age when he made an end of writing, which was in *October*, of the Year ninety-three.

(3) *Joſephus* promiſes here four Books of the *Jewiſh* Opinions of God, his Eſſence, and the laws, which are not extant.

The END of the Twentieth BOOK *of the Antiquities.*

THE

(1) LIFE

OF

(2) *FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.*

MY family is of honourable extraction, and deſcended from a long ſeries of the ſacerdotal line. As every nation has particular marks of diſtinction, our nation conclude it a piece of high diſtinction to be dignified with the office of the prieſthood. In relation to this, I am not only derived from the race of the prieſts, but from the principal claſs out of the four and twenty, (and certainly this is a great honour (3) and from the nobleſt family belonging to it. Beſide, my deſcent by the mother's ſide, comes from a ſucceſſion of kings, for the poſterity of *Aſſamonæus*, of whom ſhe is deſcended, enjoyed for a long time the high-prieſthood and kingdom of the *Jews*; and I will here give a detail of their ſucceſſion. My grandfather was *Simon*, ſirnamed *Pſellas*, who flouriſhed at the time the ſon of the high-prieſt *Simon*, who was the firſt of the prieſts called *Hyrcanus*, held the prieſthood. *Simon Pſellas* had nine ſons, and one of them was named *Matthias*, who was called the ſon of *Ephlias*. *Matthias* married the daughter of *Jonathan* the high-prieſt, who was the (4) firſt of the family of the *Aſſamonæans*, who brought the prieſthood into his houſe. *Simon Pſellas* had a brother, and *Matthias* had by his wife a ſon named *Gibboſus*, in the firſt year of *Hyrcanus*'s reign over our nation, who had *Joſeph* born to him the firſt year of *Alexandra*'s reign. *Joſeph* had *Matthias* in the tenth year of king *Archelaus*, and *Matthias* had me in the firſt year of the empire of *Caius*. I have three children; *Hyrcanus*, the eldeſt, was born in the fourth year of the reign of *Veſpaſian Cæſar*, *Juſtus* in the ſeventh, and *Agrippa* in the ninth. Thus I have divulged the ſucceſſion of my family, as I have found it inſerted in the publick records, and wiſh health to thoſe, who endeavour to traduce us.

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(1) *Euſebius*, in the third Book of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and Chapter 10, makes this Book the Epilogue of the Antiquities, or of the Twentieth and laſt Book; upon which account, it is unjuſtly ſeperated in the *Greek* and *Latin* Editions of our Author, which *Valeſius* has juſtly remarked upon this Place of *Euſebius*. *Hudſon*, *Reland*, and *Spanheim*.

(2) The Life of *Joſephus* was written after his Hiſtory of the *Jewiſh* Wars, as he himſelf intimates a little below in this Book, where he ſays, he has given a more copious Account of himſelf in his Book of the Wars. The Time when he wrote his Life, was in the empire of *Trajan*, according to *Scaliger*, becauſe he has made mention of *Agrippa* in it, who died in the third Year of *Trajan*, as *Photius*, in his Fragments from *Juſtus Tiberius*, remarks; which *Dodwell* and *Pearſon* refute; but it appears a little before the End of this Life, that the Hiſtory of the *Jewiſh* Wars was wrote in the Life-time of *Agrippa*, where he reproves *Juſtus* for not publiſhing his Books as he had done, in the Life-times of *Veſpaſian*, *Titus*, and *Agrippa*. *Spanheim*.

(3) This Addition is taken from the *Dutch* Manuſcript, for *Joſephus* ſaying that he was not only deſcended from the chief of the twenty-four Claſſes, and that his Family bore the greateſt Honour, Authority, and Repute in the ſame Claſs, we have incloſed the Words foregoing with two Crotches, and interpolated the Verſion.

(4) The Verſion of the Words, *firſt of the Family of the* Aſſamoneans *who brought the Prieſthood into his Houſe*, is ſupplied from the *Dutch* Copy, and we make no doubt but the Words carry the genuine Senſe of *Joſephus* in them, and are an amplification to Doctor *Hudſon*'s Tranſlation. *Havercamp*.

My father *Matthias* was not only conſpicuous for the nobility of his family, but ſhined in a more glorious ſphere from his eminent juſtice, being the report of every one at *Hieroſolyma*, which is our capital city. I received a liberal education with my brother German *Matthias*, and made ſo great proficiency in literature, that I was thought to excel my contemporaries in the remembering and underſtanding of things which were taught me; for while I was a boy about fourteen years of age, I carried the prize from every one, in that branch of learning I addicted myſelf to, and ſome or other of the prieſts and the principal citizens were daily coming to me, to learn ſomething or other that related to the intricate conſtitution of the laws. When I arrived at ſixteen years of age, I reſolved with myſelf to ſearch into the different opinions of our ſects, who were three in number; the firſt was that of the *Phariſees*, the ſecond of the *Sadducees*, and the third of the *Eſſens*, as we have ſeveral times hinted: I conſidered, if I could learn the different tenets of them all, I might get an opportunity thence to fix my choice upon that which was the beſt. With this view, I expoſed my life to ſeveral hardſhips and difficulties, by means of which I got a thorough inſight into the three ſects; but, ſuppoſing the experience I had attained from them inſufficient to the end I propoſed to myſelf, and hearing that one *Banus* lived in the deſart, providing himſelf cloathing from the cloaths, fed upon the food which ſpontaneouſly came from the ground, and uſed both night and day cold bathings, which he did to purify his life, I took up a reſolution to copy after him; and having ſpent three years in his hermitage, I returned again to the city, and (being now about nineteen years old) began to conform my life in imitation of the ſect of the *Phariſees*, which comes near to the ſect of ſtoicks ſo called among the *Græcians*.

After I had paſſed my ſix and twentieth year, I happened to go to *Rome*, on the account which I am going to relate. When *Felix* was procurator of *Judea*, he ſent ſome prieſts, who were my particular acquaintance, and were very honeſt and good men, to *Rome*, for a trifling and ridiculous cauſe, to plead for themſelves before *Cæſar*; when I heard that their misfortunes had not made them forget their duty to God, but that they ſupported their lives on nuts and figs, I was deſirous to give them a teſtimony of my love, and endeavour to ſave their perſons. At length I arrived at *Rome*, having been expoſed to great difficulties at ſea; for the ſhip I was in ſunk in the middle of the *Adriatic* gulph, and the company on board being full ſix hundred perſons, we were obliged to ſwim all the night to preſerve ourſelves; but ſoon as dawn appeared we eſpied, by the providence of God, a veſſel of *Syrene*, upon which I and ſome others, to the number of fourſcore perſons, being better ſwimmers than the reſt, were taken on board. Having thus eſcaped and got to *Dicearchia*, which the *Italians* call *Puteoli*, I procured the friendſhip of *Aliturus*, who was a *Jew*, and an actor, and in great favour with *Nero*: When I came to be known to *Poppea*, *Cæſar*'s wife, I made it my earneſt buſineſs to gain his intereſt for their diſcharge; *Poppea* loaded me with ſeveral preſents for this kindneſs of mine, after which I returned into my own country.

When I came there, I found affairs in a precarious ſcituation, and ſome change likely to break out; great numbers being elated with the late revolt from the *Romans*: To prevent this miſchief, I endeavoured to keep the rebellious within the bounds of their duty, by ſetting before their eyes the people they were going to engage with, and how they were vaſtly inferior to the *Romans* in military experience, and in the ſucceſs of their affairs; but this was not all, I further deſired them not to expoſe their country, families, and themſelves to the worſt misfortunes and difficulties. I uſed theſe remonſtrances, and urged them with great warmth and importunity, plainly foreſeeing that the exit of this war would be attended with dreadful conſequences. But whatever I laid before them had no effect, ſo great was the infatuation which their deſperate condition had thrown them into.

But, apprehending leſt too often inculcating the leſſons I gave them would draw upon me their hatred and ſuſpicion, and make them think I ſided with the enemy, which might, in the end, induce my countrymen to ſeize and put me in great danger of my life, I ſeized upon the caſtle *Antonia*, and withdrew into the inner part of the temple: But as ſoon as *Manahem*, and the gang of the chief robbers were put to death, I came privately out of the temple and converſed again with the prieſts and chief of the *Phariſees*. We were preſently put into a deep *Pannic*, at ſeeing the people take up arms; and when we were at a ſtand what courſe or meaſures we ſhould take, and having not power ſufficient to aſſwage the furious temper of the people, and having before our eyes the danger that was likely to enſue, we pretended to approve the ſteps they had taken; but adviſed them to reſtrain from any hoſtilities, and ſuffer the enemy to depart, becauſe we were in hopes that *Geſſius* would not be long in coming to us, with a ſufficient body of forces, to put a ſtop to the ſedition.

But, upon his coming and giving battle to the rebels, he had the ill fortune to be defeated, and ſeveral of his men to be ſlain, which overthrow became a ſourſe of miſerable calamities to our nation; for thoſe who longed for war were extremely puffed up with this firſt ſucceſs, and we were in great hopes we ſhould be able to maſter the *Romans*. Beſides, another cauſe for kindling this war fell out on the following account. The inhabitants of thoſe cities in *Syria* which border upon us, ſeized all the *Jews*, with their wives and children, who dwelt among them, and inhumanly put them to death, when they could find nothing to accuſe them of; for they had neither attempted any change in order to revolt from the *Romans*, nor had committed any hoſtilities againſt the *Syrians*. But the citizens of *Scythopolis* were the moſt barbarous and cruel on this occaſion, who being warred upon by the foreign *Jews*, obliged all the *Jews* reſiding among them to take up arms againſt their own tribes, a thing effectually prohibited by our laws; and by their aſſiſtance, upon engaging them, put thoſe who attacked them to the rout; but after the victory, little regarding the faith they owed their allies, they put all of them, to the number of ſeveral thouſands, to death. Nor were the *Jews* inhabiting *Damaſcus* out of the like circumſtances; but we will give a more accurate detail of this affair, when we come to ſpeak of the *Jewiſh* wars, for I have only now mentioned theſe particulars by the way, with an intent to ſhew my readers, that the *Jews* were not drawn into the war againſt the *Romans* through any ſet purpoſe, but rather obliged to it through neceſſity.

Geſſius being defeated, as we have obſerved above, and the principal among the *Hieroſolymites* ſeeing that the robbers had abundance of arms, and apprehending, that they might lie expoſed to the inſults of their enemies, which afterwards, but too truly happened; and hearing that all *Galilee* had revolted from the *Romans*, but that part of it ſtill preſerved itſelf quiet; they deputed me, and two prieſts, who were *Jozar* and *Judas*, good honeſt men, to go thither, and endeavour to perſuade the mutineers to lay down their arms, and acquaint them how much better it was to keep them for the loyal and valiant men in our nation; for it had been unanimouſly reſolved upon, to be always, for the future, upon the defenſive, and wait what ſteps the *Romans* were going to take.

When I had received theſe inſtructions, I went into *Galilee*, where I found the *Sepphorites* in very great anxiety and ſolicitude about their country; becauſe the *Galileans* had doomed it to plunder, both in their entering into an alliance with the *Romans*, and in their giving *Geſſius*, who was then governor of *Syria*, marks of their friendſhip. But I effectually removed all their apprehenſions, by perſuading the people, in order to pleaſe them, to a milder temper, and giving them liberty when ever they thought fit to ſend to *Dor*, a city of *Phœnicia*, to thoſe whom they had given *Geſſius* for hoſtages. But I found the citizens of *Tiberias* had taken up arms a little before this, on the following pretence.

There were three factions in this city; one of them conſiſted of more grave and honeſt citizens, and *Julius Cappellus* was their chief, who was followed by *Herod*, the ſon of *Miarus*, *Herod*, the ſon of *Gamalus*, and *Compſus*, the ſon of *Compſus*, and his brother *Criſpus*, who formerly had been made governor of the city by *Agrippa*, and now lived upon his eſtate on the other ſide *Jordan*; all theſe perſons whom I have here mentioned, were very urgent in perſuading the citizens to continue in the duty they owed the *Romans* and their king. But this advice had no influence on *Piſtus*, who had been won over by the counſel of the ſon of *Juſtus*; but otherwiſe, he was naturally of no bad diſpoſition. The other faction, being compoſed of a company of men of mean extraction, thought there was an abſolute neceſſity to run into a War. But *Juſtus*, the ſon of *Piſtus*, and the chief over the third faction, pretended he had ſcruples upon him in relation to the war; but was deſirous of a change, ſuppoſing a revolution would give him an opportunity of thruſting himſelf into ſome poſt of authority; and, with this view, ſtepping into the midſt of the multitude, he uſed all the rhetoric he was maſter of, to make them think, *That their city always had belonged to* Galilee, *and had been called a metropolis in the reign of* Herod *the tetrach its founder, who had enacted, that the city of the* Sepphorites, *ſhould be dependant on that of* Tiberias; *and that they had not loſt this preheminence under* Agrippa, *the father of the younger, but that they had enjoyed it till* Felix *came to be governor over* Judæa; *but, he told them, that they were bereft of it, becauſe* Nero *had made a preſent of them to the younger* Agrippa, *and that* Sepphoris, *was become the chief city of* Galilee, *ſince it had ſubjected itſelf to the* Romans; *and that they had then no royal table or archives.* Theſe and a great many more inſinuations, which were levelled at *Agrippa*, were purely done to irritate the people to a revolt; after which he thus added, *That then was the time for them to take up arms, and enter into an alliance with the* Galilæans (*who would readily obey them for the hatred they bore the* Sepphorites, *for continuing friends to the* Romans) *and join their forces together to take a juſt revenge upon them.* Theſe words effectually ſtirred up the minds of the multitude to engage in a war, for *Juſtus* was naturally formed for inſinuation, and his words were too perſuaſive not to have an influence over the people; beſides thoſe who were his adverſaries, and adviſed things quite contrary, were drawn in by his fallacious and artful reaſoning. He was verſed in the *Grecian* learning, which embolden'd him to write an hiſtory of theſe tranſactions, in order to conceal the facts he related. But we will ſpeak of this perſon, and tell of his abandoned and wicked life, and how he and his brother had like to have proved the authors of our nation's ruin, in this diſcourſe as we proceed in it. After *Juſtus* had thus perſuaded the people to take up arms, and forced great numbers, againſt their inclinations, to come into the ſame ſcheme, he marched with them, and ſet fire to the towns of the *Gadarens* and *Hippemi*, which bordered upon the confines of *Tiberias*, and the country of *Scythopolis*.

This was the ſituation *Tiberias* was in, but what belongs to *Giſchal*, the following is the account; *John*, the ſon of *Levi*, obſerving ſeveral of the citizens had revolted from the *Romans*, endeavoured to put a ſtop to the courſe of their diſloyalty, and begged them to preſevere in their obedience; but his remonſtrances were to no effect, though he took every ſtep he judged proper for that end; for the neighbouring people, the *Gadarens*, and *Gabarens*, *Sogameans*, and *Tyrians*, having raiſed a numerous army, ſet upon *Giſchal*, and took the city by ſtorm, which they laid in aſhes, and levelled with the ground, after which they returned home. This proceeding irritating *John*, he marſhalled all thoſe he had about him, engaged the aforeſaid people, raiſed *Giſchal* to a more beautiful city than before, and ſurrounded it with ſtrong walls for its future defence.

Gamala, in the interim, kept within its duty to the *Romans*, from the following cauſe: *Philip*, ſon of *Jacim*, and king *Agrippa*'s governor, unexpectedly eſcaping out of the palace at *Hieroſolyma*, when he was beſieged, fell into another danger, which was, that he had likely in his flight to have been put to death by *Manahem* and the robbers; but the *Babylonians*, who were his kinſmen, and then reſided at *Hieroſolyma*, ſaved his life. Having continued in this ſituation four days, on the fifth he put on counterfeit hair on his head, to diſguiſe himſelf, and ſought to ſecure himſelf; and coming to a certain town under his juriſdiction, which ſtood near the caſtle of *Gamala*, he ſent orders to ſome of his ſubjects to come to him. But while *Philip* was meditating on this, God hindered the execution of his deſign for his advantage, which, had it not happened, he had inevitably periſhed; for being ſuddenly taken with a fever, he delivered a letter, which was wrote to the children and wife of *Agrippa*, to his freedman, to carry to *Varus*, who at this time was governor of the kingdom, the adminiſtration of which had been committed to him by the kings; for they were gone to *Berytus*, with an intent to meet *Geſſius*, to honour him. When *Varus* receiv'd *Philip*'s letter, and found he had recovered, he was extremely uneaſy at it, and imagined the kings would think him of no ſervice to them, ſince *Philip* was come to them. In conſequence of this uneaſineſs, he took the perſon who brought the letter, and carried him into the midſt of the people, where, charging him with counterfeiting the letter, and telling, as he ſaid, a lye to him, in reporting that *Philip* had fought againſt the *Jews* at *Hieroſolyma*, he put him to death. But no freedman returning, *Philip*, who knew nothing at all of what had happened, ſent another perſon with another letter, in order to bring him word back what had befallen the firſt meſſenger he had ſent, that he did not haſten his return. But when this man came, *Varus* took him away, by laying accuſations againſt him. *Varus* was entirely drawn up to a vaſt conceit of himſelf by the *Syrians* inhabiting *Ceſarea*; telling him, that *Agrippa* would certainly be put to death by the *Romans*, for the tranſgreſſions of the *Jews*, and that he would receive the kingdom, becauſe he was deſcended from a race of kings. It was certain, *Varus* was come of royal blood, being the nephew of *Sohemus*, who had the government of the countries about *Libanus*. This was the principal thing that ſwelled the ambition of *Varus*, in conſequence of which, he kept the letter to himſelf, and ſtrove, all he could, to hinder the king from coming to underſtand the contents, and watched every avenue, for fear any perſon ſhould privately eſcape, and acquaint the king what was doing, and, in the concluſion, to humour the *Cæſarean Syrians*, put ſeveral of the *Jews* to death. Nor was this all, he ordered the people to take up arms in conjunction with the *Trachonites*, who dwelt in *Batamea*, and make an attack upon the *Babylonian Jews* (who had that appellation) who inhabited *Ecbatana*. With this view, he ſent for twelve of the moſt faithful among the *Cæſarean Jews*, to whom he gave orders to go to *Ecbatana*, and acquaint their countrymen, who inhabited there, with theſe words: ‘That *Varus*, having heard you are ready to make an inſurrection againſt your king, but not putting confidence altogether in the report, hath ſent us to adviſe you to lay down your arms, which will be the beſt argument to convince him, he juſtly disbelieved thoſe who ſignified ſuch a ſtory to him about you.’ And he commanded ſeventy of their principal men to be ſent, in order to clear them of what had been laid to their charge. In conſequence of theſe orders, when the twelve came among their tribeſmen, who were at *Ecbatana*, and found them in no poſture to bring about a change, they adviſed them to take care, and ſend the ſeventy perſons, who, little ſuſpecting what would happen, deputed the propoſed number, and ſent them to *Cæſarea* with the twelve. *Varus* took care to meet them with the royal army, and commanded every man of them, with the twelve, to be ſlain on the ſpot, and then made an expedition againſt the *Jews* at *Ecbatana*. But one of the ſeventy, having the good fortune to eſcape, got to his countrymen, and acquainted them with the treachery, upon which they immediately took up what arms they had, and withdrew with their wives and children to the caſtle *Gamala*, leaving their towns ſtored with abundance of wealth, and ſeveral thouſands of ſheep in them. When *Philip* came to hear of this procedure, he likewiſe withdrew to *Gamala*. Upon his appearing among them, they begged him with great earneſtneſs to put himſelf at their head, and defend them againſt the *Syrians* of *Cæſarea*, for, they told him, they had heard that they had put their king to death. But *Philip* endeavoured to check their deſign, and recalling to their remembrance the favours they had received from the king, and telling them how powerful the *Romans* were, and that it was effectually againſt their intereſt to enter into an offenſive war againſt them; he, at length, brought them to a better ſenſe of things. But when the king heard that the deſign of *Varus* was, one day or other, to put to death a great many thouſand *Jews*, with their wives and children, who dwelt in *Cæſarea*, he ſent for *Aquicolus Modius*, and ordered him to go and ſucceed him, as we have took notice in another place. And *Philip*, in the mean time, endeavoured to reſtrain the caſtle of *Gamala*, and the country round about, from revolting from the *Romans*, and ſhaking off their allegiance to them.

When I was come into *Galilee*, and had received the news of theſe tranſactions, from the meſſengers ſent me to that end, I took care to ſend a letter to the *Synedrim* at *Hieroſolyma* about every circumſtance, and required their orders how I was to behave myſelf; they deſired me to remain where I was, and, keeping the aſſociates of the embaſſy with me, if they liked it, to take care for the defence of *Galilee*. But my colleagues, having a great ſum of money about them, which they had collected from the tenths, and were due to them, as they were prieſts, reſolved to return home; but asking them to continue with me, till things were compoſed, they readily conſented, upon which they accompanied me from *Sepphoris*. I went into a certain town, named *Bethmai*, about four furlongs from *Tiberias*, whither ſending a meſſenger, I ſummoned the ſenate and the elders of the people there to appear before me; who coming, (and *Juſtus* was in their company) I told them, the people of *Hieroſolyma* had ſent me with my colleagues to them, to perform an ambaſſy, and adviſe them effectually to take away the houſe *Herod* the tetrarch had built, becauſe he had adorned it with the images of *Animals*, when the law expreſly forbade it; and I deſired them to give us liberty to do it as ſoon as we could. But *Capellus*, and the elders of the people, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, and would not for a long time be induced to give their conſent, till, overcome by our perſuaſions, they, at length, came to agree with our opinion; however, *Jeſus* the ſon of *Sapphias* prevented us, who, as we have obſerved already, was chief of the faction of ſailors, and the poorer ſort; for after he had got together a company of *Galileans*, he went and ſet fire to all the palace, thinking to enrich himſelf out of the ruins, and the gold he ſhould find there, becauſe he perceived the roof of ſome of the chambers covered over with gold; and indeed his companions pillaged ſeveral things which we little thought of. After we had tranſacted our buſineſs with the men of *Tiberias*, we withdrew from *Bethmai*, and went into the upper *Galilee*. But *Jeſus*'s faction ſlew every *Greek* that was in the city, and all whom they eſteemed as enemies, before theſe hoſtilities.

When I heard this, I was very much enraged; and when I came to *Tiberius*, uſed all the care and diligence I could, to ſave the houſhold furniture of the palace, which could be got out of the hands of the pillagers; among theſe were candleſticks of *Corinthian* braſs, and royal tables, and a great quantity of unſtamped ſilver: Every thing I obtained, I reſolved to preſerve for the king; and, to this end, I ſent for twelve of the principal ſenators, and *Capellus*, the ſon of *Antillus*, and gave the goods to them, with expreſs orders to deliver them to no one living without my leave. After which I went with my colleagues to *Giſchal*, to *John*, deſiring to know what he was a tranſacting or meditating, and it was not long before I found him ſtudious to procure a change, and aſpiring to ſeize upon the government; for he importuned me to give him liberty to export *Cæſar*'s corn, which was laid up in the towns of the upper *Galilee*, ſaying, he would expend it in the building the walls of his city; but perceiving, in this requeſt, the drift of his intentions, I ſaid I could not permit him, for I had intentions of preſerving the corn either for the *Romans* or myſelf, as having been conſtituted governor over the affairs of that country, by the common conſent of the *Hieroſolymites*. When he found he could do nothing with me, he turned himſelf then to my colleagues, who had but narrow views into the conſequences of things, and were very ready to graſp at a preſent made them; he corrupted them by the force and prevalence of his money, in order to gain their votes, and ſecure the corn that was hoarded up in his province, and, when I found myſelf thus over-ballanced by the two, I ſubſided, and held my tongue. But *John* made uſe of another ſtratagem to gain his point; he told them that the *Jews* inhabiting *Cæſarea*, were ſhut up within their walls by the order of the king's governor there, and that they had ſent a meſſenger to him, with earneſt entreaties, that as they had no pure oil that was ſufficient for their uſe, he would ſee and ſupply them with ſome, for fear they ſhould be obliged to make uſe of that which the *Greeks* uſed, and act againſt the inſtitutions of their country. *John* ſpoke thus, not from any religious motive, but through a very baſe and ſordid view; for, knowing that two *Sectarij* at *Ceſarea* would fetch one drachm, and fourſcore *Sectarij* at *Giſchal* but four drachms, he ordered all the oil to be brought thence, as if he had procured my leave for ſo doing; but indeed he had none of my inclination for it, but my apprehenſion of the people, had I refuſed it, ſtoning me to death, made me give way to it. But *John*, after he had obtained this requeſt from me, made vaſt advantage of his ſtratagem.

After I had ſent my colleagues from *Giſchal* to *Hieroſolyma*, I made it my entire buſineſs to procure what arms I could, and fortify the ſeveral cities in the beſt manner I was able; with this view I ſummoned the more ſtout men among the robbers; but finding there was no poſſibility of taking their arms from them, I humoured the people with preſents, and endeavoured to make them ſupply me that way; telling them it was much better to give them ſome allowance that way, than ſuffer their ſubſtance to be expoſed to their rapine and depredations. After I had took an oath from them, of their not coming any more into my goverment, unleſs when they were ſent for, or had received the propoſed hire, I diſmiſſed them; but firſt gave them ſtrict orders, to commit no hoſtilities, either upon the *Romans*, or their neighbours; for it was my only and principal care to put *Galilee* into a ſtate of tranquility and quiet; beſide, I took ſeventy of the magiſtrates of *Galilee*, through a pretence of friendſhip, as hoſtages, for their good behaviour, whom I made my companions in my journies, and conſtituted them judges of my determinations, always making my decrees according to their unanimity, and endeavouring not to ſubject juſtice by any raſh reſolve of mine, but to preſerve myſelf clear from bribery and the receiving of preſents.

I was now about thirty years of age, at which time, though a man may refrain from illegal deſires, yet it is a very difficult taſk to eſcape the envy of ſlanderous tongues; eſpecially if he be veſted with any degree of authority: Yet I, in this very caſe, defended all women from contumelious uſage, and, as if I wanted nothing, deſpiſed every thing that was offered me by way of preſent; nay, I refuſed to take the tenths from thoſe who brought them to me, though I had, as a prieſt, a right to them. However, I confeſs, after my conqueſt over the *Syrians*, who inhabited in the cities bordering upon me, I took part of the ſpoils to myſelf, which, I own, I willingly ſent to my relations at *Hieroſolyma*. But when I had twice ſtormed *Sepphoris*, four times *Tiberias*, once *Gadara*, and ſeveral times brought *John*, who treacherouſly acted againſt me, into my power, I neither preſumed ſo far as to puniſh him or the aforeſaid people, as will be ſeen in the ſequel. This is the reaſon makes me think God (who hides not himſelf from thoſe who act uprightly) delivered me out of their hands, and afterwards, when I was expoſed to imminent dangers, preſerved me, of which we will take notice in the ſequel.

So great was the benevolence and kindneſs of the people of *Galilee* for me, that, when I had ſtormed their cities, and carried their wives and children into captivity, they were not ſo much troubled at their own misfortunes, as ſolicitous about my preſervation. When *John* ſaw this, he burned with envy, and ſent me a letter, in which he entreated me, when he came to *Tiberias*, to give him liberty of uſing the hot baths there for the recovery of his health. As I little dreamt he would become the author of any ill againſt me, I granted his requeſt, and further wrote to the perſons, by name, whom I had deputed to govern *Tiberias*, to prepare a lodging for *John*, and thoſe who came with him, and ſupply them with all manner of neceſſaries. At this time, I reſided in a certain village of *Galilee*, called *Cana*.

Upon *John*'s coming to *Tiberias*, he took meaſures with the citizens of the town to relinquiſh the love they bore me, and eſpouſe his intereſt; ſeveral were won over by his intreaties, who were fond of a change, and naturally bent upon a revolution, and glad of any opportunity that offered itſelf to promote their ſeditious views. *Juſtus* and his father *Piſtus* were the principal perſons who drove them to abandon me, and take the part of *John*; but by good foreſight I prevented them from their deſign; for *Silas*, whom, as I have obſerved above, I had made governor of *Tiberias*, ſent me a meſſenger, who diſcovered to me the temper of the *Tiberians*, and adviſed me to uſe all the haſte I was able, for any delay would throw the city into another's power. When I had received *Silas*'s letter, I collected about two hundred forces, and march'd all the night, but took care to diſpatch a meſſenger before me, to ſignify my coming to the people of *Tiberias*. In the morning, approaching the town, a great multitude of people came out to meet me, and among them was *John*, who, having complimented me in a confuſed manner, and apprehending, on the diſcovery of his treachery, his life ſhould be expoſed to danger, made all the haſte he could to his apartment. When I was come to the end of a furlong, I diſmiſſed all the guards who were about me, except one, and ten other perſons in armour with him, and made it my buſineſs to ſpeak from an eminence to the people of *Tiberias*, and adviſe them not to be ſo ſudden in their revolt; for altering ſides would but turn to their diſhonour, and they would juſtly fall into the ſuſpicions of thoſe who ſhould be appointed governors over them, becauſe they had ſhewn themſelves unable to preſerve their obedience.

I had not made an end of my harangue, before I heard one of my men bid me come down, for the time would not admit me then to be ſo ſolicitous for the *Tiberians*, but I ought to look to myſelf, and find out a way to eſcape thoſe who were my enemies; for, it ſeemed, *John*, when he found I was left only with a few of my domeſticks, ſent a party of the moſt faithful men he had in his army, which conſiſted of about a thouſand ſoldiers, with expreſs orders to kill me; for, according to the command given them, they came up, and had certainly executed their deſign upon me, had not I immediately jumped down from the eminence I ſtood upon, with *James* my body guard, and received aſſiſtance from one *Herod*, a *Tiberian*, who led the way before me, by which means I obtained a paſſage to the lake, and there getting on board a veſſel which was fortunately there, I got clear of my enemies, beyond all men's expectations, and withdrew myſelf to *Tarichæ*.

The inhabitants of this city, when they came to hear of the perfidious treatment of the *Tiberians*, were terribly exaſperated; and immediately taking up arms, they begged me to put myſelf at their head, and conduct them (ſaying they were ready to revenge their general upon them) againſt the *Tiberians*; beſide, they ſpread the reports of this tranſaction throughout all *Galilee*, endeavouring all they could to irritate the *Galileæans* againſt the *Tiberians*, and adviſed them, as many as could, to collect themſelves together, and follow ſuch meaſures as ſhould ſeem beſt to their general. In obedience to this, great numbers aſſembled from all parts of *Galilee* in arms, who perſuaded me to invade *Tiberias*, and ſtorm it, and having laid it even with the ground, carry them with their wives and children into captivity. And thoſe of my friends, who had made their eſcape out of *Tiberias*, adviſed me to the ſame thing. But I could not cloſe in with their remonſtrances, ſuppoſing there would be great injuſtice in beginning a civil war; for I was of opinion, the diſpute ought to be carried no farther than a verbal contention; nay, I told them it was not their intereſt to purſue ſuch ſteps, while the *Romans* ſtood ſpectators, and we debilitated ourſelves by our own diſagreements and diviſions. I made uſe of this language, to aſſwage and cool the impetuoſity of the *Galilæans*.

But *John*, when he found his ſtratagem diſconcerted and ſpoiled from what he had formed to himſelf, began to have apprehenſions of himſelf; and when he had taken the forces he had about him, he left *Tiberias*, and went to *Giſchal*, from whence he wrote me a letter, in which he endeavoured to excuſe what he had done, as if what had been acted were againſt his inclination, and begged me to entertain no ſuſpicion of him; all which he ratified with an oath and other dreadful execrations, which he imagined would obtain my credit to what he had wrote in his letter.

But the *Galilæans* (for great numbers of others of them came in arms to me from all parts of the country) knowing the man to be of a baſe diſpoſition, and guilty of perjury, begged me to lead them againſt him, promiſing to aboliſh entirely both him and *Giſchal*, the place of his birth. To this I made anſwer, and told them, that I owned myſelf under a ſenſible obligation to them for their readineſs to ſerve me, and aſſured them I would endeavour to requite their loyalty; but importuned them very earneſtly to abſtain from ſuch a ſtep, and asked their pardon if I was inclined to put an end to the tumult without ſpilling of blood; and when I had adviſed the multitude to this, I withdrew to *Sepphoris*.

The men of this city having reſolved among themſelves to continue dutiful to the *Romans*, and apprehending ſome fears of my arrival, endeavour'd, by amuſing me with other affairs, to look to themſelves. With this view, they ſent a meſſenger to *Jeſus*, the captain of the robbers, who was then upon the frontiers of *Ptolomais*, by whom they promiſed to give him a large ſum of money, provided he would bring his company of men (who were fourſcore in number) and make war upon us; they, not diſliking the propoſal made them, reſolved to fall upon us, who neither knew any thing of the agreement, or were in a condition to oppoſe them. In conſequence of this, *Jeſus* ſent to ask me if he might come and ſpeak with me, which I granted, (for I knew nothing of any treachery deſigned againſt me) and then he, with his band of men, haſtened to come and fall upon me; but his deſigns proved abortive, and his baſe views were not attended with the ſucceſs he imagined: When he was not a great way from me, one of his men deſerted from him, and came and acquainted me with his deſigns. When I found this, I ſtept into the market place, where I pretended as if I knew nothing of the villainy deſigned againſt me; but I procured ſeveral armed *Galileans* to eſpouſe my cauſe, and ſome of the *Tiberians*, whom I expreſly charged to block up all the avenues leading into the city, and ſet ſtrict guards in every one of them; and charged the centinels poſted at the gates to let *Jeſus*, when he came, and the chief of his company, enter into the city, but refuſe admittance to the others; and commanded them to beat them back: They exactly put in execution what I had ordered, and *Jeſus*, with a few of his retinue, was admitted. Upon this I bade him immediately throw down his arms, and threatened him with death if he refuſed; and when he found himſelf ſurrounded with armed men, he was ſtruck with fear, and condeſcended to do as I had ordered him. Thoſe of his followers who were ſhut out of the city, when they heard their captain was taken, threw themſelves into a precipitate flight. After this I took *Jeſus* aſide, and told him I was not ignorant of the villainy that was deſigned againſt me, nor by whom he was conducted and ſent; however, I would give him a pardon, provided he would amend and prove faithful to me; he gave me his promiſe he would perform every thing I deſired, and upon that I ſet him at liberty, and allowed him to gather together again the number of men he had brought with him: Beſide, I threatened the *Sepphorites* to take juſt puniſhment upon them, if they did not in time amend their ungrateful uſage.

There came to me about this time, out of the country of *Trachonitis*, two grandees who had been veſted with legal authority, bringing with them their horſes and arms, and money. Had they ſtaid any longer time in their country, the *Jews* had certainly forced them to be circumciſed; but I would not permit any violence of that kind ſhould be offered them, ſaying, that every man ought to be at liberty to worſhip God according to his own conſcience, and that nothing was to be done, to make thoſe who fled to him for refuge, repent of their journey. Theſe words ſeemed to pacify the multitude, and the perſons came: I gave them an allowance of all neceſſary proviſions.

During theſe tranſactions, king *Agrippa* ſent a body of forces, with *Aquicolus Modius* at their head, to lay ſiege to the caſtle of *Gamala*. The detachment being too few to inveſt the place, they planted themſelves in the open places, and made their attacks upon *Gamala*. In the interim, *Cebulius*, the *Decurian*, who was the ſole governor of the great plain, coming to hear that I was arrived at *Simonias*, a town in the confines of *Galilee*, and about threeſcore furlongs diſtant from him, took in the night time about an hundred horſe he had with him, and two hundred foot, and having taken the advice of the inhabitants of (*a*) *Gaba*, he marched in the night, and came to the town where I reſided. Having drawn my forces, which were conſiderable, into order of battle, juſt over-againſt him, he ſtrove all he could to bring me into the plain, for he put his main confidence in his cavalry. However, he could not make us hearken to him; for when I found the great advantage he was likely to reap from his horſe, if I drew down into the plain, (for my army conſiſted entirely of foot) I reſolved to give the enemy battle

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(*a*) It belonged to the Tribe of the *Benjamites*, and has been frequently mentioned in the Antiquities.

in the town. In conſequence of, this *Æbatius* and his forces, for ſome time, made a brave reſiſtance; but when he ſaw that his cavalry were of no ſervice to him in the poſt he then was, he withdrew to *Gaba*, diſappointed of his deſign, having only loſt three men in this engagement. Upon this, I preſently followed him with a thouſand men, and coming to the city *Beſara*, ſtanding in the confines of *Ptolemais*, and about twenty furlongs diſtant from *Gaba*, where *Æbatius* had ſhut himſelf up, I marſhalled my men before the town, and gave orders to guard diligently all the paſſes and avenues, to hinder the enemy from giving us any diſturbance, while he went and fetched corn (a great quantity of which, belonging to queen *Berenice*, had been gathered out of the neighbouring towns and laid up in *Beſara*) on our camels and aſſes, pretty many of which we had brought with us. My deſign in this foreſight was to procure corn, and ſend it into *Galilee*. When I had given theſe orders, and my men had executed them, I challenged *Æbatius* to give him battle; but when he ſaw the alacrity and chearfulneſs of my men, which terrified him, he declined coming to an engagement. Upon this, I turned my march againſt *Neapolitanus*, having received intelligence, that he committed his depredations in the territories about *Tibertas*. This *Neopolitanus* was ſet over a company of horſemen, and *Scythopolis* was entruſted to him, in order to guard and defend it againſt the inroads of the enemy. When I had put a ſtop to his farther progreſs upon *Tiberias*, I reſolved to look after the affairs of *Galilee*.

While theſe tranſactions were on foot, *John*, the ſon of *Levi*, (whom we have already obſerved to live at *Giſchal*) after he heard that every thing ſucceeded according to my wiſh, and that I was effectually eſtabliſhed in the good ſentiments of my ſubjects, and was a terror to my enemies, could not help ſhowing his uneaſineſs; and, ſuppoſing that his downfal would be the inevitable conſequence of my proſperity, he began to have a prodigious hatred to me; and, in conſequence of this, having flattered myſelf with hopes, that, provided he could ſtir up the minds of my ſubjects to a hatred of my perſon and conduct, he ſhould be in a capacity to ruin my proſperous deſigns, he ſollicited the *Tiberians* and *Sepphorites*, ſuppoſing the *Gabarenes* would follow their example, (for theſe are citizens of the chiefeſt towns in *Galilee*) to abandon their obedience to me, and join his party, telling them, he would make a better general to them than I had done. The *Sepphorites* (who had choſen the *Romans* for their maſters) were reduced to neither's obedience, and would not hearken to any remonſtrance he made; but the *Tiberians*, though they would not ſuffer themſelves to be perſuaded to revolt, yet unanimouſly declared they would be his friends. As for the *Gabarenes*, they eſpouſed *John*'s intereſt, at the importunity and exhortation of *Simon*, who was the principal man in the city, and uſed *John* as a friend and ally. Theſe people did not at firſt openly diſcover their defection, as having apprehenſions of the *Galileans*, whoſe kindeſs and loyalty to me they had already ſeveral times experienced; but when they found a fit conjuncture thrown into their hands, they threw of the maſk, and plainly ſhewed their treachery; in conſequence of this, I was expoſed to eminent danger, and the following is an account of it.

A company of adventurous young men, who were *Dabaritenes* by birth, underſtanding that the wife of *Ptolomy*, the king's procurator, was travelling from the province which was ſubject to the king's, through the great plain, into the *Roman* Dominions, with a large quantity of valuable effects, which was guarded with a ſtrong convoy of horſe, they ſuddenly ſallied upon them, and obliged the woman to fly, but took away every thing ſhe carried about her, and then came to *Taricheæ*, where I then was, bringing with them four mules loaden with garments and other furniture, beſides a large quantity of ſilver, and five hundred gold drachms. I being willing to preſerve the things for *Ptolomy*, who was of the ſame tribe with me, (and our laws prohibit us not to rob an enemy) I told the perſons who brought the prizes to me, that the things ought to be kept, and that the money ariſing from their ſale, ought to go towards the building of the walls of *Hieroſolyma*. Theſe words were not well reliſhed by the young men, becauſe they did not receive their dividends of the ſpoil as they expected, and, going into the towns which bordered upon *Tiberias*, they reported about, that I deſigned to betray their country to the *Romans*; for I had deluded them, in ſaying, that I would keep the goods they had made prize for towards repairing the walls of *Hieroſolyma*, when I had decreed quite the contrary, and reſolved to reſtore them to their right owner. Indeed, they were right in this conjecture. When they were gone from me, I ſent for *Daſſion*, and *Jannæus* the ſon of *Levi*, two of the chief of the city, and particular friends of the king's, and ordered them to take the effects which had been ſtolen, and ſee them conveyed to the king, threatening them with death if they communicated the affair to any one elſe.

A rumour ſpreading now throughout *Galilee*, as if the country was to have been betrayed by my means into the hands of the *Romans*, put every one into confuſion, and exaſperated them to that height, that my puniſhment was reſolved upon. The citizens of *Taricheæ*, eaſily induced by what the young men had ſuggeſted to them, adviſed the guards and ſoldiers about me to abandon me when I was aſleep, and withdraw immediately into the *Circus*, there to conſult with the reſt, what meaſures were to be taken againſt their general. Being won over by theſe words, and coming to the appointed place where a great number of people were already aſſembled, every one with an unanimous ſhout declared, that he, who had made himſelf their betrayer, was to be puniſhed. The moſt buſy agent to ſtir up their minds to this, was *Jeſus*, the ſon of *Sapphias*, at this time the chief magiſtrate of *Tiberias*, a ſeditious man, and naturally made to put affairs into confuſion; for no one was more turbulent, or more fond of any alteration than he. Having got the laws of *Moyſes* in his hands, he ſtept into the midſt of them, and ſaid: *If, citizens, you cannot hate* Joſephus *for the ſake of yourſelves, at leaſt caſt your eyes upon the laws of your country; which he, who is the principal commander of your army, is going to betray; let theſe then be the motive of your hatred againſt him, and exact a puniſhment from him, as he deſerves for ſo notorious an attempt.*

When he had delivered himſelf thus, the whole audience approved his words with a loud acclamation; upon which, he took a company of armed men, and haſtened to the houſe where I was, as if his deſign had been to put me to death. I, who little dreamt of this procedure, was in my bed, and faſt aſleep through my late fatigue: But *Simon*, who was my body-guard, and the only perſon now with me, ſeeing the incurſions of the citizens, awakened me out of my ſleep, and told me danger hung over my head, and begged me with a valiant ſpirit, as became a general, to dye by his hand, before the enemy came upon them, and they were expoſed to danger, and he was forced to looſe his life. Theſe were the words he ſpoke to me; but I, confiding in the power of God, was very deſirous to caſt myſelf into the middle of the multitude. With this view, I put on a black-garment, and hung my ſword to my neck, and then getting into the *Circus* by another way, where I ſuppoſed none of my enemies would meet me, I unexpectedly ſhewed myſelf to the view of the whole multitude, and threw myſelf proſtrate on the ground, which I bedewed with my tears, and in this manner gave ſight of a very mournful ſpectacle. When I found the people were altered in their ſentiments, I endeavoured, all I could, to draw them into other thoughts, before the ſoldiers returned from my houſe, by owning, I had done unjuſtly as they ſuppoſed, but deſired them, firſt of all, to let me acquaint them in what manner I had diſpoſed of the money, which had been obtained by plunder and brought to me; and then, I told them, I would willingly ſubmit to die, if they commanded it. The multitude hereupon, ordered me to ſpeak, but the ſoldiers appeared the very moment, and ſeeing I was among them, ran with an intent to put me to death, the people preſently commanded them to refrain their hands, which they readily condeſcended to, ſuppoſing, ſhould I have owned I had kept the money for the king, my own confeſſion would have betrayed me to a guilt, and they have found juſt grounds for taking away my life.

Upon this, every one was commanded to keep ſilence, upon which, ſaid I: *My countrymen, I do not refuſe to die if I ſhall be found to deſerve it, but I am willing to acquaint you with the truth before I ſuffer death. When I found that your city was very indulgent in the receiving of ſtrangers, and abounded with great numbers of people, who left their native country to reſide in it, and be ſharers of your fortunes, I had thoughts of erecting you walls with the very money which has made you ſo angry with me, and ſo much my enemies; for I verily declare, that my deſign was to uſe it in their building.* Theſe words made the *Taricheans* and other ſtrangers lift up their voices and thank me, and exhort me to be of good heart: But the *Galileans* and *Tiberians* perſiſted in a mutual anger, and both were at variance between themſelves; the one threatened me with puniſhment, and the other commanded me not to be daunted. When I had made them a promiſe, to build walls for *Tiberias*, and other cities, which ſhould be found to want them, every one departed to his abode; and thus having eſcaped, beyond all expectation, the danger I have here mentioned, I returned home attended with my friends and twenty ſoldiers.

But the robbers and the authors of the ſedition, again fearing I ſhould exact of them a deſerved puniſhment for what they had committed, collected about ſix hundred ſoldiers, and came to the houſe I lived in, in order to ſet fire to it. When I heard of their coming, I thought it diſhonourable to turn my back, and reſolved to expoſe myſelf valiantly and courageouſly to the danger that threatened me; in order to this, I gave orders for the doors of my houſe to be ſhut, and then, going up into the chamber where I uſuall ſupt, I required them to ſend me ſome of their body, to receive money of me; for I ſaid this would be an effectual way to appeaſe them. In conſequence of this they ſent me a man, who was the moſt audacious among them; I took him, and ordered one of his hands to be chopt of, and to be hung to his neck, and then ſent him in that condition to his companions; the ſight of him extremely ſhockt them, and not a ſmall confuſion ſeized them, for apprehending, if they ſtayed any longer, they ſhould expoſe themſelves to the like diſaſter (conjecturing I had a larger number of men within my houſe than they were) they immediately fled, and thus, through this ſtratagem, I again eſcaped a conſpiracy formed againſt me.

Notwithſtanding this, there were not ſtill wanting perſons to irritate the people, who remonſtrated that the royal grandees, who had fled to me for refuge, were unworthy to live, becauſe they refuſed to conform themſelves, to their rites and cuſtoms, with whom they inhabited for the ſake of ſecuring themſelves. But this was not all, for they traduced them with being ſorcerers, and alledged their adviſing the *Romans* to come againſt them, which eaſily confirmed the multitude in a belief of what they ſaid, who were amuſed with their ſuggeſtions, which were only calculated to procure and win their favour. When I came to hear of this, I exhorted the people again, that it was not handſome to give ſo much trouble to thoſe who ſought refuge among them, and endeavoured to laugh them out of the charge they had brought againſt them of ſorcery; ſaying, that the *Romans* would never be at the expence of maintaining ſo many thouſand ſoldiers, if, by the aſſiſtance of ſorcerers, they would overcome their enemies. When I mentioned this, they continued ſome time pretty quiet; but they were ſcarcely gone from me, before they were ſtirred up again, through the inſinuations of ſome contentious perſons againſt the grandees; and ſome put themſelves in arms, and went to the houſe they reſided in at *Taricheæ*, in order to put them to death. I was terribly aſtoniſhed when I heard this, for fear, if they perpetrated the action, no body would, or even would dare to take refuge in it. In conſequence of this, I took ſome perſons with me, and went to the houſe where they dwelt, where, locking all the doors, and ſinking a ditch which ran to the lake, I ordered a veſſel to come up, which I went aboard on with them, and paſſed over into the confines of the *Hippemi*, where I gave them money to provide themſelves horſes with, (having not a fit opportunity, in ſo ſudden a flight, to get them horſes out of the country) and then took my leave of them there, with earneſt advice, which I repeated ſeveral times, to bear their preſent hardſhips with a couragious mind. I was extremely ſorry, that I was obliged to place thoſe who fled to me for refuge in an enemies country: However, I thought it better they periſhed by the hands of the *Romans*, if it ſhould fall out ſo, then loſe their lives in my dominions by any treachery. But they had the happineſs to ſave their lives, for king *Agrippa* frankly pardoned them. And this is the end of what relates to them.

Mean while the citizens of *Tiberias* ſent a letter to the king, in which they deſired him to ſend a ſufficient force of men to ſecure and guard their country, being ready to pay him their obedience. This was the purport of their letter. Upon my coming among them, they required me, as I had promiſed them, to build walls for their city; for they had heard, that *Taricheæ* was already fortified with them. I conſented, and having got ready all things towards carrying them on, I gave immediate orders for the workmen to go about them. Some three days after, as I was travelling from *Tiberias* to *Taricheæ*, which was about thirty furlongs off, ſome *Roman* horſemen happened to be ſeen travelling from the city, which made the *Taricheans* imagine the king had ſent them an army, upon which they ſuddenly ſhouted aloud, extolling, in a very great manner, their king, and caſting their reproaches at me, and one of them running to me, told me what their opinion was, which was, that they had reſolved to abandon and leave me. Theſe words aſtoniſhed me in a very ſenſible manner, and I immediately diſmiſſed every one of them, to return back home to *Taricheæ*, becauſe the next day was the ſabbath, being unwilling to give any diſturbance to theſe *Taricheans*, who were enliſted, and being ſenſible, as long as I lived among them, of the ſecurity of my perſon, having ſeveral times received full proofs of their fidelity to me. I only kept ſeven ſoldiers and ſome friends who were with me; but was very much perplexed to know what meaſures to take; for I did not care to call back my own forces, becauſe the day was far ſpent and the (1) evening approaching, nor, ſuppoſing they had come to me the next day, could they have made uſe of their Arms, the law forbidding it expreſsly, though there ſhould ſeem a preſſing neceſſity that required it. Had I given liberty to the *Taricheans*, and the foreigners who dwelt among them, to have plundered the city, yet I found they were a number inſufficient, and perceived that my own delay would be too long; for that forces were every hour expected from the king, who would ſeize upon the town before me; and I fancied I ſhould be thruſt out. Theſe conſiderations made me reſolve to put in execution ſome ſtratagem or other againſt them. To this end, I preſently ſet over the gates of the town ſome perſons in whom I could confide, with orders to be very diligent in obſerving thoſe who wanted to go out, and ſummoned the maſters of families to come to me, every one of whom I ordered to go on board ſome veſſel, which I had got ready for that purpoſe, having alſo procured pilots, and then I charged them to follow me to *Tiberias*; after which, I, my friends, and the ſeven ſoldiers which I have already mentioned, embarked in another ſhip, and ſailed for the ſame place.

When the *Tiberians* found that no forces came from the king to their aſſiſtance, but ſaw all the lake covered with ſhips, they began to be fearful of their city (as if the veſſels had been all manned) and preſently changed their former opinion. They immediately threw down their arms, and came out to meet me with their wives and children, extolling me to the ſkies with the greateſt encomiums, (for they thought I had not heard a word of their deſign) and begged me to ſpare their city. When I found we were near the ſhore, I gave orders to the pilots to caſt their anchors a little farther off the land, for fear they ſhould find our ſhips were empty. When I came near them, (being carried in a certain veſſel) I upbraided them with their folly, and their eaſineſs to relinquiſh me, and break off their obedience, at a time they had no cauſe that could warrant ſuch a procedure; however, I aſſured them to forgive what was paſt, provided they ſent me ten of their principal men. This requeſt was readily condeſcended to, and they ſent me the ſpecified number, which I immediately ordered away for *Taricheæ*, there to be kept in cuſtody.

By this ſtratagem I got their whole ſenate by little and little, whom, with ſeveral of the principal citizens, who amounted to the like number, I ſent to the aforeſaid city. When the people ſaw into what great extremity they were reduced, they begged me to puniſh the author of the ſedition, who was a young man, named *Clitus*, of a bold and enterprizing genius. But thinking it unlawful to put to (2) death a perſon of the ſame tribe with me, though I found it neceſſary he ſhould be puniſhed, I ordered *Levi*, one of my guards, who was then with me, to go to *Clitus*, and chop off one of his arms. But fearing, though I had commanded him to it, to go by himſelf among ſo numerous a multitude, and I not caring that the *Tiberians* ſhould know the cowardice of the ſoldier, I ſpoke to *Clitus* thus: *Since, ſaid I, you deſerve juſtly to loſe both your arms, for the ingratitude you have done me, yet, be your own executioner; leaſt, on refuſal, you expoſe yourſelf to a worſe puniſhment.* Upon his petitioning me, in a very earneſt manner, to ſpare him one of his arms, I granted him his requeſt; upon which, becauſe he was not to loſe both, he chearfully took his ſword, and cut off his left, which effectually terminated the ſedition.

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(1) In the fourth Book of the Wars, chap. 2. he ſays, that it was not lawful, even in the greateſt Urgency, to take up Arms; but in the 1ſt Book of the ſame Wars, cap. 7. he writes, that it was lawful, for the Defence of his Perſon, to take up Arms on a Sabbath.

(2) So ſottiſh was the Lenity of the *Phariſees*, that they would not puniſh the Authors of Sedition, even when they were expoſed to eminent danger by it. The *Sadduces* were quite the contrary.

When I came among the *Tiberians*, and they underſtood the ſtratagem I had put in execution againſt the *Taricheans*, they were aſtoniſh'd, to think I had appeaſed the ſedition among them without ſpilling of blood. After I had given orders for ſome of the *Tiberians* to be releaſed from their confinement, among whom was *Juſtus*, and his father *Piſtus*, I made an entertainment for them, and during the celebration of it, I told them, that I was not ignorant how the *Roman* power was ſuperior to all other might; though, I confeſs, I diſſembled in this, becauſe of the vaſt numbers of the robbers. I endeavoured to bring them to the ſame opinion, and only wait for a proper conjuncture, and bade them not think much that I had brought an army with me, for they would not find it an eaſy matter to find another general, under whoſe authority they would live ſo peaceably and quietly, and I recalled to *Juſtus*'s mind, that before I left *Hieroſolyma*, and came hither, they had cut off his brother's hands, upon an accuſation of forging the letters before the war, and that the *Gamalites*, as ſoon as *Philip* had turned his back upon them, had revolted from the *Babylonians*, and put *Charetes* to death, (who was *Philip*'s couſin) and inflicted an immoderate puniſhment upon *Jeſus* his brother, and huſband of *Juſtus*'s ſiſter. After I had communicated theſe particulars at the table, I gave orders for *Juſtus* and all his followers to be ſet at full liberty early the next morning.

But *Philip*, the ſon of *Jacim*, had the fortune to eſcape out of the caſtle of *Gamala*, a little before theſe tranſactions happened, on the following cauſe. When *Philip* heard that *Varus* had abandoned *Agrippa*, and that *Modius Aquicolus* was come to ſucceed him, who was his friend, and had been formerly his particular acquaintance, he wrote him a letter, acquainting him with every circumſtance that had befel him, and begging him to take care, and ſee the letter he ſent him was convey'd to the king. *Modius*, receiving his letter, was extremly glad to find *Philip* ſafe and out of danger, and took care to diſpatch the letter to the king, who then reſided about *Berytus*. But king *Agrippa*, when he found a falſe report ſpread about him, (for fame ſaid he was at the head of thoſe *Jews*, who had declared themſelves againſt the *Romans*) he ſent a detachment of ſoldiers to fetch *Philip* to him; when he came, the king received him with great civility, and ſhowed him to the *Roman* officers, and told them, that he was the *Philip* who had revolted from the *Romans*, as had been reported, and immediately ordered him to take a party of horſe, and go to the caſtle of *Gamala*, and bring thence all his domeſticks, and reſtore again the *Babylonians* to *Batamea*. Beſide, he gave him ſtrict orders, to take every effectual meaſure that his ſubjects broke not out into a rebellion. When *Philip* had received theſe inſtructions from the king, he haſtened to put in execution thoſe things he had been commanded.

About this time one *Joſeph*, the ſon of a *Medicaſter* (or quack doctor) having, by his inſinuations, induced ſeveral young men of adventurous courage to eſpouſe his intereſt, he made an inſurrection upon the principal *Gamalites*, and then adviſed them to break off their obedience to the king, and take up arms; for they ſhould, by this means, recover their loſt liberty: Some were compelled by coercive means to enter into their meaſures, but others, who ſeemed to diſagree to their ſchemes, were put to death. *Charetes* fell a ſacrifice to their fury, and they put to death *Jeſus*, one of his relations, and the brother of *Juſtus* the *Tiberian*, as we have already obſerved. When they had proceeded thus far, they ſent me a letter, begging me to ſend them a body of forces, and perſons to build their walls; both of which requeſts I condeſcended to. This procedure was immediately followed by a revolt of the country of *Ganlanitis*, as far as the town of *Solyma*, from the king: Add to theſe, I ſurrounded *Seleucia* and *Segannis* with walls, though they were two towns extremely well fortified by nature; and I alſo erected walls round about ſeveral other towns in the higher *Galilee*, which were placed upon ſteep rocks, ſuch as *Jamnia*, *Meroth*, and *Achabare*. Beſides theſe, I fortified *Taricheæ*, *Tiberias*, and *Sepphoris*, in the lower *Galilee*, as alſo the towns of *Berſobe*, *Salamis*, *Jotapat*, *Capharecho*, *Sigo*, and *Japha* the den of the *Arbeli*, and mount *Itabyrius*. I ſtored theſe ſeveral places with abundance of corn and other proviſions, and laid up great quantities of arms for their defence.

All this while *John*, who could not behold my fortunate ſucceſs with a propitious eye, began to hate me the more. Having reſolved to take me out of the way, he ſurrounded with walls *Giſchal* the place of his birth, and ſent his brother *Simon*, and *Jonathan* the ſon of *Siſeima*, and about one hundred ſoldiers to *Hieroſolyma*, to *Simon* the ſon of *Gamaliel*, to beg he would uſe his intereſt with the *Synedrim* at *Hieroſolyma*, to take away from me my government of *Galilee*, and decree the authority over that country to him. This *Simon* was an *Hieroſolymite* by birth, and deſcended from a very noble family, being a *Phariſee* in opinion, and reputed a very eminent perſon in the great knowledge he had of the laws, and the care he ſhewed to preſerve them; add to theſe excellent qualities, he was a very prudent and diſcreet man, and of ſo ſage advice, that, by his counſel, he was able to ſave a ſinking ſtate. Beſides, he was *John*'s ancient friend and familiar, and, at this time my enemy, and out of my intereſt, being wrought upon to ſupplant me in my government; he, in conſequence of it, adviſed *Ananus*, and *Jeſus* the ſon of *Gamala*, and ſome other prieſts of the ſame faction, to take me out of the way now I was raiſing myſelf to dignity, and not ſuffer me to arrive to the higheſt pitch of grandeur; for, he told them, it was their common intereſt to remove me from the government of *Galilee*; he perſuaded *Ananus*, and the reſt of his party, to be very expeditious, and make no manner of delay in their reſolves, for fear I ſhould come to hear of their deſign firſt, and invade the city with a numerous army: This was the counſel *Simon* gave. But *Ananus*, the prieſt, diſcovered to the others the difficulty there was in the buſineſs, ſince thoſe prieſts, who had any authority over the people, had given their teſtimonies of me as a good general, and ſaid it was a baſe action to lay any thing to his charge as criminal, againſt whom they had nothing to object.

Simon hearing this from *Ananus*, begged the reſt to ſay nothing more about the matter, nor let what had paſſed between them get to the knowledge of the people; for, he told them, he would make it his buſineſs to get me in a ſhort time removed from *Galilee*; and then, ſending for the brother of *John*, he charged him to ſend preſents to *Ananus* and his friends, concluding ſuch a ſtep, as he ſaid, would effectually bring them over to alter their opinion; and, indeed, he effectuated what he propoſed, for *Ananus* and his aſſociates, having not power to withſtand the preſents that were made them, reſolved, from the moment they received them, to deprive me of my government of *Galilee*, without letting any one citizen know ought of the matter; with this view they concluded it the beſt expedient to ſend into *Galilee*, ſome perſons who were both eminent for their birth, and verſed equally with me in the laws; two of theſe happened to be laics, who were *Jonathan* and *Ananias*, and *Phariſees* in opinion; the third was called *Jozar*, deſcended from the ſacerdotal line, and alſo a *Phariſee*, but the fourth, who was *Simon*, was the chiefeſt of the prieſts; theſe four had orders, when they came before the aſſembly of the *Galileans*, to enquire into the reaſon that made them have ſo much affection for me, and, if they anſwered, becauſe I was an *Hieroſolymite*, to ſay, that they four were of the ſame city; but, if they reply'd, becauſe I was deeply learnt in the laws, to ſubjoin, that they too were not ignorant of the inſtitutions of their country; but if they proceeded to ſay, that they reſpected me for the dignity of the prieſthood, to ſubjoin again, that two of their number were prieſts.

When theſe inſtructions had been given to *Jonathan* and his collegues, they gave them four thouſand ſilver drachms out of the public money to defray their expences; but, hearing afterwards that a certain *Galilean*, named *Jeſus*, was come to *Hieroſolyma*, with a company of ſix hundred men, they ſent for him, and, preſenting him with three months pay before hand, ordered him to follow *Jonathan* and his collegues, and pay obedience to their commands, and further gave orders for the hundred citizens to accompany the ambaſſadors in their journey, to every one of whom they gave ſilver to bear their charges. By ſuch means as theſe, having won the ſeveral perſons over to undertake the journey, and all being in a readineſs for it, *Jonathan* and his aſſociates ſet forward, having in their retinue alſo the brother of *John*, and the hundred ſoldiers, who were ordered by thoſe who ſent them, on condition I voluntarily laid down my arms, to diſcharge me with my life, and ſend me to *Hieroſolyma*, but, if I refuſed, to put me to death, without any manner of ſcruple, relying entirely on the command that had been given them. Beſider this, *John* had a letter ſent him, in which he was ordered to be in a readineſs to enter into a war with me, and the *Sepphorites*, *Gabareens*, and *Tiberians*, were commanded to aſſiſt him with ſupplies.

My father ſending me the news of theſe proceedings againſt me (for *Jeſus*, the ſon of *Gamala*, who was preſent at the aſſembly, and was my particular friend, had acquainted him with them) I was very much troubled to think my fellow citizens were ſo ungrateful to me, as, through a motive of envy, to order my removal, and to find my father in his letter very earneſt in begging me to go to him, ſaying, he wanted to ſee his ſon before he died. I made theſe particulars known to my friends, and told them I would leave the country in three days, and return to the place of my birth; every one who heard the contents, could not help giving ſigns of their concern and fear, and begged me with tears in their eyes, not to leave them, for they ſhould certainly periſh if they wanted my government; but finding all their entreaties ineffectual, and that my only concern was, how I ſhould conſider about myſelf, the *Galileans* apprehending my departure would make them more contemptible to the robbers, ſent meſſengers all through *Galilee*, to notify my journey; this giving an alarm to great numbers of men, they, with their wives and children aſſembled together, which, I ſuppoſed, was not done ſo much for any affection they had for me as their own fears and apprehenſions, for they were very well perſuaded, as long as I remained among them, they ſhould live ſecure, and, in conſequence of this, great numbers of them flocked to me to the place, where I then reſided at, which was call'd *Aſochis*.

That night I had a ſurpriſing dream, for having withdrawn to bed full of ſorrow and confuſion from the contents of the letter which I had received, me thought I ſaw one ſtanding before me, who ſaid thus: ‘Oh, thou who ‘ art ſo ſad, relieve thy mind, and baniſh thy ‘ ſorrow, and diſcharge thy fears, for what ‘ thou ſighs for, will make thee great and ſucceſsful in all thy undertakings; for thou ſhalt ‘ not only proſper in theſe things, but in a ‘ great many others. Wherefore do not be caſt 'down, but remember I tell thee that thou muſt wage war with the *Romans*.'

When I had heard theſe words in my dream, I roſe, with a deſign to go to the plain. When the multitude ſaw me, all the *Galileans* (for they had their wives and children with them) threw themſelves proſtrate on the earth, and, with tears in their eyes, begged me I would not expoſe them to the mercy of their enemies, or leave their country, and betray them to the inſults and hoſtilities of thoſe who hated them. When they found their prayers had no force with me, they forced me to ſwear to them to remain among them, and threw a great many reproaches againſt the people of *Hieroſolyma*, for not letting their country enjoy the comfort of peace and tranquility.

When I heard theſe words, and ſaw the great ſorrow of the multitude, I was melted down to pity and compaſſion, eſteeming it but juſt not to refuſe, even to hazard my life to danger, for ſo numerous a company, and, won by this reflection, I told them I would abide with them; and when I had commanded five thouſand of them to come to me with arms and proviſion, I ſent the reſt to their reſpective habitations. The five thouſand readily obeying my commands, I took them, and three thouſand forces I had about me, and fourſcore horſemen, and marched directly to the town of *Chabolo*, which ſtands on the frontiers of *Ptolomais*: I there ſat down with my army, but pretended I came to fight *Placidus*, who was come at the head of two cohorts of infantry, and a company of cavalry, being ſent by *Ceſtius Gallus*, to lay in aſhes the towns of the *Galileans*, which lay contiguous to *Ptolomais*; and while he drew his lines before *Ptolomais*, I encamped myſelf about ſixty furlongs from *Chabolo*. We ſeveral times drew both our armies out, with a deſign to fight, but proceeded no farther than to give two or three light ſkirmiſhes; for *Placidus*, the more he found my endeavours to bring him to a battle, the more he ſeemed afraid of me, and declined the engagement; but he did not offer to draw off from before *Ptolomais*.

It was much about this time, when *Jonathan* with his collegues appear'd, who had been ſent from *Hieroſolyma*, by the faction of *Simon* and *Ananus* the prieſt. At firſt, he endeavoured to take me by ſtratagem, having not the courage to attack me openly, and wrote me the following letter:

Jonathan, and the reſt with him, who are ſent from the *Hieroſolymites* to *Joſephus*, Greeting:

'WE come by order of the elders of *Hieroſolyma*, who have been acquainted with the frequent treacherous deſigns of *John* the *Giſchelian* againſt you, to reprove him for his actions, and admoniſh him for the future, to pay obedience in every thing you ſhall command him: Wherefore, ſince we are minded to confer with you, about things equally beneficial to us and you, we beg you would quickly come to us without any large retinue; for the town we are at is not ſufficient to entertain a numerous company of men.'

This was the purport of their letter, for they waited for one or other of theſe things; either to have received me without an army at my heels, and ſo have got me into their clutches, or to have ſeen me at the head of a numerous body of forces, and ſo have procured a pretext for condemning me as an enemy. The man who brought me their letter was a horſeman, a youth of tolerable courage, and one who had formerly been in the king's ſervice, and it was then the ſecond hour of the night, and I was engaged at an entertainment I had made for my friends. My ſervant telling me a *Jewiſh* horſeman was come to my houſe, I gave orders to introduce him; but he, without ſo much as accoſting me, reached me the letter, and ſaid, The ambaſſadors of the *Hieroſolymites* have ſent this, pleaſe to write an anſwer with as much expedition as you can, for I am obliged to haſten my return. My gueſts were aſtoniſhed at the ſoldier's bluntneſs, but I begged him to ſit down, and partake of the entertainment that was before him: He refuſed it, and I held the letter in my hand, juſt as I had received it, and continued ſpeaking to my friends about other affairs. I roſe up ſoon after this, and, having bid ſome of my gueſts a good night to withdraw to bed, I adviſed four, who remained, and were my particulars, to ſtay with me; and then, ordering my ſervant to ſet ſome wine before us, I opened the letter, without letting any one ſee me, and, perceiving without much trouble the drift of it, I ſealed it up again, and, as if I had not read it, and ſtill had kept it in my hand, I ordered twenty drachms to be given the ſoldier, to bear the expence of his journey. When he had received the money, he told me he was very much obliged to me; from whence conjecturing he was a man that would not refuſe a preſent, and that he might very eaſily be won by that means, I told him, if you will ſit down and drink with me, I will give you a drachm for every glaſs: This he readily agreed to, and drinking a large quantity of wine, to get the more money, he made himſelf very drunk; and then, unable to contain the ſecrets in his breaſt any longer, without one ſoul ſpeaking a word to him about it, he frankly acquainted me with the plot that was laid againſt me, and how they had decreed to take away my life; which I had no ſooner heard, than I wrote back a letter to the following effect:

Joſephus to *Jonathan*, and his Collegues, Greeting:

'I Am very glad to hear you are ſo well arrived to *Galilee*, but more ſo, to think that I can return to my native country, and that you are veſted with the government of this country, which for a long time I have deſired. Indeed, I ought to come to you, even though it was to *Xaloth* or further, without being ſent for; but I aſk your pardon, that I cannot do as I would perform; for I am obliged to watch the motions of *Placidus*,

‘ who has intentions of coming up into *Galilee*. Wherefore, as ſoon as you have peruſed this letter, come to me.’ Farewell.

After I had wrote this letter, I gave it the ſoldier to carry, and ſent with him thirty truſty *Galileans*, with orders to compliment the ambaſſadors on my part; but to proceed no farther: I joined to each of them a ſoldier, in whom I could confide, to watch their motions, and obſerve they did not combine, or enter into any ſchemes againſt me, with *Jonathan* and his collegues. In ſhort, they went. But when *Jonathan* and his collegues found their firſt eſſay prove abortive, they ſent me a ſecond letter to the following effect:

Jonathan and his Collegues to *Joſephus*, Greeting:

‘WE command and order you, three days after receipt of this, to come unguarded to us, to the town of *Gabareth*, to inform us in relation to the articles of accuſation, which you have objected againſt *John*.’

After they had wrote this letter, and the men I had ſent had congratulated them, they came to *Japha*, one of the biggeſt towns of *Galilee*, well fortified, and very populous. Upon their approaching the town, all the inhabitants, with their wives and children, went out to meet them, and, with uplifted voices, commanded them to depart back, and not envy them the good general they had. This proceeding very much nettled *Jonathan* and his collegues, but they durſt not diſcover their diſpleaſure: Upon which, without returning the people any anſwer, they went to other towns, where they were received with the very ſame uproars, the inhabitants crying aloud, That no one ſhould alter their reſolution, of having *Joſephus* for their general. *Jonathan* and his collegues, finding this, removed hence, diſappointed of their aim, and withdrew to *Sepphoris*, the largeſt city of all *Galilee*: The inhabitants of this place, being in the *Roman* intereſt, went out to meet them, but ſaid not a word either in my commendation or diſpraiſe. From hence they marched to *Aſochus*, where they met with the ſame treatment from the inhabitants as they had received from the people of *Japha*; this making them ſo much enraged, as no longer to be able to curb their anger, they gave orders to their ſoldiers to fall upon thoſe who ſhould dare to ſhout out againſt them, with their ſticks. Upon their coming to *Gaba*, *John* met them with three thouſand forces; from this ſtep I plainly perceived their reſolution was to give me battle, which made me leave *Chabolo*, and, with my three thouſand men (having ſet one of my truſtieſt friends to guard my camp) withdraw to *Jotapat*, as being unwilling to be above forty furlongs from them, where I wrote and ſent this letter:

‘If you are ſo deſirous to have me come to you, there are two hundred and four cities and towns in *Galilee*, name any one of theſe, and I will meet you there; but I exclude *Gabar* and *Giſchal*, the laſt being the native place of *John*, and in his intereſt.’

Jonathan and his collegues having received this letter, they returned me no anſwer; but convening a council of their friends, among whom was *John*, they adviſed among themſelves in what manner to attack me. *John* was of opinion they ſhould write to all the cities and towns in *Galilee*, where, it was reaſonable to ſuppoſe, there were ſome out of my intereſt to be found in each of them, and theſe were to be ſummoned, as though againſt the enemy; and, more than this, he ordered, that they ſhould ſend to *Hieroſolyma*, and there ſignify to all the citizens, that the *Galileans* look'd upon me as their mortal enemy, which they ſhould confirm; and that if this ſtep ſhould ſucceed, the *Galileans* then, as he ſaid, would be terrified at it, and abandon me. *John* giving this council, all the reſt approved his words. Notwithſtanding this precautionary proceeding, I came to hear of every particular that had paſſed about the third hour of the night, by the kindneſs of one *Sacchæus*, who was one of their number, and deſerted to me: He acquainted me with their deſigns. I found now I had no time to loſe, and thinking *James* a fit man for my purpoſe, out of theſe ſoldiers I had about me, I ordered him to take up two hundred of my forces, and narrowly watch all the paſſes leading from *Gabar* into *Galilee*, and apprehend every one he found in them, and ſend them; but chiefly thoſe who ſhould be ſeen to have any letters about them. And I commanded *Jeremias*, one of my friends, to march with ſix hundred men into the confines of *Galilee*, and there diligently guard all the roads leading to *Hieroſolyma*; expreſly charging him to ſeize all who carried letters about them, put the men in chains, and keep ſtrict cuſtody over them in the places he apprehended them, but ſend the letters to me.

When I had thus given my orders, I ſummoned the *Galileans*, by meſſengers to that end, to be ready at *Gabaroth*, with arms and proviſions for three days, on the morrow; and having divided the forces I had with me into three companies, I ſelected the moſt truſty, and commanded them to be near my perſon, and ſet centurions over them, to watch ſtrictly, that no unknown ſoldier got among their number. About the fourth hour of the next day, (being in *Gabaroth*) I found all the plain before the town full of ſoldiers, who were come out of *Galilee* to my aſſiſtance, as I had commanded; beſides a great number out of the neighbouring towns, who had flocked thither. Upon my offering to ſtep among them, and ſpeak to them, all of them, with a loud voice, called me their benefactor and the preſerver of their country. When I found this, I gave them my thanks for their love, and adviſed them to offer no hoſtilities to any one, or uſe any violence upon the country, but fix their tents in the fields, and be ſatisfied with their preſent pay; for it was my intention to put a period to the commotion, without ſpilling of blood. And this very day the meſſengers ſent by *Jonathan* with his letters happened to fall into the hands of the ſcouts I had planted in the roads, whom, as I had given orders, they ſtrictly confined in the places they took them in, and after I had peruſed the letters, which were full of nothing but calumny and lies, I determined, without ſaying one word of the contents, to be as expeditious as I could in falling upon them.

When *Jonathan* and his collegues came to hear of my arrival, they collected all their forces, and withdrew with *John* into the houſe of *Jeſus*, which was a large tower, and differed little from a caſtle. As ſoon as all their men were enter'd into this place, they made every door faſt, except one, which they left open for me, waiting to ſee me come, and pay my compliments to them, now I was upon my journey. Beſides, they gave orders to their ſoldiers to let me, as ſoon as I appeared, enter by myſelf, but refuſe admittance to the reſt of my followers. Thus they imagined they ſhould eaſily get me into their power; but I effectually diſappointed the hopes they had entertained; for, having had ſome apprehenſions before-hand of their deſign againſt me, as ſoon as I was arrived at the place, I retired to a lodging over-againſt them, and pretended to go and lie down to ſleep. *Jonathan* and his followers, ſuppoſing I had been very much tir'd, and was gone to ſleep to reſt myſelf after my journey, went privately to the plain, and tamper'd with my men, to bring them over to their ſide, through a cunning pretence of my not having performed the duty of a general to them as I ought to have done. But their hopes deceived them, for no ſooner had the *Galileans* ſet eyes upon them, than they exclaimed aloud, and told them, that I had always been a faithful general to them, and one they were obliged to love, accuſing *Jonathan* and his collegues for coming without their having offered them any manner of injury, to give a deſtructive blow to the affairs of their country, adviſing them to return, and acquainting them they ſhould never be influenced to receive any other man in my room to govern them. When I heard how matters went, I made no ſcruple to appear openly among them. With this view I preſently prepared myſelf to go and hear what *Jonathan* and his collegues had to ſay againſt me. Upon my coming publickly among them, all the multitude received me with loud acclamations, and praiſed me for my honeſt and generous conduct.

Jonathan and his collegues hearing this, were extremely apprehenſive leſt they ſhould be expoſed to the *Galileans*'s deſigns, the conſequences of which might, in my favour, perhaps be fatal to them: Upon which they began to bethink themſelves how to retire. But finding themſelves obſtructed in their deſign (for I required them to ſtay) they were aſtoniſhed at my words, and with dejected and melancholy countenances, could not keep their eyes from the earth. When I found this, I gave orders to the multitude to leave off the commendations they gave me, and ſtrictly charged the ſoldiers to be very careful in guarding the roads, to hinder *John* from making any unexpected ſally upon me, adviſing, at the ſame time, the *Galileans*, to be ready with their arms, for fear of an irruption of the enemy, the ſuddeneſs of which might put them into diſorder, and diſhearten them: And then I mentioned to *Jonathan* and his collegues, the letter they had ſent me, wherein they ſaid they were ſent, by the ſynedrim at *Hieroſolyma*, to terminate the differences between me and *John*, and expreſs their deſire that I would come to them, and having gone thus far, I produced the letter before them, that they might have no pretence of denying it, while the letter was a full proof on my ſide to the contrary. And I addreſſed them thus: 'O *Jonathan*, and you his collegues, if I ought to give an account of the actions of my life in relation to the differences ſubſiſting between me and *John*, think it neceſſary for your ſatisfaction to produce two or three honeſt and faithful witneſſes for me, that you might throughly examine my conduct, and then diſcharge me from the danger threatened. But, to let you ſee that I have faithfully and diſintereſtedly governed the affairs of *Galilee*, I think two or three witneſſes far from being ſufficient to juſtify one who hath managed his life and actions according to the dictates of moderation and juſtice; wherefore I ſet before you this numerous multitude to anſwer for me; and I require you to aſk them for an account of my actions, and whether I have behaved myſelf agreeable to the rule of unſpotted honeſty and virtue among them or not. And you, O *Galileans*, I conjure not to hide, nor palliate a ſyllable of the truth, but openly appear to theſe perſons, as to your judges, if I have been guilty of diſhoneſty or male adminiſtration.'

Scarce had I ſpoke thus, but a general voice was heard among the multitude, calling me their benefactor and preſerver; they teſtified for my paſt conduct, and begged me to purſue the ſame meaſures in my future conduct, as I had already obſerved, every one affirming with an oath, that the chaſtity of their wives had been inviolably preſerved, and none of them expoſed to any injurious or violent treatment through my means. When I found this commendation given me, I took the two letters wrote by *Jonathan* and his collegues, and which my ſcouts had intercepted and ſent me, and read them openly to the *Galileans* juſt as they were, full of bitter invectives againſt me, and falſly charging me with ſhewing myſelf a tyrant, rather than a general, over the perſons under my government, with a great many more things mentioned in theſe letters, which they had not ſtuck imprudently to lay to my charge, but which were the groſſeſt falſhoods. In ſhort, I told the multitude, that the perſons who brought me the letters, had willingly given them to me, becauſe I was unwilling my adverſaries ſhould know any thing of my having planted ſcouts in the roads, for fear they ſhould ceaſe writing, and ſending their letters.

When the multitude heard this, they were highly exaſperated, and longed to fall upon *Jonathan* and his collegues, with a deſign to put them to death; which they had certainly done, had not I reſtrained their fury, and told *Jonathan* and his collegues that I frankly pardoned them what was paſt, provided they repented, and returned home to thoſe who had ſent them, and acquainted them with the truth and juſtice of my adminiſtration. After I had ſpoke thus, I diſmiſſed them, though I perfectly knew they would do nothing they had promiſed me. But the multitude continued extremely enraged at them, and begged me to permit them to take ſuch puniſhment of them as their crimes deſerved. When I found this, I deſired them earneſtly to refrain their hands from them; for I was perfectly ſenſible, that the leaſt mutiny or ſedition would prove prejudicial to the common good. All I could do, could not appeaſe the rage of the multitude; but with a furious ſally they fell upon the houſe where *Jonathan* and his collegues reſided. When I found I had not reaſons prevalent enough to curb their violence, I mounted on horſeback, and ordered the multitude to follow me as far as the village of *Soganus*. This ſtratagem was made uſe of purely to take away all ſuſpicion of my being the cauſe of a civil war.

When I came near *Soganus*, I ordered the multitude to halt, and exhorted them to call reaſon to their aſſiſtance, and not paſſionately give way to their anger, or deſire to take revenge upon the perſons of the ambaſſadors, which would be attended with ill conſequences; and, after this, I commanded an hundred of them, who were the oldeſt and the moſt eminent among them, to get themſelves in a readineſs to go to *Hieroſolyma*, and there lay a complaint before the people againſt thoſe who had put the country of *Galilee* into the late commotion; and ſaid, *If it happens that they give way to your remonſtrances, ſollicit the* Synedrim *for a letter, with orders for my remaining in* Galilee, *and the removal of* Jonathan *and his collegues thence.* When I had given them theſe inſtructions and orders, they made ready for the journey; and three days after I had delivered my meſſage to them, they went upon the embaſſy, attended with a guard of five hundred men. Beſides, I wrote to the *Samarians* my friends, to uſe their endeavours to let my ambaſſadors travel ſafely through their country, for *Samaria* then was under the *Roman* juriſdiction, and it was abſolutely neceſſary for thoſe who wanted to make a ſpeedy journey to *Hieroſolyma*, to paſs through this country; thus in three days they arrived at *Hieroſolyma* from *Galilee*; I conducted them as far as the frontiers of *Galilee*, having before-hand ſet ſcouts up and down the roads, to hinder a report being ſpread that my ambaſſadors were gone. After I had thus ordered matters, I went and reſided a little time at *Japh*.

Jonathan and his collegues, finding themſelves vaſtly diſappointed in the deſigns they had formed againſt me, ſent *John* back to *Giſchal*, and went themſelves to the city of *Tiberias*, full of hopes to reduce it to their obedience, as *Jeſus*, who held the ſupreme government of this place at this time, had ſent them a letter, promiſing to induce the citizens to receive them upon their coming, and eſpouſe their intereſt. Relying on this aſſurance they ſet forward; but *Silas* (whom I have before mentioned to have been left governor of *Tiberias*) ſent me a letter, in which he opened the whole intrigue, and begged me to haſten my arrival. In compliance with this letter, I put *Silas*'s order immediately in execution, and went thither; but on my arrival was near ſuffering death from the following cauſe. Aſſoon as *Jonathan* and his collegues were come among the *Tiberians*, by their artful inſinuations they brought over a great number of the oppoſite faction to abandon me; and when they heard I was arrived, through a pretext of looking to themſelves, they came and complimented me, telling me I was very happy in having ſo well governed the affairs of *Galilee*, and congratulated me on the honour I had acquired, ſaying my reputation was the means of their great character, as I was both their fellow citizen, and had received my education among them; adding, that they had abundantly more reaſon to embrace my friendſhip than *John*'s; and ſaid they would ſoon return home, and only waited to ſurrender *John* up to me: And having ſpoke in this manner, they ſwore ſuch an oath, as with us is looked upon as ſacred in the higheſt degree, upon which I thought it unjuſt, and too ſuſpicious, not to put confidence in their words; after which, they aſked me to withdraw to another place, becauſe the ſabbath fell out on the following day, and that it was altogether unproper, on that day, to occaſion the leaſt tumult among the people of *Tiberias*.

Theſe aſſurances made me ſuſpect nothing, and I went to *Taricheæ*, leaving however behind me ſome in my intereſt to mind carefully the words that happened to be ſpoken about me, and planting ſeveral ſcouts all along the road from *Tiberias* to *Taricheæ*, in order to tell from one to the other, the things they heard from thoſe I had left in the city. In ſhort, all the city aſſembled the next day into the *Proſencha*, which is a very ſpacious building, capable of containing a vaſt multitude of people. When *John* entered, he had not the aſſurance or boldneſs to make an open declaration about their abandoning me, but only hinted to them, that their city ſtood in need of a better general. *Jeſus*, who had the adminiſtration of the city, finding this, pulled off the maſk, and openly ſaid: *It is better, my citizens, to live under the dominion of four perſons than one, eſpecially ſince they are deſcended from illuſtrious families, and eminent for their great ſkill and knowledge in the adminiſtration of affairs.* Under theſe words were intimated *Jonathan* and his collegues. *Juſtus*, ſtepping into the aſſembly, commended what *Jeſus* had ſaid, and brought ſeveral over into his opinion. But the main body could not be induced to reliſh the proceedings, and a ſedition had unqueſtionably aroſe, had not they thought proper to break up the aſſembly, for the ſixth hour was come, and it is the cuſtom of our nation to dine before the ſabbath begins; this obliging *Jonathan* and his collegues to defer the meeting till the next day, they departed diſappointed of their aims. Every thing came to my ears that had been tranſacted; whereupon I reſolved to go to *Tiberias* in the morning, and about the firſt hour of the next day I arrived there from *Taricheæ*, and found the people of the town then aſſembled together in the *Proſencha*, but entirely ſtrangers to the end they had been aſſembled for. When *Jonathan* and his collegues firſt ſet eye upon me, which was entirely unexpected, they ſeemed in a kind of confuſion; a little after they meditated how to ſpread a report, that a body of *Roman* horſe was ſeen upon the confines at ſome diſtance, about thirty furlongs from the city, at a place called *Homomea*. When they had artfully done this, they proceeded to adviſe the multitude, that they were under a neceſſary obligation not to ſuffer the enemy to commit their depredations in the country, this was purely deſigned againſt me, in order to draw me out of the city, under the pretence of lending them my aſſiſtance, and in the mean while to give them an opportunity of making the citizens my enemies.

Though I well knew the bottom of their deſign, yet, that I might not appear to the *Tiberians* too little concerned for their ſecurity, I complied with them. In ſhort, I marched out of the city. But coming to the place mentioned, and finding there not the leaſt footſtep of the enemy, I haſtened my march back to the city, where I found all the ſenate and people aſſembled together, and *Jonathan* and his collegues laying before them a long accuſation againſt me; as if I had no thoughts of relieving them from the miſeries of a war, but only ſpent my time in wantonneſs and pleaſure; and having ſaid thus, they produced four letters, pretended to be wrote to them from thoſe who dwelt on the frontiers of *Galilee*, begging them, through a pretence that a body of *Roman* force would be with them in three days, and ravage their country, to haſten their arrival among them as much as poſſible, and not defer the time. When the *Tiberians* heard theſe things, ſuppoſing they told the truth, they ſpoke aloud, and ſaid there was no time left me to loiter in, but I muſt go to the aſſiſtance of the *Galileans*. As I knew the drift of *Jonathan* and his collegues, I anſwered I would readily obey their orders, and promiſed, without any heſitation, to go and carry on the war in their defence. But, as the letters ſaid that the *Romans* had made their irruptions into four ſeveral places, I perſuaded them that there was a neceſſity to make a diviſion of my army into five parts, and to put *Jonathan* and his collegues at the head of them, that is, one of them to each company, for it abſolutely became men who pretended to courage, not only to aſſiſt with their advice, but lend their aſſiſtance to others upon every preſſing occaſion; For I told them of the impoſſibility of my being at the head of any more than one party. This advice was well reliſhed by the multitude, who obliged them to take a ſhare in the expedition, and their fear was not ſmall, when they found their deſigns againſt me prove abortive by the ſtratagem I made uſe of to break their meaſures.

But one of them named *Ananias*, a ſeditious and turbulent perſon, perſuaded the multitude to have a faſt kept the next day by all the people, and ordered them to come without arms at the ſame time to the ſame place, becauſe arms would avail nothing, unleſs the bleſſing of God was upon them, and the Almighty deſigned them his aſſiſtance; this proceeded from no religious motive, but was only calculated to take me unarmed, and ſo oppreſs me. Neceſſity obliging me, I obeyed, to hinder my being thought an enemy to an admonition, which carried the appearance of godlineſs in it. In conſequence hereof, every one withdrew to his own habitation. Now *Jonathan* and his collegues wrote a letter to *John*, exhorting him to come early in the morning to them, bringing with him as many forces as he could well muſter together, having now an eaſy opportunity to take me, and to do with me as he pleaſed: *John* receiving the letter, reſolved to obey the ſummons. When the next day came, I ordered two of my ſtouteſt and faithfulleſt guards to conceal their daggers under their garments, and ſtep out with me, in order to reſiſt my enemies, if they offered any violence. As for myſelf, I put on a breaſtplate, and girded to my ſide my ſword as ſecretly as I could, and in that manner went to the *Proſencha*.

However, *Jeſus* refuſed to admit all the perſons who were with me, by ſtanding before the door, and only ſuffered me to enter with my friends. While we were performing the rites of our country, and praying, *Jeſus* roſe up, and began to diſcourſe me about the royal furniture, which was taken out of the palace when it was burnt, and ſaid he ſpoke about it only to ſpin out the time till *John* came. I anſwered, that every thing of that kind was in the hands of *Capellus*, and ten of the principal *Tiberians*, and ordered him to make enquiry into the affair, and ſee if I ſpoke a falſhood; they acquainting him the things were in their cuſtody, he then added: *But what is become of the gold?* I told them I had given it to the ambaſſadors they had ſent to *Hieroſolyma*, to bear their expences. *Jonathan* and his collegues replied to this, that I had not done well in aſſiſting the ambaſſadors with the public money; theſe proceedings exaſperated the multitude, who plainly obſerved their malice againſt me, and I, finding things likely to be in a ferment, and deſiring to irritate the people more, if poſſible, againſt *Jonathan* and his collegues, added: *If I have acted ill in giving the ambaſſadors money which belonged to the public, to avoid your anger againſt me, I will willingly repay the whole ſum.*

When I had ſpoke thus, *Jonathan* and his collegues ſaid no more; but the multitude ſeeing their open ſpite againſt me, were the more enraged. When *Jonathan* found the temper of the people alter'd, he commanded them to go away, but begged the ſenate to ſtay, ſaying, it was impoſſible to receive any account about ſuch affair, amidſt the noiſe and clamours of ſo great a multitude; the people ſeeing this, cried out that they would by no means ſuffer me to remain without them. Upon which a certain perſon ſtept up, and whiſpered *Jeſus* and his aſſociates in the ear, that *John* and his forces were not far off. Hereupon *Jonathan* and his collegues, unable to reſtrain themſelves any longer (God certainly taking care of my preſervation, unleſs *John* had happened to have killed me) broke out into theſe words: 'Ceaſe, O *Tiberians*, from making any further enquiry about the gold, for *Joſephus* does not deſerve death for this, but for the tyranny he hath exerciſed, and the inſinuating means he has uſed to gain dominion over the common people of the *Galileans*.' And upon ſaying thus, they immediately laid hands upon me, and ſtrove to kill me; but my followers no ſooner obſerved their wicked intention, than drawing their ſwords, and turning their points towards thoſe who offered me any violence, and the people taking up ſtones, and ruſhing upon *Jonathan*, preſerved me from the fury of my enemies.

But I had not eſcaped far before I had like to have met *John*, who was coming up with his men; this put me into ſome apprehenſion of danger, and accordingly I turned out of the way, and through another paſſage got ſafely to the lake; where fortunately finding a ſhip, I went on board, and paſſed over to *Tarrichæa*, (thus eſcaping the danger threatned me beyond all men's expectation) where I preſently ordered the principal *Galileans* to come to me, to whom I mentioned in what manner I had been betrayed, againſt all faith, by *Jonathan*, his collegues, and the *Tiberians*, and how near I was to being murthered. Theſe words put the people of *Galilee* into ſo violent a paſſion, that they begged not to loſe a moment in making war upon them, and deſired me to permit them to march againſt *John*, and effectually puniſh *Jonathan* and his collegues with death. Notwithſtanding the extreme anger they ſhewed, I reſtrained them, and ordered them from day to day, to wait till we knew the anſwer the ambaſſadors ſent to *Hieroſolyma* brought back; for I told them it was requiſite to put that in execution, which they, in their opinions, ſhould think beſt; theſe words induced them to be quiet, and *John*, when he found his deſigns ineffectual, returned to *Giſchal*.

Not many days after this, the ambaſſadors returned, and brought word that the people were vaſtly enraged at *Ananus*, and *Simon* the ſon of *Gamaliel*, for being ſent into *Galilee* without their knowledge, and doing nothing there but endeavouring to remove me. The ambaſſadors went further and ſaid, that the people, moved with indignation, were ready to ſet fire to their houſes; and they brought me a letter from the principal *Hieroſolymites*, in which, at the importunate deſire of the people, they confirmed me in the government of *Galilee*, but ſent orders to *Jonathan* and his collegues, to retire home as ſoon as poſſible. After I had read over this letter, I withdrew to *Arbella*, where the *Galileans* being aſſembled, I ordered the ambaſſadors to acquaint them with the indignation and rage of the *Hieroſolymites*, for the baſe actions which had been committed by *Jonathan* and his collegues againſt me; and how they had confirm'd, by their decree, the government of their country to me; and ſignified to them the things mention'd in the letter in relation to their returning back. In the confuſion, I took care to ſend the letters to them by a meſſenger, to whom I gave orders to be very ſtrict in obſerving their deſigns.

Upon their receiving the letter, they were put into the utmoſt confuſion, and thereupon ſent for *John*, and the ſenators of *Tiberias*, and the principal men of *Gabara*, to conſult about the preſent ſtate of their affairs and the letter, and to adviſe what meaſures they ought to take; the *Tiberians* were of opinion, and thought it the wiſeſt and beſt counſel, for them tenaciouſly to hold the government, ſaying, it was a thing very improper for them to deſert a city which had thrown itſelf into their protection, eſpecially at a time when I was reſolved not to ſpare them; this was a falſhood, and calculated with a deſign to make me appear as if I had threatned them. *John* not only gave into this opinion, but adviſed the ſending two of their body to accuſe me to the people of *Hieroſolyma*, for male adminiſtration of the affairs of *Galilee*; which, he ſaid, they would eaſily be brought to believe, both in regard to their authority, and becauſe the common people were always changing, and never conſtant. This counſel of *John* ſeeming of importance, and to carry a great weight with it, they were pleaſed to depute two to go to *Hieroſolyma*; theſe were *Jonathan* and *Ananias*, but the other two were to remain at *Tiberias*, with a guard of one hundred ſoldiers to attend their perſons.

The *Tiberians* began to have ſome thought about fortifying their walls, they ordered the inhabitants to take up arms, and ſent for a conſiderable body of forces from *John*, who was now at *Giſchal*, in order to be of aſſiſtance to them, if their affairs required them at any time to make uſe of them. During theſe tranſactions, *Jonathan* and his collegues departed from *Tiberias*, and coming to *Dabaritta*, a village in the great plain, and ſtanding on the frontiers of *Galilee*, they fell about midnight into the hands of the ſpies I had poſted there. When they had ordered them to lay down their arms, they put them in chains, and impriſoned them in that place, as I had left them orders: The news of this came to me from *Levi*, the governor of the place, in a letter he ſent me. Two days after, as if I had known nothing of what had happened, I ſent a meſſenger to the *Tiberians*, and adviſed them to lay aſide their arms, and return every man to his houſe. But they, ſuppoſing *Jonathan* and his followers were by that time at *Hieroſolyma*, return'd me a very ſcurrilous anſwer; this made me not at all uneaſy, but I was reſolved, in requital to be even with them by one ſtratagem or other; for I could not be perſuaded to make war againſt my own fellow citizens. With this view, deſiring nothing more than to decoy them from the *Tiberians*, I took ten thouſand of my choiceſt forces, and divided them into three bodies, with orders to conceal themſelves in ambuſh up and down in the villages, and I marched with another thouſand unto another village, on the mountains about four furlongs from *Tiberias*, with a command, on the firſt hearing of the ſignal, to march down; as for myſelf, I came out of the village, and encamped in an open and champaign place, which the *Tiberians* no ſooner ſaw, than they ruſhed out of *Tiberias*, and treated me with very abuſive and reproachful language; nay, they proceeded ſo far in their folly and frenzy, that they expoſed before me a funeral litter with my image upon it, and then ſtood round it, and ſeemed to mourn me with a ridiculous ſhew of grimace and laughter. But when I ſaw this their madneſs, I only made it the ſubject of my mirth and diverſion.

I was deſirous to intercept *Simon*, and with him *Joazar*, by a ſtratagem; to which end, I ſent a meſſenger to them, deſiring them to come a little way out of the city, and take their friends and others to conduct them ſafe, ſaying I was ready, on meeting them, to enter into an alliance with them, and divide the government of *Galilee* with them. *Simon*, through imprudence, and deceived with the hope of advantage from ſuch a propoſal, made haſte to come; but *Joazar*, fearing the worſt, ſtaid behind. When *Simon* appeared, attended with his friends, who guarded him, I went out to meet him, and complimented him very civilly, telling him I was obliged to him for his coming up to me; but preſently, as I walked along with him, I took him aſide, through a pretence of ſpeaking with him a part from the reſt of his company, and thinking I had conveyed him far enough, I gave him up to my friends who were about him, to carry him to the next village; and then ordering my ſoldiers to deſcend from the mountains, I march'd them to beſiege *Tiberias*. The engagement was carried on with great vigour on both ſides, and the *Tiberians* were almoſt in poſſeſſion of the victory; for my men were juſt upon retreating, when I, ſeeing it, exhorted, as well as I could, the forces I had about me, and purſued the conquering *Tiberians* to their very gates. Other forces paſſing the lake at this juncture to my relief, I ordered them to ſet fire to the firſt houſe they made themſelves maſters of. The *Tiberians* ſeeing this, and imagining their city ſtormed, through fear threw down their arms, and, with their wives and children, begged me, on their knees, to ſpare their city; being prevailed upon by their entreaties, I reſtrained the eagerneſs of my ſoldiers, and, as night was drawing on, I return'd with my men from the ſiege of the town, and refreſhed myſelf. At ſupper I received *Simon*, and endeavoured to give him heart from what had happened, promiſing to give him money for his expences, and ſend him to *Hieroſolyma* in ſafety.

The next day I came to *Tiberias* with an army of ten thouſand men, and ſummoning the principal citizens into the *Circus*, I ordered them to acquaint me with the authors of the revolt. They acquainting me who they were, I ſent them priſoners to *Jotapat*, but took care to ſend *Jonathan*, *Ananias*, and their aſſociates, with *Simon* and *Joazar*, after I had releaſed them from their confinement, and given them proviſions, and ſet five hundred ſoldiers to guard and obſerve them, to *Hieroſolyma*. After this, the *Tiberians* came again before me, and, on their knees, begg'd I would pardon what they had done, promiſing to make me ſatisfaction for the abuſes they had committed, by perſevering in a conſtant and dutiful obedience to me. This was not all; they intreated me to let thoſe perſons who had been pillaged, be reſtored to the plunder that remained. Willing to gratify them, I commanded thoſe who had any, to produce all the ſpoil they had obtained, but my orders being dilatorily obeyed, I happened to ſee one of my men in a finer garment than ordinary; upon which, I asked him where he got it, he anſwering out of the plunder of *Tiberias*, I commanded him to be whipt, and threaten'd a more ſevere puniſhment, if they did not produce all their plunder; by this means, abundance of things were brought to me, which I gave the *Tiberians* upon their claiming them.

Now I am come to this period of my diſcourſe, give me leave to ſpeak a few words about *Juſtus*, who compoſed an hiſtory of theſe very occurrences; and about ſome others, who devote themſelves to the writing hiſtory, but are ſo far from minding facts and truth, that, through their ſpleen and love of forgeries, they have the confidence to aſſert every thing they pleaſe, whether true or falſe: This claſs of men may juſtly be compared to thoſe who produce forged inſtruments or writings about bargains, or the conſequences of eſtates; but becauſe they are not liable to the ſame puniſhments as the others, they diſregard and deſpiſe truth. *Juſtus*, with this view, attempting to write of thoſe tranſactions I was concerned in, and of the war, in order to ſhew his diligence, hath feigned ſeveral relations of me, and produced ſeveral accounts of his country, which in reality are not true. Wherefore, (for I think I am bound to defend myſelf againſt his falſe aſſertions) I ſhall take the freedom to mention ſome things, which hitherto I have kept ſecret, neither ought any one to wonder why I have not diſcloſed them before now. But I hold it as an indiſputable principle, that he who goes about compoſing an hiſtory, ought to inſiſt on no facts but what he can depend upon as undoubted and certain; though, at the ſame time, he ought not to ſhew himſelf too ſour and bitter in expoſing any perſon's criminal conduct, for moderation will be found of more advantage to him. 'How 'then (that I may ſpeak to him as if preſent be'fore me) O *Juſtus*, the moſt profound hiſtorian, '(a title you arrogate to yourſelf) came the *Ga'lileans* and I to be the original cauſe of your 'country's ſedition againſt the *Romans* and the 'king? For before the *Synedrim* of *Hieroſolyma* 'conſtituted me governor of *Galilee*, you and 'all the *Tiberians* not only took up arms, but 'committed hoſtilities upon *Decapolis* of *Syria*. 'You laid its village in aſhes, and your own ſervant fell in that engagement. I am not the only one who alledges this, but the annals of *Veſpaſian* confirm my aſſertion, and mention how the *Decapolitans* eagerly importuned *Veſpaſian* at *Ptolomais* to have you ſurrendered to them, as the author of all their troubles. And you had certainly been puniſhed by *Veſpaſian*, had not king *Agrippa*, who was commiſſioned to put you to death, prevailed upon by the earneſt intreaties of his ſiſter *Berenice*, delivered you from death, and confined you a long time in priſon. Beſides, your actions afterwards, are not only a ſtrong preſumption of your deſigns in the former part of your life, but alſo a full proof that you really were the cauſe of your country's revolting from the *Romans*, which I will endeavour to prove from ſeveral particular circumſtances in the ſequel: Nor ſhall this be all; I will alſo, for your ſake, addreſs myſelf to the *Tiberians*, and inform thoſe who ſhall peruſe this my hiſtory, that you was a friend neither to the *Romans* nor the king. The principal and largeſt cities in *Galilee*, are *Sepphoris* and *Tiberias*, which, O *Juſtus*, is your birth place? But *Sepphoris* ſtands in the middle of *Galilee*, and is ſurrounded with a great number of ſmall towns; and the inhabitants could, with great eaſe, had they reſolved on it, attempted any thing againſt the *Romans*; but, chuſing rather to perſevere in their loyalty and obedience to their maſters, they refuſed me entrance into their city, and prohibited, by a public decree, any of their fellow citizens from aſſiſting the *Jews*; and that it might not be expoſed to any danger on my account, the citizens fraudulently got me to fortify their city with walls, after which, in contempt of me, they received a garriſon from *Ceſtius Gallus*, who commanded the *Roman Legions* in *Syria*, who was then very powerful, and a terror to the country. Beſides, when *Hieroſolyma* was beſieged at that time, which is the largeſt city we have, and the temple, which is common to all, was in the moſt imminent danger of falling into the hands of the enemy, they offered to ſend auxiliaries, becauſe they would not be thought to take up arms againſt the *Romans*: But thy country, O *Juſtus*, which is ſituated at the lake *Geneſareth*, and is diſtant from *Hippo* thirty furlongs, from *Gadar* ſixty, and from *Scythopolis*, in the dominions of the king, one hundred and twenty furlongs, and has no *Jewiſh* city adjoining to it, eaſily could, had they been willing, have preſerved its obedience to the *Romans*, for the city and inhabitants were provided with a good number of arms. But according to your aſſertion, I was then the cauſe; but pray, *Juſtus*, who was the aggreſſor afterwards? For before *Hieroſolyma* was expoſed to a ſiege, you were ſenſible I was under the *Romans*, and that *Jotapat* was ſtormed, ſeveral caſtles taken, and a great number of the *Galileans* had loſt their lives in battle; then was the time, when you were delivered from your apprehenſions of me, for you to have thrown down your arms, and gone to the aſſiſtance of the king and the *Romans*, ſince it was not a voluntary deed, but abſolute neceſſity, that puſhed you on to engage in a war againſt them. Add to this, your waiting till *Veſpaſian* brought up all his forces to lay ſiege to your town, when through fear you caſt away your arms; for he had certainly ſtormed it, had not king *Agrippa* on his knees interceeded for you, and excuſed your folly, which procured your pardon. It is not then to be accounted my fault, but yours, that you ſeemed ſo fond of maintaining a war. Have you forgot, after the many defeats I gave you, how I never put one of you to death? But when you fomented a ſedition among yourſelves, not through any love you had to the *Romans*, or the king, but to gratify your inveterate malice, you put to death an hundred fourſcore and five of your own citizens, at the time I was beſieged by the *Romans* at *Jotapat*. What? were there not numbered at the ſiege of *Hieroſolyma* two thouſand *Tiberians*, part of whom were ſlain, and the other part made captives? but perhaps you will not own that you were one of the enemy, becauſe you then ran away to the king, which I affirm was done purely through fear of me. And yet you, with a pretended ſincerity, dare call me a wicked man. But how came it, that king *Agrippa*, who, when you were capitally convicted by *Veſpaſian*, obtained a free pardon for you, and enriched you with ſeveral conſiderable preſents: How came it, I ſay, that he ſo often threw you into priſon, and ſo often commanded you to leave your country, and retire into baniſhment? When he once condemned you to death, did not the prayers of his ſiſter *Berenice* prevail upon him ſo far as to ſpare your life? But even after this, and the commiſſion of ſo many diſloyal practices, he was willing farther to extend his goodneſs towards you, and make you his amanuenſis, but finding you treacherous in this office, he forebade you his ſight. But I will wave making any farther inquiry into theſe matters. However, I cannot but wonder at your impudence, in having the preſumption to aſſert, that you have been more accurate in your accounts than all others who have wrote hiſtories of theſe tranſactions, when you were both an utter ſtranger to the occurrences in *Galilee* (being then at *Berytus* with the king) and to the hardſhips the *Romans* ſuſtained, and made us ſuſtain, at the ſiege of *Jotapat*, only following your own whimſical imaginations, being quite out of the reach of learning any of my tranſactions at that ſiege; for all who could give any tolerable account of that ſiege, had the misfortune to loſe their lives in the conflict. But you'll ſay, perhaps, you have given an accurate account of what was done againſt *Hieroſolyma*. How were you able, ſince you were neither preſent at that ſiege, or had read the commentaries of *Cæſar*? Which is a plain proof you have tranſmitted accounts diametrically oppoſite to thoſe in his annals. If you have the faith to believe that you excel all others in digeſting a good hiſtory, why did not you, while *Veſpaſian* and *Titus* were alive, under whoſe government the war had a period, and while king *Agrippa* was alive, and his relations, who were excellently verſed in the *Greek* writings, publiſh your hiſtory, 'and bring it to light? for you had it by you full twenty years in writing before, and you had all the opportunity in the world, from a thorough ſcrutiny into things, to give us convincing proofs of your care and diligence throughout the whole: But now thoſe great and learned perſonages have departed from us, and you are of opinion, there is no way left to convince you of your errors, you have the confidence to publiſh your book. Now, I am not ſo timorous as you in relation to my books, but I have preſented them to the emperors themſelves, now great numbers of the facts mentioned in them, are freſh in every body's memory, and yet preſent themſelves to their eyes; becauſe I was conſcious I had preſerv'd a chain of veracity throughout the whole. And when I waited for their approbation of them, my expectations did not deceive me. Beſides, I communicated my hiſtory to many others, ſome of whom were preſent in the war, among whom was king *Agrippa*, and ſome of his relations; for the emperor *Titus* was ſo extremely deſirous to have the knowledge of the facts related in my books tranſmitted to poſterity, that he ordered them to be publiſhed with his hand ſubſcribed to them; and king *Agrippa* wrote threeſcore and two letters, to teſtify the veracity I had preſerved in my hiſtory; two of which I have here added, that you might have an opportunity of ſeeing what they contain.

King *Agrippa*, to my dear friend *Joſephus*,
Greeting:

I Have with a great deal of pleaſure peruſed your book, and in my opinion, you have treated of the facts therein related, with more fidelity and accuracy than the other hiſtorians, who have tranſmitted in their writings accounts of the ſame things. See that you ſend me the remaining part. Farewel my friend.

King *Agrippa*, to my dear friend *Joſephus*,
Greeting:

FROM your letter, you ſeem to hint, that you want no farther information; but that we have a perfect account of every tranſaction from the beginning. However, when you come to me, I'll convince you of ſome things, which, perhaps you were not aware of.

This was no piece of flattery in Agrippa, *as entirely contrary to his known character, nor was it an act of diſſimulation, as you are pleaſed to ſay, ſuch a meanneſs not harbouring in his temper; but he gave full proof of the truth, as all thoſe do who read hiſtories.* Thus far with regard to *Juſtus*, with whom I thought myſelf indiſpenſibly obliged to make this compariſon.

When I had looked into the affairs of *Tiberias*, and aſſembled a council of my friends, I adviſed what meaſures were to be put in execution concerning *John*. 'All the *Galileans* were of opinion, that I ought to put them in arms, and make an irruption with them upon *John*, in order to puniſh him as the real author of the late troubles:' But I could not agree to their ſentiments, as I was deſirous to terminate the differences without ſhedding of blood; wherefore I adviſed them to be very diligent in learning the names of thoſe who were with *John*. They putting my advice in execution, and informing me what perſons were about him, I put out an edict, promiſing them who were in *John*'s intereſts an indemnity, provided they would abandon him; and gave them the ſpace of twenty days to conſider of it, if ſo be they had any thoughts of their own ſecurity; beſides I threatened them, in caſe they did not throw aſide their arms, to lay their houſes in aſhes, and expoſe their effects to public ſale. When they heard this, they were ſtruck with terror, and abandoned *John*, and throwing aſide their arms, to the number of about four thouſand came over to me; thoſe who remained with *John*, were only the inhabitants of his own city, and ſome *Tyrians*, amounting in all to about fifteen hundred men. This one ſtratagem of mine defeating effectually *John*'s meaſures, he was obliged through fear to ſhut himſelf up in his own country.

Much about this time the *Sepphorites*, confiding in the ſtrength of their walls, and ſeeing me buſied in other affairs, took heart, and had recourſe to arms. In conſequence of this, they ſent to *Ceſtus Gallus*, who was then governor of *Syria*, deſiring he would in perſon come quickly, and receive the obedience of their city, or at leaſt ſend thither a garriſon of ſoldiers. *Gallus* promiſed them to come, but intimated not a word of the time. When I came to hear of this proceeding, I took up the forces I had with me, and making an attack with them upon the city, I took it by ſtorm: The *Galileans*, ſuppoſing by this diſadvantageous turn of fortune, they had a favourable opportunity to ſatiate their hatred upon the *Sepphorites*, (and being their avowed enemies) ruſhed furiouſly into the city, as if their intent had been to have put citizens and ſtrangers alike to the ſword. The inhabitants ſeeing this, ſallied out, whereupon the *Galileans* ſet fire to thoſe houſes they found empty, (for the people through fear, had retired into the tower) every thing fell a ſacrifice to their depredations, and they kept no bounds with their countrymen, in the plunder they made upon them. When I perceived this, I was extremely ſorrowful, and ordered them to ceaſe any farther hoſtilities, ſuggeſting the great wickedneſs in handling ſo rigidly the men of the ſame tribe with them. When I ſaw that neither my entreaties or commands had any effect upon them, and the greatneſs of their hatred weighing down all my admonitions, I ordered ſome of my truſtieſt friends to divulge a report, that the *Romans* with a great body of forces had attacked the other part of the city. I did this with no other deſign, than that, the report ſpreading abroad, the fury of the *Galileans* might be ſtopt, and *Sepphoris* be preſerved from ruin. In ſhort, my ſtratagem had the deſired ſucceſs, for coming to hear the report, they began to look to themſelves, by leaving behind them the plunder they had made haſtily betaking themſelves to flight, eſpecially when they ſaw me their general doing the ſame; for, in order to gain more credit to the report, I pretended to be terrified, in like manner as they were, with the danger that threatned. Thus the *Sepphorites*, by this artifice of mine, preſerved their lives and effects.

But *Tiberias* was on the point of being ſackt, on the following account: The principal men of their ſenate wrote a letter to the king, entreating him to come to them, and receive their city under his government; the king promiſed to come, and ſent them a letter in anſwer, which he gave to one of the grooms of his bed-chamber, named *Criſpus*, and a *Jew*, to carry to the *Tiberians*. Some of the *Galileans* happening to meet with *Criſpus*, as he was bringing the letter, knew him, and apprehended and brought him to me: When this came to be told the people, they were full of indignation, and immediately armed themſelves. A great number of them aſſembling the next day came to *Aſochis*, where I then reſided, and with loud exclamations calling *Tiberias* a traitereſs and a friend of the king's, craved leave to make a deſcent upon it, utterly deſtroy it, and level it with the ground; for they were as inveterate enemies to the *Tiberians* as *Sepphorites*.

When I came to hear of this procedure, I was doubtful in what manner to preſerve the city from the enraged *Galileans*; for I could make no excuſe in relation to the charge brought againſt the *Tiberians*, of ſurrendering up their city; the letter the king had wrote back to them, being too convincing a proof to juſtify them. Wherefore, weighing the affair ſome time in my mind, I gave them this anſwer at laſt; *That the* Tiberians *had done very baſely, and I was ſenſible of it, neither will I be any obſtacle to your ſacking their city; nevertheleſs, nothing of that kind is to be put in execution, without previous advice, and maturate conſideration; for the* Tiberians *are not the only perſons who have endangered our liberty, but great numbers of the* Galileans, *who are eſteemed very loyal and dutiful. Wherefore ſtay a little, till I ſhall get better information, who have been the real authors of the defection and treachery, and then you ſhall have every one of them ſurrendered into your hands, and be at liberty to puniſh thoſe who ſhall be found guilty.* With theſe words I pacified the multitude, and when their anger was abated, every man withdrew to his houſe. After I had order'd the man ſent by the king to be put in chains, I pretended I had earneſt occaſion to go out of the kingdom for ſome days, to tranſact an affair of moment, and then calling to me *Criſpus* privately, I ordered him to make the ſoldiers drunk that guarded him, and then make his eſcape to the king; thus *Tiberias*, which was again expoſed to the laſt extremity, by my diligence was delivered from the danger that threatened it.

Much about this time *Juſtus*, the ſon of *Piſtus*, when I knew nothing of it, went over to the king; I will lay open in a few words, the reaſon had induced him to it. On the firſt breaking out of the war between the *Jews* and *Romans*, the *Tiberians* were reſolved to perſevere in their obedience to the king, and on no motives whatever abandon the *Romans*. *Juſtus*, notwithſtanding this reſolution of theirs, endeavoured to ſpirit them up to a revolt; becauſe he earneſtly longed for a change, from which he hoped he ſhould obtain the advantage, of wreſting into his hands the government of the *Galileans*, and of his country. But his ſcheme proved abortive; for the *Galileans*, who were avowed enemies to the *Tiberians*, out of the indignation they entertained to the hardſhips they had ſuffered from *Juſtus*, before the commencement of the war, could not endure to think of having him for their general. Beſides, I, who had received the government of *Galilee*, agreeable to the general conſent of the *Synedrim* at *Hieroſolyma*, was ſeveral times actuated with ſo juſt a rage againſt him, that ſometimes I was ready to put him to death, becauſe I had nor patience to brook his inſupportable malice; this making him apprehend that my anger might, one time or other, be attended with fatal conſequences to him, he ſent to the king, ſuppoſing he ſhould live better, and in more ſecurity with him.

The *Sepphorites* being unexpectedly freed from their firſt danger, ſent to *Ceſtius Gallus*, begging him to come quickly to them, to receive their city under his protection, or ſend them a ſufficient body of forces, to repel the irruptions of their enemies. In ſhort, they induced *Gallus* to tranſmit them a ſupply of cavalry and infantry, which, upon their coming, they introduced into the city in the night-time. The bordering country lying expoſed to the depredations of the *Roman* ſoldiers, after I had taken up the forces I had at hand, I went to *Gareſine*, where I encamped about twenty furlongs from *Sepphoris*, and in the night, marching with my army to the city, I ſat down before the walls, and then giving orders to a great number of my men, to mount the walls with their ſcaling ladders, I made myſelf, immediately, maſter of the greateſt part of the city: But being ignorant of the places, we were obliged to retire, having ſlain twelve foot ſoldiers and two horſemen belonging to the *Romans*, with ſome of the *Sepphorites*, only one of our men being miſſing. But it was not long before we came to an open engagement in the plain, in which, having defended ourſelves a long time with great bravery, we were obliged to yield the victory to the enemy; for having the ill fortune to be hemmed in on every ſide, and my men ſeeing it, they turned their backs upon me, and fled through fear. In this encounter, one of thoſe who had the ſafe-guard of my perſon, loſt his life; his name was *Juſtus*, and he had ſome time before been in the ſame poſt under the king. Much about this time, came a body of horſe and foot forces, which the king ſent under the command of *Sylla*, the captain of his royal guards, who incamped about five furlongs from *Julias*, and planted his ſcouts along the roads, in one which leads to *Cana*, and in another which was the ready way to the caſtle of *Gamala*, with a deſign to hinder all communication with the inhabitants of *Galilee*.

As ſoon as I came to hear of this, I detach'd a band of two thouſand men, under the command of *Jeremias*. Both armies encamped about a furlong from *Julias*, near the river *Jordan*, but nothing paſt on either ſide but light ſkirmiſhes, till I had an opportunity to come up with three thouſand more of my men. The next day, having planted my men in ambuſcades, at a ſmall diſtance from their camp, I challenged the royal army to give me battle, giving at the ſame time orders to my men to pretend a flight, till the enemy was drawn out of their entrenchments; this ſtratagem was crowned with the deſired ſucceſs, for *Sylla*, thinking my men had not made a pretended flight, drew out his army, and purſued them. Immediately my men, whom I had ſecured in his rear, ſallied out of their ambuſcades, and fell upon him, which put the reſt of his army into great diſorder. When I ſaw this, I rallied my men immediately, and faced the royal army, which I put to flight. The victory had unqueſtionably fallen, as I could have wiſhed, on my ſide this day, had not an unlucky accident prevented it; the horſe which I fought upon, happening to carry me into a muddy and boggy place, fell with me on the ground, by which accident I ſprained the wriſt of my arm, and was obliged to be carried into a village called *Cepharmome*. When my army came to hear of my miſchance, fearing ſome worſe accident had beſel me, they left off the purſuit, and returned extremely uneaſy about me. Upon this, I called my phyſicians, and having got my hurt look'd after, I was obliged, through a fever I had upon me, to ſtay where I was that day; but at night, as the doctors ordered, I was carried to *Tarichea*.

Sylla and his army, receiving the news of my miſfortune, reſumed courage, and knowing my camp was not very ſtrictly guarded, he planted a body of horſe in ambuſh beyond *Jordan*, and, as ſoon as it was day, ſtrove to bring us to an engagement. My forces, not refuſing the encounter, marched into the plain, upon which the horſemen, ſallying out to their ambuſcade, threw a pannick fear into my men, who preſently fled. Six of my men loſt their lives in this engagement, and they let the victory entirely ſlip out of their hands; for hearing a freſh ſupply of forces were arrived by ſhipping, at *Julias* from *Taricheæ*, they, through fear, ſounded a retreat.

Shortly after this, *Veſpaſian* came to *Tyre*, and with him king *Agrippa*. The *Tyrians* began, on his arrival, to throw their reproaches on the king, calling him an enemy, both to the *Tyrians* and to the *Romans*; for they upbraided him with *Philip*, the general of his armies, having, by his own command, betrayed the palace, and the *Roman* garriſon at *Hieroſolyma*. But when *Veſpaſian* heard theſe complaints, he reproved the *Tyrians* for diſhonouring, in ſuch a manner, a perſon who was both a king and an ally of the *Romans*; and adviſed the king to ſend *Philip* to *Rome*, to give an account of his actions to *Nero*. In conſequence of this, *Philip* was ſent to *Rome*, but never once appeared before *Nero*; for when he found him in the midſt of dangers, and expoſed to a violent ſedition and civil war, he made haſte back to the king. *Veſpaſian*, after this, coming to *Ptolomais*, the principal citizens of *Decapolis* were very loud in their exclamations againſt *Juſtus* the *Tiberian*, becauſe he laid ſeveral of their villages in aſhes. *Veſpaſian*, being thoroughly acquainted with this affair, ſurrendered him up to the king, to be puniſhed by the officers of the kingdom; but the king, without acquainting *Veſpaſian*, threw him into priſon, as we have obſerved above. After this the *Sepphorites* came to meet *Veſpaſian*, and, having congratulated him, they received a garriſon from him, commanded by *Placidus*, with which they returned; I following them in the rear, till *Veſpaſian* came into *Galilee*. Of whoſe coming, in what manner the battle was conducted that was firſt fought with me at *Taricheæ*, of their marching thence to *Jotapat*, of my actions at the ſiege of that place, of my being taken priſoner alive, and put in chains, and how I was afterwards ſet at liberty, of my ſeveral performances during the *Jewiſh* war, and of the tranſactions relating to the ſiege of *Hieroſolyma*; of all theſe ſeveral occurrences, I have given a more accurate deſcription in the account of the *Jewiſh* wars: But I think myſelf under a neceſſity to add, at the end of this account, thoſe occurrences which paſt in my life-time, but which are no where mentioned in the account I have given of the *Jewiſh* war.

The ſiege of *Jotapat* being now drawn to a concluſion, though I was in the hands of the *Romans*, and ſtrictly guarded, yet *Veſpaſian* had a very great reſpect for me; in conſequence of which, I married, by his own order, a virgin, who was taken a priſoner at the ſacking of *Cæſarea*, and a native of that city. But ſhe lived not long with me; for having obtained my liberty, and marching with *Veſpaſian* to *Alexandria*, ſhe left me; upon which I married another wife at *Alexandria*. From this place I was ſent, together with *Titus*, to the ſiege of *Hieroſolyma*, where ſeveral times my life was expoſed to danger, for the *Jews* were continually uſing one ſtratagem or other, to get me into their hands, with no other intent than to put me to death; and the *Romans*, every time they met with any diſadvantage, which they conſtantly attributed to ſome treachery of mine, were eternally tiring the emperor with accuſations againſt me, and deſiring him to give me up to puniſhment as their betrayer. But *Titus Cæſar*, who was perfectly acquainted with the chances of war, ſilenced the furious proceedings of his ſoldiers; and, when *Hieroſolyma* was at the point of being taken, he adviſed me to take what I pleaſed, to my own uſe, out of the plunder of the city, for he ſaid he frankly gave me the liberty. As I had no greater deſire, after the ruin of my country, which could more alleviate my miſeries, than the liberty of my friends, I aſked *Titus* for that favour, as alſo for the ſacred books, which *Titus* preſented me with.

And immediately after, I had begged from him the life of my brother, and the liberty of five hundred of my friends, in which I ſucceeded according to my wiſhes. Beſides, I obtained leave from *Titus* to go into the temple, where a great multitude of captive women and children were ſhut up, and as many of my friends and acquaintance as I found there, who amounted to one hundred and ninety perſons, I ſet at liberty, and, without paying any thing for their ranſom, diſmiſſed them to go and be reſtored to their former ſtate of life. After this, I was ſent by *Titus Cæſar*, in company with *Cerealius*, and a thouſand horſe, to a certain village which was called *Thecoe*, to ſee if the place was convenient to encamp in; but on my return, ſeeing a great many poor wretches faſtened to croſſes, and among them three of my acquaintance, I was very much troubled in mind, and falling at the feet of *Titus* with tears in my eyes, I repreſented the caſe to him. Upon this, he gave immediate orders to have them taken down, and all imaginable care taken of them; but two of them happened to die under the hands of the perſons who looked after them, but the third prolonged his life ſome time longer.

Titus thus put an end to the diſtractions in *Judæa*; and thinking the lands I had about *Hieroſolyma*, would be of no ſervice to me, becauſe of the *Romans* who were left to guard the country, gave me another eſtate in the plain; and on his ſetting forward for *Rome*, took me along with him, and uſed me with great reſpect. When we came to *Rome*, I received not a little favour from *Veſpaſian*, for he entertained me in the (1) houſe he himſelf dwelt in before he came to be emperor, made me a denizen of *Rome*, aſſigned me an annual penſion, conſtantly heaping his favours upon me, and never reſtrained his hand from ſhowering down his kindneſs upon me, till death put an end to his generoſity; which rendered me obnoxious to ſeveral dangers from the envy of my enemies. One *Jonathan*, a *Jew*, having raiſed a ſedition in *Cyrene*, and perſuaded above two thouſand of the natives to join in the commotion, became, at length, the cauſe of their ruin; for happening to be defeated by the governor of the province, he was ſent to the emperor, before whom he averred, that I had ſupplied him with arms and money. *Veſpaſian*, notwithſtanding this aſſertion, was not ignorant of the falſehood he told, and condemned him, for it, to die; upon which he was ſurrendered to the hangman, who executed him. But this was not the only danger I eſcaped, for ſeveral accuſations were brought againſt me, by thoſe who envied my happineſs; but by the providence of God I got clear of them all. *Veſpaſian* gave me a large ſpot of ground; at the time I put away my wife, becauſe I did not like her actions, who had brought me three ſons, two of whom died, but the third, whom I called *Hyrcanus*, ſurvived. I was not long before I marry'd another wife, who had lived in *Crete*, and was a *Jeweſs* by nation, born of noble parents, and deſcended from one of the beſt families in that country, and, in the excellency of her manners, was preferable to moſt women, as her life and behaviour with me is a convincing proof. I had two ſons by her, *Juſtus*, who was the elder, and *Simonides* the younger, who was alſo ſurnamed *Agrippa*: This is the account of my family. In the mean while, the emperor's kindneſſes remained inviolate; for when *Veſpaſian* died, *Titus*, who ſucceeded him in the empire, uſed me with the ſame honourable reſpect as his father had done, and every time I was accuſed, gave no ear to my enemies. *Domitian* alſo, who ſucceeded *Titus*, held me in very great honour and dignity; for thoſe *Jews* who accuſed me he put to death, and ordered a ſervant of mine, an Eunuch and tutor to my ſon, to be puniſhed, for bringing an accuſation againſt me. Beſides, he granted me thoſe lands which I held in *Judæa*, free from any tribute, which is looked upon as a very honourable mark of the emperor's favour, to the perſon who receives it. *Cæſar*'s wife *Domitia*, was alſo conſtantly gratifying me with one kindneſs or other. Theſe are the moſt material circumſtances of my whole life; from which I leave mankind to draw what concluſions they pleaſe, and judge as they think fit of my morals. And as, my (2) *Epaphroditus*, (3) the beſt of men, I have complied all our (4) antiquities for your uſe, ſo I will here leave off my narration, and for the preſent conclude my diſcourſe.

This is the End of the Jewiſh *Antiquities, which are compriſed in twenty Books, and to which is annexed the Life of* Joſephus.

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(1) It appears from *Suetonius*, in his Life, Chap. 11. that *Veſpaſian* took great Delight in his former Condition, and in the Remembrance of the Place he dwelt in, his Words are thus tranſlated. The Emperor 'would frequently viſit the Habitation of his Youth, in the ſame State as it was in before he was Emperor, 'that he might not loſe the Satisfaction of ſurveying what his Eyes had before taken ſo much Delight 'in.' This gives us room to ſuppoſe, that he loved the Houſe he lived in at *Rome*, when a private Man, and uſed it for a place of Reſidence for his Friends, as is mentioned here about our Author.

(2) This *Epaphroditus*, according to the general Opinion, was *Nero*'s Librarian, whom *Domitian* condemned to Death; as appears from *Suetonius*, in his Life of *Domitian*, B. 14. But *Grotius* ſeems rather to think that he was *Trajan*'s Freedman and Procurator; for which, conſult him upon *Luke*, chap. 1. The Books of the Antiquities were declared to *Epaphroditus*, as we ſhall obſerve in a copious Preface, ſhortly to be printed with this Work, and which may be ſeen at the Beginning of the firſt Book againſt *Apion*.

(3) *Valeſius* upon *Euſebius*, pa. 47. concludes from this Epilogue, that this Book of *Joſephus* is only an Appendix of the twentieth Book of the Antiquities.

(4) Mr. Reland ſays, it appears from this place, that his Life is only an Epilogue or Appendix of the laſt Book of the Antiquities.

THE (a) CHRONICLE OF *JUSTUS* of *TIBERIAS*, OF THE KINGS of *JUDÆA*.

WE have peruſed the chronicle of *Juſtus* the *Tiberian*, the title of which is this, *The Chronicle of* Juſtus *of* Tiberias, *of the kings of* Judæa, *who were crowned*. This Author deduces his original and name from *Tiberias*, a town in *Galilee*. He begins his hiſtory from *Moyſes*, and continues it to the death of *Agrippa*, the ſeventh king of the line of *Herod*, and the laſt who ſwayed the ſceptre of *Judea*; he flouriſhed under *Claudius*, *Nero*, and *Veſpaſian*, and died in the third year of *Trajan*, where his hiſtory concludes. This author's ſtile is conciſe; but he paſſes by ſeveral occurrences, which ought to be related. As he was a *Jew*, he had one common fault with the *Hebrews*, which was, that he ſays not a word of the coming of chriſt, or of his ſufferings, or of the miracles he wrought. His father's name was *Piſtus*, an *Hebrew*, and (as *Joſephus* ſays) one of the moſt wicked men living, a ſlave to the love of money, and a wretch abandoned to his luſtful deſires. He had ſtrong contentions with *Joſephus* in the commonwealth, and, it is ſaid, he laid ſeveral ſnares to take away his life: Notwithſtanding this uſage, *Joſephus*, when he had him ſeveral times in his power, only rebuked him with words for what he had done, and diſmiſſed him without puniſhment. The greateſt part of the hiſtory he compoſed, is ſuppoſed to be full of nothing but falſehoods, and entirely fabulous; and thoſe paſſages eſpecially, where he treats of the war carried on by the *Romans* againſt the *Jews*, and the ſiege of *Hieroſolyma*.

(*a*) We are oblig'd to *Photius* for this Abſtract, which we have thought proper to inſert in this place; for *Joſephus* makes frequent mention of this *Juſtus*, as his Enemy, in the Relation he gives of the Occurrences of his Life. *Havercamp*.

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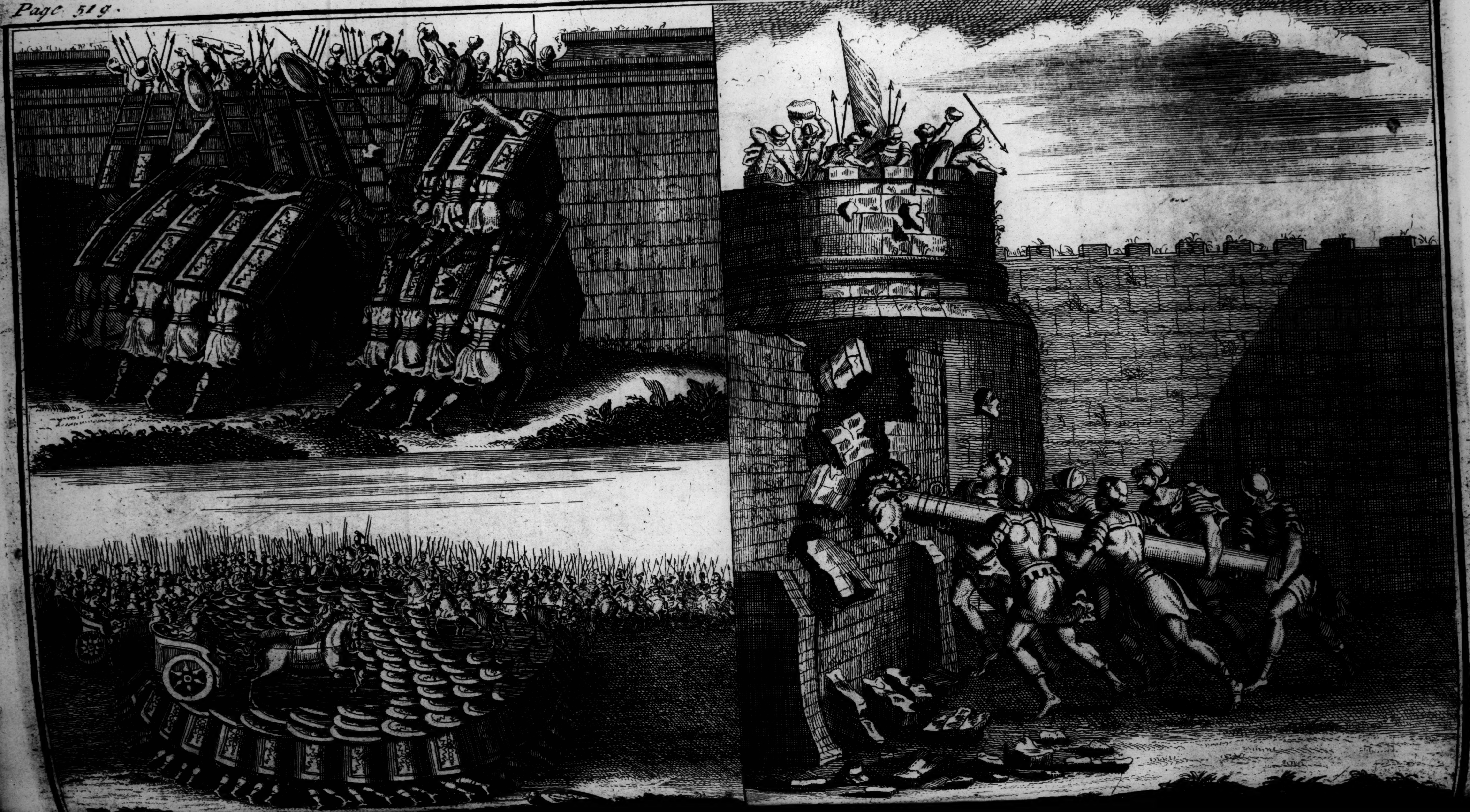
The Wars of the Jews.



(1) *FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS*
OF THE
JEWISH WAR;
AND THE
DESTRUCTION
OF
HIEROSOLYMA.

IN SEVEN BOOKS.

BOOK I.

THE PROOEME.

SINCE the war which the *Jews* maintained againſt the *Romans*, is not only the greateſt our age hath ſeen, but almoſt of all others we have any account of, either that cities waged againſt cities, or nations againſt nations, ſome, who were not preſent at the occurrences, have collected from reports a number of incoherent and ridiculous facts, and, like ſo many *Sophiſts*, have undertaken to connect them together, and give us an hiſtory; while others, who were ſpectators of what paſſed, either through a deſire of humouring the *Romans*, or through their hatred to the *Jews*, have concealed the truth, and ſhaded over hiſtorical facts with fable and fiction; their writings being partly compoſed of invectives, and partly of encomium, yet no veracity, that touchſtone of hiſtory, preſerved in any paſſage. This is the reaſon that has induced me to tranſlate into *Greek*, what before I wrote in *Hebrew* for the (1) *Mediterranean Barbarians*; for the ſake of thoſe who live under the *Roman* empire: I mean, I *Joſephus* the ſon of *Matthias*, an *Hebrew* by nation, of *Hieroſolyma*, and a prieſt, who maintain'd a war againſt the *Romans*; and, forced by neceſſity, was alſo a ſpectator of, and preſent at, what paſſed afterwards.

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(1) This Title is not in *Voſſius*'s Book, nor the Proeme, the *Bodleian* Copy runs thus in its Title, Flavius Joſephus, *of the Deſtruction of* Judea, *and the firſt Book of the great City, in the* Grecian *Dialect and Phraſe*. The Librarian, from the latter Part of theſe Words, underſtood that theſe Books were firſt Wrote by *Joſephus* in *Hebrew*. *Photius* in his 48th Book, ſays, that this is not the Title of this Work, but only ſpecifies the Argument. *Porphyry* calls theſe Books, *The Books of the* Jewiſh *Hiſtory*; and *Euſebius* frequently names them *The Books of the Hiſtories*; but *Joſephus*, as well in his Antiquities, as his Life, ſtiles them *The Books of the* Jewiſh *War*.

Upon the firſt breaking out of the war, which was terrible in its conſequences, the *Romans*, as I have obſerved above, were under great difficulties, which aroſe from themſelves; and the *Jews*, as many, I mean, as were deſirous of a change of government, finding the times in great commotion, fomented a rebellion, being exceeding ſtrong and opulent, which they relied upon; and the violence of the ſedition burſt out ſo fiercely, that the *Jews* were in hopes of making themſelves maſters of the eaſt, and the *Romans* fearful of loſing the conqueſts they had there.* The *Jews* believed all their countrymen, reſiding beyond the *Euphrates*, would take up arms in conjunction with them, and the *Romans* were terribly harraſſed by the *Gauls* their neighbours; beſides, *Celtæ* were up in arms, and every place was full of nothing but havock and deſtruction, occaſioned by the death of *Nero*. Several made themſelves competitors for the empire, and the army, deſirous to enrich itſelf, endeavoured at a revolution; theſe are ſo many reaſons that have induced me to convey the truth of ſuch great occurrences, in the plaineſt manner I can, without miſtaking in any one material point; for *Parthians* and *Babylonians*, and the remoteſt *Arabians*, and our countrymen beyond the *Euphrates*, and the *Adiebenians* are perfectly well acquainted, by my accuracy and diligence, with the beginning of this war, the deſtruction that attended it, and concluſion of it. But the *Greeks* and *Romans*, who were not any ways engaged in the fierce tranſactions of it, know nothing of the occurrences and only read accounts of it from other authors, who complied a thouſand fictions; either for the ſake of flattery, or to promote falſehood.

And yet they are not aſhamed to diſgrace hiſtory with ſuch trifles, which, beſides the inconvenience and prejudice they give their readers, are nevertheleſs in my opinion far from their deſign; for their intentions are to enlarge the facts of the *Romans*, and in that view they extenuate and depreciate thoſe of the *Jews*. But they never once conſider, that thoſe can't poſſibly be accounted great, who only tumble and cruſh thoſe that are weaker. Add to this, they never once think of the length of this war, of the vaſt number of *Roman* ſoldiers, quite wearied out in its progreſs, or of the valour of the commanders, the glory of whoſe actions is certainly leſſened, if, after the ſevere hardſhips they have undergone before *Hieroſolyma*, any thing be taken from the famous actions they atchiev'd, during the ſiege.

Neither am I that man, who, contending with thoſe who ſet the *Roman* conduct in a ſhining light, have reſolved to enhance the deeds of my countrymen. But I will ſet off the tranſactions of both nations in as accurate and faithful a manner as I can; in the narration of which I may ſometimes give way to the native affection of my mind, but then it is when my grief points before me the calamities of my country; for that our own diſſentions were our ruin, and that the tyranny of the leading *Jews* was the ſole cauſe of forcing the *Romans*, againſt their inclinations, to lay their hands and throw fire upon the holy temple, he is a witneſs who ordered the deſtruction; for *Titus Cæſar*, during the progreſs of the war, compaſſionated our countrymen, becauſe he found them under the dominion of rebels and tyrants; he ſeveral times deferred deſtroying them when he had it in his power, and purpoſely framed delays to hinder the ſiege, that the authors of the war might return to a ſenſe of themſelves. Now, if any one charge me with diſingenuity, in the harſh account I give of theſe tyrants and their depredations, let them conclude that it is the ſorrowful idea I have of my country's miſeries, that has carry'd me beyond the bounds of hiſtory, and ſo grant me pardon for my juſt grief; for of all the cities under the *Roman* dominions, ours was certainly once the happieſt, and afterwards the moſt miſerable; for if we look into the misfortunes of all the nations upon earth, of which we have any account, let them happen in what age they would, yet, if they are compared with the calamities to which the *Jewiſh* nation was expoſed, they will, in my opinion, come far ſhort; beſides, none of our foreigners had any hand in them, or became their cauſe, which makes it the more inſupportable for me, to moderate, and govern my great concern and ſorrow. But if there is any one ſo hard-hearted, as not to be moved with pity, let him be judge in this caſe, and, with my leave, he his at liberty to remark the facts of my hiſtory; but let him allow the writer the indulgence of his own ſorrow.

I have ſeveral times complained againſt the learned *Greeks*, and, I think, with reaſon and juſtice, who are privy to ſo great actions performed in their days, which, were they to compare the antient accounts they have publiſhed with them, would be found vaſtly ſuperior. In their own hiſtories, they ſit as judges, but detract from thoſe of others; and, though they excel in eloquence, yet, the deſign of theſe is far more eminent, and ſurpaſſes them; the *Greeks* undertake to publiſh hiſtories of the *Aſſyrians* and *Medes*, as if the accounts delivered us by the antient hiſtorians of thoſe nations, had not handled their ſubject matter well enough; though, in the main, they come as far ſhort of their ſtrength as their deſign in writing. Every writer formerly made it his ſtudy to commit nothing to his works, but what was tranſacted within the time of memory; add to which, they were for the moſt part eye-witneſſes of what they tranſmitted down to poſterity, which gave ſign of the production of a very good piece, and to feign any incident was thought, among judicious men, a very diſhonourable practice; for to tranſmit accounts of facts which had been left unrelated, and to recommend to ſucceeding generations the occurrences of their own time, was eſteemed a very worthy act. Now he, who only changes and alters the order and diſpoſition of another man's works, can never be ſaid to uſe this diſintereſtedneſs and care; for 'tis only he who compiles an entire hiſtory out of new materials, that has a ſhare in this praiſe. With this view I, as I am a ſtranger, have ſpared no pains or labour to tranſmit to the *Greeks* and *Barbarians* ſuitable accounts of warlike atchievements. Thoſe of my country, when their gain or advantage ſtands before them, have uſually their mouths very open, and their tongues at full liberty; but where an hiſtory comes before them, where truth muſt unavoidably be diſplayed, and where the materials to compoſe it muſt be collected with a great deal of toil and labour, there they have nothing to ſay, and commonly leave to poor genius's, and thoſe who are unacquainted with the tranſactions, to write the hiſtory, where facts are to be derived from their beginning and fountain head. This is the reaſon we devote ourſelves to a faithful ſcrutiny into the truth, and the *Greeks* abandon themſelves to the contrary.

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(1) Such as the *Babylonians*, *Aſſyrians*, and the *Jews* beyond the *Euphrates*. *Spanheim*. What Nations *Joſephus* underſtands in this Paſſage, he himſelf mentions a little below in the Sequel, to wit, the *Parthians*, *Babylonians*, the remoteſt *Arabians* and the *Jews* beyond the *Euphrates*, which, in one Word, are meant to be Inhabitants of the higher Continent.

To repeat the *Jewiſh* affairs from their firſt original, and what they were, and in what manner they departed from *Ægypt*, and the countries they travelled through in their wandering, and the many places they ſeized upon, and how they removed from them, to ſpeak of the particulars, I ſay, is, in my opinion, both unneceſſary and ſuperfluous; ſince ſeveral of my countrymen, the *Jews*, have before me tranſmitted more accurate accounts of their affairs, and ſome of the *Greeks* have handled the ſame occurrences in their own language, in which they have very nearly followed truth. But where thoſe hiſtorians, and our prophets have left off, there will I fetch the beginning of my hiſtory. I will be more particular and copious in thoſe incidents which relate to the war, and happened in my time, and ſhall only lightly and ſummarily touch upon thoſe heads which are of more antient date than my age.

How *Antiochus*, who was ſirnamed *Epiphanes*, after he had taken *Hieroſolyma*, and held it three years and ſix months, was, by the ſons of *Aſſamonæus*, drove out of the country; and afterwards how their poſterity, raiſing a diſſention among themſelves, drew *Pompey* and the *Romans* to ſeize the kingdom, and how *Herod* the ſon of *Antipater*, by the aſſiſtance of *Soſſius*, whom he called to his aid, put a period to their government; and then, how the people, upon the death of *Herod*, raiſed a commotion, *Auguſtus* then being emperor, and *Quintillius Varus* governing *Judea*; and how the war broke out in the twelfth year of *Nero*, and of the things happening under *Ceſtius*, and the many places the *Jews* invaded on the firſt breaking out of the war.

Alſo, how they fortified the cities on the frontiers, and how *Nero*, after the defeat *Ceſtius* received, fearing the ruin of his empire, placed *Veſpaſian* in his room to manage the war; how he, in company with his eldeſt ſon, marched into *Judæa*, and the number of *Romans* he had in his army, and how many auxiliaries were put to the ſword throughout *Galilee*; how he took ſeveral of their cities by ſtorm, and obliged others to ſurrender. When I come thus far, I will take an opportunity to mention the *Roman* method of drawing up and marſhalling an army, the diſcipline of their legions, the dimenſions of both *Galilees*, the temper of their ſoil, and the limits and boundaries of *Judæa*. Add to theſe, I will obſerve the properties of the country, the ſeveral lakes and fountains in it, the ſeveral accidents that befel the ſeveral cities, and all this, with the ſtricteſt truth, from what either I was an ocular witneſs of, or have credibly heard; neither will ſlip to make mention of my own misfortunes, becauſe I am deſirous that every particular may be rightly known and underſtood.

Next to this I will take notice, how, on the decline of the *Jewiſh* affairs, *Nero* died, and how *Veſpaſian* thereupon, haſtening his journey to *Hieroſolyma*, was hindred on account of the government; I will mention the ſeveral ſignals given him to take the empire, the alterations occaſioned at *Rome*, and how the army declared him emperor againſt his inclination. After this, I ſhall proceed to ſpeak of his entering *Ægypt*, to take upon him the univerſal government, when in his journey he found the *Jewiſh* affairs involved in inextricable commotions and ſeditions; and how tyrants roſe up among us, and the diſſentions that afterwards tore them in pieces.

Immediately after this, I will go on, and tell of *Titus*'s returning out of *Ægypt*, and breaking again into *Judæa*; the quality and quantity of his army, and the place he ſat down in; how the city was expoſed to a raging ſedition upon his coming; the many attacks he made upon the walls, and the number of mounts he erected; the three walls, their magnitude, the ſtrong fortifications of the walls, and the diſpoſition of the temple and ſacrarium, their dimenſions, and thoſe of the altar; and all this, with as much accuracy as I am able. I will further take notice of the cuſtoms of ſome of our feſtivals, the ſeven luſtrations, the offices of the prieſts, their veſtments, and thoſe of the high-prieſt, the platform of the ſacrarium in the temple; and all this, without either taking or adding any thing to any particular.

I will afterwards ſpeak of the cruelty of the tyrants to their own countrymen, and the indulgence of the *Romans* to ſtrangers; and how many times *Titus*, deſiring to ſave the city and the temple, adviſed the ſeditious to terminate their differences, and unite in friendſhip, through the tender foreſight he had of their inevitable deſtruction. Then I will ſhew the many ills they ſuffered from the fury of the war, the many ills from their implacable ſedition, and the many from famine; and afterwards, how they were made captive. Neither will I paſs by the misfortunes that befel thoſe who fled, and the misfortunes of thoſe who were taken priſoners; how the temple was burnt againſt *Cæſar*'s orders, and the quantity of ſacred furniture that was ſaved from the flames; the deſtruction of the whole city, and the ſigns and omens that went before it; the captivity of the tyrants, and the number of people carried into bondage, and the ſeveral accidents that befel them; how the *Romans* managed the remaining part of the war, diſmantled and pulled down all the fortified places; how *Titus* marched over all the country, and put it in a peaceable ſituation; neither will I ſlip over in ſilence his going back into *Italy*, and glorious triumph.

I have comprehended all theſe incidents in ſeven books, and endeavouring effectually to take away all cauſe of complaint or accuſation from thoſe who either are well acquainted with theſe ſeveral tranſactions, or were preſent in the war, I have wrote them more for thoſe who deſire the truth, than for any pleaſure of mine. In conſequence of which I will here begin my narration, and make this the firſt chapter.

CHAP. I.

How the City of Hieroſolyma *was ſack'd, and the Temple plundered. Of the Atchievements of* Matthias *and* Judas *the* Maccabees. *The Death of* Judas.

(1) THE principal men among the *Jews* breaking out into a ſedition among themſelves, at the time (2) *Antiochus*, ſirnamed *Epiphanes*, was diſputing the right with *Ptolomy* the ſixth about all *Syria*, (for the *Jews*, who were veſted with any dignity, broke out into an open rupture, being not able to brook the thought of ſubmitting to their equals) *Onias*, one of the prieſts, prevailing above the reſt, drove the ſons of *Tobias* out of the city. Upon this, the others withdrew to *Antiochus*, and begged him to make an irruption into *Judæa* under their conduct. The king was by ſo much the more perſuaded to it, as he had entertained ſuch ſentiments ſome time. In conſequence of this, he made an irruption into *Judæa* with a powerful army, (3) took the city by main force, and a great number of thoſe, who were in the intereſt of *Ptolomy*, fell a ſacrifice to his anger. Beſides, he gave his ſoldiers liberty to make what plunder they could, while he rifled the temple, and ſtopt the cuſtom of offering daily ſacrifices for (4) three years and ſix months. The high-

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(1) *Joſephus*, in ſeveral Paſſages, attributes all the Calamities, and, in the End, the final Deſtruction of the *Jews*, to the inteſtine Commotions of the Citizens. This is the Reaſon he begins his Hiſtory of the War thus, by curſorily touching upon thoſe Misfortunes in the Beginning of his Work, which were the Conſequences of the Diviſions occaſioned by *Jaſon* and *Menelaus*; he remarks the Brevity, and that with Reaſon, he uſes in the 12th Book, and 6th Chapter of his Antiquities. But as he is not only obſcure, but ſometimes contradicts himſelf, which Miſtakes are conſiderably augmented by the Careleſſneſs of Copies, in order to remedy both thoſe Evils, pleaſe to accept the following Paraphraſe of the Section. The great Men of *Judæa* differing among themſelves at the Time *Antiochus Epiphanes* contended with *Ptolomy* the Sixth, *ſirnamed Philometor* (for the Diſpute *among the Jews* was concerning the Government, for thoſe who were in any Dignity could not ſubmit to have Perſons, of equal Authority with them, exerciſe the ſupreme Juriſdiction over them) *Jaſon*, one of the Prieſts, happened to prove ſuperior; and, in Conſequence thereof, baniſhed *the Nephew* of *Tobais*, and the Sons of *Hyrcanus*, out of the City. 'And as in other Reſpects 'the *Jews* were the ſole Cauſes, by the Diſſentions which they continually fomented among themſelves, of 'all the Misfortunes they ſuffered; ſo this Diſſention, by means of which the City was taken, and the 'Temple rifled, occaſioned the Sacrifices to be interdicted, and, by a ſhameleſs Prevarication of the Law, 'another Temple to be built in *Ægypt*, and the Prieſthood to be transferred into the Hands of Strangers;' for thoſe whom *Jaſon* baniſhed, flying to *Antiochus*, intreated him to make an Irruption into *Judæa* under their Conduct, which they perſuaded the King to, who entertained ſuch Sentiments ſome Time before. In Conſequence of this, he poured into *Judea* with a numerous Army; took the City by main Force, and put to Death a vaſt Number of Perſons who favoured *Ptolomy*; after which, he gave his Soldiers Liberty to make what Plunder they could 'at that Time, and returning again after two Years, through a Pretext of 'Peace, he invaded the City, who little dreamt of his Attacks on a Sabbath,' and entering the Temple, he rifled it, and ſtopt the Cuſtom of Daily Sacrificing for three Years and ſix Months. '*Menelaus*, who was 'the Author of theſe Enormiries, after the Death of *Epiphanes*, was deſervedly puniſhed by King *Eupator* 'his Son, for on the Perſwaſions of *Lyſias* he put him to Death. The ſame *Lyſias* adviſed him to put *Aleiums*, who had no Right to the ſacerdotal Dignity, in the room of *Menelaus*, and ſet aſide *Onias*, who 'had the legal Claim to the ſame.' *Aldrich*. Our Author (in his 12th Book of his Antiquities, Chap. 5. Sect. 2.) confeſſes, he has handled all theſe Occurrences there with the greateſt Brevity, and therefore the Readers muſt refer themſelves thither for a more copious Underſtanding of them.

(2) *Ptolomy Philometor*, on the Death of his Mother *Cleopatra*, reſolved to recover by the Sword *Cœloſyria* her Dowry, which *Antiochus* had fraudulently ſeized from him.

(3) It is ſaid *Ant.* l. 12. Chap. 5. Sect. 2. But the Citizens ſhut their Gates upon him, and obliged him to the Siege, neither did they admit on their own Accords, or on any Conditions, but were circumvented by the Faction he had in the Town. *Aldrich*.

(4) *Joſephus* in *Ant.* lib. 10. chap. 11. and lib. 12. chap. 7. computes only three Years, and the ſame Space may be collected from 1 *Macc.* c. 4. v. 25. collate this with c. 6. v. 62. Some ſay 1290, or 1296, as *Joſephus* ſomewhere elſe. But it is eaſy to reconcile theſe Differences, for the Idol ſtood no more than three Years in the Temple. But from the taking of the City, and the Interdiction of the ſacred Worſhip, ſix Months and a few Days were elapſed, which are ſlipt over to make it an entire Sum.

prieſt *Onias* finding this, fled to *Ptolomy*, from whom obtaining a ſpot of ground in the province of *Heliopolis*, he built a city like that at *Hieroſolyma*, and much ſuch another temple, of which I will take another opportunity to ſpeak in their proper places.

But though *Antiochus* had thus made himſelf maſter of the city beyond his expectation, had ſackt it, and put ſo vaſt a number of perſons to death, yet all theſe did not ſatisfy his wrath. His indignation pointed more violent meaſures to him, and the remembrance of the hardſhips he had undergone at the ſiege, puſhed him to an intolerable extreme, which was, to force the *Jews* againſt the laws of their country, to keep their children uncircumciſed, and to ſacrifice ſwine upon their altars. Every one was obliged to comply; but the more religious rather choſe to ſuffer death, than thus diſhonour their country. Beſides, *Bacchides*, who was ſent by *Antiochus* to be captain of the garriſon, by his inhuman commands, which were the natural reſult of his brutal temper, committed every thing that was baſe, and inflicted violent deaths on perſons of every degree, threatening the citizens with an univerſal deſtruction, and conſtantly ſetting before their eyes the moſt extreme miſeries, till, waked by the barbarity of his proceedings, they rouzed themſelves up from their lethargy, and had the courage to revenge the injuries done them.

For *Matthias*, the ſon of *Aſſamonæus* (who had five ſons) one of the prieſts, and reſiding at a village call'd *Modin*, having put the ſmall forces he had into the beſt order, drew out, and ſlew *Bacchides*, and immediately withdrew to the mountains, for fear of the garriſon, which was very numerous. But a great multitude of perſons reſorting to him, he took heart, and came down, and giving the enemy battle, conquered the officers, and effectually drove them out of the frontiers of *Judea*. This proſperous turn of ſucceſs lifting him up to a great deal of honour, he obtained the chief authority by the unanimous voice of his army, for having delivered his country from foreigners, but after this he died, leaving his eldeſt ſon *Judas* in the adminiſtration.

Again (for he thought *Antiochus* would not ſit down contented with his loſs) *Judas* collected an army, which he compoſed of his countrymen, and, in the firſt place, ſtruck an alliance with the (a) *Romans*, and then, upon *Epiphanes* coming the ſecond time, drove him out of the country with a conſiderable loſs. This ſecond victory emboldening him, he next made an attack upon the garriſon in the city, but could not effectually remove them; but driving them out of the higher city, he forced them into the lower, (which part of the city is nominated *Acra*) and making himſelf maſter of the temple, he purified all about, and ſurrounded it with a wall; and having provided new veſſels, as if the old ones had been unclean, for the ſervice of the ſacred worſhip, he brought them into the temple, where he built another altar, and put the ſacrifices into the ſame order they were before; but the city was ſcarcely bleſt with a reſtitution of its antient rites before *Antiochus* died, who left to ſucceed him his ſon *Antiochus*, who became an enemy to the *Jews*.

In a ſhort time, this prince raiſed a vaſt army, which conſiſted of fifty thouſand infantry, five thouſand cavalry, and fourſcore camels, with which he broke into the mountainous part of *Judea*, and took the city of *Bethſura*: But *Judas* met him with his army, in a place called *Bethzacharias*, in a very narrow paſs. Before the armies came to an engagement, his brother *Eleazar*, caſting his eye upon an elephant, higher than ordinary, and having a large tower upon his back, and being adorned with golden trappings, ſuppoſed *Antiochus* ſat within it, run a great way before his men, and ruſhing through the ranks of the enemy, came to the very elephant. But the perſon whom he took to be the king, ſitting at too high a diſtance, he was not able to reach him; whereupon he ſtuck his dart in the belly of the beaſt, and wounded him, and immediately brought him down upon him, and through his intolerable weight was ſqueezed to death; which was all the remarkable action he did, and was only to be recorded for his attempting high matters, and preferring a glorious atchievement to the conſideration of life; for he who guided the elephant was a private perſon; and ſuppoſing he had been *Antiochus*, his attempt had been of no further advantage to him, than to have made him be thought ready to expoſe himſelf to death in the proſecution of ſo famous an exploit. But his brother took this as an ominous ſign of the whole battle; for the *Jews*, after a long and valiant reſiſtance, were obliged to give ground, and the royal army, being ſuperior in nnmber, and having fortune on their ſide, bore away the victory. *Judas*, having ſeveral ſlain on his ſide, withdrew with the remainder of his army into the province of *Gophius*. Upon this, *Antiochus* marched up to *Hieroſolyma*, where he ſtayed ſome days, but want of proviſions obliged him to return; but firſt he left a ſufficient garriſon, as he ſuppoſed, and then drew the remainder of his forces into *Syria*, where he put them in their winter quarters.

As ſoon as *Antiochus* had turned his back, *Judas* began to beſtir himſelf again, after he found himſelf reinforced with a numerous body of his countrymen who flocked ro him, and he had gained all thoſe who had made their eſcape out of the laſt battle, he marched with his new army to (*a*) *Adaſa*, where giving the generals (*b*) of *Antiochus* battle, and having ſignalized himſelf extraordinarily in the engagement, and made a great ſlaughter of his enemies, he was at length ſlain; and a few days after his brother *John*, by the treachery of thoſe who (*c*) favoured *Antiochus* in his life-time, loſt his life.

(a) The Alliance was made with the *Romans*, after the Death of *Epiphanes*. (Refer to *Ant*. lib. 12. chap. 10. ſect. 6. *Spanheim*,) to wit, in the 152d Year of the *Seleucidæ*, both *Antiochus Epiphanes* and *Eupator* being dead. But *Joſephus*, in the Beginning of this Book (as he ſeems to hint in the proœme) purſues in a very incorrect Order the Abſtract of theſe Affairs. A Chronographer or Annaliſt had more Right to compile this Account than *Jeſephus*, from whoſe Deſign it is foreign.

CHAP. II.

Of Judas's *Succeſſors*, Jonathan, Simon, *and* John Hyrcanus.

ALTHOUGH *Jonathan* ſucceeded his brother, and behaved with vaſt complaiſance to his countrymen, in the things that related to them, and had confirmed his government by the alliance with the *Romans*, and brought about an accommodation with the youth (*d*) *Antiochus*, yet all theſe advantages were inſufficient to ſecure his quiet; for the tyrant *Tryphon*, who was *Antiochus*'s guardian, having (*e*) a treacherous deſign againſt the young prince, and wanting nothing more than to remove out of his army, all thoſe who favoured him, ſurprized *Jonathan* by artifice when he came to *Ptolomais* to *Antiochus*, attended only with a few guards; and having thrown him into priſon marched with an army into *Judea*; but meeting with a vigorous repulſe from *Simon*, *Jonathan*'s brother, and incenſed at the defeat he had received from him, he took *Jonathan*, and put him to death.

While *Simon* thus vigorouſly puſhed on his good fortune, he took *Gazar*, *Joppa* and *Jamnia*, three cities on the frontiers, but demoliſhed the caſtle, having given the garriſon an abſolute defeat. After this he entered into a defenſive alliance with *Antiochus* againſt *Tryphon*, to whom he laid ſiege at *Doy*, before his expedition againſt the *Medes*. But the king's covetouſneſs was not to be prevailed upon by all he could ſay or do, though *Tryphon*'s death was particularly aimed at; for it was not long before *Antiochus* ſent *Bendebæus*, the general of his army, with a numerous body of forces, to ravage *Judea*, and reduce *Simon*. But *Simon*, though advanced in years, managed this campaign with youthful vigour, and ſent before him his ſons with a valiant army to meet the enemy, while he, with part of his forces, attacked him on another quarter, and, having planted ſeveral ambuſcades in the mountains, ſeized on all the paſſes, and obtained a glorious victory, for which he was made high-prieſt: And thus he delivered the *Jews* from the government of the *Macedonians*, after they had continued under their obedience one hundred and ſeventy years.

But he had the ill fortune to loſe his life at a banquet, by the treachery of *Ptolomy* his ſon-in-law, who, after he had impriſoned his wife and two ſons, ſent ſome men to put his third ſon *John*, called *Hyrcanus*, to death. But the young man, having previous intelligence of their coming, made haſte into the city, where he thought he had reaſon to rely on the people on two accounts; firſt for the remem-

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(*a*) There is no Queſtion, but Joſephus underſtands in this Place the Battle which was fought with Nicanor at the Village of Adaſa, ſo memorable above the reſt, that the Day it was fought on was annually celebrated as a Feſtival, 1 Macc. 7. 49. 2d Macc. 15. 36. Ant. 12. 17. Whence Judas in this Place, is not correctly enough ſaid to have engaged the Generals of Antiochus, for after the Death of Antiochus reigned Demetrius Soter, and Nicanor managed that Battle, who was not in the Intereſt of Antiochus, but of Demetrius, and accompanied him in his Flight from Rome. It may be there were other Officers under Antiochus; but at this Time they ſerved under the Colours of Demetrius. Beſide, the Sequel is not to be underſtood as if Judas loſt his Life in the Battle, who after it made an Alliance with the Romans, and ſome Time afterwards procured a glorious Victory at Capharſalama, and laſt of all oppreſſed Bacchides at Aza, or Mount Azot, where he remained the Victor for ſome Time, not by the Virtue of his Soldiers, but their Number. The Greek therefore ought to be rendred thus, *Cumque bello præ cæteris claruiſſet, poſt multam hoſtium ſtragem ipſe tandem interfectus eſt*, which is, And having ſignalized himſelf above the reſt in Battle, after a great Slaughter of his Enemies, he was ſlain.

(*b*) It ſhould be rather, of Demetrius, for to ſay here, that Judas engaged the Generals of Antiochus, is not correct enough, for Demetrius Soter, after the Death of Antiochus, held the Kingdom, and Nicanor, who was not Antiochus, but Demetrius's Friend, and bore him Company in his Flight from Rome, maintained that Encounter.

(*c*) Underſtand it thus, who were in the Intereſt of Antiochus while he lived, or, who as well as Antiochus could not endure the Jews; for in the End of the Twelfth Book of the Antiquities, and Fourth Chapter, a very probable Reaſon of this Hatred may be drawn, which was the Havock and Deſtruction made by Hyrcanus; beſides, from the ſame Place it ſeems plain, that there was a Friendſhip and Alliance with Antiochus, becauſe Hyrcanus put an End to his Life with his own Hands, through the Apprehenſions he entertained of Antiochus for his Behaviour to the Arabians. Aldrich.

(*d*) Rufinus ſays, that Alexander Epiphanes, (who is commonly taken for the Son of Balas,) was the Son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and in ſtrict Alliance with Jonathan. See 1 Macc. 10. and Antiq. 13, 5, 7, 8. Rufinus tranſlates the Paſſage here, The Son of Antiochus, but that is wrong. For the Antiochus mentioned here, (whom Joſephus call'd *Thees*, God, and in other Places *Nicephorus*) was the Son of Alexander Epiphanes, and not of Antiochus Epiphanes, and was taken away by Tryphon in his Infancy; his Mother Cleopatra was married to Alexander in the 162d Year of the Selucidæ. In the Year 168, he was called King, and in the Year 170, put to Death. Appian in his Syriacks calls him the Youth; yet he wants rectifying, when he puts Alexander for Antiochus. And Livy's Epitome, lib. 45, ſtands in Need of an Emendation, where, inſtead of ſeven Years, he allows him ten. Nor are Medals leſs erroneous in this Reſpect, which, inſtead of repreſenting Antiochus as a Youth, ſhew him arrived at Man's Eſtate.

(*e*) This is recited in Macc. 13, 31, 32 and Antiq. 13, 10, 12. for he invaded the Kingdom, at length, ſays Strabo 16. p. 152. He took off Antiochus by Treachery, ſays Appian, in his Syriacks, p. 132. Juſtin 36. 1. Having corrupted his Phyſicians, who falſly gave out among the People, that he laboured with a violent Pain in his Heel, and under Pretence of cutting him, killed him in the Operation. Aldrich.

brance of the brave actions his father had done, and next for the abhorrence the citizens had of *Ptolomy*'s perfidy and baſeneſs, *Ptolomy* meeting with a diſappointment, endeavoured to get into the city by another gate, but the people, who had received *Hyrcanus*, refuſed him admittance. Upon this he was obliged to withdraw, and go to a certain fortified place above *Jericho*, called *Dagon*. *Hyrcanus* having received the prieſthood, and offered ſacrifice, marched with great diſpatch againſt *Ptolomy*, in order to relieve his mother and brothers.

Having made his attacks upon the caſtle, fortune favoured his ſide, but ſorrow overpowered him; for *Ptolomy*, every time he received any diſadvantage, brought his mother and brothers to a part of the walls where they might eaſily be ſeen, and ſcourged them, and threatned, if he did not ſoon draw off his army, to throw them headlong down. This melancholly ſcene made *Hyrcanus* give way more to pity and fear, than anger; but his mother little regarding the ſtripes ſhe had received, or the death that was threatned her, with open arms begged her ſon, not to conſider the injuries ſhe had ſuffered, but fall upon the perfidious wretch, accounting *Ptolomy*'s death better than immortality, provided he puniſhed him ſuitably to the barbarity he had uſed them with. When *John* ſaw this exemplary inſtance of fortitude and courage in his mother, and had heard her entreaties, he was rouzed up to make a general attack; but becoming again a ſorrowful eye witneſs of the ſtripes and laſhes his mother received, he began to give way to compaſſion, and was overwhelm'd with grief. This cauſing the ſiege to be prolonged, the ſolemn year, which the *Jews*, every ſeventh year, in like manner as they do the ſeventh day, devote to reſt, drew on: By means of this, *Ptolomy* got clear of the ſiege, and put *John*'s mother and brothers to death; and then withdrew to *Zeno*, ſurnamed *Colylas*, who reigned over *Philadelphia*.

In the mean time *Antiochus*, bearing in mind the actions of *Simon* againſt him, led an army into *Judea*; and ſitting down before *Hieroſolyma*, beſieged *Hyrcanus*, who went and opened the ſepulchre of *David*, who was the richeſt king, and taking thence three thouſand talents, gave three hundred to *Antiochus*, and ſo got clear of the enemy. Now *Simon* was the firſt *Jew* who began to entertain foreigners in his pay.

But *Antiochus* having undertaken an expedition againſt the (*a*) *Medes*, found he had a good opportunity thrown into his hands of preſſing his revenge, marched directly againſt the cities of *Syria*, which he imagined, as the cauſe really was, to have found left by their men of ſtrength; in conſequence of which he took *Medabas* and *Sameas*, with other towns that lay contiguous to them, and *Siain* and *Gerizim*. Nor did he ſtop here; for he made priſoners the poſterity of the *Chutheans*, who reſided about the temple, which was built in imitation of that at *Hieroſolyma*; and won ſeveral other cities beſides *Adareo* and *Maripa*.

When he had penetrated as far as *Samaria*, where now ſtands *Sebaſte*, which king *Herod* built, he drew a trench round about it, and ſet his ſons *Ariſtobulus* and *Antigonus* to manage the ſiege; who carrying it on with all imaginable vigour, thoſe within the city were reduced by a violent famine, which raged in the town, to feed on unaccuſtomed things; this obliged them to call *Antiochus*, ſirnamed (*b*) *Cyziænus*, to their aſſiſtance; but notwithſtanding the ready diſpatch he made to relieve them, he was defeated by *Ariſtobulus* and *Antigonus*, who purſuing as far as *Scythopolis*, he was obliged to fly. Upon this they returned to *Samaria*, and forced the inhabitants to ſhut themſelves up within their walls, and taking the city, they ſackt it, and made all the citizens priſoners; things ſucceeding thus according to their own expectations, they did not ſuffer their bravery to grow cool, but marching with their forces as far as *Scythopolis*, they ravaged it by frequent incurſions, and waſted all the country on mount *Carmel*.

But this proſperous ſucceſs of *John* and his ſons, could not remain unmoleſted, for their countrymen envying them the glory of their actions, raiſed a rebellion againſt them. A great many entering into a conſpiracy againſt them, never reſted till they broke out into an open rupture, and were defeated. *John* had the ſatiſfaction the reſt of his life, to live in

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(*a*) This *Parthian* Expedition is taken Notice of by ſeveral Writers. Among whom are *Juſtin* 38. 10. *Appian* p. 132. *Livy* lib. 59. *Athenæus* in his 5th, 10th, and 12th Books. *Joſephus* aſſerts, that *Hyrcanus* marched with *Antiochus*; and *Nicholaus Damaſenus* confirms it. *Ant.* p. 583. *Antiochus* had an incredible Number of Men in his Army, which ſo terrified the *Parthians*, that they voluntarily ſent back *Demetrius*, who was then Priſoner. This Prince having recovered *Syria*, made an Expedition into *Ægypt*, during the Proſecution of which, the *Syrians* revolted from him, and his Brother *Antiochus*, loſing his Army, had the ill Fortune to be ſlain. Upon which *Hyrcanus* immediately marched with his Army into *Syria*, being ſenſible he had got now a proper Opportunity to revenge, for the Deſtruction *Antiochus* had made in it, the Hatred of *Demetrius*, and ſo many Garriſons drained of their Soldiers by both Kings, whom they had carried away.

(*b*) *Antiochus Gryphus* was ſupplanted in the Government by his Brother *Cyziænus*, who put *Aſpendius* in his room, from whom is derived the Name of *Aſpendius*. Happening to return within a Year, the Kingdom was divided between them; to *Gryphus* fell *Syria*, properly ſo called (which is bounded by Mount *Ananus* and *Seleucis*) and to *Cyziænus* was allotted *Cæloſyria*, which reaches from *Seleucis* to *Judea*. See *Strabo* l. 16. p. 749, 756. Wherefore, as the *Samaritans* were under the Government of King *Cyziænus*, it is more probable, that they implored his, than *Aſpendius*'s Aſſiſtance.

profound peace, and after he had continued at the helm of affairs (*a*) three and thirty years, he died, leaving behind him five ſons. He was one of the happieſt men living, and never, in any action he did, ſuffered fortune to be blamed for him; he was the only man who was bleſt with three of the choiceſt things, which were, the principal authority over his nation, the chief prieſthood, and the gift of prophecy; for God ſo far communicated his divine preſence to him, that he made him knowing of future events, and gave him a diſtinguiſhing faculty, both to foreſee and foretel the ſhort time his two eldeſt ſons were to continue at the head of affairs; the concluſion of whoſe government and life, it will be worth the trouble to relate, to let you ſee how far ſhort they came of their father's happineſs.

CHAP. III.

How Ariſtobulus, *who was the firſt that put a Diadem upon his Head, after he put to Death his Mother and Brother, died after a ſhort Reign of only one Year.*

AFTER the death of his father *John Hyrcanus*, *Ariſtobulus*, the elder of his ſons, changing the government into a monarchy, was the firſt who placed a diadem upon his head; after the people had been delivered from the *Babylonian* captivity, four hundred ſeventy and one years and three months, (*b*) and had ſettled themſelves in that country. Through a love he pretended to his brother *Antigonus*, he placed him in an equal dignity to himſelf, after him; but the others he threw into chains, and impriſoned his mother; to whom *John* had left the adminiſtration of affairs, for endeavouring to keep the government in her hands againſt him. In ſhort, he proceeded ſo far in his cruelty againſt her, that he famiſhed her to death in the priſon.

But he was deſervedly puniſhed for his barbarity to his brother *Antigonus*, whom he pretended to love, and had made the partner of his kingdom with him; for the great men reſiding in his court, raiſed an accuſation againſt him, which was entirely groundleſs, and made it a pretence to ruin him. But *Ariſtobulus*, through the love he bore his brother, and imputing the whole management to a ſecret ſpring of envy, could not be perſuaded, at firſt, to give any credit to the report. But *Antigonus* happening to return from an expedition he had made, to celebrate the feaſt of tabernacles, a ſolemnity cuſtomarily performed by our country, *Ariſtobulus*, unfortunately, at that very time was ſick, and kept his bed. *Antigonus*, at the cloſe of the ſolemnity, willing, for the ſake of his brother, to pay a more than ordinary devotion to God, went up to the temple in the midſt of his army, with the richeſt appearance he was able to make: This ſeeming to verify the accuſations of his enemies, they went and acquainted the king with the pompous figure his ſoldiers and he made, and the haughty mind of *Antigonus*, which little ſquar'd with the degrees of a private perſon; and how he was come with a numerous company of arm'd men to put him to death, and would not content himſelf, now he had an opportunity of wreſting the kingdom into his hands, with the naked honour he had given him of ſharing the government with him.

This remonſtrance forced *Ariſtobulus*, even againſt his will, to believe what they told him; but deſirous not to be thought to have had any ſuſpicions of what paſſed, and willing to guard himſelf againſt uncertainties, he gave orders to his guards to plant themſelves in a ſubterraneous and dark place (he himſelf keeping his bed in a turret, formerly called *Baris*, but afterwards *Antonia*) but refrain offering

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(*a*) *Jerome* upon *Daniel*, 9. aſſigns him 29 Years, which Number comes very near the Truth; for *Simon* was ſlain in the 177th Year, and the 11th Month of the *Seleucidæ*, 1 *Macc.* 16. 14. This was about *February* of the Year 4579. *Alexandra* was ſucceeded by *Hyrcanus* in the 3d Year of the 177th *Olympyad*. *Ant.* 14. 1. This was about *November* of the Year *P. J.* 4644. The Difference of the Years is 65, and almoſt 9 Months, from whence, deducting the firſt Year from *Ariſtobulus*, the Twenty Seven of *Alexander Jamnæus*, the Nine of *Alexandra* (this is, thirty ſeven Years which *Joſephus* attributes to theſe three) their remains to *John Hyrcanus* only twenty eight Years, and almoſt nine Months; but ſince *Joſephus* intimates, that ſome of theſe Years were defective, and that *Alexandra*, in her Life-time, veſted *Hyrcanus* with the Royal Dignity; then it may be inferred from this, eſpecially if we regard theſe Incidents, that *John Hyrcanus* reigned no more than twenty nine Years.

(*b*) The Books of *Rufinus* upon this Paſſage, and *Ant.* l. 13. c. 11. ſpeaks of Eighty or Seventy, but this is upon no Ground at all; for the Calculation is thus made: From the Edict of *Cyrus* to the Beginning of *Jeſus* is one Year, from thence to the Death of *Menelaus* are 414; and from thence to the Death of *John Hyrcanus* are 29; which make 471 Years, ſuppoſe then 471 Years and three Months, at the End of which, *Ariſtobulus* took the Diadem; compare this Account with *Eſdras* l. 1. *Ant.* 12. c. 14, 15. *Ant.* 20. c. 8. But if you look into the Diſtinction of the ſeveral Years, the Number will ſtill appear from their Exceſs, or Defect; the Calculation, beſides, may be made in this Manner: The Captivity ended in the firſt Year of *Cyrus*; this was in the 50th *Olympiad*, and *Hyrcanus* ſucceeded *Alexandra* in the 177. 3 *Olympiad*, ſo that the Difference of the *Olympiads* is 126. and three Years, which anſwers to 507 Years; now take away 36 Years, which *Ariſtobulus*, *Alexander*, *Jamnæus*, and *Alexandra* reigned, and there will remain 471 Years. But *Strabo* mentions in his 16th Book, and 762d Page, that *Alexander* had two Sons, *Hyrcanus* and *Ariſtobulus*, and was the firſt Prieſt that ſat on a Throne: However, *Cauſaubon* imagines he is excuſable on this Article, ſince *Ariſtobulus* the Firſt lived but a ſhort Time after taking the Crown, and his Brother *Alexander* ſucceded him.

Antigonus any violence, if he appeared without arms, but to put him to death if he came in armour; and, to prevent any miſtake, he ſent a meſſenger to him, charging him to come without arms. This was no ſooner known, but the queen plotted with the other conſpirators to defeat thoſe meaſures; they jointly adviſed the perſons who were ſent with the meſſage to conceal the king's orders, but tell *Antigonus*, that his brother, hearing he had procured a very beautiful ſet of armour in *Galilee*, in order to perform his gallant actions in, and as he was ſo much indiſpoſed, as to be unable to take a ſurvey of every particular of it, earneſtly deſired him to dreſs himſelf in it now he had ſent for him, that he might have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing him in it.

When *Antigonus*, who little thought of any baſe deſign at the bottom of this, heard the meſſage, he was eaſily perſuaded to comply with his brother's deſire, and conſequently put on the armour, in order to go and ſhew himſelf to his brother. But when he came to the dark paſſage, which was called *Straton*'s tower, he was ſet upon by the guards and ſlain; which action confirms this infallible maxim, that calumny is ſuperior to all the ties of nature and affection, and that the ſoul, though never ſo good, hath not ſufficient power conſtantly to withſtand the motives of envy.

It may prove a ſufficient ground of ſurprize and aſtoniſhment to ſome; I mean the caſe of *Judas*, in relation to the fact I have been relating: This man was an *Eſſæan* by nation, who never once was guilty of falſhood in the predictions he made. He happened to ſee *Antigonus* paſſing by the temple, upon which he ſpoke with a more than ordinary emotion to the ſcholars he had about him, thus: 'O Heavens! ſaid he, it is fit that I now die, ſince truth is departed before me, and my prediction is taxed with falſhood; for *Antigonus* who ſhould die to day, is there alive, for *Straton*'s tower was the place deſtin'd by fate for his deſtruction; but he is now ſix hundred furlongs diſtant from it, and it is now the fourth hour of the day, which renders my prophecy in vain.' When the old man had delivered this with a ſorrowful countenance, and a mind full of contemplation he ſtood motionleſs; but it was not long before news was brought, that *Antigonus* had been murthered in the ſubterraneous place called *Straton*'s tower, after the ſame manner with *Cæſarea*. This affair put the prophet into no ſmall uneaſineſs.

However, *Ariſtobulus*, from his repentance for this murther, relapſed into a more grievous fit of ſickneſs; and his mind preventing him with racking thoughts, of the villainy he had committed againſt his brothers, he grew worſe and worſe, till his entrails rotting to pieces through his immoderate grief, a vaſt effuſion of blood came from him. One of the body, who waited upon him, happening to carry the blood out of the room, fell, as it were, by ſome providence of God, in the very place *Antigonus* had loſt his life, and let the blood of the murtherer fall down upon the very ſpot of the murther, which were freſh upon the ground. This accident was immediately followed by a vaſt outcry of the perſons who ſaw it, as if the boy had on purpoſe let the blood fall out of his hands; and the king calling out to know the reaſon of it, and no body caring to diſcloſe it, he ſeemed vaſtly importunate to be acquainted, but they refuſing, he threatned them till they were obliged; upon which they diſcovered the truth of the affair. The king immediately, with his eyes full of tears, and his heart loaded with ſorrow, ſaid: 'It was impoſſible I ſhould eſcape the extenſive eye of God for the barbarities I have perpetrated; but now my kinſman's murther purſues me with a deſerved puniſhment; how long wilt thou, my ſhameleſs body, detain a ſoul which is doomed to my mother and brother? how long ſhall I pour out my blood by drops, to attone for the uſage I have given them? let them have the whole, that the deity may no longer triumph in the ſacrifice made of my bowels.' Thus ſaying, he gave up the ghoſt, when he had reigned only one year.

CHAP. IV.

The Actions performed by Alexander Jamnæus, *who governed the Kingdom twenty ſeven Years.*

ARISTOBULUS's wife, releaſing her huſband's brothers from their confinement, made *Alexander* king, who for his years and modeſty was diſtinguiſhed above the reſt: But, upon his advancement to the throne, he put one of his brothers to death for aſpiring to the kingdom, and kept the other, who choſe a more quiet life, in great honour.

He made ſome time after this, an expedition againſt *Ptolomy*, ſurnamed *Lathyrus*, who had already taken *Aſochis*, and put a great number of the citizens to the ſword; but the victory inclined to *Ptolomy*'s ſide. But he, not long after this, happening to be drove out of his kingdom by his mother *Cleopatra*, he withdrew to *Ægypt*; whereupon *Alexander* reduced *Gadar* by a vigorous ſiege to his obedience, and took *Amotho*, one of the beſt fortifications on *Jordan*, where the valuable effects of *Theodore*, ſon of *Zeno*, were repoſited: But *Theodore*, unexpectedly falling upon him, recovered his own effects, and took the king's baggage, and ſlew ten thouſand *Jews* on the ſpot. Notwithſtanding this terrible blow, *Alexander* recruited his forces, and took on the ſea coaſts *Raphia*, *Gaza*, and *Anthedo*, which *Herod* afterwards named *Agrippias*.

After he had made himſelf maſter of theſe cities, a violent ſedition broke out among the *Jews*, in the celebration of one of their feſtivals; the commotion took birth when the (*a*) ſolemnity was celebrating: The king could not tell what to do, to extricate himſelf out of the ſnare, unleſs he called the *Piſidians* and *Cilicians*, who were foreigners, to his aſſiſtance; for he had no thoughts of asking the *Syrians* to take his pay, becauſe of the violent and almoſt natural hatred that nation had for the *Jews*. In conſequence of this reſolution, having put about ſix thouſand of the conſpirators to death, he made an irruption into *Arabia*, which he reduced to his obedience, and made the *Galaadites* and *Moabites* his tributaries, after which he returned back. In the mean time *Theodore*, ſtruck with fear at this proſperous turn of ſucceſs of the king, and finding his caſtle deſerted by the garriſon, he entirely demoliſhed it.

After this, he had a battle with *Obodas* the *Arabian* king, who had been before-hand with him, in ſeizing on a place near *Gaulanus*, into which he had thrown his ambuſcades. The king had the misfortune to be taken in the ſnare, and loſe his whole army, which was drove into a deep valley, and there overpowered with the number of camels the enemy had. However, he eſcaped, and got to *Hieroſolyma*; but the *Jews* having an old grudge againſt him, and vext at the great defeat he had received, raiſed a rebellion againſt him. Fortune, notwithſtanding this ſtorm, made him ſuperior, and, in the ſpace of ſix years, in the frequent engagements he had with his ſubjects, he ſlew no leſs a number than fifty thouſand of them; theſe advantages, however, were ſo far from making him rejoice, as he ſaw the ſtrength of his kingdom very much weakened, that throwing aſide the recourſe to arms, he endeavoured by calm remonſtrances, to terminate the diviſion between him and his ſubjects. But they were ſo very backward to come to an accommodation, that they conceived a violent diſguſt at the repentance and change of reſolution which he ſhewed. He ſeeing their obſtinacy, asked them what they would have him to do to pacify them; whereupon they ſaid, to (*b*) die; and even then, they ſhould hardly be reconciled to him who had committed ſo many baſe actions; nor was this all, they called to their aſſiſtance *Demetrius*, ſurnamed *Emærus*, who, animated with expectations of accompliſhing great matters, was not hard to be won. In ſhort, he brought an army, and on
at *Siain* with his auxiliaries, the *J*
him. In ſpite of theſe menaces,
obtained a thouſand horſe, and eigh
foot mercenaries, and was ſhortly
an addition of ten thouſand *Jews*, w
mained in his intereſt; the enemy's
ſiſted of three thouſand horſe, and
ſand foot; before they came to a
gagement, the commanders on bot
heralds, endeavoured to cauſe a
metrius hoping to gain the mer
Alexander, and *Alexander* the *J*
Demetrius. But the *Jews* not at
of their animoſity, and the *Grecian*
to falſify their honour, the battle b
metrius proved ſuperior in the e
though *Alexander*'s mercenaries b
lantly, and performed many brav
however, the event of the day fel
manner neither party expected;
Demetrius remained maſter of the
they, who had followed him, aband
and above ſix thouſand *Jews*, relent
changed condition, went over to
who was fled into the mountains.
den and unexpected change in his a
Demetrius raving mad, and ſuppoſi
der now in a condition to give him b
and fearing a total revolt of the who
him, he immediately, and with
haſte, retired.

However, the reſt of the army
be brought over, by the example o
cenaries who had revolted, to lay
revenge; but maintained ſo long
Alexander, till, with the loſs of
bers of his men, they were forc
themſelves up in the city of *Bence*
Alexander demoliſhed, and carried
priſoners to *Hieroſolyma*. But his
dignation, for their baſeneſs towar
trayed him into a very great deg
barity; for having ordered eight
the citizens to be fixed to ſo many
then commanded their wives and
be brought and put to death in the
while he, with his concubines, ſat
gether, and gazing at the melanc
This violent and inhuman action ſt
terror into the people, that near
ſand of the oppoſite faction fle
night, and got out of *Judea*,
lived in exile till the king's death.
by this cruel proceeding, procur
though with great difficulty, peace

(*a*) As the publick Feaſts and ſolemn Days were made Uſe of to foment Diviſions, the *Ro*
Soldiers above the Portico of the Temple; and the *Jews* refuſed to take Chriſt on a Feſtival.

(*b*) 'That he might ſatisfy the great and juſt Averſion the Citizens had to him, by a volunt
Suetonius acquaints us, that *Artabanus* wrote the very ſame Words to *Tiberius*, and as *Aſper*,
wrote to *Nero*, which may be read in the Annals of *Tacitus*, l. 16. c. 68. Beſides, *Diodorus*
c. 9. what a ſharp Anſwer, the baniſhed Citizens of *Syracuſe*, made the Ambaſſadors of *Dio*
rant, who were expatiating on his great Piety, in burying his Enemies who loſt their Lives in
are his Words, *Non alio ipſum Dionyſium beneficio dignum eſſe, immo precari ſe Deos ut eodem quam pri*
in *Engliſh*, that *Dionyſius* deſerved no other Favour, and they deſired the Gods, that he migh
with it, as ſoon as poſſible,

(*c*) So is he call'd Antiq. l. 13. c. 15. *Dyoniſius* is a Surname of *Racchus*, and uſed by ma
printed Copies have it *Dionuceos*; but very incorrectly, ſince it appears to be *Dionyſius* from ſev
and ſeveral Medals of this *Antiochus*, which are extant.

dom, and had no farther reſource to arms for a time.

But *Antiochus*, ſurnamed *Dionyſius*, gave him great diſturbance: This was the brother of (1) *Demetrius*, and the (2) laſt of the *Seleucidæ*; he had extreme apprehenſions of *Antiochus*, who had made a terrible inroad into *Arabia*, and to prevent his hoſtilities, he dug a deep trench, which he carried quite through that ſpace of ground which lies above *Antipatris*, next to the mountains, and runs between the ſhores of *Joppa*; upon which he built a wall of conſiderable height, and erected upon it wooden towers, to hinder any incurſions of the enemy. But all this foreſight and preparation was not proof enough againſt *Antiochus*, to drive him back; for he not only burnt the towers, but filled up the trench, and marched his forces over, and without any view of being revenged on him who had obſtructed him, he led his forces againſt the *Arabians*: The king of this nation being apprized of his coming, withdrew with his army, which conſiſted of ten thouſand horſe, into a more commodious place of his conntry for fight, when preſently facing about, he fell upon the enemy's forces, before they coul'd draw themſelves out in battle array. A fierce engagement enſuing upon this, *Antiochus* ſeemed to carry away the victory, during which time, the *Arabians* made a terrible ſlaughter among his men; they, however, maintained the ſhock with great bravery and reſolution, till the king, who expoſed himſelf to the moſt imminent dangers to aſſiſt his men, happening to be ſlain, put his army into the utmoſt confuſion; whereupon they turned their backs and fled, part of them falling in the field of battle, and part loſing their lives as they ran away, but the reſt of his men, except a few, getting into *Cana*, a village, miſerably periſhed there with hunger.

After this, the inhabitants of *Damaſcus*, keeping in mind the inveterate hatred they bore *Ptolomy*, the ſon of *Mennæus*, called in *Aretas*, and made him king of *Cælo-Syria*; he made an expedition into *Judæa*, and having given *Alexander* a defeat, returned back, agreeable to a treaty made between them. But *Alexander*, ſtill thirſting after the great wealth of *Theodore*, after he had taken *Pella*, marched up to *Geraſa*, and having blockt in the garriſon with a tripple wall and trench, he won the place by ſtorm. Beſides theſe conqueſts, he entirely demoliſhed *Gaulanas* and *Selucias*, and the valley of *Antiochus*, as it was called; and having taken the ſtrong caſtle of *Gamala*, and removed *Demetrius* the governor of it for ſome ill practices, he marched back into *Judæa*, after he had ſpent three years in his expedition. His ſubjects upon his return, received him with great joy, in conſideration of the proſperity that had attended his arms; but he was ſcarce free from the dangers of war, when he fell ſick. As his illneſs was a quartan ague, he thought, ſhould he again employ himſelf in an active buſineſs, his diſtemper would remove itſelf. But his immoderate giving himſelf up to military engagements, and his expoſing his body to labours above his ſtrength, proved the cauſe of his death. In conſequence of this, he died in the midſt of faction, and ſurrounded with broils, after a reign of ſeven and twenty years.

CHAP. V.

During the nine Years Reign of Alexandra, *the Government is in the Hands of the* Phariſees.

ALEXANDER left the kingdom to his wife *Alexandra*, not doubting but the *Jews* would pay a ready obedience to her, as ſhe was not any way touched with his cruelty, and ſhewed herſelf very ſtrict in the obſervation of the laws, which two things, he imagined, would conciliate to her the affections of his ſubjects; nor where his hopes herein fruſtrated, for the woman, from the opinion the people entertained of her ſtrict veneration for religion, eaſily eſtabliſhed herſelf in the kingdom; being well verſed in the cuſtoms of her country, and diveſting thoſe of all their authority, who violated the ſacred laws. As ſhe had two ſons by *Alexander*, ſhe made *Hyrcanus*, who was the elder, high-prieſt, becauſe of his gravity and inability to manage in a high ſphere, and put *Ariſtobulus*, who gave ſigns of a more quick genius at preſent, into a private employ.

The *Phariſees*, a certain faction of the *Jews*, who are thought to pay a more than ordinary reſpect to religion, and to have a more profound knowledge in explaining the laws than the reſt of their countrymen, joined with *Alexandra*, in order to ſhare the government with her. As they demonſtrated ſo much devotion to God, *Alexandra*, was the more ready to admit them; from this ſucceſs,in time, they ſo far inſinated themſelves into the favour of ſimple *Alexandra*, that the authority was wholly in their hands, ſo that, juſt as they pleaſed, they baniſhed and recalled, diſcharged and impriſoned, whom they would, reaping all the advantages of the kingdom, while *Alexandra* was expoſed to all the hardſhips and inconveniences. Notwithſtanding this, *Alexandra* had a ſoul capable of attempting great things, and with this view, ſhe was conſtantly levying of forces, till ſhe had augumented the army to twice the number of men it had in it before, and had procured a large body of foreign auxiliaries to receive her pay; this gave conſiderable ſtrength to the nation, and the foreign princes ſtood in fear of her; but though ſhe had authority over others, the *Phariſees* maintained the ſuperiority over her.

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(1) Very juſtly, for Antiochus Gripus left five Sons, Seleucus Epiphanes, Antiochus and Philip Twins, and both ſurnamed Philadelphus, Demetrius Emærus, and Antiochus Dionyſius, every one of whom are taken notice of by Joſephus.

(2) During the fourteen Years Tigranes reigned over Syria, Antiochus Aſiaticus, or Commagenes rather concealed himſelf than exerciſed any regal Authority; on that Account, Joſephus will not hav' him inſerted in the Liſt.

In conſequence of this power, they charged *Diogenes*, who was a noble perſon, and had been in great friendſhip with *Alexandra*, with giving the late king advice to crucify the eight hundred perſons, and put him to death; and to give farther proof of their authority, they perſuaded *Alexandra* to put ſeveral others to death, who had influenced *Alexander* to commit that cruelty upon them. And when they found ſhe entirely ſubmitted herſelf to them, they killed every one they had any diſlike to. Thoſe, who were more eminent than the reſt, finding themſelves likely to be expoſed to danger, withdrew to *Ariſtobulus*, who adviſed his mother to conſider the dignity of the perſons, and refrain from offering them any violence; but baniſh them the city, if ſhe found them guilty. In conſequence of this, they

obtained an indemnity, and diſperſ
ſelves throughout the country. A
Alexandra ſent an army againſt *Dama*
der a pretence that *Ptolomy* was
marching to oppreſs it, and took it,
any memorable action to heighten th
and then with preſents and a tender
liance ſhe begged *Tigranes* king of
who was beſieging *Cleopatra* in *Pto*
draw off his army, and march away
pliance with which, and apprehenſiv
cullus, who had made an irruptio
kingdom, he withdrew to prevent an
tions among his own ſubjects.

During theſe tranſactions, *Alexandr*
whereupon, the younger ſon *Ariſto*
hold of the opportunity, and, with th
of his great number of ſervants,
pleaſed with the love of action which
ed, ſeized on all the fortified places,
the money which he found there,
iliaries, and then declared himſelf ki
andra, hereupon, was perſuaded
monſtrances of *Hyrcanus*, to impri
bulus's wife and children in *Anton*
fort ſtood on the north ſide of the te
was, as I have before obſerved, ca
but took this name under the gov
Anthony, as *Sebaſte* and *Agrippias*,
cities, were called ſo by *Auguſtus* an
But *Alexandra*, after a reign of
died, before *Hyrcanus* would reven
upon his brother *Ariſtobulus*, who
taken care to deprive of his arms
jury he had receiv'd from him.

CHAP. IV.

Hyrcanus, Alexandra*'s Heir to the Kingdom, gives way to* Ariſtobulus; *be*
wards, with Antipater*'s Aſſiſtance, reſtored by* Aretus *to the Kingdom,*
a Diſpute ariſing between the two Brothers, Pompey *is choſen to determin*

HYRCANUS, indeed, was the real heir to all, and had been veſted in the kingdom in the life-time of his mother; but *Ariſtobulus* was more powerful, and endowed with a better capacity to govern. In the (1) battle they fought at *Hiericho* to determine their right to the crown, a great number abandoned *Hyrcanus*, and went over to *Ariſtobulus*. *Hyrcanus*, with the forces that remained with him, fled and ſeized upon *Antonia*, and there took *Ariſtobulus*'s wife and children, as ſecurities for his indemnity, before matters fell out worſe. In the end, a reconciliation was

made between the two brothers on t
that *Ariſtobulus* ſhould have the king
that *Hyrcanus* ſhould ſurrender it t
enjoy all the other dignities of a kin
preliminaries being agreed upon, a
friendſhip was concluded, whereup
midſt of the multitude that ſurrou
they embraced one another very affe
and changed habitations; *Ariſtobulus*
ing to the palace, and *Hyrcanus* to hi
houſe.

Ariſtobulus thus having beyond e
mounted the throne, thoſe who we

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(1) Hyrcanus ſucceeded Alexandra in the 177. 3. Olympiad, when Quintus Hortenſius,
Metellus Creticus, were Conſuls at Rome. Antiq. l. 14. c. 5. Hyrcanus, after three Months,
the Kingdom to Ariſtobulus. Pompey removed Ariſtobulus in the 179. Olympiad,
Anthony, and Mark Tully Cicero were Conſuls at Rome, Ant. l. 14. c. 4. In the firſt Year,
bius, after he had reigned three Years and three Months. Ant. 20. 8. We have Account th
Years and an half for ſix Years; not a Word is ſaid of the reſt of the Time. But ſome end
that very ill, to correct this Paſſage of Joſephus, who, in the room of Hyrcanus's three Mont
the ſame number of Years. But who would ſuppoſe that Ariſtobulus, who had ſeized up
twenty Caſtles, and got almoſt the ſole Authority into his Hands, and that in the Life-time
ther, would ſtay three Years and more, till Hyrcanus ſurrendred the Kingdom to him? It is
able to aſſert, that Joſephus attributes the two Years and ſomething more, during which t
between the Brothers is ſaid to continue in Ant. 14. 3. to neither of them, but makes them an In

mies, were terribly afraid, and chiefly (1) *Antipater*, who had been on no good terms with him for a long time. This perſon was an *Idumæan*, and, conſidering his great family, riches and the authority he had, was the principal man of his nation: He councelled *Hyrcanus* to withdraw to *Aretas* king of *Arabia*, and implore his aid to re-eſtabliſh him in the kingdom, nor was he backward himſelf to importune *Aretas* to receive and bring him back: With this view he ſtrove to miſrepreſent the actions of *Ariſtobulus*, and very much extolled thoſe of *Hyrcanus*, concluding, that a prince, as he was, who had ſupreme authority over vaſt dominions, was bound in honour to reach out his hand to aſſiſt the unfortunate, and that *Hyrcanus* laboured under a manifeſt wrong, who was robbed of a crown, which was his right by priority of age. After he had workt his way thus far with both of them, he got out of the city privately in the night with *Hyrcanus*, and by a quick flight eſcaped ſafely to a town which was called *Petra*, the capital of *Arabia*; upon his arrival he put *Hyrcanus* into the hands of *Aretas*, and uſed a great deal of apology to vindicate the meaſures he had taken, and then loading the king with ſeveral valuable preſents, perſuaded him to ſupply him with a body of forces ſufficient to re-eſtabliſh *Hyrcanus* in his kingdom. The army he ſent conſiſted of fifty thouſand horſe and foot, which *Ariſtobulus* was in no conditions to make head againſt, for being deſerted in the firſt engagement by his men, he was forced to take ſhelter in *Hieroſolyma*, and had a thouſand to one been taken, had not *Scaurus* at this time broke up the ſiege; for *Pompey*, who was now employed in a war againſt *Tigranes*, diſpatched him out of *Armenia* into *Syria*. When he arrived at *Damaſcus*, which *Metellus* and *Lollius* had lately won, he, upon hearing what condition *Judæa* was in, took them with him, and haſtened his march as if he was ſure of making a conqueſt.

As he entered the country, he was met by ambaſſadors, ſent by both brothers, each imploring his aſſiſtance; however, the three hundred talents *Ariſtobulus* ſent him proved of greater force, than any conſideration of the others right. Upon receiving the money, he ſent ambaſſadors to *Hyrcanus* and the *Arabians*, threatening them, in the names of the *Romans* and *Pompey*, with terrible conſequences, if they did not break up the ſiege. *Aretas*, upon this meſſage, fearing the worſt, withdrew out of *Judæa* to *Philadelphia*, and *Scaurus* returned to *Damaſcus*. *Ariſtobulus*, finding himſelf clear of the danger that threatened him, longed to be in action, and with that view muſtering up all his forces, he cloſely followed the enemy, whom he engaged at *Papyron*, and ſlew above ſix thouſand, among whom was *Phalion Antipater's* brother.

Hyrcanus and *Antipater*, being thus deprived of the aſſiſtance of the *Arabians*, put their laſt reſource in their enemies, and upon *Pompey*'s coming to *Damaſcus*, after he had marched throughout *Syria*, they fled to him; and, without giving any preſents, remonſtrated to him, in the ſame manner they had done to *Aretas*, urging *Hyrcanus's* right, and imploring him, to conſider *Ariſtobulus's* violent meaſures, and reſtoring him to his kingdom, which was his inconteſtable right, both by age and behaviour. *Ariſtobulus*, in the mean while, putting his whole dependance in *Sacurus*, whom he had bribed with his money, was not backward on his part, for he came too adorned in a royal manner, with the fineſt appearance he could make; but thinking it a diſhonour to his grandeur, to urge his pretenſions by ſervile intreaties, and not able to brook the reflection of interceeding for his intereſt in an abject manner that did not agree with his dignity, he removed from *Dioſpolis*.

This proceeding vexing *Pompey*, at the earneſt ſollicitations of *Hyrcanus* and his friends, he marched againſt *Ariſtobulus*, with an army compoſed of *Romans* and *Syrian* auxilaries; having paſſed *Pella* and *Scythopolis* he came to *Coræe*, where that part of *Judæa* which leads up into the inland country takes its beginning, and hearing, at this place, that *Ariſtobulus* had taken ſhelter in *Alexandrium* (a very magnificent and beautiful caſtle, ſtanding on a mountain) he ſent meſſengers with orders to bid him come down to him. But he was reſolved, agreeable to his character of being an haughty prince, to ſuffer the laſt extremity rather than comply with the ſummons; yet he apprehended his ſubjects might be expoſed to danger, through his refuſal, and his friends adviſing him to conſider the power of the *Romaus*, which he was in no condition to withſtand, he yielded to their remonſtrances, and went down to *Pompey*, to whom he alledged a great deal in defence of his right, and then returned to his fort. He came down a ſecond time at the provocation of his brother, and having diſputed with him the right he had in priority to him, he went back again without any hindrance from *Pompey*: But ſtill remaining between hope and fear, he came a third time to *Pompey*, to beg he would eſtabliſh him in his right, and then went back again, that he might not ſeem to be void of aſſiſtance. After this *Pompey* commanded him to ſurrender his caſtles, and obliged him to write to all thoſe captains of garriſons who had orders given them to pay no regard to any letters ſent them, unleſs they were

(1) Nicolaus Damaſcenus ſays, he was deſcended of the Babylonian Jews, lib. 14. c. 1. See what he falſely charges on this Article in Ant. l. 14. c. 1. Arabs in Biblijs Polyglott is follows him, c. 35. and ſome of the Chriſtian Fathers ſuppoſe, that Antipater was the Son of one Herod an Aſcalonite, and that he was ſtole away by Robbers, and brought up in their Cuſtoms and Diſcipline, about which, conſult Euſebius in the 6th Book of his Hiſtory. Strabo ſays, that the Idumæans were Nabatæans, who, being drove out of their Country for a Rebellion they raiſed, mixed among the Jews, and embraced their Laws, and from hence, Herod is called *Anthra Epichiorion* by Antigonus in Antiq. l. 10. c. 15. and the Idumæns were accounted Jews, after John Hyrcanus obliged them to circumciſe themſelves.

wrote with his own hand, to remove from their employments; which he complied with: After which, burning with indignation, he went to *Hieroſolyma*, and there put him into a condition to give *Pompey* battle.

Pompey, not caring to give him any time to make any martial preparations, was not long after him, being favoured in his attempt by the death of *Mithridates*, which was told him at *Jericho*, the beſt and fatteſt ſoil in all *Judea*, producing a great number of fine palms, and (1) balſam, which is gathered, by cutting the branches of the trees, with the edge of a ſharp ſtone, from the droppings that diſtil from the inciſions. *Pompey* encamped here that night, and in the morning, marched directly to *Hieroſolyma*. *Ariſtobulus*, terrified at his coming, went out to meet him, and on his knees implored him; at the ſame time made a promiſe of giving money to ſpare him and the city, which pacified the incenſed *Pompey*. But this promiſe was not performed; for the partizans of *Ariſtobulus*, refuſed *Gabinius*, who was ſent to receive the money, an entrance into the city.

CHAP. VII.

Hieroſolyma *is ſurrender'd to* Pompey. *He takes the Temple, and goes into the Holy of Holies. Of his other Actions in* Judæa.

POMPEY, enraged at theſe ſteps, impriſoned *Ariſtobulus*, then marched up to the city, and looked for a place to attack it from; he found the town not eaſily to be taken, by reaſon of its ſtrong walls; beſides, the ditch before them caſt a frightful aſpect, and the temple, which ſtood within it, was exceedingly well fortified, ſo that, ſhould he have had the fortune to have taken the city, this very place would have proved a ſhelter to the enemy.

While he was conſulting with himſelf a long time, what meaſures he ought to take, the citizens in the town happened to diſagree among themſelves; the faction that favour'd *Ariſtobulus* inſiſted on a war, and the releaſement of the king; but that in the intereſt of *Hyrcanus* ſtrenuouſly oppoſed theſe meaſures, and demanded that *Ptolomy* might have the gates opened to him: Fear had encreaſed the number of the latter conſiderably, eſpecially on the conſideration of the *Roman* skill and conduct. *Ariſtobulus*'s partizans, finding their intereſt of no prevalence, withdrew into the temple, and, having cut down the bridge which joined the city, put themſelves into a poſture of defence to the laſt extremity. In the mean time, the *Romans* were admitted into the town, and the palace ſurrendered into their hands. *Pompey* immediately ſent *Piſo*, one of his officers, to ſeize on it, who having put garriſons into the ſeveral parts of the city, and finding thoſe who had withdrawn into the temple in no mind to hearken to his propoſals, he prepar'd to beſiege them; *Hyrcanus* and his faction adviſing him, and lending him their aſſiſtance, to put his deſign in execution.

Piſo, in conſequence of this, filled up, with the ſtuff and materials his ſoldiers brought him, the ditch and alley on the north ſide. It was no eaſy task to fill theſe up, by reaſon of their vaſt depth, and the inconveniencies the *Jews* put the men at work to from above. Nor had the *Romans* ſucceeded in their attempt, if *Pompey*, by hindring his men from committing any hoſtilities, had not raiſed his mounts to their deſigned height, during the ſeven days which the *Jews* keep ſolemn, and in which they abſtain from all bodily exerciſe. Having thus filled the ditch, and raiſed his mounts, he erected thereon his towers, and planted the engines the *Tyrians* brought him, in order to batter the walls. But the *Romans* met with great obſtruction from the ſlingers of ſtones within, who poured down upon them from above, and made a brave reſiſtance againſt *Pompey*'s towers, which were very large and beautiful.

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(1) Hiericho takes its Name from an Hebrew Word, which implies Fragrance; and in the 32 and 3d v. of Deuteronomy, Hiericho is called the City of Palms; other Places might boaſt an abundance of Palms, but Judæa, though not all of it, might ſay it had the beſt, eſpecially Hiericho, where the Caryotæ, or Nicolai grew, which are the very beſt ſort. Balſam wou'd not grow in any other Place than the Palm Ground of Hiericho, and formerly but in two Gardens, both of which belonged to the King: Now whether, according to the Account Joſephus gives of this Affair, this was owing to the Nature of the Ground, the Quality of the Water, or the Temperature of the Air, or, whether, as Strabo intimates, it was to be attributed to the cunning of the Jews, who, like the Ægyptians, with their Byblus, made great Advantage of it, becauſe of its ſcarcity, is a Queſtion left yet undecided: Their Opinions are not at all well grounded; who think that it grew of itſelf in Ægypt, or that the Queen of Saba brought it thence, or that Cleopatra removed it from their Country, for (not to inſiſt on every particular) it is very evident, that even after the Deſtruction of Hieroſolyma, it grew in Judæa, and there only; wherefore the Arabian Hiſtorians are clearer in their Conjectures, that the Saracens were the firſt that planted it at Matareas, and that it never grew in Ægypt, from whence, at the command of the Ottomans, it was tranſlated to Mecca, where it exiſts to this Day, though there is all the Reaſon in the World to believe, that, by tranſplanting it to a ſtrange Soil, a great deal of its original Virtue, through the Courſe of ſo many Ages, is loſt; for what Proſper Alpinus contends for, that it grew naturally in Arabia, and from thence, in every former Age, was carried into Ægypt and Judæa, is contradictory to Reaſon and all hiſtorical Accounts. This is the Spring of a great many fabulous Tales. Anthony, indeed made a Preſent to Cleopatra, of this Balſam Ground; but ſhe neither brought it from Ægypt, nor yet from Cairo, which was not now in being, but allowed Herod for it, an annual Payment of two hundred Talents; ſee Plutarch upon this Article upon Anthony, and Joſephus in his Wars; for the Balſam at Matareas was hard to be preſerved, though never ſo much Pains was uſed about it; when once it dried up, a new Stock was brought from Mecca to ſupply its room; ſee upon this head Alpinus. Dial concerning Balſam, this is ſufficient to prove then, that it was no native of Ægypt. But the fabulous Account of this Balſam is heightened by what is ſaid afterwards, viz. that the Queen of Saba brought with her the moſt precious Aromaticks, and that, according to the vulgar Opinion, there was conſequently this Balſam among them, for which Favour ſhe was not rewarded with Money, as ſhe often had been before, but obtained, as a Recompence, the whole Kingdom of Ægypt. See Ant. 8. and Bochart's Phaleg. 2. 25. But I have treſpaſſed too far on this Point, and if any deſires to be farther informed from the Fountain Heads, more than the Paſſages I have cited can inſtruct him, let him conſult Theophraſtus's, Hiſtory of Plants. 9. 6. Diodorus Siculus 11. p. 93, or 19. p. 275. Strabo 16. p. 763. 17. p- 800. Pliny 12. 25. 16.

Pompey, ſeeing the inconveniences to which his men were put, could not but wonder at the extraordinary reſolution of the *Jews*, but was more ſurprized when he found the eager devotion amidſt the darts of the enemy; the city was, indeed, in profound peace, and every day ſacrifices, luſtrations, and every religious rite that appertained to God, were performed with the greateſt diligence, neither, when the temple was taken, and numbers of them were daily made ſacrifices at the altar, did they abſtain from the duties of their religion as their laws directed them; for on the (*a*) third month of the ſiege, when with great difficulty they had overthrown one of the enemies towers, the *Romans* broke into the temple: The firſt who attempted to break over the walls, was *Hauſtus Cornelius*, the ſon of *Sylla*, who was followed by *Furius* and *Fabius*, two centurions; the reſt of the *Romans* immediately mounted after them, and the *Jews*, ſome of whom endeavoured to ſhelter themſelves in the temple, and others, to make a reſiſtance, were cut off in heaps.

A great number of the prieſts, though they beheld the enemy with drawn ſwords ruſhing upon them, yet with great intrepidity continued ſacrificing, and preferring their religion to God, before any conſideration of life, they yielded themſelves to death in the very moment they were offering incenſe; numbers were ſlain by their own countrymen, who were of the oppoſite faction; and innumerable *Jews*, to avoid the enemy, voluntarily caſt themſelves down from ſteep places, and others, drove to deſpair by the difficulties they ſaw themſelves ſurrounded with, ſet fire to the houſes about the walls, and periſhed in the flames. Near twelve thouſand *Jews* loſt their lives on this occaſion, but very few of the *Romans*, though a great number were wounded.

But the greateſt evil the *Jews* ſuſtained at this time, was the ſacred temple, before inacceſſible to human eyes, being laid open and expoſed to ſtrangers; for *Pompey*, attended with ſeveral perſons about him, went into that part of the temple, which was only lawful for the high-prieſt to enter, and there caſt his eyes on the candleſticks, lamps, table, veſſels for ſacrifices, and incenſe pots, which were all made of gold, and on the aromaticks, and the ſacred money, which amounted to near two thouſand talents. Notwithſtanding this, (*b*) *Pompey* refrained from touching any one thing that he ſaw, but, on the contrary, the day after he had taken the town, gave orders for purifying the temple, and performing ſacrifices; after he had conſtituted *Hyrcanus* high-prieſt the ſecond time, who, beſides other helps he had given, had been of ſignal ſervice to *Pompey* in completing the ſiege, in drawing from the intereſts of *Ariſtobulus* a great number of people out of the country, who readily came and joined him; this action, as it became a good general ſo to do, procured him the love of his people, who now, rather admired than feared him. *Aroſtobulus*'s father-in-law, who was alſo his uncle, was taken among the priſoners; but *Pompey* beheaded thoſe who were found to have had the greateſt hand in raiſing the ſedition, and *Hauſtus* and they, who had ſignalized their valour in an extraordinary manner, were generouſly rewarded by *Pompey*, and a tribute impoſed on the city by him.

Having ſeparated from the *Jewiſh* kingdom the cities he had won in *Syria*, he put them under the government of the *Roman* officer, who was appointed at this time to rule. And to gratify *Demetrius Gadarenſis*, one of his freedmen, he rebuilt *Gadar*, which the *Jews* a little before had laid in ruins. Beſides, he delivered from the *Jewiſh* yoke, the inland cities of *Hippo*, *Scythopolis*, *Pella*, *Samaria*, *Mariſſa*, *Azotus*, *Jamnia*, *Arethuſa*, and the maritime towns of *Joppa*, *Gaza*, *Dor*, and the tower of *Straton*, formerly ſo called, but afterwards built in another manner, and made very ſtately and magnificent by king *Herod*, and ſirnamed *Cæſarea*; the tributes of all which places he annexed to the province of *Syria*. After he had inveſted *Scaurus* in the government of this province of *Judea*, and of all the places as far as *Ægypt* to the river *Euphrates*,

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(*a*) Meaning of the Civil Year, which was December. Uſſer. Ox. On the Day of Faſting, ſome interpret it for the Tammus, a Time of Faſting: But Petavius and Stephen le Moyne reject ſuch Accounts, and, for the third Month of Siege, in which Pompey took Hieroſolyma, underſtand the Faſting of Copperſis, a Solemnity preciſely obſerved by the Jews. Spanheim. Joſephus in Ant. l. 14. c. 4 ſays that the Temple was taken on the third Day of a ſolemn Faſt. And Uſher would have us underſtand this third Month, for the third Month of the Civil Year, which commenced from Autumn, and that the Day the Jews faſted on, was the eight and twentieth of the Month Ciſlem, which happened in this Year to be the twentieth of the Julian December, and that the ſame was a Saturday, which Dio ſeems to confirm, and ſay that Pompey took Hieſololyma on that Day.

(*b*) Cnetus Pompieus, having victoriouſly won Hieroſolyma, touched nothing he ſaw in the Temple; this was chiefly, as many other Circumſtances in his Conduct, to be attributed to his Wiſdom, that, in ſo ſuſpicious and ill behaved a City, he might not give his Enemies any room to traduce him; for I do not believe, that the Religion of the Jews, but Shame was the real Hindrance of the beſt of Generals. Cicero in his Oration in behalf of Flaccus.

he with two legions took the rout of *Cilicia*, and marched for *Rome*, carrying *Ariſtobulus* and his family with him priſoners, among whom were two daughters and two ſons, the elder of whom, named *Alexander*, made his eſcape on his journey, but the younger was carried to *Rome* in company with his ſiſters.

CHAP. VIII.

Alexander, Ariſtobulus's *Son, who eſcaped from* Pompey, *wages War againſt* Hyrcanus, *and on being defeated by* Gabinius, *ſurrenders his Caſtles to him: After this* Ariſtobulus *eſcapes from* Rome, *and gathers an Army, and, on being beaten by the* Romans, *is carried back to* Rome. *Some other Incidents relating to* Gabinius, Creſſus, *and* Caſſius.

MEAN time *Scaurus* made an irruption into *Arabia*, but could not come up to *Pella*, as it was inacceſſible; every thing, however, about the town, fell a ſacrifice to his fury, which, nevertheleſs, did not free him from falling into ſome inconveniencies, for his army was expoſed to a grievous famine; but *Hyrcanus* contributed very much to the relief of his men, by ſending *Antipater* with proviſions. *Scaurus* made uſe of *Antipater*, and deputed him to go to *Aretas*, to make him beg his peace with a ſum of money. (*a*) *Aretas* was induced, to this end, to remit three hundred talents; and thus *Scaurus* withdrew his army out of *Arabia*.

Alexander, one of *Ariſtobulus*'s ſons, who had eſcaped from *Pompey*, in a little time, got together a great army, gave *Hyrcanus* much diſturbance, and over-ran all *Judea*; it was very expedient to ſtop him in his career, for he would have gone to *Hieroſolyma*, and new built the walls *Pompey* had pulled down, if (*b*) *Gabinius*, *Scaurus*'s ſucceſſor, who was ſent into *Syria*, had not ſignalized himſelf in ſeveral brave actions, and made an expedition againſt him: The coming of *Gabinius* ſo terrified him, that he augmented his army in the whole to ten thouſand foot and fifteen hundred horſe, and fortified with ſtrong walls, *Alexandrium*, *Hyrcanium*, and *Machæro*, places of great advantage in the mountains of *Arabia*.

Gabinius, ſending *Anthony* before with part of his forces, marched after him with the reſt of his army. After *Antipater*'s ſelect body, and another party of *Jews*, whom *Malichus* and *Pitholaus* were ſet over, had joined the officers of *Mark Anthony*, they marched to meet *Alexander*, and not long after, *Gabinius* with his heavy armed troops came up with them. But *Alexander*, finding himſelf in no capacity to withſtand the united force of the enemy, broke up from the place where he was, but was obliged, on his coming near *Hieroſolyma* to hazard a battle, in which he loſt ſix thouſand of his men, three thouſand loſing their lives on the ſpot; upon which he fled with the remainder to *Alexandrium*.

Gabinius coming to *Alexandrium*, and finding ſeveral tents pitched before the place, endeavoured, by promiſes of pardon, to bring them over to his ſide before he came to a battle: But they perſiſting in a valiant reſolution to defend themſelves, ſeveral were ſlain upon the ſpot, and the reſt he ſhut up in the caſtle. *Mark Anthony* in this action, gave ſignal proofs of his valour, and though he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in every place he had any action in, yet never appeared to a greater advantage than now: *Gabinius*, after this, leaving a ſufficient force to carry on the ſiege, drew off, and put thoſe cities, which had not been deſtroyed, into a more flouriſhing condition, and rebuilt thoſe which had. In conſequence of which good management, *Scythopolis*, *Samaria*, *Anthedon*, *Apollonia*, *Jamnia*, *Raptira*, *Mariſſa*, *Adoreus*, *Gamala*, *Azotus*, and ſeveral others, began to be peopled by great numbers of inhabitants, who gladly embraced the opportunity, and went to reſide in them.

After he had put things into this promiſing condition, he went back again to *Alexandrium*, and urged on the ſiege with more vigour, ſo

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(*a*) Hence comes that antient and remarkable Medal of the Æmilian Family, in which Aretas is repreſented in a ſuppliant Manner, taking hold in his Left Hand of the Bridle of a Camel, and reaching out the Branch of a Frankincenſe Tree in his Right, with this Inſcription, M. SCAURUS ÆD. CUR. EX. S. C. and below REX ARETAS. See the Tables at the End of this Work.

(*b*) Cicero deprived Piſo the Conſul of the Government of Syria, which had been allotted him. See more of this in his Epiſtles to Atticus; upon this, the Senate appointed Marcus Philippus to ſucceed Scaurus, and Marcellinus Lentulus, to follow in his room; theſe two were Pretorians, both of them, the two Years they governed Syria, had ſome Work on their Hands with the bordering Arabians, who harraſſed them; this obliged Proconſuls to be ſent, who were veſted with conſular Authority, and Gabinius was the firſt that broke into that Country with an Army; refer for this Account to Appian's Syriacs, p. 119, 120. Gabinius invited Anthony to join in the Campaign, but he rejected the Propoſal, and refuſed to follow a private Perſon; but, the Horſe being given, he condeſcended, and went. See Plutarch, in the Life of Anthony. Montacute, in his Apparatus, p. 148, and in his Exercit. 275. But it is plain from Appian, in his Book of the Syriac Wars, that Scaurus was ſucceeded by Marcus Philippius, he by Marcellinus Lentulus, and he by Gabinius. Philippus and Lentulus remained but two Years in the Government of Syria, the Shortneſs of which Time is the Reaſon that other Hiſtorians commonly paſs them over; for Appian, in the Beginning of his Parthian Wars, writes, that, after Pompey had reduced Syria into the Form of a Province, the Senate ſent thither Gabinius, and takes no manner of Notice of Scaurus, Philippus, or Lentulus.

that *Alexander*, deſpairing of ſucceſs, not only ſurrendered into his hands *Hyrcanium* and *Machæro*, which ſtill ſtood out for him, but alſo *Alexandrium*; theſe ſeveral places were, at the inſtigation of *Alexander*'s mother, for fear of their proving the ſeat of another war, effectually deſtroyed by *Gabinius*; her fear for her huſband, and captive children at *Rome*, forced her to this. *Gabinius*, after this, carried *Hyrcanus* to *Hieroſolyma*, and committed to him the care of the temple, and then ordered the commonwealth in ſuch manner, that the principal citizens were veſted with the ſupreme juriſdiction, and the whole nation of the *Jews* divided into five aſſemblies, which were ſorted thus; one was ordered to be at *Hieroſolyma*, another at *Gadar*, a third at *Canatho*, a fourth at *Hiericho*, and a fifth at *Sepphoris*, a city of *Galilee*; thus were the *Jews* reſtored to their liberty by the authority of one man, and, for the future, ſubjected to an ariſtocratick government.

But it was not long before *Ariſtobulus* raiſed new commotions; he had made his eſcape from *Rome*, and collected together again a great number of *Jews*, of thoſe who deſired a change, or had preſerved their antient friendſhip for him: The firſt place he ſeized on was *Alexandrium*, which he endeavoured to repair, but hearing *Gabinius* had ordered an army againſt him, under the command of *Siſenna*, *Anthony*, and *Servillius*, he withdrew to *Machæro*, where he diſbanded all thoſe that were of little ſervice, and kept only with him the armed men, who were about eight thouſand, among whom was *Pitholaus*, who had fled to him from *Hieroſolyma*, at the head of a thouſand men. The *Romans* immediately followed them, and a battle was in a little time fought, in which *Ariſtobulus* and his men behaved a long time very gallantly, but being obliged to ſubmit at laſt, to the numbers of the *Romans*, five thouſand were ſlain on the ſpot, and two thouſand made their eſcape to a certain eminence, the other thouſand left with *Ariſtobulus*, breaking through the ranks of the *Romans*, were forced to take ſhelter in *Machæro*, where the king, during the intermiſſion of the war, was in hopes of drawing together other forces; and with this view, he fortified the caſtle but very poorly; for the *Romans* making a fierce attack upon it, *Ariſtobulus*, after a few days reſiſtance, which ſeemed above his ſtrength, was taken priſoner with his ſon *Antigonus*, who eſcaped from *Rome*, and carried (*a*) bound to *Gabinius*, who ſent him again to *Rome*; where the ſenate threw him into priſon, but ſent back his ſons into *Judea*; in compliance with a letter *Gabinius* had wrote them, in which he mentioned the promiſe he had given *Ariſtobulus*'s wife to do ſo, for her having ſurrendered up the caſtles to him.

Gabinius, deſirous to carry his arms into *Parthia*, met with great obſtruction from *Ptolomy*, whom, in his return from *Euphrates*, he drove into *Egypt*, by the aſſiſtance of *Hyrcanus* and *Antipater*, who ſupplied him with every thing neceſſary for his expedition. *Antipater* gave him a large reinforcement of auxiliaries, money, arms and corn, and perſuaded the *Jews*, who guarded the avenues to *Peluſium*, to let *Gabinius* paſs unmoleſted: The other parts of *Syria*, as ſoon as *Gabinius* had turned his back, broke out into a rebellion; whereupon *Alexander*, the ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, taking hold of the opportunity, made the *Jews* revolt, and collecting a large body of forces, reſolved, at a certain time, to put all the *Romans* to death without diſtinction, that reſided in that country: *Gabinius* fearing the evil conſequences that might attend theſe commotions, was on his return from *Egypt*, in order to quell them; but he took ſo much precaution before hand, as to ſend *Antipater* before him, to go to ſome of the revolters, whom, by his prudence, he brought over to alter their ſentiments; about thirty thouſand *Jews* ſided with *Alexander*, who was very deſirous to come to an engagement, and with that view put himſelf in a readineſs to give the enemy battle; the *Jews* marched directly againſt them, and the onſet was begun at mount *Itabyrius*, in which ten thouſand were laid dead on the ſpot, and the reſt forced to fly. After which *Gabinius* marched up to *Hieroſolyma*, and there put the government into a ſituation agreeable to *Antipater*'s temper; and marching from thence, he went and defeated the *Nabatæans*, and privately ſent away *Mithridates* and *Orſanes*, two parthian deſerters, giving out to his ſoldiers that they had made their eſcape from him.

Mean time *Craſſus* came to ſucceed him, and took on him the adminiſtration of *Syria*; this *Roman*, to manage his parthian expedition, took all the gold he found in the temple, and the two thouſand talents *Pompey* had kept his hands from. But he had ſcarcely paſt the *Euphrates*, before both he and his army were entirely loſt; but this is not a fit place to treat of theſe affairs.

The *Parthians*, after the defeat of *Craſſus*, haſtening to paſs over into *Syria*, were interrupted in their attempt by *Caſſius*, who was fled into that province. After he had ſeized on it, he directed his march into *Judæa*, where winning *Tarichea*, he made thirty thouſand *Jews* priſoners; he put *Pitholaus*, at the perſuaſions of *Antipater*, to death, for aſſiſting *Ariſtobulus* in fomenting the rebellion: *Antipater*'s wife was deſcended of a noble *Arabian* family, and her name was *Cyphon*, by whom he had four ſons, *Phaſael* and *Herod*, who came afterwards to be a king; and *Joſeph* and *Pheroras*, and a daughter, called *Salome*. *Antipater*, by his extraordinary friendſhip and liberality, had gained the love of all the

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(*a*) So it is mentioned in *Ant.* l. 14. c. 6. upon which *Dio*'s Account, that *Gabinius* went into *Paleſtine*, apprehended *Ariſtobulus*, and ſent him to *Pompey*, and that afterwards, having impoſed a Tribute on the *Jews*, he marched into *Egypt*, to reduce *Ptolomy*, is not accurate enough.

princes about him, eſpecially the *Arabian* king; and when the war broke out between him and *Ariſtobulus,* he ſent his forces to remain ſecure in his hands. In ſhort, *Caſſius,* having forced *Alexander* into a treaty to throw down his arms, returned back to the *Euphrates,* with a deſign to interrupt the *Parthians* in their deſign of tranſporting themſelves over: But of this we will ſpeak in another place.

CHAP. IX.

Ariſtobulus *is put to Death by* Pompey'*s Friends, and* Alexander *by* Scipio. Antipater *ſeeks* Cæſar'*s Protection, after* Pompey'*s Death, and behaves gallantly in aiding* Mithridates.

CÆSAR, after the flight of *Pompey,* and the ſenate, into *Ionia,* ſeized on *Rome,* and the ſupreme command, and releaſed *Ariſtobulus* from priſon, giving him two legions, with orders to march quickly into *Syria,* being full of hopes that he would be in a condition to get that country, and the other places adjoining to *Judea,* into his hands, with little or no difficulty. But envy ſoon rendred fruitleſs the ready deſire of *Ariſtobulus,* and the opinion *Cæſar* had entertained of him; for he was poiſoned by the partizans of *Pompey,* and wanted the rite of interment in his own country, his body being embalmed with honey, and laying expoſed on the ground, till *Anthony* ſent it to the *Jews* to be interred in the monument of his anceſtors.

Nor was his ſon *Alexander* leſs to be pitied, for *Scipio,* on a proſecution brought againſt him for what he had tranſacted againſt the *Romans,* by command of *Pompey,* took off his head; *Ptolomy,* the ſon of *Mennæus,* who governed *Chalcis* under mount *Libanus,* ſent his ſon *Philippis* to his brothers, with a tender of his protection. *Philippis,* in conſequence of his orders, brought *Antigonus* and his ſiſters from *Ariſtobulus*'s wife, and put them under the ſafeguard of his father. But falling in love with the younger of the ſiſters, he married her, and was afterwards, for her ſake, put to death by his father; for after *Ptolomy* had ſlain his ſon, he married *Alexandra,* and for the affection he had for her, uſed her brothers with greater remarks of regard and eſteem.

As ſoon as *Pompey* was dead, *Antipater* changed ſides, and fell in with the meaſures of *Cæſar*; and becauſe *Mithridates* of *Pergamus* was blocked up at *Aſcalon,* with the army he was marching with into *Ægypt,* and hindred from proceeding a ſtep further near *Peluſium,* he not only got the *Arabians,* with whom he was in friendſhip, to carry him ſupplies, but went himſelf with three thouſand *Jews* he had at hand to aſſiſt. Nor was this all; he ſpurred up the *Syrian* princes to lend him ſuccour, and adviſed *Ptolomy, Jamblichus,* and *Tholomæus* to do the ſame; this proceeding brought the cities of that country readily to enter into a defenſive war. *Mithridates* now relying on the auxiliaries *Antipater* had brought him, haſtened to come up to *Peluſium,* but meeting with a repulſe as he endeavoured to tranſport his forces over, he laid ſiege to the town. It was here *Antipater* gave a remarkable inſtance of his great courage; for having, on that ſide where he was poſted, broke down the walls, he was the firſt who ſallied into the town with the body of men under his command.

Peluſium was taken; but the *Ægyptian Jews,* who reſided in that territory which was called the country of *Onias,* gave them great obſtruction in their march onwards; but *Antipater,* by his prudent management, brought them, at length, to lay aſide hoſtilities, and not only to forbear giving them any farther interruption, but to ſupply their men with neceſſaries; this obliged the inhabitants about *Memphis* to be quiet, and voluntarily ſurrender themſelves to *Mithridates,* who, after he had marched about *Delta,* gave the other *Ægyptians* battle, in a place called the *Tents of the Jews,* in which, being in great danger of ruining himſelf and all his right wing, *Antipater* came up with the left, delivered him, and effectually routed the enemy who oppoſed him, and afterwards ruſhing upon thoſe who purſued *Mithridates,* he killed a great number of them, and purſued the reſt ſo far, till he came up to their camp and took it: He loſt about fourſcore of his own men; but *Mithridates,* by his flight, occaſioned eight hundred of his forces to be cut off; thus was this prince beyond expectation delivered from ruin, and to give a generous teſtimony of the obligation he was under to *Antipater* for his life, he acquainted *Cæſar* with how great valour he had ſignalized himſelf.

This generous treatment of *Antipater,* now he was inſpired with new hopes, and elated with the praiſes given him, made him more ready ſtill to render his ſervice to *Mithridates.* As he was a perſon of matchleſs courage in every action he undertook, and had glorioſly adorned his body all over with wounds and ſcars, he carried a ſufficient witneſs about him to prove his valour. After *Cæſar* had reduced the affairs of *Ægypt* into a tolerable ſituation, in his return into *Syria,* he made him a preſent of the freedom of the city of *Rome,* and by the many honours he conferred on him, and the genteel and friendly uſage he treated him with, he occaſioned his being envied; for *Hyrcanus* ſolely upon his account, got the prieſthood confirmed to himſelf.

CHAP. X.

Cæſar *makes* Antipater *Procurator of* Judæ. Antipater *inveſts* Phaſael *with the Government of* Hieroſolyma, *and gives the chief Authority over* Galilee *to* Herod, *who is not long before tried and acquitted.* Selltus Cæſar *is treacherouſly ſlain by* Baſſus, *and ſucceeded by* Marcus.

IT was about this time that *Ariſtobulus*'s ſon *Antigonus* went to *Cæſar*, and proved, contrary to every bodies opinion, the cauſe of *Antipater*'s father preferment; for when it was his duty to have ſhown ſome tender regard to the memory of his father, who was ſuppoſed to have been poiſoned for the difference which had ſubſiſted between him and *Pompey*, and have lamented *Scipio*'s barbarity on his brother, and acted ſo prudently as to procure no ones envy, but have drawn their pity in his behalf; yet, in contradiction to meaſures ſo good as theſe in all appearance, he openly accuſed *Hyrcanus* and *Antipater*, pretending they had, in violation of all juſtice, baniſhed him with his brothers, from their native rights, and diſhonoured and abuſed his nation, in a very flagrant manner; and that the ſuccours they had ſent him into *Ægypt*, had not been raiſed through any love they had for him, but were owing to nothing elſe but the fear of old animoſities, and to obtain ſtrict friendſhip with *Pompey*.

Antipater, to juſtify himſelf, put on a mean garment, and opened, to full view, the number of wounds he had about him, and ſaid, it was needleſs to inſiſt any farther on the loyalty he bore *Cæſar*, for his mangled body was a ſilent but ſtrong teſtimony of it; that he was aſtoniſhed at the aſſurance of *Antigonus*, who being a ſon of him who had not only been an enemy to the *Romans*, but had fled from them, and deſirous to broil affairs, and follow his father's iniquitous ſteps, could preſume to offer to the *Roman* governor any accuſation againſt him, and endeavoured to reap advantage from it, when he had all the reaſon in the world to think himſelf happy in enjoying his life; and that it was not owing to any want, that he was ſo eager after the adminiſtration, but purely to raiſe freſh commotions among the *Jews*, and to ſpend his riches in proſecuting his vile deſigns.

When *Cæſar* heard this, he declared that *Hyrcanus* was more worthy of the prieſthood, and left *Antipater* at his own will to chuſe what kind of government he pleaſed. But he, with a generous ſoul ſubmitting the limit and the quality of the honour to the appointment of the donor himſelf, was declared procurator of all *Judea*, and obtained, as an additional grant, liberty to rebuild the ruin'd walls of *Hieroſolyma*. And theſe honours *Cæſar* ordered, as a perpetual monument of his juſtice, and *Antipater*'s worth, to be engraven on tables, and put in the *Capitol*.

After *Hyrcanus* had conducted *Cæſar* out of *Syria*, he returned back into *Judæa*, and the firſt thing he did, was rebuilding the walls of *Hieroſolyma* which *Pompey* had deſtroyed; and then he took a tour throughout the country, were he put a ſtop to the commotions which had aroſe in it, partly by menaces, and partly by admonitions; reminding them, if they ſtood up for *Hyrcanus*, of the quiet life, and uninterrupted peace, they would enjoy, and the tranquility and happineſs that would attend ſuch a choice; but if, through a deſire of private advantage, or of embroiling their country, they ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be impoſed upon by imaginary or vain illuſions, then they might depend, inſtead of a guardian, to find him their maſter, *Hyrcanus*, inſtead of their king, to be their tyrant, and the *Romans*, who would never ſuffer him to be removed from his government, whom they themſelves had appointed to reign, inſtead of generals and friends, to be their enemies. As ſoon as he had delivered himſelf in this manner, he took the ſole adminiſtration into his own hands, as obſerving *Hyrcanus* to be too unactive and indolent to govern a kingdom, which required more vigour. He inveſted his eldeſt ſon *Phaſael* with the government of *Hieroſolyma*, and the territories about it, and put *Herod* his next ſon, who was but a youth, into the ſame authority over *Galilee*.

Herod who was by nature formed to manage affairs in a high ſphere, ſoon found opportunities to diſplay the greatneſs of his mind to advantage. In conſequence hereof, having found out *Ezechias*, a chief over a company of robbers, who over-ran all the bordering countries of *Syria*, and made terrible depredations in them, he to the great tranquility of *Syria* apprehended, and put him and ſeveral of his followers to death. This action made his praiſe reſound thro' every city and town, inſomuch that it was ſaid, that *Herod*, by his preſence, had reſtored the country to peace, and put the inhabitants effects into a ſecure condition: Beſides, *Sextus Cæſar*, who was nearly related to the great *Cæſar*, and governor of *Syria*, came to here of it; from this time, there began a ſort of rivalſhip between *Phaſael* and his brother, who was thus famed. *Phaſael* endeavoured to govern *Hieroſolyma* by his ſole authority, and to, that end, ſtrove all he could to gain the citizens affections, yet took extraordinary precaution to act uprightly, and never abuſe his authority to the detriment of others; this noble ambition and emulation between the brothers, caus'd *Antipater* the father to be honoured like a king by the nation, and every one paid him as much extraordinary reſpect as if, in re-lity, he had been lord over all of them; yet his love and friendſhip for *Hyrcanus* remained firm and inviolated.

But it is impoſſible for any one, ſo proſperous as *Antipater* had been, to ſecure himſelf from envy. *Hyrcanus* himſelf had been ſome time privately piqued at the glorious report made of the two ſons, but his ſoul was chiefly touched at the famous actions of *Herod*; beſides, the frequent meſſengers that every hour came one after another, and the many ſlanderers and envious perſons in the palace, who were diſappointed in their deſigns by the prudence of *Antipater* or his ſons, nettled him to the quick, when they told him, that he gave up the government to *Antipater* and his ſons, and indolently ſat down contented with the bare name of a king, without the power neceſſarily belonging to it, and how ere long if he continued in his over-ſight, harbouring kings to his own deſtruction, they would, as ſoon as they had put it out of his power to oppoſe them, diſcover really what their intentions had always been, and make themſelves lords to the plain view of all the world, as it might be evinced from the behaviour of *Herod*, who, without any regard either to his orders or letters, had, in oppoſition to the *Jewiſh* laws, put ſo great a number of perſons to death; wherefore upon that ſcore, if he had not already got the kingdom into his hands, and was to be a private man, he ought to bring him to a tryal, to render an account of his actions to him, according to the laws of his country, which abſolutely forbid that any perſons, before a regular condemnation, ſhould be put to death.

Theſe inſinuations, gaining on him by degrees, he ſeemed uneaſy, and at laſt breaking out into a manifeſt rage, he ſummoned *Herod* before him to juſtify his conduct. He, in compliance with his father's advice, and encourag'd by his noble actions, appeared, but firſt took care to garriſon *Galilee*. He appeared in the midſt of a ſtout body of guards, that it might not be thought he came to dethrone *Hyrcanus*, or to expoſe himſelf in a naked manner to his enemies. *Sextus Cæſar* was in great fear about him, leſt his enemies ſhould put him to ſome difficulties, and therefore ſent *Hyrcanus* expreſs Word by a meſſenger not to bring in *Herod* guilty of a capital Crime; this was no more than what *Hyrcanus* wiſhed himſelf, for he had a great affection for him, and that was the cauſe that ſaved his life.

Every one imagining that the king had unwillingly acquitted him, he withdrew to *Sextus* at *Damaſcus*, reſolving, ſhould he be ſummoned again, to ſtand upon his defence and not obey: His enemies now gave out to *Hyrcanus*, that *Herod* was very much incenſed when he departed, and that he was ready to bring his forces againſt him; the king believing what he heard, and having juſt grounds to believe the enemy would prove ſuperior to him, was at a loſs what meaſures to take; but when he found that *Sextus Cæſar* had made him governor of *Cælo-Syria* and *Samaria*, and the peoples affections ſo cloſely link'd to him, and the authority he was inveſted with, which portended ſome fatal conſequences, he was ſtruck with the deepeſt fears, and every moment expected to ſee him come with an army againſt him.

Nor were his apprehenſions vain; for *Herod*, burning with indignation at the tryal he had undergone, after he had raiſed an army, marched directly to *Hieroſolyma*, with a reſolution to dethrone *Hyrcanus*; he had a thouſand to one obtained his point, had not his father and brother gone out together to meet him, and diverted him from his attempt, begging him to ſpare the king, to whom he was indebted for the high power he was inveſted with, and not carry his revenge beyond menaces and terror; and that he ought, if he was enraged for being ſummoned to give an account of his actions, not only to render thanks for his being acquitted, but purſue mild meaſures, and ſhew himſelf ſenſible of the obligation he was under, for the preſervation of his life; and that if he thought God was the moderator and diſpoſer of the events of war, ought to conclude he had greater power than his army; and that he had no ground to hope well of victory, in an engagement he deſigned againſt the king and his friend, who had conferred ſeveral favours upon him, and never declared himſelf his enemy, but when evil counſel had biaſſed his mind, and perverted his inclination: This remonſtrance pacified *Herod*, who thought the proſpect he had given of his power, would be ſufficient to favour the hopes he one day expected to fulfil.

Apamia, in the mean while was involved in a terrible commotion by the *Romans*, which was followed by a civil war, owing to *Cæcilius Baſſus* treacherouſly murthering *Sextus Cæſar*, out of love to *Pompey*, and ſeizing upon his forces. This action was revenged by the other officers of *Cæſar*, who to puniſh the murther of *Sextus* fell upon *Baſſus* with all their forces, and were aſſiſted by *Antipater*, who ſent his ſons alſo for the ſake of the deceaſed, and *Cæſar*, who had been both his friends. But the war proving of ſome continuance, (1) *Maccus* arrived out of *Italy* to ſucceed *Sextus*.

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(1) In all the Copies of *Joſephus* where this perſon is mentioned, he is conſtantly called *Marcus*; and if that it is the true reading, then is meant *Marcus Criſpus*, who beſieged *Baſſus* in *Apamia*. But he being called out of *Syria*, *Cæſar* ſent *Statius Marcus*, who joined him in the Siege. The Sequel of *Joſephus* proves, that *Marcus Criſpus*, and the *Marcus* he mentions, are to be taken indifferently. But it is extreamly likely, that the Succeſſor of *Sextus Julius*, was named *Murcus* and not *Marcus*, and that *Joſephus*, every where, where he had Occaſion to mention him, called him by that Name; this is the Opinion of *Caſaubon*, for which, ſee his *Exercit.* p. 120. and 133.

CHAP. XI.

Herod *is made Procurator of all* Syria; *this terrifies* Malichus, *who poiſons* Antipater; *the military Tribunes adviſe, that* Malichus *be put to Death.*

CASSIUS and *Brutus* having put a ſudden period to *Cæſar*'s life, who had governed three years and (1) ſix months, a terrible war broke out amongſt the *Romans*; the murther was followed by one of the moſt violent civil wars that was ever known, for the principal men in the empire falling out among themſelves, judging their advantage at ſtake, puſhed on their ſeveral views to make themſelves ſuperior. In conſequence of this *Caſſius* came into *Syria*, to take the forces that were then before *Apamia*, and having brought about a reconciliation between *Baſſus* and *Marcus*, and the legions that had abandoned him, he broke up the ſiege from before *Apamia*, but marched the army through the ſeveral cities, collecting the tributes, and exacting greater ſums of money than were legally due.

Caſſius ordering the *Jews* to bring him ſeven hundred talents, *Antipater* was afraid of his menaces; but to comply with his demands, and raiſe the money, he divided the collecting of it between his two ſons, and was forced, through neceſſity, to take in *Malichus* with them, who was no ſound friend to him. The firſt who by his duty obtained *Caſſius*'s favour was *Herod*, who brought him an hundred talents out of his government of *Galilee*, and was, for the ready diſpatch of it, ranked amongſt his chief friends; but the other two not proving ſo expeditious in their collections, he charged them with dilatory management, and ſeemed offended at the cities *Gophna* and *Amnias*; and twelve other cities of inferior note, fell a ſacrifice to his rage, and the inhabitants were made priſoners; and his anger proceeded ſo far, that he meditated the death of *Malichus* for his indolence in raiſing the money. But *Antipater*, with an hundred talents he gave him, hindred him from killing him, and deſtroying any more cities.

Notwithſtanding, *Malicus* was ſo far, on *Caſſius*'s departure, from owing any obligation he lay under to *Antipater* for his life, that he ſeveral times endeavoured to take him treacherouſly out of the way, who was a hindrance to his baſe deſigns. But *Antipater*, who was weary of the power and inſinuation of the man, withdrew to the other ſide of *Jordan*, reſolving to collect an army there to revenge the treachery deſigned him. *Malichus*, finding he was prevented in his ſcheme, groſly impoſed on *Antipater*'s ſons; for warmly proteſting his innocency, by ſeveral oaths and execrations to *Phaſael*, who was governor of *Hieroſolyma*, and to *Herod* governor of *Galilee*, he decoyed them by his pretences, and adviſed them to reconcile their father to him. Yet after this, *Malichus* owed his life to *Antipater*, who interceeded with *Marcus*, the governor of *Syria*, for him, who had reſolved to put him to death, for creating freſh diſturbances.

The war breaking out between young *Cæſar* and *Anthony*, and *Caſſius* and *Marcus*, the two latter having raiſed an army in *Syria*, and conſidering that *Herod* had been very inſtrumental in ſupplying them with the major part of the forces they had, they gave him a body of foot and horſe and made him governor of all *Syria*, *Caſſius* promiſing him, as ſoon as the war was ended, to get him declared king of *Judæa*. But *Herod*'s extraordinary power, and the great hopes *Antipater*, had repoſed in it, proved his entire ruin; for *Malichus*, having great fears upon him from this ſudden ſtep, bribed one of the king's cup-bearers with a ſum of money, to poiſon *Antipater*. In conſequence of which, becauſe he was a man that *Malichus*'s envy purſued, he loſt his life at a banquet, being a perſon, in other reſpects of great courage, and exceeding abilities in managing the affairs of a kingdom, and one who had regained the kingdom for *Hyrcanus*, and preſerved him in it.

Malichus, however, lying under ſuſpicion of having poiſoned *Antipater*, and the people ſeeming very much incenſed at it, he went about to excuſe himſelf, and ſomewhat appeaſed them, but took care to get together a body of forces, to be able to defend himſelf and appear powerful; for he did not ſuppoſe *Herod* would ſit ſtill, who was not long in bringing an army againſt him, to revenge the death of his father. But his brother *Phaſael* ſetting before his eyes the commotions that would break out among the people, if he offered to purſue him in ſo open a manner, *Herod* took the advice, and patiently admitted *Malichus*, who excuſed himſelf in the beſt manner he could, to ſee him, acquainting him at the ſame time, that he was free from any farther ſuſpicions; after which he buried his father in a very magnificent manner.

Herod moved up, and went to *Samaria*, which was now involved in a violent ſedition, but by his vigilance, the city was brought to a ſtate of peace and good order. From this place, he marched to *Hieroſolyma* with his forces, where a feaſt was celebrating. *Hyrcanus* by advice of *Malichus*, who was terribly afraid of *Herod*'s coming, ſent him a meſſenger, to bid him refrain introducing ſtrangers among his countrymen who were purifying themſelves. This gave *Herod* a pretence he wanted, and accordingly, taking the man who had brought him the news, he entered the city in the night time. *Malichus* ſoon came to him, and ſeemed vaſtly ſorrowful for *Antipater*,

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(1) This is mentioned Ant. L. 14. C. 11. That he reigned three Years and ſix months, though his Government began in the ſeventh Month. Joſephus is in the right to begin his Reign from his ſecond Dictatorſhip.

Herod, in return, made a ſhow of the ſame concern, though he had much ado to ſtifle his reſentment. He ſent *Caſſius*, who had too many juſt (1) reaſons to hate *Malichus*, a letter, in which he made heavy complaint about the death of his father. *Caſſius* not only wrote an anſwer back to *Herod*'s letter, to revenge the murther of his father, but gave the tribunes under him private orders, to aſſiſt *Herod* in the execution of ſo juſt a deſign.

Herod, finding, on *Caſſius*'s having taken *Laodicæa*, all the princes and chief men buſied in thronging to him, carrying him crowns and preſents, thought he had a fine opportunity to put his revenge in action. *Malichus*, who was now at *Tyre*, was in a terrible fear; he meditated means to get his ſon, who remained as an hoſtage with the citizens, privately out of their hands, and then got ready to fly himſelf into *Judæa*. But the little hopes he had of ſucceeding in his arms, made him reſolve on higher ſchemes; for finding *Caſſius* employed in a war againſt *Anthony*, he had a ſtrong opinion he ſhould be able to induce the *Jews* to revolt from the *Romans*, and then by removing *Hyrcanus*, which was no difficult matter, to make himſelf king.

But all the pleaſing hopes and bold deſigns he had conceived, prov'd unſucceſsful and abortive; for *Herod*, finding what he aim'd at, gave him and *Hyrcanus* an invitation to partake of an entertainment with him; a while after he called one of his ſervants who ſtood by him, and ſent him through a pretence of getting the ſupper ready, but the real deſign was to tell the tribunes immediately to prepare themſelves; they, ſoon recalling to mind the orders *Caſſius* had before given them, appeared ſword in hand on the ſhore before the town, where they ſurrounded *Malichus*, and covering him with wounds, killed him. *Hyrcanus*, extreamly ſurprized at the ſuddenneſs of the action, preſently fell on the ground, coming by degrees to himſelf, asked, who had murthered *Malichus*. One of the tribunes anſwered, *Caſſius*, who commanded it. *Caſſius* then, ſaid *Hyrcanus*, who hath taken away the life of a traitor, hath ſaved me and my country from him, who gaſped at the ruin of both. But whether theſe words were the reſult of his real opinion, or whether fear made him approve of the action, is uncertain, but it is true, *Herod* revenged himſelf on *Malichus* in this manner.

CHAP. XII.

Felix *is defeated by* Phaſael, *and* Antigonus *by* Herod*: The* Jews *accuſed* Phaſael *and* Herod; Anthony *acquits them, and makes them Tetrarchs.*

ON *Caſſius* leaving *Syria Hieroſolyma* broke out again into a violent ſedition, by means of *Felix*, who ſet upon *Phaſael* with his army, pretending to revenge the death of *Malichus*, and throwing the blame on him, which belonged to *Herod*. *Herod* was now with *Fabius* at *Damaſcus*, and longed to aſſiſt his brother, but was hindered through indiſpoſition of body. In the mean time, *Phaſael* got the better of *Fabius*, and charg'd *Hyrcanus* with the ingratitude done him, in aiding *Felix*, and ſuffering *Malichus*'s brother to ſeize on ſeveral caſtles; which was no more than true, for he had ſeveral in his hands, and among them, *Maſada*, the beſt fortified of all.

Notwithſtanding, every thing proved inſufficient to guard him againſt the force of *Herod*, who, as ſoon as he recovered, regained ſeveral of his holds, and drove him out of *Maſſada*. Beſides, he drove out of *Galilee*, *Marion*, the governor of the *Tyrians*, who had got three caſtles into his hands, and gave all the *Tyrians* he had taken priſoners their lives, preſenting ſome with gifts, and permitting them to depart, which procured him the love of the city. and increaſed their hatred to *Marion*. *Caſſius* had inveſted *Marion* with his government, who had ſeized on all *Syria*, by means of his creatures under him; his hatred to *Herod* made him aſſiſt *Antigonus*, *Ariſtobulus*'s ſon, but chiefly *Fabius*, who had been won over by *Antigonus*'s money to aid him, ſpurred him on to it. Beſides, *Ptolomy* his kinſman ſupported him with all manner of neceſſaries.

Herod happening to engage them in the very entrance of *Judæa*, proved the victor, and, forcing *Antigonus* to take to his heels, returned back to *Hieroſolyma*, where his extraordinary valour in the late encounter procured him an hearty welcome; for thoſe who before but little liked him, now ſeeing the affinity between him and *Hyrcanus*, threw themſelves under his protection. He had married a firſt wife, named *Doris*, a foreigner, but a noble woman, and had had a ſon by her, named *Antipater*; but his ſecond ſpouſe was *Mariamne*, the Daughter of *Alexander*, the ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, and Niece of *Hyrcanus* by his daughter's ſide, by which he became nearly allied to the king.

Caſſius being defeated at *Philippi*, *Cæſar* departed into *Italy*, and *Anthony* into *Aſia*, where ſeveral cities ſending their ambaſſadors to him at *Bithynia*, the chief men among the *Jews* came alſo thither to accuſe *Phaſael* and *Herod*. In their circumſtances they alledged, that they had the government by violence, and that *Hyrcanus* had no more than the honorary title of a king. *Herod* took care not to be out of the way, and with the large ſums of money he gave *Anthony*, gained his intereſt ſo far, as not to admit his enemies to an audience, but diſmiſs them without a hearing.

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(1) Caſſius, as has been hinted above, hated *Malichus* for the Remiſſneſs he ſhewed in collecting the Money, and the Deſire he had to work a change.

After this, a hundred of the principal *Jews* went to *Anthony*, who was at this time revelling in *Cleopatra*'s arms at *Daphne* in *Antiochia*, and making thoſe of the greateſt dignity and addreſs among them their conductors, they preferred an accuſation againſt the brothers. *Meſſala*, at the importunity of *Hyrcanus*, who conſidering the affinity between him and *Herod* ſtood up for him, ſpoke in their defence. After both ſides had been heard, *Anthony* put the queſtion to *Hyrcanus*, and asked him, whom he thought worthier to govern. He preferring *Herod* and his friends to the others, *Anthony* was glad at it, (having formerly entered into a ſtrict friendſhip with *Hyrcanus* their father, who, at the time he paſſed over with *Gabinius* into *Judæa*, received him with great humanity and reſpect) and made them two tetrarchs, giving them abſolute liberty to exerciſe juriſdiction over all *Judæa*.

Anthony, ſeeing the ambaſſadors not well pleaſed with his proceedings, impriſoned fifteen of them, whom he would have put to death, and ſhamefully diſmiſſed the others, this occaſioned greater heart-burnings than before at *Hieroſolyma*. In conſequence of which, they deputed a thouſand ambaſſadors to go to *Anthony* at *Tyre*, who had thoughts of attacking *Hieroſolyma*; theſe raiſing a violent ſtir, he ſent the governor of *Tyre* to them, with orders to puniſh every one he took, and confirm thoſe in the government he had made tetrarchs.

Add to this, *Herod*, in company with *Hyrcanus*, went with them as far as the ſhore, adviſing them to beware they did not make themſelves the authors of their own deſtruction, or kindle a war in the bowels of their country, by their fooliſh and inconſiderate diviſions. But they perſiſting rather in a greater rage, *Anthony* ſent a company of men at arms, who ſlew ſeveral of them, and wounded others. *Hyrcanus* buried the dead, and condeſcended to have the wounds of the others taken care of. Notwithſtanding, thoſe who eſcaped could not keep themſelves within bounds, but enraged *Anthony* to ſo violent a degree, by the commotions they raiſed in the city, that he ordered thoſe he had in priſon to be put to death.

CHAP. XIII.

The Parthians *bring back* Hyrcanus *into* Judæa, *and impriſon* Antigonus *and* Phaſael. Herod *flies*, Hieroſolyma *is ſack'd*. *The Suffering of* Hyrcanus *and* Phaſael.

(1) TWO years after this, when *Barzapharnes* the *Parthian* ſatrapate, and *Pacorus* the king's ſon, had ſeized on *Syria*, *Lyſanias*, who ſucceeded his father *Ptolomy*, the ſon of *Mennæas*, in the government, perſuaded the ſatrapate with a promiſe of a thouſand talents, and five hundred women, to reſtore *Antigonus* to the kingdom, and dethrone *Hyrcanus*. *Pacorus*, won by the promiſe, took his march along the ſea coaſts, and ordered *Barzapharnes* to break through the inland country. *Pacorus*, though the citizens of *Ptolomais* and *Sidon* received him, met with oppoſition from the (2) *Tyrians* of the maritime towns; finding this, he gave one of his cup-bearers, of the ſame name with him, a party of horſe, with orders to break into *Judæa*, to ſee the motions of the enemy, and, if occaſion required, to aſſiſt *Antigonus*.

Carmel falling a prey to their depredations, a great many *Jews* reſorted to *Antigonus*, who demonſtrated great readineſs to make an irruption with him: He ſent them before him to a place called *Drymus*, to ſeize on that part of the country, where happening to engage, the enemy were routed, and fled; whereupon they marched back to *Hieroſolyma*, encreaſing conſiderably as they went, by numbers falling in with them, and in that order went to the palace, where *Hyrcanus* and *Phaſael* received them with great vigour. A battle being begun in the market-place, *Herod* and his men forced the enemy to fly, and ſhut them up in the temple, putting ſix hundred men in the adjoining houſes to watch them. But the people roſe againſt the brothers, attacked them, and burnt the houſes and men together; the deaths of ſo many perſons extreamly enraged *Herod*, who fell furiouſly upon the people, ſlew a great number of them, which was attended with ſome deſtruction or other every day, by the diviſions and animoſities of the oppoſite factions.

The feaſt of pentecoſt approaching, every place about the temple, and all the city, was filled with people out of the country, and ſoldiers who, for the general part, came in arms. *Phaſael* ſecured the walls, and *Herod*, with a few choſen men, defended the palace; the undiſciplined mob were preſently ſet upon on the north ſide of the city, and a great many ſlain; every one took to their heels, ſome fled into the city, others into the temple, and ſome were driven and cooped into the valley on the out-ſide. *Antigonus*, finding things run into theſe extreams, begged that *Pacorus* might mediate the differences, and be let into the city. *Phaſael*, yielding to the requeſt, gave liberty for him and five hundred men to be let into the town, thinking he came to adjuſt grievances, but the truth was, to aſſiſt *Antigonus*. *Phaſael*, over-reached by the *Parthian*, was obliged by him to go in quality of ambaſſador to *Barzapharnes*, in order to terminate the war, though *Herod* ſtrenuouſly diſſuaded him from it, and adviſed him to put the traitor immediately to death, and not ſuffer himſelf to be impoſed on, or unwarily taken, for the *Barbarians* never kept any honour, and were naturally perfidious. *Pacorus*, to make the cheat as little diſcoverable as could be, took *Hyrcanus* with him, and left (1) ſome horſe, who were called *Eleutherians*, with *Herod*, but carried *Phaſael* with the reſt away.

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(1) For Pacorus and Barzapharnes ſeized on Syria, two Years from Anthony's coming into Aſia, at the Deſire of Labienus. Beſide, Ptolomy was dead, and his Son and Succeſſor Lyſanias, by the Mediation of his Satrapate, ſtruck up a League of Alliance with Antigonus. See Ant. l. 14. c. 13. Afterwards Lyſanias, as Joſephus writes in this Place, or, according to Ant. l. 14. c. 13. Antigonus, meaning both by their joint Aſſiſtance, made the Parthians undertake to bring back Antigonus. Aldrich.

(2) After the Death of Saxas, all Syria ſubmitted to Pacorus; but the reſt of the Romans, and the others who joined them, ſeized on Tyre before-hand, and could not, by any Perſuaſions or forcible Means of Pacorus (for the Parthians had no Ships) be reduced to his Obedience, as is witneſſed by Dio, l. 48. p. 372.

When they came into *Galilee*, they found the country up in arms, and ready to revolt. However, they went to the ſatrapate, with a cunning addreſs, and begged him to look over their deſigns by uſing them friendly; in compliance to this requeſt, he firſt gave them preſents, and then laid his ſchemes againſt them as ſoon as they had turned their backs; they were no ſooner got to a certain place called *Ecdippon*, but they ſmelt the treachery. They heard here of the promiſe of a thouſand talents, and the oath *Antigonus* had made the *Parthians* to procure them five hundred women, the major part of whom were to be natives of his country; that every night they laid in wait for them, and had they not been taken ſo before, they had waited till *Herod* ſhould be apprehended in *Hieroſolyma*, which had he known, and been ſenſible of, he would, probably, have provided to his own ſecurity. All this was not a meer ſtory, for they ſoon were eye-witneſſes of ſcouts planted pretty near them. Notwithſtanding this prewarning, and the long entreaties *Offellus* made uſe of to make him withdraw, who had been fully acquainted from *Saramalla*, the richeſt perſon among the *Tyrians* at that time, with the whole deſign; yet *Phaſaël* could not ſuffer himſelf to abandon *Hyrcanus*, but going directly to the ſatrapate, he upbraided him to his mouth with his treachery, and that money had made him the moſt perfidious man living, and promiſed him a larger ſum for his life, than *Antigonus* had offered him for the kingdom: The *Parthian* uſed a great deal of artifice to ſtand the charge, and having uſed abundance of oaths and imprecations to excuſe himſelf, went to *Pacorus*; but as ſoon as he was out of ſight, ſome of the *Parthians* who ſtaid behind, who had private orders for it, ſeized *Phaſael* and *Hyrcanus*, who were aſtoniſhed at their perfidy and perjury.

All this while a cupbearer (who had been diſpatched on the errand) was buſy at work to take *Herod*, through a pretext of amuſing him out of the walls, as he had been charged. But he had had all along ſuſpicions of the *Barbarians*, and juſt then had heard the letters, notifying their treachery, were fallen into their hands, which made him refuſe going out, though *Pacorus* gave him a plauſible reaſon enough, which was to meet the meſſenger who brought the letters, which the enemy had not ſeized, nor was there any ſiniſter deſign in his asking him, but that the letters only contained the brave deportment of *Phaſael*. But *Herod* had already heard that his brother *Phaſael* was apprehended, and *Mariamne*, *Hyrcanus*'s daughter, and a very wiſe lady, came and begged him neither to ſtir foot out of the town, or truſt himſelf to the *Barbarians*, who were plotting his manifeſt deſtruction.

While *Pacorus* and his partizans were yet deliberating how to execute their ſcheme, and reflecting on the impoſſibility openly to circumvent a man of ſuch conſummate prudence, *Herod*, unknown to his enemies, got together his neareſt friends, and made his eſcape that night into *Idumæa*, which the *Parthians* no ſooner heard of, but they purſued them. *Herod*, to avoid any ill conſequences, ordered his mother and ſiſter, the young lady he was affianced to, her mother and youngeſt brother, to proceed on in their journey, and he, with the aſſiſtance of his ſervants, very judiciouſly beat back the *Barbarians*, and, on their attacking them, ſlew ſeveral of them, and then took up his quarters in the caſtle of *Maſſada*.

But the greateſt obſtruction he met in his flight was from the *Jews*, who exceeded the *Parthians*, and gave him continual diſturbance. When he was ſcarce got above threeſcore furlongs from the city, they had a pretty long and obſtinate fight with him; but having ſuperior fortune on his ſide, and happening to kill a great number of them, he built a ſpot of ground in memory of the advantage he had gained there, and adorned it with a magnificent palace, and a ſtrong caſtle, calling it *Herodion* after his own name. In his flight, he was daily joined by great numbers, and his brother *Joſeph* met at *Arethеſſa* of *Idumæa*. *Joſeph* adviſed him to leſſen the number of his followers, by telling him, that ſo great a multitude of perſons as nine thouſand, could not be contained in *Maſſada*. *Herod* took his counſel, and all thoſe who were too old to be of any ſervice, he ſent into different places of *Idumæa*, and allowed them money to bear the expences of their journey; but with thoſe who were of ſervice, and had ſtrength, and whom he kept with him, he got ſafely to *Maſſada*, where leaving fourſcore to guard the women, and a ſufficient ſupply of neceſſaries to ſtand out a ſiege, he marched to *Petra* in *Arabia*.

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(1) The Parthians have not, as other Nations, an Army of Freemen, but the Majority of their Forces conſiſts of Slaves. When Anthony carried his Arms into Parthia, they met him with Fifty thouſand Horſe, of whom Four hundred were only Freemen; they continue always upon Horſeback; they fight, feaſt, do their public as well as private Affairs, ſit, traffick and diſcourſe upon them; the Difference between Freemen and Slaves among them is this, that the Slaves walk on Foot, and the Freemen ride on Horſeback. Juſtus 41. 2, 3. Aldrich.

The *Parthians*, in the mean while, plundered *Hieroſolyma* of all the effects they found, and broke into the houſes of thoſe who had abandoned them, and ſtript the palace of all, except three hundred talents of *Hyrcanus*, which they did not touch; they were vaſtly baulked in their hopes, for *Herod* had taken care to be before hand with them, and had ſent to *Idumæa* the richeſt and moſt valuable of his goods, which all his relations had likewiſe done. The *Parthians*, in the havock they made, proceeded to ſuch lengths, as to fill all the country with terrible warfare, and unparalled cruelties; the city of the *Mariſſeans* was effectually demoliſhed, *Antigonus* was made king, and *Phaſael* and *Hyrcanus* ſurrendered to him to be tortured. *Hyrcanus* falling on his knees before him, *Antigonus* cut off his ears, that he might no more, provided things ſhould chop about again, perform the functions of the prieſthood; for a prieſt was to have his ears.

But the bravery of *Phaſael* prevented the aim of *Antigonus* upon him, who, having not ſufficient room in his chains, and his hands being cloſely manacled, daſhed his brains out againſt the wall of his priſon. By this action he ſufficiently made known he was the true brother of *Herod*, (and that *Hyrcanus* was cowardly to the laſt degree,) for he ended his laſt moments with a ſurprizing bravery, and made it appear by his laſt exit, that he had done no more than what was agreeable to the noble atchievements of his former life. But we are told by ſome, that he recovered of this terrible blow he gave himſelf, but that *Antigonus* ſent a ſurgeon, through a pretence of healing him, who applied poiſonous plaiſters to the wound, and killed him; but let which will of the two be true, the beginning is certainly very glorious! Laſtly, they acquaint us, that before he died, a certain woman told him that his brother *Herod* had eſcaped his enemies; upon which he ſaid, Now I depart with a willing mind, becauſe I leave the revenger of my injuſtice behind me alive.

This was the cataſtrophe of *Phaſael*; the *Parthians* were diſappointed in the article of the women, though they greatly longed for them; however, they favoured *Antigonus* with the government of *Hieroſolyma*, and carried away *Hyrcanus* priſoner with them into *Parthia*.

CHAP. XIV.

Herod *is driven out of* Arabia, *goes to* Rome, *where, by* Anthony *and* Cæſar's *Intereſt, he is made King.*

HEROD made the more haſte into *Arabia*, as he thought to gain money of the king, while his brother was yet alive, which was the only article he hoped would ſurmount the avaritious temper of the *Parthians*. He conſidered, ſhould the *Arabian* not bear in mind the antient friendſhip between his father and him, and prove ſo ungenerous as not to give him any, he might yet ſucceed ſo far with him, as to borrow the price of his brother's ranſom, by ſetting his ſon as a pledge for payment. And for this end he took his ſon, a youth of ſeven years old, with him, having reſolved to give three hundred talents, and propoſing the *Tyrians* to negotiate and interceed in the buſineſs. But fate withſtood *Herod*'s deſign, for the death of his brother *Phaſael* rendered vain his efforts to ſerve him: He found the *Arabian* king's friendſhip on a tottering foundation, for *Malichus* ſent meſſengers to meet him, with orders to bid him retire immediately back out of his country, pretending the *Parthians* were the cauſe of his ſending ſuch a meſſage, who had deputed ambaſſadors to him with a requeſt to drive him out of *Arabia*; but *Malichus*'s real intentions were never to pay the debt he owed to *Antipater*, or liſten to any remonſtrance that tended to aſſiſt, in return for the favours he had received, his children, now fortune frowned upon them. Beſide, he had perſons about him, who adviſed him to this ungenerous proceeding, and were ready to falſify *Antipater*'s depoſit; theſe were the chief men in his kingdom.

Herod, finding the *Arabians* his enemies, in an affair he thought to have found them his friends, returned the meſſage an anſwer ſuitable to his ſorrow, and bent his journey to *Egypt*; when it began to grow dark, he ſtept to a country temple, to take along with them thoſe perſons he had left there. The next day arriving at (*a*) *Rhinocolura*, he received there the news of his brother's death, and having given way a while to his juſt grief, he (*b*) reſumed heart, and proceeded on in his journey

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(*a*) Rhinocolura was a Phænician City, and Diodorus l. 1. p. 38. ſays, it was ſo called from the ſlit Noſes of the Inhabitants.

(*b*) This Paſſage may be turned thus, *Cumque dolorum inde quantum potuit accepiſſet, conſumpta ægritudine porrexit.* And after he had given as great a Looſe to his Concern as he was able, he proceeded on his Journey after he had ſpent his Grief; this comes neareſt to the Tranſlation of Rufinus.

the *Arabian*, in the mean time, repenting of what he had done, ſent after *Herod* meſſengers with the utmoſt expedition, to call back him whom he had ſo ignominiouſly treated. But *Herod* was at too great diſtance, having already reached *Peluſium*, where, meeting with a refuſal from the maſters of the ſhips that lay in the harbour to give him paſſage, he went to make his complaint to the governors of the town; they, paying a due deference to the name and dignity of ſo great a perſon, had him carried down to *Alexandria*. On his making his entrance into the city, *Cleopatra* received him very civily, being full of hope to gain him over to her deſigns, but he, ſhutting his ears to the prayers and ſolicitations of the queen, and, without any concern, either for the boiſterous weather, or the (*a*) commotions in *Italy*, ſet ſail for *Rome*.

He was in danger of his life near *Pamphylia*, where the greateſt part of the lading was forced to be thrown over-board, and with great difficulty got with life to *Rhodes*, which was terribly harraſſed with the war then carrying on againſt *Caſſius*, where he was received by his friends, *Ptolomy* and *Sappinius*; and though he greatly wanted money, he built a large (*b*) veſſel, on which embarking with his friends, he weighed anchor thence, and ſtruck on *Brunduſium*, from whence marching directly to *Rome*, he went to *Anthony* the firſt perſon of all, on account of the old acquaintance between him and his father *Antipater*, and laid open a pathetic account of his and his family's misfortunes and ſufferings, and that, leaving the neareſt friends he had in the world, in a caſtle blocked up with a ſiege, he had ſtemmed the raging deep, and undergone the inclemency of the weather, to throw himſelf at his feet.

The ſurprizing change in *Herod*'s circumſtances was too powerful not to move *Anthony* with pity, when he brought to mind the diſintereſted friendſhip of his father *Antipater*; but the extraordinary virtue of the perſon who ſtood before him, was a conſideration not to be diſregarded; wherefore he propoſed to him to have him declared king, whom he had before made a tetrarch: This was owing to a deſire he had to gratify *Herod* on one ſide, and ſhow his hatred to *Antigonus* on the other, whom he took to be a ſeditious prince, and an avowed enemy to the *Romans*. Beſides, he found *Cæſar* in a readier temper than himſelf to promote *Herod*'s intereſt, who bore a generous remembrance of his father *Antipater*'s military conduct, and the actions he had atchiev'd in *Egypt* in company with his father; not forgetting at the ſame time, his great hoſpitality and kindneſs, and having an eye over *Herod*'s own ſurprizing virtue. In conſequence hereof, the ſenate was convened, and *Herod* being introduced, firſt *Meſſala*, and after him *Attratinus* recounted, by way of harangue, the ſervices *Antipater* his father had done the *Romans*, proving at the ſame time, that *Antigonus* was an enemy to the ſtate, in his late diſpute, and in his having received the kingdom from the *Parthians*, in contempt, and to the diſhonour of the *Romans*. This awakening the ſenate, *Anthony* roſe up, and ſaying, that it was for the intereſt of the *Parthian* war to make *Herod* a king, every one agreed to it. When the ſenate broke up, *Herod* was conducted without between *Anthony* and *Cæſar*, who were preceeded by the conſuls and other magiſtrates to the capitol, to offer ſacrifice, and regiſter the decree therein.

CHAP. XV.

Antigonus *lays Siege to the Perſons blocked up in* Maſſada. Herod *returns from* Rome *and delivers them; afterwards marches up to* Hieroſolyma, *and wins* Silo *with a Sum of Money.*

ALL this time *Antigonus* laid cloſe ſiege to the perſons who were blocked up in the caſtle of *Maſſada*; they had ſtore of all manner of proviſions but water, which they extremely wanted: *Joſeph*, *Herod*'s brother, hearing *Malichus*, the *Arabian*, had repented of his uſage to *Herod*, reſolved to eſcape with two hundred into his dominions; and he had immediately put his deſign in execution, had not it chanced to have rained the night he determined to break out, very plentifully; for their ciſterns being filled with water, they had no longer any thoughts of making their eſcape, but ſallying out on *Antigonus*'s men, what by open encounter, what by ambuſcades, they ſlew a great number of them: Yet all things did not anſwer their expectations, for they, ſometimes ſuſtaining the loſs on their ſide, were forced to draw their heads in.

During theſe tranſactions, *Ventidius*, the *Roman* general, came to drive the *Patrhians* out of *Syria*, and afterwards marched in *Judea*, pretending to aſſiſt *Joſeph*, but in fact to ſqueeze a ſum of money out of *Antigonus*; with this view, hovering about *Hieroſolyma*, and having received the money he wanted, he drew off the greater part of his forces, but left *Silo* with another army, for fear if he had drawn

(*a*) Rufinus ſays not one Word of the Commotions in Italy. Joſephus mentions two Impediments that hindred Herod, which were, the Commotions in Italy, and the Seaſon of the Year. I ſay, of the Year, not (as ſome are of Opinion) the Weather of the Sky; but this Queſtion relates to the Editor of the Antiquities. Aldrich.

(*b*) 'Tis ſaid Ant. L. 14. C. 14. that he bought it with his Money.

all if he ſhould make too open a diſcovery of gain: However, *Antigonus* was in hopes the *Parthians* would ſtill aſſiſt him; and took care to ſooth and careſs *Silo* all the while, that he might not detriment the views he had.

Herod landing at *Ptolomais*, in his return from *Italy*, and having got together a pretty numerous army, compoſed chiefly of foreigners and his own countrymen, he took his march through *Galilee*, to meet *Antigonus*, being aſſiſted by *Ventidius* and *Silo*, whom *Dellius*, at the orders of *Anthony*, who had ſent him for that purpoſe, adviſed to aſſiſt *Herod* in bringing him back: *Ventidius* reſolved to terminate the troubles which the *Parthians* had occaſioned in the ſeveral cities; but *Silo*, being corrupted with a ſum of money *Antigonus* gave him, kept himſelf in *Judea*. Notwithſtanding, *Herod* wanted no aſſiſtance, for in his march he received conſiderable ſupplies, which daily came in to him, and all *Galilee*, except a few, ſtood for him. But his greateſt care was to win *Maſſada*, and deliver his relations from the ſiege. But *Joppe* gave him inſurmountable difficulties; for this city, as it was againſt him, was firſt to be reduced, to hinder his enemies from having a place of ſo great defence behind him, while he marched up to *Hieroſolyma*. Beſides, *Silo* willingly embraced theſe ſchemes, having now a (*a*) fair pretence to move off his army: The *Jews* were not backward in following him, but *Herod*, with an handful of his men, obliged them to fly, and ſaved *Silo*, who made but a poor and weak defence.

Some time after this, *Joppe* fell a ſpoil to his arms, upon which he haſtened to give the beſieged in *Maſſada* his aſſiſtance, and try to relieve them; ſeveral of his countrymen through reſpect to his father, others reflecting on his own perſonal worth, ſome willing to make retaliation to both of them for favours received, and a great many, laſtly, through hopes of his once becoming their certain king, joined his arms; by which means his forces were increaſed to a very conſiderable number. In his march *Antigonus* laid in wait for him, by ſeizing on the moſt convenient poſts, and throwing ſecretly ſoldiers into them, but the annoyance he gave him was of little or no ſignificancy. After he had delivered his family from the ſiege of *Maſſada*, which he did with great facility, and had taken *Repa*, he marched directly up to *Hieroſolyma*, where *Silo*'s troops, and a great number of the citizens, who were terrified at his power, joined him.

Herod having encamped himſelf at the weſt ſide of the city, the ſcouts who had been planted there, poured their arrows and darts upon him, and gave him great diſturbance; but others running in throngs, put themſelves into poſture of battle, and ſtood upon their own defence. *Herod* finding this, ordered proclamation to be made round the walls, that his coming was entirely for the benefit of the people, and the ſafety of the city, and that he had no deſign to puniſh even his profeſt enemies, but grant an amneſty to the ill practices of his worſt adverſaries againſt him. But *Antigonus*'s faction roaring out ſo loudly, that the heralds could not be heard, or any one have time to alter his reſolution, were ordered to drive the enemy from the walls; upon which pouring from their towers their arrows down upon them, they forced them to give back.

Silo plainly now diſcovered that he had been corrupted with money; for, on his ſoldiers exclaiming for want of proviſions, and demanding money to buy ſome, requiring to be led into convenient places to winter in, alledging the lands round about the city were entirely ravaged, every thing being taken away by *Antigonus*'s ſoldiers, he moved up his army, and made a pretence to draw off. But *Herod* preſenting himſelf to the officers under *Silo*, and his ſoldiers, begged they would not abandon him, who had ſo lately been ſent by *Cæſar* and *Anthony*, for he would that very day relieve them from their neceſſities; and, having ſo ſaid, he immediately went into the country, and brought back with him ſo large a quantity of proviſions, that he took from *Silo* any pretence of drawing off; and having a near conſideration, that the ſoldiers for the time to come, ſhould not be ſtreightened, he ordered the citizens of *Samaria*, which had yielded to him, to bring wine and oil, and corn and ſheep to *Hiericho*. When *Antigonus* heard of theſe ſteps, he ſent meſſengers throughout the country, to give orders for ſtopping the men employed in this buſineſs; theſe orders were ſtraitway put in execution, and a large number of men at arms aſſembled at *Hiericho*, who poſted themſelves in ſeveral places about the mountains, to watch the motions of thoſe who carried the proviſions. Notwithſtanding, *Herod* in the mean while was not inactive, but taking up ten cohorts, five of which were *Romans*, the other five *Jews*, among whom were mercenaries and horſe, he marched to *Hiericho*, where he found the city abandoned by its inhabitants, and five hundred men with their wives and children in poſſeſſion of the caſtle, whom he took and ſent away: But the *Romans* broke into the other part of the town, and, finding the houſes ſtored with all manner of riches, ſackt it. The king, leaving a garriſon in *Hiericho*, returned, and ſent the *Romans* to winter in thoſe towns of *Idumæa*, *Galilee*, and *Samaria*, which had ſurrendered themſelves. Add to this, *Antigonus* having won over *Silo* with a ſum of money, and willing to curry favour with *Anthony*, begged him to receive into *Lydda* part of the *Roman* forces.

(*a*) But *Silo*, glad he had found a Pretence of defending himſelf, becauſe the *Jews* were very hot, after him, joined his Troops to *Herod*'s, who with an Handful of his Men making an Irruption upon them, in the Nick of Time forced them to fly, and ſnatched *Silo* from imminent Danger, who made but a faint Reſiſtance. *Rufinus*.

CHAP. XVI.

Herod *takes* Sepphoris, *and ſubdues the Robbers, who hid themſelves in their lurking Holes; afterwards he puniſhes* Machæras *as an Enemy, and goes to* Anthony, *who was beſieging* Samaſata.

THE *Romans* being in a profound peace, lived in a very plenteous and happy manner. But *Herod* could obtain no reſt, but ſent his brother *Joſeph* to hinder any innovations of *Antigonus*, with two thouſand foot and four hundred horſe. With theſe he ſeized upon *Idumæa*, while *Herod* marched into *Galilee* to take the reſt of the fortified towns there, and drive *Antigonus*'s garriſons out of them; having firſt taken care to ſend over into *Samaria*, into a place of ſafety, his mother and other relations, whom he had delivered from the ſiege of *Maſſada*.

On his coming up to *Sepphoris*, he took it with great eaſe, though it ſnowed very bitterly all the while; for the garriſon had abandoned the town before he made any attack upon it: And having refreſhed his army, who were very much harraſſed with the inclement weather, with the plentiful proviſions he found there, he led them againſt the robbers, who reſided in caverns and dens, and who committed terrible cruelties on the inhabitants, by the depredations they made over the greateſt part of the country, which reſembled the fury of a civil war. *Herod*, diſpatching before him three companies of foot, and one of horſe, to *Arbela*, he came up himſelf with the reſt of his army in forty days; this incurſion did not frighten the enemy, who, depending on the ſkill of their warriors, and the fierceneſs of the robbers, came out in arms to meet them. The battle being joined, the enemies right forced *Herod*'s left to give ground and fly; but *Herod*, drawing quickly out his right wing, not only relieved his left which was in diſtreſs, but brought them back, and made ſo furious an attack on the purſuers, that, unable to ſuſtain their terrible blows, they precipitately ran away.

Herod purſued them with a great ſlaughter as far as the river *Jordan*; a great number were made a ſacrifice to his revenge, and the reſt, getting over the river, took different ways, and fled. *Galilee*, by this means, was freed from its apprehenſions of fears, except from thoſe who remained in their lurking places, which obliged *Herod* to ſtay longer in the country to ſubdue them. *Herod* diſtributed a hundred and fifty ſilver drachms to each of his ſoldiers, but more in proportion to his officers, as the firſt fruits of their labour, and then ordered them into winter quarters. At the ſame time, he gave commands to his youngeſt brother *Pheroras* to look after the market tolls, and wall about *Alexandrium*; both which he took care to perform.

At the time *Anthony* was at *Athens*, *Ventidius* ſent orders to *Silo* and *Herod*, to compoſe firſt the affairs of *Judæa*, and then come and join him in his *Parthian* expedition. *Herod* readily ſent *Silo* to *Ventidius*, but marched himſelf againſt the robbers, who preſerved themſelves in their dens. Theſe dens were in ſteep mountains, inacceſſible on every ſide, and the paths that led to them were intricate and very narrow, and rocks from their mouths deſcended in a long and craggy declivity, overlooking prodigious deep vales: The king, perceiving the difficulty of the enterprize, was ſome time at a loſs what to do, but at laſt hit upon a very dangerous expedient; he let down by ropes ſome of his ſtouteſt men to the mouths of the caverns, who put to death the robbers with their families, and burnt thoſe who made reſiſtance. *Herod*, deſirous to ſave ſome of them, ordered his herald to bid them come out, yet none voluntarily ſurrendered themſelves, and if they did by compulſion, yet they choſe death before ſlavery; for an old man among them, who was the father of ſeven ſons, ſlew every one of them, on their begging with their mother, liberty to go out; the manner of their deaths was thus: The father ſtood in the entrance of his cave, and as each of his ſons came out, he cut off their heads. *Herod* ſaw this from an eminence, was ſorely troubled, and, with ſigns of great emotion and concern, reached out his hands to the old man, and deſired him to ſpare his ſons; but not all his entreaties could avail any thing with him, for, reproaching *Herod*, and taxing him with meanneſs of his birth, after he had ſlain his ſons, he killed his wife; and then throwing their carcaſſes down the ſteep, he caſt himſelf headlong down after them.

Herod having thus ſubdued the caves, and the perſons within them, he left part of his army, ſufficient, as he thought, to quell the ſedition, under the command of *Ptolomy*, and then, with an army of three thouſand foot, and ſix hundred horſe, returned into *Samaria* to meet *Antigonus*. Scarce had he turned his back, but the ſeditious in *Galilee*, embracing the opportunity, fell ſuddenly on *Ptolomy*, and killed him, waſting the country, and then flying for ſhelter amongſt the fens, and other difficult places of acceſs. *Herod*, hearing of theſe tumults and commotions, haſtened to relieve his men, and ſlew a great number of the mutineers, and having ſet all the caſtles at liberty, he laid a tribute of one hundred talents on his enemies for the diſturbance they had given.

The *Parthians* being driven out, and *Pacorus* ſlain, *Ventidius*, by command of *Anthony*, ſent a thouſand and two legions to aſſiſt *Herod*. *Antigonus*, by ſeveral letters, ſent to *Macharas*, who commanded theſe auxiliaries, deſired him, on promiſe of a large ſum of money, to aſſiſt him, complaining of *Herod*'s cruelty, and the misfortunes he had expoſed the kingdom to. *Machæras* concluded on the meſſage, that the perſon who ſent to him was not to be deſpiſed, but finding *Herod* willing to advance more, he refuſed acting in the treachery, and pretending a friendſhip for *Herod*, though he diſuaded him from this action, went to ſift into the ſituation of *Antigonus*; who, getting intelligence before hand with what deſign he came, ſhut the gates of the town againſt him, and drove him as an enemy from the walls, which made *Machæras* ſo aſhamed of his enterprize, that he withdrew to *Herod* at *Ammaus*, and in an enraged manner, for his ill ſucceſs, fell upon all the *Jews* he met with, putting them to death without making any diſtinction, not even ſparing thoſe of *Herod*'s party, but furiouſly raging againſt all, as if they had been of *Antigonus*'s ſide.

Herod brooking this uſage with reſentment, thought once to have drove away *Machæras* as his enemy, but baniſhing his anger, he haſtened to *Anthony*, in order to accuſe him of the precipitate meaſures he had taken. But *Machæras*, reflecting on the inconſiderate ſteps he had followed, followed the king, and with the many entreaties he made him, procured a reconciliation; this, however, did not ſtop *Herod* from proceeding on in his journey to *Anthony*. But when he heard that *Anthony* was carrying on a vigorous ſiege againſt *Samaſata*, a ſtrong town near the *Euphrates*, he made more expedition in his march, thinking a fine opportunity was thrown into his hands, to diſplay his courage, and ſhow his loyalty. Upon his coming, he put an end to the ſiege, a great number of *Barbarians* loſing their lives, and a rich ſpoil falling to his ſhare; ſo that *Anthony*, though he had before very much admired his proweſs, yet now had more elevated ideas of his courage, and conſiderably more faith to believe he would be exalted to other honours and a kingdom; but king *Antiochus*, in the interim, was forced to a ſurrender.

CHAP. XVII.

Joſeph*'s Death, and* Herod*'s Dream about him. His wonderful and repeated Preſervation. He beheads* Pappus, *who put his Brother to Death, and ſends his Head to* Pheroras. *Soon after this, he beſieges* Hieroſolyma, *and marries* Mariamne.

DURING theſe tranſactions, *Herod*'s affairs in *Judea* were effectually ruined. He had left orders with his brother *Joſeph*, who was his chief ſuperintendant, to act nothing againſt *Antigonus* before his return; *Machæras*, from the plan of his late proceedings, could not be relied on as a faithful ally; and *Joſeph*, when he found his brother at a large diſtance from him, without minding the commands left him, marched directly to *Jericho* with five cohorts, ſent him by *Machæras*. He took his rout in the midſt of harveſt time, with a deſign to ſpoil and rob them of their crop; but his enemies falling upon him from the mountains, and other difficult poſts they had ſeized, he, after a brave and valiant reſiſtance, loſt his life, and every ſoul of the *Romans* were cut off; for the cohorts were not, as had been the former practice, raiſed out of *Syria*, nor were any veterans among them to aſſiſt the raw and undiſciplined men.

The victory which *Antigonus* gained, did not ſatisfy his ambition, but his reſentment was ſo untractable, that he uſed the dead body of *Joſeph* with great indignity; as he was in poſſeſſion of the ſlain, he cut off his head, though he was offered fifty talents to redeem it by his brother *Pheroras*. And *Antigonus*'s victory was followed by ſo great an alteration in the affairs of *Galilee*, that the partizans of *Antigonus* dragged all the principal men in *Herod*'s intereſt to the lake, and drowned them. Nor did *Idumæa* want its ſhare in the revolution, for ſeveral things were entirely altered, and *Machæras* rebuilt the walls of a caſtle, called *Gittha*; but theſe occurrences were yet a ſecret to *Herod*. After the taking of *Samaſata*, *Anthony* ordered *Soſſius*, whom he had made governor of *Syria*, to aſſiſt *Herod* againſt *Antigonus*, and then marched into *Egypt*. In conſequence of this command, *Soſſius* diſpatched before him two legions to ſuccour *Herod*, and followed himſelf with the reſt of his army.

While *Herod* abode at *Daphne* of *Antioch*, he had a dream that manifeſtly foretold his brother's death; the viſion diſturbing him, he jumped out of bed, and the very moment meſſengers ſtept into the room, and told him the news; having given a while a looſe to his ſorrow, by bitter lamentations for what had befallen, he baniſhed the greateſt meaſure of his grief, and made haſte to meet his enemies; His march was performed with the utmoſt expedition, and when he came to *Libanus*, he obtained a reinforcement of eight hundred of the inhabitants of the mountain, and one legion of *Romans*, which he collected there; with theſe, without waiting for the morning, he made an irruption into *Galilee*, and forced the enemy into thoſe poſts they had abandoned. Immediately upon this, he laid ſiege to the caſtle, but was forced by a violent ſtorm, before he took it, to encamp in the adjoining villages. But being in a few days after joined by another legion ſent him by *Anthony*, the enemy were ſo terrified at his number and ſtrength, that in the night they abandoned their poſt.

After this he took his march to *Hiericho*, with a deſign, as ſoon as poſſible, to revenge the death of his brother, where he met with a very ſurprizing and uncommon accident, from which he was beyond expectation delivered and preſerved, and thought from it to be favoured by heaven in a very great degree. That evening, as he entertained ſeveral chief men at ſupper, the roof of the houſe happened to fall in as ſoon as the banquet was over, and the perſons withdrawn; this he thought was an inconteſtable omen of his ſafety, and the dangers he was to be expoſed to, in the courſe of the war he was to hazard, and accordingly, as ſoon as it was day, he led out his army, and approached the enemy, who poured down the mountains, to the number of ſix thouſand men, but durſt not come to an open engagement with the *Romans*, but threw ſtones and darts at them; by which means ſeveral were wounded, and *Herod*, as he rode up and down, had the ill fortune, in this ſkirmiſhing, to be wounded with a dart in his ſide.

Antigonus, wanting to ſeem ſuperior both in the valour and number of his forces, ſent *Pappus*, one of his allies, with a company of men at arms into *Samaria*, who were ordered to withſtand *Machæras*. *Herod*, having ravaged by his incurſions the enemies territories, reduced five ſmall cities to his obedience, and ſlew two thouſand men whom he found there, and having laid the houſes in aſhes, returned to his camp at *Cana*.

A great number of *Jews*, who either hated *Antigonus*, or admired *Herod* for his famous atchievements, every day thronged to him from *Hiericho*, and other countries. But a blind zeal for a change hindred ſeveral others from following the former's example. *Herod*, that he might come to an engagement, haſtened his march; and *Pappus*, with his ſoldiers, neither ſeemed afraid of the enemies numbers, nor their courage, but drew out very gallantly. When the battle began, his forces for a little time made brave reſiſtance; but *Herod*, recalling to mind the memory of his brother, expoſed himſelf with great intrepidity to imminent danger, and, as if he had deſign'd to have revenged himſelf on the authors of his death, he made his way valiantly through all that oppoſed him, and encountring courageouſly freſh enemies one after another, he, by his uncommon valour, forced them to fly, and purſued them: A terrible ſlaughter enſued upon this, ſome being forced to ſhut themſelves up in the village they came out of, while he preſſing furiouſly upon the hindmoſt, put an incredible number to the ſword. At laſt he ruſhed in with the enemy, though the houſes were full of armed men, and the roofs crammed with adverſaries; finding little difficulty in beating thoſe at the doors, he tore open the houſes, and dragged out thoſe who lay concealed in the inſides; he pulled down the roofs over great numbers, upon which a terrible deſtruction enſued; as many as eſcaped the ruin, fell on the points of the enemies ſwords, and ſo vaſt a number of dead bodies lay expoſed in heaps on the ground, that the conquerors had not room to walk: This havock was a fatal blow to the enemy, ſo that when the common people gathered to ſurvey the number of the ſlain, they timorouſly fled. This emboldening *Herod*, he had immediately marched up to *Hieroſolyma*, had not the rigour of the weather hindred him; this was a main obſtacle to his completing his victory, and effectually ruining *Antigonus*, who had now thoughts of abandoning *Hieroſolyma*.

When the evening came, after *Herod* had diſcharged his weary friends to refreſh themſelves, he, being yet warm, put on the dreſs of a common ſoldier, and, attended only by a lad, went to bathe himſelf; but before he was got into the bath, he ſaw one of the enemy ruſh out ſword in hand, then a ſecond, after him a third, and then more; theſe had fled out of the battle, and hid themſelves in the bath, the ſight of the king ſo aſtoniſhed and confounded them, that, though *Herod* was unarmed, they paſſed by him in the utmoſt pannic, and haſtily ſtrove to get out: No body being near to apprehend them, and *Herod* glad he had ſuffered no misfortune, all the men got off in ſafety.

Herod the next day cut off *Pappus*'s head, who had been *Antigonus*'s captain, and ſlain in battle, and ſent it to his brother *Pheroras*, to anſwer in ſome ſort for the murther of his brother, for he it was who had ſlain *Joſeph*; the weather proving more temperate, he haſtened his march to *Hieroſolyma*, and, making his approaches to the walls (now it was three years ſince the *Romans* had made him king) he incamped before the temple; for this was a place afforded great advantages in beſieging the town, *Pompey* having in the very ſame poſt taken the city. After he had made a diviſion of his army into two parts, and aſſigned to each their employment, and hewn down a great quantity of timber in the ſuburbs, he raiſed three ramparts, and then ordering towers to be erected thereon, he, while he went to *Samaria*, to celebrate the nuptials between him and *Alexander*'s daughter, the ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, left a ſufficient number of his valianteſt men to carry on the works. *Herod*, as we have obſerved in the foregoing, had been ſome time before this affianced to this lady, and as he now deſpiſed the utmoſt efforts of his enemies, he ſecurely performed his nuptials, though he had undertaken ſo great a ſiege.

After the nuptials were over, he returned to *Hieroſolyma* with a conſiderable addition of auxiliaries; *Soſſius* joining him with a ſtrong reinforcement of horſe and foot, which he ſent before through the inland countries, while he took his march through *Phœnicia*. Upon a general muſter of theſe forces, they, excluſive of the *Syrian* auxiliaries, which made a conſiderable part of the army, amounted to eleven legions of foot, and ſix thouſand horſe; and they incamped near the northern wall. *Herod* was now entirely puffed up with the decree of the ſenate that declared him king, and *Soſſius* relied on the orders of *Anthony*, who had ſent him with the forces he commanded.

CHAP. XVIII.

How Herod, *in Conjunction with* Soſſius, *took* Hieroſolyma *by Storm. The Miſfortunes of* Antigonus. *Of* Cleopatra*'s Avarice.*

THE great number of *Jews*, who were in the city, were variouſly divided; they of a more timerous ſpirit, aſſembling about the temple, proclaimed, if conſideration was had to the times, (1) death was earneſtly to be coveted, and he who died was endowed with a divine ſpirit; but they of a more courageous ſoul, finding men and horſe deprived of ſufficient food and proviſions, joined together in companies, committing ſeveral robberies, eſpecially in thoſe places which lay contiguous. But the more diſciplined ſort, which appeared to make reſiſtance, were poſted to drive the beſiegers from the walls, and thoſe who raiſed the works without; and were ordered to think on all methods that might contribute any thing towards obſtructing the execution of the enemies engines. And they ſhewed themſelves ſuperior to the enemy in nothing more than in their counter ſtratagems.

The king in the mean time, planted men ſecretly in ambuſh, to put an end to the depredations; who, by their ſudden and frequent excurſions, repreſs'd the violence, and took care to remove the complaint of want and ſcarcity of neceſſaries, by ordering all ſorts of proviſions to be brought from far. The *Romans* in military ſkill ſhewed themſelves vaſtly their ſuperiors, but the beſieged left nothing uneſſayed that might evence their extraordinary courage: They refrained coming to an open engagement with the *Romans*, as they knew they ſhould inevitably be ſlain; but ſeveral times crept through their mines, and unexpectedly appeared in the midſt of them, and before any part of the walls could be effectually pulled down, they had another ready erected in its place to defend themſelves. In ſhort, being reſolved to endure to the laſt extremity, they gave no reſpite either to the labour of their hands, or their thoughts from inventing ſome ſtratagem or other, to be of ſervice to their defence; they bravely held out the ſiege for five months, though inveſted with ſo numerous an army, till a party of *Herod's* men, attempting to mount the walls, broke into the city, and were followed by *Soſſius*'s centurions; every thing about the temple became the firſt plunder, but on the reſt of the armies pouring into the town, a moſt terrible ſlaughter enſued, the *Romans* being enraged at the long delay of the ſiege, and *Herod*'s party reſolving to leave not one *Jew* their enemy. Thus great numbers fell a ſacrifice to their fury, who either were cramm'd into the narrow paſſes, or houſes, or had taken refuge in the temple: No pity was had either to young or old age, and the women, though void of any defence, became a prey to their intolerable rage; and though the king ſent orders every where about to ſhow a mild treatment, yet not one offered to refrain his hand, but, as though they had been ravenous, committed their fury on all ages without diſtinction; and *Antigonus*, forgetting both his paſt and preſent condition, came down from the tower and threw himſelf proſtrate at the feet of *Soſſius*, who, little pitying the change of his condition, derided and laugh'd at him, and call'd him *Antigona*; but he did not releaſe him as a woman, but put him in chains and kept him.

Herod's care after he had vanquiſhed his enemies, was to curb the impetuoſity and violence of the foreign auxiliaries; for the foreign forces forcibly ruſhed on to ſee the temple and the ſacred things in it. But the king, by entreaties and threatnings, put a ſtop to their career, and was forced to reſtrain ſome with the power of arms from their raſh attempt, thinking, ſhould any of thoſe things be ſeen, which were forbid his own nation, the victory he had obtained would be worſe than if he had been defeated. Beſides, he gave expreſs orders, that the city ſhould not be plundered, and more than once or twice asked *Soſſius*, if the *Romans*, by draining the city of its money and ſtrength, deſigned to leave him to be the king of a deſart; for he would not purchaſe the empire of the whole world at the price of ſo many thouſand lives. *Soſſius* telling him that plunder was a lawful and juſt reward for the labour his men had ſuſtained in the ſiege, *Herod* made him anſwer that he would, out of his own purſe, give every man a ſuitable reward; and according to his word he performed his promiſe, and ſo ſaved the reſt of his country from ruin, for each ſoldier had an ample recompence made him; the officers, in proportion to their rank, received each their rewards, and *Soſſius* was royally gratifyed, ſo that not a man departed without a due equivalent for his ſervice. *Soſſius*, after this, left *Hieroſolyma*, having firſt dedicated a golden crown to God. He took *Antigonus* along with him in chains, and carried him to *Anthony*, who cut off his head; a puniſhment his abject ſtate deſerved, who vainly imagined to prolong his life to the laſt.

King *Herod* having looked narrowly into the temper of the citizens, rendered himſelf ſtill more beloved to his own party by the honours he conferred on them. All who had eſpouſed or abetted the intereſt of *Antigonus*, fell a ſacrifice to his reſentment. When he found himſelf reduced to a low ebb of money, he converted all his plate into ſpecie, which he ſent to *Anthony* and his friends. *Anthony* had ſeveral times aſſured him of his indemnity, and the *Romans* doating deſperately on *Cleopatra* at this time, had not ſufficient to ſatisfy her unbounded avarice. She had raged with ſo unbridled a fury againſt her own family, that not one remained alive any way a kin to her, and her implacable hatred began to ſtir itſelf againſt foreigners. She was perpetually forging ſome accuſation or other againſt the *Syrian* nobles to *Anthony*, with no other deſign than to pave her way more eaſily to the acquiſition of their eſtates and provinces. Nor was this all, for her rapacious eyes darted themſelves on *Judæa* and *Arabia*, and ſhe took ſecret meaſures to have *Herod* and *Malichus*, the kings of both countries, put to death.

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(1) Meaning, if the Calamities they had formerly experienced, were compared to the Troubles of the preſent Times, that they who died in thoſe Times, and were not preſerved for the preſent Troubles, were to be called Happy, and whom God favoured. Thus Æneas breaks out in theſe Words:

——O terque quaterque beati,
Queis ante Ora patrum, Trojæ ſub mænibus altis,
Contigit oppetere. Havercamp.

Anthony, unleſs his refuſing to comply with her demands as to *Herod* and *Malichus*, in every thing beſides entirely conformed himſelf to her deſires; But theſe were too noble and good a pair of men to fall ſacrifices to her ambition, whoſe deaths he looked on with an eye of horror. However he had very nearly loſt that friendſhip which was ſubſiſting between them; for he cut off a large portion of their dominions, and took away the palm ground about *Hiericho*, where the balſam is produced, and abſtracted from their demeſnes, ſaving *Tyre* and *Sidon*, all the cities lying within the river *Eleutherus*, which he gave *Cleopatra*; who becoming thus abſolute miſtreſs of them, after *Anthony* was gone on his *Parthian* expedition, took the rout of *Apamia* and *Damaſcus*, and came into *Judæa*, where *Herod* pacifyed her incenſed mind, with ſeveral conſiderable preſents he made her, and got back the places *Anthony* had lopt from his dominions, for an annual tribute of two hundred talents; and thus, having pacified her, he attended her on her return, as far as *Peluſium*. But *Anthony* was not long in coming from his *Parthian* expedition, who brought, as a preſent for *Cleopatra*, *Artabazes* the ſon of *Tigranes* in chains, for he preſently gave him to her with all the money and ſpoil he had taken.

CHAP. XIX.

Anthony, *perſuaded by* Cleopatra, *ſends* Herod *to fight the* Arabians. *The Victory he obtains after ſeveral Encounters. Of a great Earthquake.*

THE battle at *Actium* being ready to break out, *Herod*, who was now in peace from any commotions in *Judæa*, and having got into his hands *Hyrcania*, a ſtrong caſtle, which the ſiſter of *Antigonus* held out againſt him, was ready to march with him: But *Cleopatra*, with a great deal of artifice, hindred him from expoſing himſelf to any danger with *Anthony*. She was, as we have obſerved in the foregoing, laying her ſchemes againſt the two kings, and ſhe perſuaded *Anthony* to let *Herod* have the ſole management of the war againſt the *Arabians*, in order to make herſelf miſtreſs of *Judæa* if he was defeated; and debilitate the power of one of the kings by the forces of another.

But this ſcheme of hers tended to *Herod*'s proſperity; for he, taking along with him the enemeis hoſtages, poured in upon them about *Dioſpolis* a great body of horſe which he had raiſed, and after a ſtout reſiſtance overcame them. After this overthrow, the *Arabians*, raiſing violent commotions amongſt themſelves, gathered to an infinite number at *Camatha*, a city of *Cælo Syria*, where they waited for the *Jews*. *Herod* arriving with his army, took all poſſible care to adminiſter the campaign with all the foreſight he could, and ordered his camp to be fortified with a wall. *Herod*'s orders were not put in execution, but his men, elated with their former victory, made a furious onſet on the *Arabians*, and at the firſt attack making them fly, purſued them: *Athenion*, one of *Cleopatra*'s captains, and who had been a perpetual enemy of *Herod*'s, poured out upon him as he followed the purſuit, out of *Camatha*, with a body of *Jews*, whom he had placed in ambuſcade. This accident giving the flying *Arabians* freſh courage, they rallied out, and, joining with the other troops, forced the *Jews* to ſecure themſelves by flight in rocky places, where they made a terrible ſlaughter of them: They who eſcaped out of battle withdrew to a village, named *Ormiza*, where the *Arabians* inveſting their camp, they took it, and the men in it.

Not long after this defeat, *Herod* arrived with ſuccours, but proved too late to remedy the loſs his men had ſuſtained. The ſole cauſe of this overthrow was owing to the officers, who marſhalled the men, and who rejected *Herod*'s inſtructions; nor had *Athenion* found a ſuitable conjuncture to execute his ſcheme in, had the battle been deferred. *Herod* revenged himſelf on the *Arabians*, by the frequent irruptions he made into their territories, and the depredations he committed; ſo that, for one victory which he loſt, he repaid the diſhonour over and over again: But while he was thus buſied in avenging his family on his enemies, another fatal circumſtance fell out in the ſeventh year of his reign, while the battle at *Actium* was in diſpute; in the beginning of the ſpring, ſo terrible an earthquake happened, that prodigious numbers of ſheep, and thirty thouſand men were ſwallowed up, though his army, which was encamped in the open air, ſuffered no ways in the dreadful calamity. The *Arabians*, by the report of this melancholy circumſtance, which conſtantly augments the tale in blacker colours than the ſorrowful meſſengers who bring the news, and had now added as much as if all *Judæa* had been laid in ruins; were animated with freſh hopes and courage. In conſequence of this, thinking they ſhould ſeize on a country entirely drained of inhabitants, and abandoned, they rook firſt the ambaſſadors whom the *Jews* had ſent, and put them to death, and afterwards poured into *Judæa*. *Herod*, finding this, aſſembled the nation, which was terribly afraid of this irruption, and almoſt broke to pieces with the multitude of its frequent calamities, and endeavoured, by the following ſpeech to animate them with a brave reſolution, to revenge the injuries they had received.

"Methinks it is very ridiculous in you, at this inſtant, to be overcome with fear. I am not ſurpriz'd that you are dejected at the melancholy and fatal ſtrokes you have been expoſed to; but it is certainly great cowardiſe, to ſuffer the ſame ill thoughts to enter into your hearts at the appearance of an enemy: For my part, I am ſo far, even after the late earthquake, from having any fears of this enemy, that it is my opinion God has thrown them this bait, to anſwer for what they have done us. They come not ſo much relying on their own ſtrength and arms, as on the calamities which have befallen us. Certainly their hopes will be diſappointed, who do not put their confidence in their own abilities, but in the misfortunes of others; for neither proſperity or adverſity is of any duration to mankind; for it is plain to a demonſtration, that fortune often changeth ſides; and for teſtimony of this, let your own ſelves be judges. Obſerve, in the firſt engagement we carried away the victory, but were forced in the ſecond to give way to the enemy; and 'tis very probable we may now ſnatch the palm from thoſe who think to get it from us. Too great aſſurance expoſes men to ſeveral weakneſſes, but it is fear that makes them look to their guard; ſo that what you make matter of apprehenſion, gives me courage; for it was entirely owing to your ſuperfluous heat, and deſire of engaging againſt my orders, that gave *Athenion* an opportunity to lie in ambuſh for me. But now I promiſe myſelf an aſſured victory, from your delay, and dejected aſpects. This ſituation of temper and body becomes ſoldiers, till they make the onſet; but when the battle is once begun, then a brave and elated mind ſhould animate them, and they ſhould endeavour to make their worſt enemies believe, that no injury a man can do, or misfortune fate can pour down, can, ſo long as the *Jews* have life, depreſs their courageous ſouls, and that not one of them will tamely ſuffer an *Arabian*, whom they ſo often had led in chains, to domineer and lord it over them. Never be dejected at the concuſſion of things which want ſoul, nor ſuppoſe that the late earthquake came to be the omen of ſome other calamity: What the elements ſuffer are natural conſequences, and they do no more damage than what is inherent in them. It is not unlikely but that ſome ſign may go before a peſtilence, or famine, or an earthquake; but all theſe have a determinate proportion and end. But what pray could happen worſe to us than the late earthquake? not a defeat in battle. Yet our enemies have involved themſelves in a terrible guilt, who, contrary to, and in violation to the moſt ſacred rites and laws of mankind, have barbarouſly put our ambaſſadors to death, and offered ſuch ſacrifices for the event of the war. But his hands, before whom all things are tranſacted, before whoſe eyes all occurrences are laid open, and whoſe power is invincible, will not eſcape them. If we riſe up with a brave reſolution to puniſh the infringers of treaties and ſolemn alliances, we ſhall always make them pay us with intereſt. Every man ariſe; and, baniſhing from his breaſt the ſenſe of wife, children, or the preſervation of his country, let him march to revenge the perfidious murder of our ambaſſadors. They will better ſupport the war, than we who are alive. Beſide, if I find you obſervant of my commands, I will be the firſt man who will meet danger in the face; for you may depend you'll conquer, and carry the day, ſo long as you refrain from raſh attempts, which will inevitably involve them in difficulties."

Having given this exhortation to his ſoldiers, and finding they received it with chearfulneſs, he made a ſacrifice; after which he paſſed over *Jordan* with his army, and encamping near *Philadelphia*, not far from the enemy, he ſkirmiſhed lightly before a caſtle, which ſtood juſt in the middle between the two hoſts: His deſire was, to attack the enemy as ſoon as he could; and the enemy ſent a body of forces to ſeize on the fortreſs. But the royaliſts who were ſent ſoon drove them from their poſt, and wreſted the caſtle out of their hands. *Herod* every day put his men into poſture of battle, and challenged the enemy to fight him. The king finding the *Arabians* ſo far from appearing againſt him, that every one was in the greateſt pannic and confuſion imaginable, eſpecially *Elthemus* their general, who was frighted at the number he ſaw, he drew nearer, and pulled down the rampart the enemy had erected. Thus every one was obliged to fight, the horſe and foot without any manner of order blending together: The *Jews*, though ſeemingly more chearful for the combat, were forced to yield to the numbers of the enemy, who, to outward appearance, were through deſpair of victory more emboldened.

This was the main reaſon that, ſo long as they made any reſiſtance, they were expoſed to no great ſlaughter; but when they turned their back, ſeveral of the *Jews*, trod one upon another, and many of them loſt their lives; but the reſt of the multitude being forced within their rampart, got their eſcape. *Herod* immediately inveſted them with his army; but they finding themſelves unable to make any longer reſiſtance, and the want of water preſſing very intollerably upon them, they were forced on two accounts to ſurrender. When they ſent ambaſſadors *Herod* arrogantly received them; and on their offering him, as a ranſom, five hundred talents, he was more vigorous upon them. But the thirſt encreaſing upon them, they ruſhed out in crouds, and voluntarily yielded to the *Jews*, ſo that in five days, upwards of four thouſand were made priſoners; but the reſt of the enemy, deſpairing of ſafety, appeared on the ſixth in battle array to defend themſelves. *Herod* attacked theſe, and put ſeven thouſand to the ſword. The *Arabians* received ſo terrible a ſlaughter in this campaign, and their warlike ſpirit was ſo much cooled, that *Herod* from this time forward was adopted as guardian of this nation.

CHAP. XX.

Herod *is ordered by* Auguſtus *to be King; for which he ſtrives to gratiſie the Emperor with large Preſents. He obtains from him Part of his Kingdom taken from him by* Cleopatra*; to which he receives as an Addition, the Territories which belonged to* Zenodorus.

CÆSAR obtaining the victory at *Actium*, *Herod* began to be very ſollicitous about his kingdom; his friendſhip for *Anthony* was the cauſe of this. Beſides, *Cæſar* thought *Anthony* not completely defeated, ſo long as *Herod* ſtood attached to him with his forces. *Herod* fearing a great deal more than he ſuffered from *Anthony*; he reſolved to expoſe himſelf to the worſt. In conſequence of this, without taking a diadem, and putting on a private man's dreſs, he ſailed for *Rhodes*, where *Cæſar* then reſided; and in that manner went to him, with a deſign of hiding nothing of the truth: He opened himſelf to the following effect. "I confeſs myſelf, *Cæſar*, to be made king by *Anthony*, whom, in every circumſtance, I endeavoured to promote; neither will I deny ſaying, but that you yourſelf had experienred, if the *Arabians* had not hindred me, the weight of my arms. However this did not prohibit me from aſſiſting *Anthony* to my utmoſt, and ſending him ſeveral thouſand buſhels of corn; neither after the battle of *Actium* did I abandon the memory of the favours I had received of him; when I could no longer aſſiſt him with my arms I gave him my beſt counſel, and ſignified, that unleſs *Cleopatra* was put to death there was no poſſibility to reſtore his affairs. When ſhe was removed, I promiſed him money, towns for his ſecurity, and an army, and to be his ally in an offenſive war againſt you; but being infatuated with love for *Cleopatra*, God, who hath thought fit to declare you the victory, ſhut up his ears. In conſequence of this, I am defeated with *Anthony*, and, being in the ſame unhappy ſituation with him, have thrown away my crown. Wherefore I am come to throw myſelf at your feet, placing my life at your generoſity, and hoping you will ſee what a friend I have been, and not regard my condition.

"To this *Cæſar* returned this anſwer." Then I grant you life; and exerciſe your royal authority with more confidence than ever; for you, who have ſo inviolably maintained your friendſhip, deſerve to be ruler over a great many. But let me aſk you one favour, to continue your fidelity to the more fortunate, which, as I greatly relie on you, I expect from the greatneſs of your mind. But *Anthony*, in obeying *Cleopatra* rather than you, was certainly in the right, for through his infatuation, we come to enjoy you. It is evident you have been the firſt in your obligations, which made (1) Q: *Didius* ſend me a letter, acquainting me in what a proper conjuncture you ſent him ſuccour againſt the gladiators. And to make your know with what regard I now receive you, I will get the kingdom confirmed by my decree, and endeavour to oblige you in any thing you dſire, ſo that you ſhall have no farther room to wiſh for *Anthony*."

Cæſar thus delivering his words to *Herod*, he placed the diadem on his head, and ordered his decree to be publiſhed with additional praiſes of *Herod*. After the king had made conſiderable preſents to the emperor, he petitioned for the life of *Alexander*, one of *Anthony's* friends; but *Cæſar's* violent complaints and paſſion againſt the perſon *Herod* interceeded for, made him wave any further apology for him. When *Cæſar* travelled through *Syria* into *Ægypt*, *Herod* received him in the moſt magnificient manner his abilities could afford, and, on his reviewing the forces at *Ptolomais*, had the honour to ride up and down with him, were he prepared a very ſplendid entertainment for him and his retinue, and allowed all manner of proviſions to the reſt of his army, and, on their paſſing and repaſſing through the deſart as far as *Peluſium*, took care to ſupply them with ſufficient water, and that they wanted no proviſions. Theſe prodigious expences made *Cæſar* and his army conclude, that if an account were to be taken of *Herod*'s magnificence and extraordinary generoſity, his kingdom would be found too poor and mean to ſupport and defray the charge; and this ſo far obliged *Cæſar*, that when he came into *Egypt*, after both *Anthony* and *Cleopatra* were dead, he not only enlarged his other honours, but gave, as an additional part to his kingdom, the countries which *Cleopatra* had lopt off, adding (*a*) *Gadar*, *Hippo*, and *Samaria*, which were ſituate without it, and the maritime towns of *Gaza*, *Anthedon*, and *Joppe*, and the tower of *Straton*. And beſides theſe, he preſented him with the four hundred *Gauls*, which made *Cleopatra*'s retinue, to be his body-guard. But nothing ſo much excited *Cæſar*'s generoſity as the unbounded ſoul of the receiver.

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(1) Plutarch in his Life of Anthony, mentions a Report, that Herod the Jew went over to Cæſar, with ſome Legions and Cohorts. It is ſaid, that when Anthony was abandoned by all others, the Gladiators he kept at Cyzicus reſolved to carry him Aſſiſtance into Ægypt, but that Quintus Didius, the Governor of Syria, refuſed them Paſſage over, who, finding he had not Influence enough to make them revolt, he had recourſe to Stratagem, and made Uſe of Herod to accompliſh his Deſign; this is evident both from Joſephus and Plutarch; and to remove the Gladiators from Pacti, he gave them Liberty to abide at Daphne of Antioch, till he had wrote to Cæſar about it.

After the (*b*) firſt *Actiad*, *Trachon*, ſo called, was annexed to *Herod*'s kingdom, and *Batamea* that adjoined to it, and the region of *Auranitis*, fell to his ſhare on the following account. (*c*) *Zenodorus* having purchaſed the eſtate of *Lyſanias*, allowed the robbers all the liberty in the world to pour out of *Trachon* among the *Damaſcenes*; they, upon this, fled to *Varro*, then governor of *Syria*, and begged him to notify their hard caſe to the emperor. *Cæſar*, being fully acquainted in the affair, wrote orders back to do the utmoſt to drive the robbers out of the country. *Varro*, upon this, took up his forces, and not only ſcowered the country of theſe pernicious people, but took away *Zenodorus*'s eſtate from him, which *Cæſar*, to prevent its being afterwards a place of refuge for them, beſtowed on *Herod*, in the (*d*) tenth year, from the time *Cæſar* was in *Syria*; returning into his province, he made him procurator of all *Syria*, to the intent that none of the other procurators might tranſact any buſineſs, without firſt adviſing with him. And as ſoon as (*e*) *Zenodorus* died, he annexed to his dominions all the land lying between *Galilee* and *Trachon*. But what *Herod* conſidered as far more beneficial than all theſe additional preſents, was, that *Auguſtus Cæſar* loved him next to *Agrippa*, and *Agrippa* loved him next to *Cæſar*; from hence he aſpired to great things, and from hence religion, and the ſacred worſhip of God, animated him with lofty ſentiments.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the Cities Herod *built. Of ſome others which he rebuilt. Of his Magnificence to foreign Nations, and the Succeſs that attended him in all his Actions.*

WHEN he had reigned fifteen years, he rebuilt the temple, and took in double the quantity of ground that was to the former, which he ſurrounded with a wall; there were magnificent porticoes about the temple, and a caſtle joining to it on the north ſide; theſe he entirely rebuilt, and enriched the (*f*) caſtle with conſiderable donations, as if it had been a palace, and called it *Antonia*, in honour of *Anthony*. Likewiſe he erected in the higher city a palace, and two other very large and magnificent houſes, with which the temple itſelf was not to be compared; theſe he called after the names of his friends, one *Cæſarium*, and the other *Agrippinum*. But *Herod* did not confine himſelf only to houſes to preſerve their memories and names, but in erecting whole cities he ſhewed the veneration he had for them; for in the country of *Samaritis*, he built a moſt beautiful city, and ſurrounded it with a wall twenty furlongs in circumference, he peopled it with a colony of ſix thouſand ſouls, to whom he allotted ſome of the richeſt land; and in the very heart of his building, he raiſed a ſpacious and grand temple, to the honour of *Cæſar*, about which he left a fine yard of about half a furlong; the city he called *Sebaſte*, and gave it the inhabitants, and laid it under an excellent form of government.

Cæſar's liberality, after this, extended itſelf farther to *Herod*, by the grant of another region. He built near the ſprings of *Jordan* a very beautiful temple of white marble in his honour, and called the place *Panium*; the top of the mountain here, riſes to a pro-

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(*a*) Gaza, Anthedon, Joppe, and Straton's Tower, which Auguſtus preſented to Herod, were Maritime Towns. Harduin ſays, that Gaza was a free City, and deems that Cæſar never gave it Herod, but Joſephus mentions that Herod, on his coming to the Throne, gave this Gaza to Coſtobarus.

(*b*) Meaning, in the firſt Year of the ſecond Actiad, and fifteenth of King Herod's Reign; for (as Joſephus remarks before) the Battle at Actium fell out in the ſeventh Year of Herod's Government; therefore it was in the third, (that is Herod's tenth) that the firſt Actiad was celebrated. C. Cæſar Octavianus *6.* and Marcus Vipſanius Agrippa 2. being Conſuls.

(*c*) This Robber is taken Notice of in Strabo, l. *16.* p. 756, as alſo of his Tetrarchate being given to Herod in Dio, 54. p. 556. I have tranſlated *Oikon Luſanias*, the Eſtate of Lyſanias, but Caſaubon, in his Exerciſes againſt Baronius, declares, that *Oikos*, ſignifies a Tetrarchate or Government.

(*d*) From the Time Auguſtus was in Syria, for the Tenth was in Herod's ſeventh Year. Aldrich.

(*e*) Harduin is out in his Conjectures, and has no Ground to ſay that Joſeph gave Galilee to Herod. Spanheim.

(*f*) What was built by John Hyrcanus was called Baris. While Anthony reigned Herod rebuilt it, and called it Antonia, and in the fifteenth Year of his Reign compleated the Work. See Ant. l. 18. c. 5. Antonia is deſcribed in the ſixth Book of the Wars. Aldrich.

digious height, and in its ſide a wide cavern opens itſelf, which ſinks down to a horrid depth, and a vaſt pool of water lies at the bottom, ſo that no line can plumb or find the ground; ſeveral fountains guſhed out at the outward root of the cavern, and here, as ſome imagine, ſprings *Jordan*; but of this we will give a more accurate account in the ſequel.

The king having built at *Hiericho*, between the caſtle of *Cypros* and his former palaces, other houſes, better and more commodious for viſitants, he named them after his friends. In a word, there was not a convenient place throughout the kingdom, but what proclaimed *Cæſar*'s praiſe. And after he had filled his own country with temples dedicated to him, he left memorials of his honour among the provinces, and built *Cæſarium*'s in ſeveral cities.

When he found among the maritime towns one of them which was called *Straton*'s tower, once very grand, but then in a poor condition, and ſaw that the place it ſtood in was fit for him to diſplay his magnificence in, he repaired it throughout with white ſtone, and adorned it with a very ſplendid palace, in which he fully demonſtrated the unbounded greatneſs of his mind; for between *Dor* and *Joppe*, between which and in the middle this city lies, all the maritime coaſt is ſo rocky and void of havens, that all who ſail by *Phœnicia* into *Ægypt* are forced to keep to ſea, the north-weſt wind blowing upon it; the ſmalleſt breath whereof raiſes the waves ſo furiouſly againſt the rocks, that for ſome time the ſea, by their reflux, is covered over with foam. But the king, by his liberality and expences, conquered the rugged nature of the place, and made a port more capacious than the *Piræeum*, and fixed ſeveral convenient ſtations for ſhips about it.

Though in the courſe of this undertaking *Herod* met with vaſt obſtruction, and the difficulty of completing his enterprize forced him to violent ſtruggles, yet he overcame all at laſt, and made the building ſo ſtrong, that not all the fury of the ſea could injure it, rendring it at the ſame time ſo beautiful, as if nothing had interrupted him. After he had meaſured out a ſpot of ground, and the dimenſions of it, according to what we have already mentioned, he let down into the ſea, twenty ells deep, vaſt ſtones, ſeveral of which were fifty foot long, nine deep, and ten broad, and ſome conſiderably larger. After he had filled up the vaſt depth, he carried the wall, which appeared a little out of the ſea, in length two hundred foot; an hundred whereof were to repel and break the waves that daſhed againſt them, and were called *Procymatia*, the other part lay under a ſtone which ſurrounded the port; this was diverſified with beautiful and large towers, the fineſt, and that which jetted out the moſt, was called *Druſius*, from the couſin of *Cæſar*. He made barracks alſo to front one another for pleaſure horſes, and levelled a plain before them, which went all round, and there was a fine and ſpacious terras to walk on. He made the entrance on the north ſide, the north of all the winds, conſidering the ſituation of the place, being the moſt pleaſant. At the entrance he erected three coloſſus's on either ſide, which were ſupported by pillars, and on the left ſide of the port ſtood a tower, and on the right two upright ſtones joined together which were larger than the tower. Houſes were built and joined to the port, and theſe were made of white ſtone, and ſtood at equal diſtances from one another; againſt the entrance on a riſing ground ſtood the (*a*) temple of *Cæſar*, remarkable for its beauty and largeneſs, and in which was *Cæſar*'s coloſſus, made after the pattern of *Jupiter*'s at *Olympia*, and as big; the other at *Rome* was equal to that of *Juno*'s at *Argos*. He dedicated the city to the province, the port to the ſailors, and the honour of the building to *Cæſar*, whence he called the city (*b*) *Cæſarea*.

Beſides the other buildings and works he made, he erected an amphitheatre, a theatre, and a forum, all worthy of the name they were called by; after he inſtituted quinquennial games, and denominated them after *Cæſar*, and propoſed prodigious prizes to the victors and contenders; this was begun in the one hundred and ninety ſecond *Olympiad*. In theſe games not only the victors, but the ſeconds and thirds to them were magnificently rewarded. He alſo built *Anthedon*, which had been laid in ruins by the war that demoliſhed it, and called it *Agrippias*, and out of his vaſt love to the ſame friend, he inſcribed his name on the gate he built in the temple.

He was extremely devoted to the memory of his father, to whom he erected a fine monument, and called that city, which was built in the beautifulleſt plain of his kingdom, and adorned with ſprings and woods *Antipatris*. He alſo built a wall about the caſtle at *Hiericho*, which was of exceeding ſtrength and beauty, and called it *Cypron*, after the

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(*a*) Underſtand it of Rome and Auguſtus; Auguſtus admitted of no Temples in any Province, but what were dedicated in his common Name or that of Rome. Suetonius in Aug. chap. 52. though 'tis ſaid that he admitted of them at Pergamus and Nicomedia. Dio, 51. p. 458.

(*b*) Tanto quippe amore apud Barbaros fuit (Auguſtus) ut Reges populi Romani amici in honorem ejus conderent civitates quas Cæſareas nominarent; ſicut in Mauritania a rege Juba, et in Paleſtina, quæ nunc eſt urbs clariſſima. Eutropius, 7, 10. He (Auguſtus) was in ſo great Eſteem with the Barbarians, that thoſe Kings who were Friends of the Romans, built to his Honour Cities, which they called Cæſarias's; as Juba in Mauritania, and Herod in Paleſtine, which is now the moſt celebrated City.——Reges amici atque Socij in ſuo quique regno Cæſareas urbes condiderunt, Suetonius in Aug. c. 60. Kings, who were Friends and Allies, erected in their ſeveral Kingdoms Cities in Honour of Cæſar.

name of his mother. The tower at *Hieroſolyma* he ſtiled *Phaſaelus* from the name of his brother; but we will take farther notice in the ſequel of the form and ſpacious magnificence of this building; and he called another city *Phaſaelis*, which ſtands in the valley leading northward from *Hiericho*.

While he thus ſtrove to eternize the memories of his friends and benefactors, he ſeemed to have no concern for perpetuating his own name. He indeed fortified a caſtle in one of the mountains of *Arabia*, and called it after himſelf *Herodian*, as he did a hill, about ſixty furlongs diſtant from *Hieroſolyma*, which was raiſed in the form of a breaſt. He took a particular pleaſure in adorning this place. He raiſed on the top towers of a round model, and built about its circumference ſeveral palaces of extraordinary beauty and coſt, making the inner apartments very ſplendid, and adorning the outward walls, corniſhes, and roofs, with fine and rich ornaments. He brought, at a vaſt expence, an aqueduct to water the place from a great diſtance, and raiſed an aſcent up to the towers of two hundred marble ſteps. The hill was none of the leaſt, and every part of it had been made with hands. He built at the foot of it other palaces, fit to receive his friends and the neceſſaries they brought along with them; ſo that for the plenty and abundance of all things, this caſtle ſeemed a city; but for its circumference, a royal houſe.

After he had thus erected ſo many and ſo great buildings, he diſcovered the unbounded magnificence of his mind to ſeveral foreign cities. He made (*a*) *Gymnaſia* at *Tripoli*, and at *Damaſcus*, and at *Ptolomais*. He walled about *Byblus*; he erected the *Exedræ*, portico's, temples and forums of *Berylus* and *Tyre*. He built the theatres at *Sidon* and *Damaſcus*, and made an aqueduct for the *Laodiceans* on the ſea coaſts, and he provided magnificent baths and fountains for the *Aſcalonites*, as alſo periphalia of extraordinary beauty and magnitude; and adorned others with fine groves and caſcades. Several cities, as though they had belonged to his kingdom, received from him lands. He conſtituted overſeers over the baths, and annexed to their places annual and perpetual ſalaries, and granted the inhabitants a perpetual income. He diſtributed corn to all who were in want, and gave the *Rhodians*, at ſeveral times and in ſeveral places, money to build them ſhips. When the *Pythian* temple was burnt down, he rebuilt it much more magnificent than before, out of his own private purſe. What need have we to give a detail of his liberality to the *Lycians* and *Samians*, or of his extenſive munificence, according to every one's circumſtances throughout all *Ionia*? Have not the *Athenians* and the *Lacedemonians*, *Nicopolitans* and *Pergamans* in *Myſia*, experienced *Herod*'s generoſity? Did not he pave with white marble, twenty furlongs in length, and adorn with a portico of the ſame length, in order to ſecure paſſengers from ſhowers of rain, the ſtreet of the *Antiochians* in *Syria*, which, on account of its prodigious filth and dirtineſs, every one avoided?

Let ſome of thoſe people, to whom theſe favours were granted, expatiate on them. The gift he made the *Eleans* was not a liberality common to all *Greece* alone, but the whole world ſhared in it: I mean the glory of the olympic games. When he found that want of money had almoſt ruined theſe games, and that the remains of antient *Greece* were ſinking into nothing, he not only made *Agonotheta* over them in the *Luſtrum* that was then taken, as he was ſailing to *Rome*; but he gave for ever a ſufficient ſum of money, that ſo long as his memory was preſerved, the office of *Agonotheta* might not ceaſe. I could give an account here of the frequent diſcharges he granted of tributes that were due to him, and how he freely releaſed the *Phaſalites* and *Balaneſha*, and other fiefs about *Cilicia*, from the annual penſions. But his generous ſoul was checked by fear, leſt he ſhould be thought to have greater views than became him, or incur hatred by his actions, for endowing ſeveral cities with greater honours than the princes who governed them had ever done.

He followed that exerciſe of body which ſuited beſt to his diſpoſition, I mean hunting; which he always managed with great conduct, and he was an excellent horſeman: He conſtantly had good ſport; for in one day at a certain time he hunted down forty beaſts. The country produced bears, but abounded more in ſtags and wild aſſes.

He was a very valiant warrior; and in the celebration of the gymnaſian games he was a terror to others, when they found him the moſt expert dartſman, and that in ſhooting he never miſſed the mark. And beſides theſe noble qualifications of body, as well as the more excellent perfections of his mind, he was bleſt with proſperity, having ſeldom ill ſucceſs in the battles he undertook; and if he chanced to receive a defeat, it was rather to be attributed to the treachery of ſome of his men, or the raſhneſs of his ſoldiers, than to any want of conduct or bravery in him.

(*a*) Publick Baths. Rufinus tranſlates it, The ſhewing of Baths, and accommodated the Tranſlation to the Age he lived in, and the Taſte of the Latins. Agrippa's Bath was called Gymnaſium. Dio. 53. p. 525. Though in the Empire of Auguſtus theſe Gymnaſia were not of Italian Uſe. Vitruv. V. 11. The Uſe of them afterwards was ſo changed, that in ſucceeding Ages Gymnaſia became to be the very ſame Things as the vulgar Thermæ. Aldrich.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

The Death of Ariſtobulus *and* Hyrcanus, *two High Prieſts; and of* Mariamne.

BUT while proſperity attended on him abroad, fortune ſent diſcord to divide his family at home; and that he was expoſed to theſe domeſtic troubles and misfortunes, was owing to the woman whom he loved the beſt in the world: For when he came to the crown, he put away *Doris* the *Hieroſolymite*, the wife he had taken in his private condition, and married *Mariamne*, the daughter of *Alexander*, who was ſon of *Ariſtobulus*; from this match aroſe all the diſſention that diſquieted his houſe, which had ſubſiſted for ſome time before, but broke out furiouſly as ſoon as he returned from *Rome*. He firſt of all baniſhed his ſon *Antipater*, whom he had by *Doris*, out of the city, to make way for his ſons by *Mariamne*, to whom he gave liberty of going in proceſſion with him on feſtival days. After this he put *Hyrcanus*, his wife's grandfather, to death, after he was come from the *Parthians*, through a ſuſpicion that he had ſecret deſigns againſt him. This unfortunate prince was led away captive by *Barzapharnes*, after he had ſeized on *Syria*, his countrymen beyond the *Euphrates*, pitying his hard fate, begged to have him, and had he minded their advice not to go over to *Herod*, he had not ſuffered ſo diſhonourable a cataſtrophe. But his niece's marriage was a great means of his death; he put great confidence in this ſtep, and came back with a greater deſire of ſeeing his native country: He troubled *Herod* very much, not that he any time put in any claim for the kingdom, but that he was convinced he had an inconteſtable right to the crown.

The five children he had by *Mariamne* conſiſted of two females and three males: The youngeſt of the ſons was brought up at *Rome*, and died there: the two elder, in conſideration of the high birth of their mother, and as they were born of a crowned head, had royal education given them. But what was more binding than theſe, was *Mariamne*'s love, which contributed to make *Herod* thus kind. *Mariamne*, indeed, grew every day more incenſed than ever againſt *Herod*, who was kept ignorant of thoſe things which troubled the ſons. *Mariamne*'s hatred was as great as his love was to her. She had juſt grounds, built upon undeniable facts, to differ with him, and, as ſhe was beloved by him, ſhe had ſufficient liberty to diſcloſe her mind; in conſequence whereof ſhe charged him with his barbarity to her grandfather *Hyrcanus* and brother *Ariſtobulus*. For *Herod*, though he was but a youth, did not refrain his hands from him, veſting him at ſeventeen years of age in the prieſthood, and taking his life away ſoon after he had given him that dignity, becauſe the people, ſeeing him in a ſacred habit, and ſtanding at the altar on a ſolemn day, fell into tears, and wept ſeveral times: For this the youth was ſent in the night time to *Hiericho*, and there, by the *Gauls*, who were ordered to the buſineſs, drowned in a little fiſh pond.

Theſe were the main things that accuminated *Mariamne* againſt *Herod*. She reproached him with the foul treaſon, and inveighed bitterly againſt his ſiſter and wife. *Herod*, infatuated with his extreme love, ſtopt his mouth: But the women burned with indignation, and, effectually to raiſe up *Herod*'s fury againſt her, they charged her with adultery, and alledged ſeveral other circumſtances to gain belief to their words; accuſing her of having ſent her picture into *Egypt* to *Anthony*, and through her immoderate luſt got herſelf to be ſhown to a man who raged after women, and who could uſe forcible means if he had an inclination. This article like a thunderbolt, darted itſelf into *Herod*, and confounded his ſoul. He was already on a blaze with jealouſy, through his infatuated love, and he had bitter reflections on *Cleopatra*'s cruelty, who had been the cauſe of the deaths of king *Lyſanias*, and *Malichus* the *Arabian*. *Herod* did not meaſure his danger from the thought of having his wife taken from him; but from the probability there was of his being expoſed to the hazard of his life.

Being ready to undertake his journey, he recommended his wife to *Joſeph*, the huſband of his ſiſter *Salome*, whom he knew would be faithful to him, and who was bound in kindneſs to him by the near kindred between them. At parting he gave *Joſeph* ſecret orders, to put her to death, if *Anthony* took away his life. *Joſeph*, however, not with any baſe view, but to make *Mariamne* ſenſible that the king's affection was ſo violent to her, that he could not ſuffer himſelf, though he died, to be ſeparated from her, opened the whole ſecret to her. On *Herod*'s return, and his ſwearing ſeveral times, as they were converſing together, and he ſignifying his great affection for her, that he never loved woman ſo well as her, ſhe ſaid, truly you have diſcovered what ſort of love you bear me in the orders you gave *Joſeph*, commanding him to put me to death.

Herod, when he found the diſcovery that was made, was beſides himſelf, and telling her that *Joſeph* would never have diſcloſed the ſecret, had he not debauched her, he ſeemed mad with grief, and ruſhing from his bed, run directly to the palace. *Salome*, his ſiſter, in the mean time, taking hold of this opportunity to ſow her malice in, confirmed the ſuſpicion about *Joſeph*. His tranſcendent jealouſy now drove him to madneſs, and he ordered both of them to be put to death without delay. But pity now uſurped over his rage, and as his wrath ſubſides, love again prevails within his breaſt. His paſſionate fondneſs was ſo ardent, that he could not believe his (*a*) eyes when ſhe was dead, but through a vaſt emotion of ſorrow haſtened to her as if ſhe had been ſtill alive, till time convincing him of the truth, he poured out his ſoul in a flood of compaſſion, equal to that wherewith he fondly loved *Mariamne* while alive.

CHAP. XXIII.

Calumnies againſt Mariamne'*s Sons.* Antipater *is preferred to them. Their Accuſaſation before* Cæſar, *and Reconciliation with* Herod.

THE ſons, as if they had been heirs of their mother's reſentment, could not keep ſecret the indignation they labour'd with; they reflected on the barbarity of the action, and now ſuſpected their father as though he had been their declared enemy: This uneaſineſs had troubled them while they were at *Rome* on their ſtudies, but their vexation kindled extremely as ſoon as they came back into *Judea*, and their diſaffection grew with their years. When they arrived at years of maturity, one of them took to wife the daughter of his aunt *Salome*, and the other the daughter of the king of *Cappadocia*. Beſides the hatred they conceived, they were not backward in declaring their ſentiments; this ill-concerted preſumption gave an opportunity for accuſations to be brought againſt them, and ſome were not long before they took the freedom openly to acquaint the king, that both his ſons were plotting againſt him. Whereupon he who was the ſon-in-law of *Archelaus*, depending on his father-in-law's aſſiſtance, withdrew to him, with a reſolution to accuſe the king his father before *Cæſar*. *Herod*, having received ſufficient complaints againſt his ſons, received into favour again *Antipater*, whom he had by *Doris*, and ſtrove every way to gratify him, as he deſigned him his main ſupport againſt the ſchemes of his other ſons.

This change was intolerable to them, and when they ſaw a ſon who was born of a private woman, prevail ſo much over them by his authority, the reflection of their high birth ſtung them ſo deeply, that they had no power to ſtifle their reſentment, but every thing *Antipater* did, which was a cruel mortification to them, diſcovered in plain colours their enraged ſouls; their diſcontent appearing every day more and more, *Antipater*; who knew excellently well how to hit the weak ſide of his father, ſowed his accuſations againſt his brothers, ſpreading abroad ſome himſelf, and procuring his creatures to divulge about the reſt, and took every ſtep till he had cut off from his brothers all hope of enjoying the kingdom; for he got himſelf named not only in the will of his father, but in publick, his father's ſucceſſor to the kingdom. Beſides, he was ſent to *Herod* as though he had been a king, both in dreſs and retinue, except a crown, and in a little time became ſo powerful, that by his means his mother enjoyed *Mariamne*'s bed; and, with the two weapons (which were flattery and forgery) he uſed againſt his brothers, he ſecretly got his father to reſove on his ſons ruin.

To this end *Herod* took (*b*) *Alexander* with him to *Rome*, and there accuſed him before *Cæſar* of having prepared poiſon for him.

(*a*) Dr. Aldrich ſeems to hint that this Paſſage is defective, and ſupplies the Senſe with what follows. [Parum abſuit quin uxorem occideret et Joſepho ne in conſpectum quidem admiſſo mortem intulit. Rurſus cum ad Cæſarem Rhodum iret, Mariamnem cum matre Alexandra Joſepho alteri, queſtori ſuo. Soemoque commiſit, et, ſiquid ſibi mali contingeret, ut utramque tollerent imperavit. Quod cum Soenius aliquando effutiſſet, temperare ſibi non potuit Mariamne quin reverſum Herodem ſignis odij manifeſtis exciperet; eumque propterea motum, ſoror ejus et mater irritabant; ne quid tamen gravius ſtatuerat, interceſſit Cæſaris ſalutatio, poſt annum vero quam a Cæſare reverſus eſt, Salomes opera Mariamne veneficij accuſata eſt, et tormento eunucho ejus adhibito, qui de veneficio nihil faſſus, cum offenſam dicerat reginam propter ea quæ Soemus indicaſſet, ſuſpicatus Herodes id indicium ſtupro redemptum] confeſtim utrumque juſſit interfici. He was ready to put his Wife to Death, and Joſeph, without obtaining Leave to ſee him, loſt his Life. On his going again to Cæſar at Rhodes, he intruſted Mariamne and her Mother Alexandra with the other Joſeph his Treaſurer, and Soemus, leaving Orders, if he happened to ſuffer himſelf, to put both to Death. Soemus happening on a Time to blab out the Secret, Mariamne, when Herod returned, could not refrain giving him manifeſt Signs of her Hatred upon this Account, and when his Siſter and Mother ſtrove to increaſe the Paſſion he was in for this Reception, Cæſar, by his Salutation, brought him to lay aſide any Attempt that might be fatal in its Conſequences. But a Year after his leaving Cæſar, Salome procured Mariamne to be accuſed for preparing Poiſon for Herod, and her Eunuch was put to the Rack for it, who made no Confeſſion as to the Poiſon, but ſaid, agreeably to what Salome had diſcovered, that the Queen was guilty: Herod, who ſuſpected it, no more thought of her having violated his Bed, but gave Orders that both ſhould immediately be put to Death. See Ant. L. 15. C. 3. 4. et Seq.

(*b*) Et Ariſtobulum etiam, ſolum tamen Alexandrum nominat Joſephus, quod in eum præcipúe (ſicut alibi loquitur) tota domus incubuerit; quodque ejus partes, in propulſando hoc periculo, potiores eſſent. Aldrich. And Ariſtobulus, though Joſephus only names Alexander, becauſe, (as he ſays elſewhere) the whole Fury of his Family was levelled at him, and becauſe his Intereſt to avert this Danger was more powerful.

the (a) ſon with ſome difficulty forcing the tears from his eyes, and knowing he had a judge on his ſide wiſer than *Antipater*, and more prudent than *Herod*, he opened himſelf, and with great modeſty endeavoured to hide the faults of his father, but bravely cleared himſelf of the crimes which were alledged againſt him; and having proved that his brother, the companion of his miſfortunes, was innocent of the crime, he then complained of *Antipater*'s ſubtle contrivances, and the malicious informations he had expoſed him to, and the injuries he had done him; the unſpotted innocence he knew he maintained in this affair, and the efficacy of his words, (being a good orator) contributed much on his ſide. When he came to tell his father, that he was (b) at liberty to put both of them to death, if he thought them guilty, every one fell into tears, and *Cæſar* had ſo much concern upon him, that he diſcharged them from the accuſation brought againſt them, and reconciled them to their father; but the friendſhip was conditional, and made to this purpoſe: That the young princes ſhould obey their father in all things, and he be left at liberty to leave the kingdom to whom he pleaſed.

The king after this returned from *Rome*, to outward appearance as if he had blotted from his remembrance his ſons pretended miſcarriages, but he was not entirely freed from his ſuſpicions. *Antipater*, who had been the cauſe and foundation of *Herod*'s hatred, bore him company; but, as he ſtood in awe of the reconciliation, he durſt not declare his envious deſigns openly. *Herod* in his voyage ſailing near *Cilicia*, ſtruck on the coaſt of the iſland of *Eleuſa*. *Archelaus* received him and his company with great humanity, and ſplendidly entertained them, expreſſing his joy for his ſon-in-law's ſafety, and demonſtrating the pleaſure he had for the renewal of the love between them. *Archelaus* had inſtantly diſpatched letters to his friends at *Rome*, to aſſiſt *Alexander* in his proſecution; he conducted *Herod* as far as *Zephyrius*, and made him a preſent of thirty talents.

When *Herod* came to *Hieroſolyma*, he aſſembled the people, and his three ſons ſtanding by him, he acquainted them with an account of his journey, 'and returned God thanks, 'and the ſame to *Cæſar*, who had pacified 'and quieted the commotions in his family, 'and, what was more than his kingdom, 'had been the author of a reconciliation between him and his ſons, which I, ſaid he, 'will endeavour to make firmer ſtill. *Cæſar* hath made me maſter of my kingdom, 'and left me at liberty to appoint my ſucceſſor; now I, as my intereſt is in it, gratefully acknowledge *Cæſar*'s favour, and here 'declare theſe three ſons to be kings, and 'beg that God firſt, and then you, will approve my choice; this, by reaſon of his age, 'and theſe, of their high birth, claim the ſucceſſion. Beſides, my dominions are ſo extenſive, that they require more than one or two 'to govern them; let me entreat you to take 'notice of thoſe whom *Cæſar* hath joined together, and a father appointed his ſucceſſors, that you neither attribute to any of 'them honours which do not belong to them, 'or prefer one before the other, but regard 'each according to his ſeniority of age; he 'who is followed more than becomes his 'age, will not have ſo much ſatisfaction, as 'he who is deſpiſed will be tormented with 'grief. Beſides, I will chooſe out of my relations and friends, ſome perſons of honour 'and judgment, and theſe I will join to them, 'as neceſſary on all occaſions to adviſe with, 'making them ſponſors for their unanimity, 'and agreement, well knowing that the turbulent diſpoſitions of thoſe they keep company 'with, hath been the original riſe of all the 'differences and diſputes that have happened; 'and if theſe perſons act with as much honour 'as we reaſonably expect, mutual love will 'be preſerved between the three brothers. 'But I do not only requeſt and beſeech 'them; for I entreat my officers in my army, 'to put, for the preſent, their entire dependance in me, for it is not to my ſons I now 'ſurrender my kingdom, but only the honour of it; and yet they ſhall reap as great advantages, and as much pleaſure, as if they were veſted in a real kingdom; for the burthen of the adminiſtration, though I do not deſire it, ſhall reſt on my ſhoulders. Let any of you think on my age, the morals of my life, and my religion. For I am neither ſo old, as to afford occaſion to any one, to think my life is near its period, nor abandoned to thoſe pleaſures which ſnare youth. Beſides, I pay ſo conſtant adoration to God, as to conclude from it, that I ſhall prolong my days to a great length. If any one flatters my ſons with an expectation of my death, let him depend upon it, that a deſerved puniſhment ſhall attend his folly. I do not, as if I envied thoſe I have begotten, hinder others from paying them deference; but, becauſe I am convinced that ſuch a deportment cheriſheth a factious ſpirit in youth, I would have thoſe conſider who endeavour to obtain their protection, that he, who performs his duty well, ſhall meet with a ſuitable reward for it from me, but that he ſhall gain nothing in the end if he proves factious and author of any diſturbance; for all who ſtudy my intereſt, are friends to my ſons, and it is for their advantage that I ſhould ſtill keep the kingdom in my own hands, and preſerve a ſtrict union between them. Now, O my ſons, reflect on the ſacred bonds of nature, by which the wildeſt beaſts are linked together, and united in love; think next on *Cæſar*, who hath been the author of your reconciliation; and then turn your thoughts on me, who had rather beg you, when I can command you, to remain as brothers, for from this moment I clothe you in regal attire, and give you a royal retinue; and I pray God, provided you continue unanimous together, that he would approve and ratify my determination.’ After he had ſpoke thus, he took and affectionately embraced his ſons, and diſmiſſed the people, ſome of them wiſhing the event might anſwer his words, and others, who deſired a change, pretending they had not heard one ſyllable of the whole harangue.

(a) Alexandrum quidem, dicit, (originum, p. 716) orationem ægre inveniſſe; nam et eum dolor impediebat, & indecorum erat ita patri reſpondere, quemadmodum res ipſa poſtulabat, et contra quemvis alium licuiſſet; ſed Auguſtum illis judicem contigiſſe, non tam credulum, et præcipitem, quam Herodes fuerat, quemque non poſſet Antipater, ſicut Herodem, dolo fallere, nam ad ejus prudentiam magnus uſus acceſſerat. Accuſantibus igitur ab initio diffiſus eſt, et nunc quoque facile intellexit, tarditatem Alexandri non ex ſceleris conſcientia, ſed ætate, dolore, et patris reverentia proficiſci. Aldrich. In the 716th Page of the Antiquities, (meaning the Greek) he ſays, that Alexander found great Difficulty to begin his Defence, for his Grief hindred him from ſpeaking his Duty to his Father, and reſtrained him from anſwering any farther, as his Caſe required, and as he might have done to any one elſe. But Auguſtus was fortunately his Judge, who was not ſo credulous and haſty as Herod was, and who was not to be impoſed on, as Herod had been, by Antipater; for his Prudence took Care to diſcern well; and this made him from the very Beginning diſtruſt the Accuſers, plainly ſeeing now that Alexander's Slowneſs was not owing to any Guilt, or Conſciouſneſs of the Crime, but to his Years, Grief, and the Reverence he bore to his Father.

(b) The Senſe is, This Court can impower their Father to put them to Death. Big. and Voſs ſpeak more hard. It is a Pleaſure for a Parent to kill his Sons, for it diſplays the Grandeur of the Court. Rufinus concludes much better in throwing all the Fault on Antipater, though he ſeems not to have followed Joſephus's Sentiments.——————Our Father can put us to Death, neither refuſe we to die; but if he charges us with Parricide, Death itſelf will be a lighter Evil than the Suſpicion of ſo great a Wickedneſs. See Ant. L. 16. C. 4. Aldrich.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Malice of Antipater *and* Doris. Alexander *is hated for* Glaphyra. Pheroras, *who is juſtly ſuſpected, and* Salome *convicted, are pardoned.* Herod’*s Eunuchs are put to the Rack, and* Alexander *is impriſoned.*

ENMITY and diſcord ſtill attended the brothers like companions, who were ſtrangely diſunited. *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, could not endure to think that *Antipater*’s priority of birth ſhould take place, and he was enraged at his brothers, that they were placed next to him. But as he was of a very ſubtle diſpoſition, and remarkable for his diſſimulation, he knew artfully how to conceal his ſecrets, and ſtifle the animoſity he had againſt them; they, on the contrary, from a ſenſe of their high birth, were accuſtomed to ſpeak their ſentiments without diſguiſe; ſeveral perſons endeavoured to enflame them, and a great many of *Antipater*’s friends, in order to dive into their ſecret ſchemes, inſinuated themſelves into their acquaintance; and by this means not a word came out of *Alexander*’s mouth but was preſently conveyed to *Antipater*, and from him to *Herod*, with ſome addition or other; nay, if he ſpoke only as became a young man, he could not avoid cenſure, but every word he uttered, was turned to his prejudice; and if at any time he ſpoke with a little more than ordinary freedom, a mole hill immediately grew up into a mountain. *Antipater* was every hour ſetting one or other to provoke him, that his lies might appear to have ſome ground, and among the many falſe reports he made abroad, one thing, as it was found afterwards, gained every one’s belief. Every one of his creatures were found ſteady to their truſt, kept their ſecrets inviolably, and concealed from any one’s knowledge the preſents he made; ſo that any one, who ſhould ſtile *Antipater*’s life a labyrinth of wickedneſs, would not be miſtaken: He either corrupted the acquaintance of *Alexander* with bribes, or deceived them with fine tales and flatteries, (theſe being the conſtant methods he made uſe of, to bring about his ends,) making them traitors at laſt, and betrayers of every word that was ſpoke, or action that was done. Having, like a ſkilful ſtage-player, gone on in his diſſembling courſe, he had recourſe again to calumny, and after the moſt artful manner in the world boarded *Herod*, by perſonating *Herod*, and ſuborning others to diſcover his practices. The king happening to be told of a circumſtance againſt *Alexander*, he pretended he was preſent when it happened, and immediately related the whole affair from the beginning; by this means he ſecretly procured credit to his tale, and rouzed up the king’s reſentment; every thing was treacherouſly carried on, and it was alledged, that *Alexander* was ready to conſpire againſt the king’s life, and nothing contributed more to make *Antipater*’s deſigns ſucceed, than the apologies he made in *Alexander*’s behalf.

Theſe proceedings making *Herod* almoſt mad, the more he drew his affection daily from his ſons, the more his love to *Antipater* increſed. Beſides, he got into his intereſt the courtiers about the palace; ſome complying with his meaſures voluntarily, others forced thereto by his authority and power (among theſe were *Ptolomy*, one of his very beſt friends, and the king's brother,) and all their families. Now *Antipater*'s power was almoſt boundleſs, and, what was the bittereſt to *Alexander*, his mother was one of the chief perſons who adviſed againſt him; a woman worſe than any ſtep-mother, and proſecuting thoſe who were born of a queen with conſtant malice and hatred. But though every one was worked upon, either by hopes or fears, to ſhew extraordinary reſpect to *Antipater*, yet they abandoned the brothers by the king's command, who ordered the nobles neither to viſit *Alexander* or his brother, or make any application to them. *Herod* was not only a terror to his domeſticks about the palace, but to his foreign acquaintance; for *Cæſar* had never inveſted any other king but him with ſuch a large ſhare of authority, as to give him liberty and power to demand, out of thoſe cities which were not in his dominions, ſuch fugitives as he pleaſed. The young princes were all this while ignorant of the real accuſation that was brought them, and this unwarily betrayed them into miſtakes; for their father made no open complaint againſt any one, but they partly gueſſed it by his coldneſs, and his paſſion at every little uneaſineſs. Beſides, *Antipater* effectually procured their uncle *Pheroras*, to be their adverſary and enemy, as he likewiſe did their aunt *Salome*, with whom, as though ſhe had been his wife, he held frequent conferences, and enraged her againſt them. *Salome*'s enmity was violently increaſed by means of *Alexander*'s wife *Glaphyra*, who ſtood much upon the antiquity of her family, and boaſting that ſhe was the miſtreſs over every thing that was tranſacted in the palace, as being derived by the (*a*) father's ſide from *Temænus*, and by the mother's from *Darius Hyſtaſpes*; ſhe taxed *Herod*'s ſiſter with her mean birth, and his wives with their ignoble extraction, every one of whom being more admired for her perſon, than high deſcent; there were ſeveral of theſe wives, (*b*) as the *Jews* by the laws of their country, are permitted to have ſeveral at a time, and becauſe the kings delighted in many; theſe circumſtances, and *Glaphyra*'s haughtineſs and reproaches, made *Alexander* to be hated.

Ariſtobulus likewiſe occaſioned a breach between him and *Salome*, though ſhe was his mother-in-law, who was already thoroughly nettled at *Glaphyra*'s reproachful behaviour; he was frequently objecting to his wife the meaneſs of her birth, how he had married a woman of a private family, and how his brother *Alexander* had been wedded to a queen. This mortifying ſtory was preſently conveyed to the mother by the daughter, with tears in her eyes, who added, that *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus* had threatened, as ſoon as they came to the kingdom, to make the mothers of their other brothers as ſo many waiting women upon them, and weavers, and their brothers pariſh clerks, laughing at them for their learning and bookiſh knowledge: This diſcovery enraging *Salome* ſo much, that ſhe was unable to ſtop the violence of her paſſion, ſhe went and diſcloſed every tittle to *Herod*, who thought he might credit every thing ſhe ſaid, eſpecially what ſhe had alledged againſt the ſon-in-law. Beſides, another ill report ſpreading at the very ſame time among the people, increaſed the anger of the king; he heard that they were frequently guilty of imprecations againſt their mother, and that, on his having divided ſome of the wearing apparel of his late wife *Mariamne* among his other wives, they threatned ſoon to make them wear hair ſkins inſtead of royal habits.

Though theſe reports made *Herod* fear the conſequences of his ſons ambitious ſpirits, yet he had ſtill ſome hopes left of bringing them to a better ſenſe of their folly. To this end he called them to him, as he was ready to ſet ſail for *Rome*, and brightened them with a few menaces as he was a king, but gave them a great many admonitions as a father, deſiring them to love their brothers, and that he would pardon what was paſt, provided for the time to come they gave ſigns of a better conduct; they cleared themſelves of the

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(*a*) Hujus Glaphyræ Pater Archelaus, quem Antonius, ejecto Ariarathe, Cappadociæ regem conſtituit, nulla propinquitate attingebat genus regium; ſed paternum illi genus deducabatur ab Archelais, qui cum Romanis bellum geſſerant. Mater erat ſcortum Glaphyra. Ad Temænum genus ſuum quo jure referebat incertum eſt. Avus ſeſe Mithridatis filium erat ante mentitus. De uxore quod meminerim nihil comperi. Archelaus, who was Father of this Glaphyra; and, after Ariarathe was depoſed, made King of Cappadocia by Anthony, by no Kindred can claim a Royal Deſcent; his Family, by the Father's Side, is deduced from the Archelaij, who maintained a War againſt the Romans, but his Mother Glaphyra, was a Courtezan. It cannot be cleared by what Right he carries back his Pedigree to Temænus, and his Grandfather had before falſly repotred himſelf to be the Son of Mithridates. But I cannot recollect that I have found any Thing about his Wife. See Strabo. XII. p. 590.

(*b*) Apparet id ex Dent. XVII. 16. 17. C. XXI. 15. II. Sam. XII. 8. Sic legem intelligunt Hebræi, et Chyſoſtomus ad 1 Cor. XI. Auguſtinus de Doct. Chriſt. L. III. C. 16. Et Joſephus, patriarum legum periſſimus, in Ant. L. 17. C. 1. Grotius. This is plain from Deut. XVII. 16. 17. and XXI. 15. 2 Sam. 12. 8. ſo the Hebrews underſtand this Law, and Chryſoſtom upon 1 Cor. XI. Auſtin in his 3d Book and 16th Chap. of Chriſtian Doctrine; and Joſephus, eminently skilled in the Laws of his Country, in Ant. L. 17. C. I. The whole Body of the Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament confirms this, for it is conſtantly ſaid ſo there, and it cannot be found that any Man was ever reprehended for it. Aldrich.

crimes brought againſt them, ſaying they were forged and falſe, and alledged that their true actions were ſufficient to convince him, that their defence ought to be believed, and that he ought to be very cautious in giving ear to reports, for there would never be wanting perſons to feign crimes againſt them, ſo long as there were men to perſuade others to believe them.

This remonſtrance ſoon pacifying him, as he was their father, they baniſhed the fear they then had on their ſpirits, but began to be very thoughtful and ſorrowful for what was to come; they knew *Salome* and their uncle *Pheroras*, were both their enemies, and very powerful, eſpecially the latter, who, ſetting aſide a diadem, was partner of every thing in the kingdom, and received an income of an hundred talents to his own ſhare, and through his brother's liberality to him, had the produce of the whole country beyond *Jordan* annexed to his revenue. Beſides, being made a tetrarch by *Herod*, who had obtained that grant of *Cæſar*, and married to a princeſs, his ſiſter, and after her death having an offer of his eldeſt daughter, with a portion of three hundred talents. But *Pheroras* refuſed the royal match, that it might not be a hindrance to him in the love he had for a maid ſervant; this refuſal vexing *Herod*, he married her to his brother's ſon, who ſome time afterwards was ſlain by the *Parthians*. But *Pheroras* and he ſoon renewed their friendſhip, the former being left at liberty freely to divulge his paſſion.

But *Pheroras* was charged while the queen lived, with having ſought means to poiſon *Herod*. Several ſtories were raiſed to confirm this circumſtance, and the king, tho' he paſſionately loved his brother, thought he had juſt reaſon to believe them, and conſequently began to be ſuſpicious and apprehenſive. After he had queſtioned ſeveral about the affair whom he ſuſpected, he then began to ſound the friends of *Pheroras*, none of whom made any confeſſion as to the poiſon; but ſaid that he had made ready to go away with the woman he was in love with, and fly to the *Parthians*, and that *Coſtobarus*, *Salome*'s huſband, whom the king had married to her after the death of her former huſband, for a ſuſpicion of adultery, was privy to his deſign and flight. Neither was *Salome* ſo ſtrict in her conduct, but that ſhe became liable to ſuſpicion; for her brother *Pheroras* accuſed her of having concluded a marriage with *Syllæus*, procurator of *Obodas* the *Arabian* king, whom *Herod* reckoned as his mortal enemy; however, though ſhe was proved entirely guilty of this, and all the other charges brought againſt her by *Pheroras*, ſhe was pardoned, and *Pheroras* too met with the ſame lenity from the king as to the crimes alledged againſt him.

But the furious temper of the family threatned *Alexander* the moſt, and the united force of all ſeemed to be levelled at his head; the king had three eunuchs, in conſiderable eſteem with him, and their employments made them be taken particular notice of. One's buſineſs was to ſerve him with wine, another's to prepare his table, and the third to repoſe and lie with him. Theſe three were corrupted with the preſents *Alexander* made them; the king was preſently acquainted with the affair, upon which being tortured upon the rack, the whole matter came out; they ſoon confeſſed their having had acquaintance with him, and diſcovered by what promiſes they had been drawn into it, and in what manner they had been over-reached by *Alexander*, who told them, 'That it was not their intereſt to place any longer hope in *Herod*, the vigour of whoſe body was quite exhauſted, and who dyed his hair, unleſs they would make that a reaſon, and think him young; that they ought rather to follow his party, who, in defiance of *Herod*, would obtain the kingdom, and ſhortly revenge the diſhonour he had received upon his enemies, and make thoſe who were his friends happy and fortunate, but them above the reſt. Beſides, that the chief men in the realm, were in his intereſt, and the generals and officers of the army privately conferred with him.'

This diſcovery ſo charmed *Herod*, that he durſt not report abroad the confeſſion made him, but, ſetting day and night ſpies to obſerve every occurrence, he made himſelf privy to every thing that was ſaid or done, and inſtantly put to death thoſe who became ſuſpected. In conſequence of this, the palace was the ſcene of envy, malice, and enmity. Every one through prejudice or hatred forged a thouſand lies, and levelled their malice at their enemies, and abuſed the king's ſoul with ſuch monſtrous tales, that he was bent now on nothing but bloodſhed; their forged accuſations obtained credit, and their enemies were puniſhed, even before their allegations were fully made out. In ſhort, the accuſer was expoſed to the ſame puniſhment with the accuſed, and the evidence doomed to the ſame melancholy fate with the perſon tried, and, as the rack was uſed with extreme vigour, the king expoſed his own life to very great danger; his enraged mind vented ſo much fury, that he could not look (a) pleaſantly on any one perſon that was innocent, but committed his cruelties even on his neareſt friends; this made him forbid ſeveral the palace, and thoſe, againſt whom he could find no pretence of uſing his power, he inveighed bitterly againſt. *Antipater* ſtill proſecuted *Alexander* with the utmoſt ſpite, and making a faction of his relations that were like himſelf, he left no meaſures untried that any way would contribute to his brother's advantage.

(a) Rufinus ſays, Herodem, neminem illorum, in quem oculos defigere contigebat, eo, quo antea vultu aſpexiſſe. That Herod did not look on thoſe he happened to caſt his Eyes on with his uſual Countenance. Mr. Havercamp makes his Remark thus: Ut ita dicatur Herodes omnes illos, etiam inſontes, quos modo adſpiceret, velut hoſtes habuiſſe, et pravo ſævoque lumine contritus fuiſſe? So that Herod may be ſaid to have thought all, even the Innocent, his Enemies, on whom he but caſt his Eyes, and had ſtared at with a ſour and grim Look.

The king in time was ſo terrified from the monſtrous and barbarous fictions which *Antipater* and his factions ſowed in his ears, that he imagined he ſaw *Alexander* continually ſtanding over him with a drawn ſword; this temerity made him quickly apprehend *Alexander* and throw him into priſon, and proceed to uſe the torments of the rack upon his friends; ſeveral either died without making any confeſſion at all, and refuſed to ſpeak any thing that was not conſiſtent with truth and their conſciences; while others, through the pains they ſuffered, were forced to falſify themſelves, and ſaid, that *Alexander* in conjunction with his brother *Ariſtobulus* had plotted againſt their father, and ſet a time, after they had ſlain him in hunting, to fly to *Rome*; theſe circumſtances, though far from truth, and forced from the ſufficient extremity of their torments, prevailed ſuddenly on *Herod*, who now comforted himſelf that he had his ſon in priſon, and that he had ſome pretence to ſhow he had not unjuſtly uſed this ſeverity againſt him.

CHAP. XXV.

Archelaus's *Works.* *A Reconciliation between* Alexander, Pheroras, *and* Herod.

WHEN *Alexander* ſaw there was no poſſible means left him to adviſe his father to alter his ſentiments, he was reſolved openly to oppoſe the dangers that threatned him, and having compoſed four books againſt his enemies, he made an ample confeſſion of the conſpiracy, and declared that ſeveral of them were confederates with him in his deſigns, chiefly *Pheroras* and *Salome*, the latter of whom he alledged came one night, and violently endeavour'd to lie with him; theſe books, which heavily exclaimed againſt the principal men, fell into the hands of *Herod*, and *Archelaus*, through a tender fear for the welfare of his ſon-in-law and daughter, arriv'd ſuddenly in *Judea*; his preſence became of great ſervice and aſſiſtance to them, and his dextrous management prevented the king's deſign of taking off their heads, for going immediately to him, he ſpoke out thus with an excellent voice: 'Where is that wicked ſon of mine? where is that parricide's head, that I may ſee and tear it in pieces? I have wedded my daughter indeed to a fine huſband, for though ſhe bears not a part in his councils, yet, as ſhe is the wife of ſuch an huſband, ſhe is polluted with his crimes. I am ſurprized at your wonderful patience, who have been thus conſpired againſt, to let *Alexander* enjoy his life a minute longer. I haſtened my journey out of *Cappadocia*, thinking to have found him puniſhed long ſince for his baſeneſs and ingratitude, and to adviſe with you about my daughter, whom, through a regard to you and your dignity, I betrothed to him, but now I find we have work on our hands for both. If you are yet a father, and too compaſſionate to puniſh a ſon who has been, and ſtill is a rebel, and traitor to you, let us change hands, and in putting a juſt reſentment in execution, let us take each other's place.'

This bravado ſomething diverted *Herod* from his purpoſe, though tenacious of it to a violent extremity. In ſhort, he gave him the books to read which *Alexander* had compoſed, and looked them over with him, inſiſting all the while on every article. *Archelaus* ſoon found he had an opportunity to diſplay his advice, ſo, by little and little, he laid the blame on thoſe whoſe names were mentioned, and on *Pheroras*. When he ſaw the king ready to give ear to his words. 'The queſtion, ſays he, is not whether the young man plots againſt you, but whether the ſnares of ſo many wicked men are not calculated to ruin him, for the reaſon does not appear that has induced him to ſo enormous a wickedneſs, (who not only enjoys the kingdom, but hath hopes of ſucceeding to it,) unleſs it be a knot of artful counſellors and perſuaders, who have abuſed the tenderneſs of his years; for ſuch vermin as theſe decoy not only youth, but even grey hairs, and ſometimes royal families and entire kingdoms owe their deſtruction to their pernicious advice.

Herod freely aſſented to this remonſtrance, and gradually abated the indignation he had conceived againſt *Alexander*, and became exaſperated at *Pheroras*, for he, in effect, was the ſubject of the four books. Now *Pheroras*, ſeeing how the king's mind was inclined, and that the friendſhip of *Archelaus* prevailed with him in every thing, endeavoured to obtain his indemnity by aſſurance, which he could not do by any juſt method: Wherefore, leaving *Alexander*, he fled to *Archelaus*, who told him, 'That he could not ſee in what manner he could think of eſcaping danger, who lay under ſo many accuſations, from which it was plain he had plotted againſt the king, and had been the cauſe and author of all the misfortunes to which the young king had been expoſed; unleſs he would throw aſide the means of defending himſelf, and make a frank confeſſion of every thing he was accuſed of, and beg pardon of his brother, who yet loved him; and then he would give him all the aſſiſtance in his power, and ſtrive to obtain a free pardon for him.'

Pheroras ſubmitted himſelf to *Archelaus*, and, after he had put himſelf into the moſt moving condition he could, he went in a black garment, and full of tears, and threw himſelf proſtrate at the feet of *Herod*, imploring his pardon, and owning he had been very wicked in committing the ſeveral things alledged againſt him, being intirely ſorry for his infatuation and thoughtleſs conduct, but that his love for a woman had been the cauſe of it. Thus *Archelaus*, having made *Pheroras* his own accuſer, and a witneſs againſt himſelf, then entreated *Herod* for him, and cooled his paſſion, by ſetting before him a like caſe. 'I, ſaid he, 'have ſuffered greater indignities than theſe 'from a brother of mine, yet my natural affec- 'tion prevailed over my thoughts of revenge. 'In kingdoms, as in large bodies, ſome part 'or other will always ſwell beyond its propor- 'tion, occaſioned by its gravity and bigneſs, 'but it is not prudence to lop ſuch a member 'off, but apply gentle remedies to heal it.'

Having enlarged on more to the ſame purpoſe, he brought *Herod*'s mind to a more cool temper towards *Pheroras*, but did not ceaſe to expreſs a reſentment againſt *Alexander*, and ſay that he would part his daughter from him, and carry her away with him, till at laſt he brought the king to intreat him in his ſon's behalf, and begged that his daughter might continue to remain with him. *(a) Archelaus* pretended that he deſired his daughter ſhould be divorced from *Alexander*, and married to ſome one elſe, but *Alexander* intreated him to lay aſide any ſuch deſign, and ſaid it ſhould be his chief ſtudy, to maintain and preſerve the alliance between them inviolable, the king proteſting at the ſame time that he would portion his ſon, provided he did not diſſolve the marriage, becauſe they had ſons, and his wiſe extremely loved the young prince, who might, if ſhe continued longer with him, apply a remedy to his miſconduct, but, if ſeparated, give too fatal reaſons to think that all hopes of his amendment were cut off; for a rebellious ſpirit is ſooneſt appeaſed, when it meets with love endearments at home. *Archelaus*, with pretended reluctance, gave way at laſt, and was reconciled to his ſon-in-law, he alſo brought about a thorough agreement between the young prince and the king, but added, that he ought, above all things in the world, to ſend him to *Rome*, to confer with *Cæſar*, having, as he ſaid, wrote him a letter, with an account of all the proceedings that had paſſed.

Thus was a period put to all differences, by the artful management of *Archelaus*, who ſaved his ſon-in-law from inevitable ruin. And after all complaints were ceaſed, they ſpent ſome time in feaſting and rejoicing. *Herod*, on his departure, made him a preſent of thirty talents, of a golden throne embelliſhed with diamonds, of eunuchs, and of a concubine, named *Panaychis*, and honoured his friends according to each man's deſert. In like manner the king's relations, by his expreſs appointment, made very magnificent preſents to *Archelaus*, and *Herod* and his nobles conducted him on his journey as far as *Antioch*.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Charges of Euricles *againſt* Mariamne*'s Sons.* Evaratus *of* Cos, *labours in vain to juſtify their Conduct.*

*A*RCHELAUS was ſcarce gone, but a certain man came into *Judea*, far ſuperior to *Archelaus* in forming ſchemes, who not only rendered fruitleſs all the good *Archelaus* had done, and the reconciliation he had brought about, but proved the entire ruin of *Alexander*; he was a *Laconian* by birth, and named *(b) Euracles*, and, from a violent thirſt after money, had now ſtrong inclination to live in a kingdom, for *Greece* was too much wearied with his luxurious courſe of life to bear it any longer; he made his way firſt by large preſents which he gave *Herod*, to induce him to grant him thoſe things he had a deſign to obtain, his generoſity was ſoon anſwered by a double remittance; but pure liberality in his opinion, was nothing, unleſs the kingdom was enriched with blood. In conſequence of this, he attacked the weak ſide of the king with flattery, force of rhetoric, and great encomiums of praiſes that did not belong to him, and at laſt effectually ſubdued him; for having dived ſoon into the ſprings of *Herod*'s ſoul, and gained an uninterrupted liberty to ſpeak and act juſt as he pleaſed, he was placed in the liſt of *Herod*'s trueſt friends; for the king and all the chief men about him, for the ſake of his *(c)* country, being a *Lacedæmonian*, readily ſhewed him great ſigns of reſpect.

(a) Archelaus vero probiliter, vel ſolertur admodum ſimulavit ſe velle tandem permittere, ut ea ciuvis colloceretur præterquam Alexandro. Aldrich. Archelaus, through a Pretence of Sincerity, or, with a great deal of Dexterity, pretended he was at laſt willing to conſent, that any one, ſo as it was not Alexander, might have her.

(b) Is (ni fallor, inquit Uſſerius, in Annal. p. 597.) qui ante annos viginti Antonium a pugna Actiaca fugientem perſecutes, jam Herodis hoſpitio uſus, & apud Antipatrum diverſatus, in Alexandri gratiam ſeſe inſinuaverat. De hor. Eurycle Plutarchus in Anton. p. 947. Aldrich. He (if I am not miſtaken, ſays Uſher, in his Annals, pa. 497) who twenty-five Years before followed Anthony when he fled from the Battle at Actium, now obtained Herod's Friendſhip, lodged with Antipater, and worked himſelf into Alexander's Favour.

(c) There had been a long Friendſhip ſubſiſting the Jews and the Lacedæmonians, becauſe (among other Things) both derived their Lineage from the ſame Abraham. See Ant. L. 12. C. 14. and L. 13. C. 5. and 9. Aldrich. The Spartans are called Brothers of the Jews in the Book of Maccabees.

After he had got acquainted with the foibles of all the chief perſons in the palace, and the differences ſubſiſting between the brothers, and how the father ſtood affected to each, the firſt thing he did was to gain *Antipater*'s friendſhip, and then, through a ſpecious pretence of friendſhip, he courted *Alexander*'s favour, ſaying falſely, that he had been formerly an acquaintance of *Archelaus*; by which artifices, as if he had been a perſon of indiſputable honour, he obtained admittance for himſelf, without heſitation, and then took care to get himſelf recommended to his brother *Ariſtobulus*. In effect, he made uſe of every deceit to accompliſh his deſigns, and uſed a different method to wheedle himſelf into the favour of every different perſon he had reſolved to impoſe on. But his chief aim was to make himſelf a penſioner of *Antipater*, and then to betray *Alexander*, which he did. He reproached *Antipater*, as being the eldeſt, with his neglect of thoſe who treacherouſly endeavoured to deprive him of his hopes: And reproved *Alexander*, as he was a queen's ſon, and the huſband of a royal conſort, with ſuffering a private woman's ſon to ſucceed his father in the kingdom, eſpecially when he had *Archelaus* firmly in his intereſt, who could be of vaſt ſervice to him. As he falſely intimated *Arckelaus*'s friendſhip, *Alexander* thought he had got a faithful counſellor; whereupon he generouſly opened himſelf, and without any reſerve revealed to him his whole mind in relation to *Antipater*; alledging, there was no wonder if *Herod* could have the heart to put their mother to death, when he went about to deprive them of his kingdom. At this *Eurycles* ſeemed to be full of pity, and pretended a vaſt concern for what had happened; and when he had deluded *Ariſtobulus* to the ſame confeſſion, and drawn both into the ſnare to urge their complaints, he withdrew, and went to tell *Antipater* the ſecrets of the whole proceeding. But he forged this lie above what he had heard, namely, that the brothers had laid a plot again his life, and were every minute waiting to ruſh upon him with their drawn ſwords. *Antipater* gave him an handſome purſe of money for this intelligence, and praiſed him extravagantly to his father; and at laſt, having drawn him to undertake the deaths of *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, *Eurycles* accuſed them before their father, and going to him, ſaid, ‘That his life was at *Herod*'s ſervice for the favours he had done him, and that for the ſake of bringing ſomething to light, he was come to reward him in ſome meaſure; that his ſon *Alexander* had for ſome time ſharpened the point of his ſword, and ſtretched out his right hand againſt him, but that he had hindred him in his raſh deſign, by pretending to aid him in it. That *Alexander* ſaid, that *Herod* was not ſatisfied with having uſurped a kingdom that belonged to another, and with having, after their mother's death, refuſed them her jointure, but had appointed a baſtard to be his ſucceſſor, by delivering his kingdom into the hands of the pernicious *Antipater*, for which he would aſſuredly revenge the death of *Hyrcanus* and *Mariamne* on *Herod* and *Antipater*; and that it was to his diſhonour to ſuffer, without effuſion of blood, ſuch a ſucceſſion to go from ſuch a father. That he every day had freſh ground of diſaffection to do it, ſince he could not ſpeak one word but what was miſconſtrued and turned to his prejudice. For if he happened to ſay any thing of any one's high birth, he was unjuſtly affronted, his father always telling him ironically, that *Alexander* was the only noble man who could boaſt of high deſcent, and that *Herod* could not hear of his own mean birth. If in hunting he held his tongue, it was made a matter of offence; but if he commended any one, he was ſtiled a cavilier. That his father was intolerably unmerciful to him, but paſſionately indulgent to *Antipater*; for which he was ready to die, if his deſigns proved abortive, but if he had the fortune to kill him, his ſafety would depend on his father-in-law *Archelaus*, and *Cæſar*, who was a perfect ſtranger to *Herod*'s diſpoſition and way. For he would not, as he had done before, ſtand by him, whoſe very preſence he abominated and trembled at, or make any defence of thoſe things which he had alledged in his own name againſt him; but that he would firſt lay open the miſeries to which his whole nation had been expoſed, and tell how they had been harraſſed even to death, with the taxes that were exacted of them; that then he would diſplay in how much luxury and wickedneſs he had ſquander'd away the money which he had obtained with bloodſhed, and who they were that had enriched themſelves, what kind of perſons they were, and the cities that they had liberty to plunder. And that, after he had gone on thus far, that he would then urge the death of his grandfather and mother, and bring to light all the enormous abuſes that had crept into the kingdom. The knowledge of all which would clear him from being thought a parricide.’

After he had made an end of accuſing *Alexander* in this manner, he expatiated on the praiſes of *Antipater*, as the only one who loved his father, and who then was a means of hindring the execution of the other's deſigns. The king, having not thoroughly recover'd his ſpirits from his late miſfortunes, was now thrown into a deſpair paſt recovery. Beſides, *Antipater* hit upon another expedient to put his deſigns in practice, which was, to ſuborn other accuſers againſt the brothers, and ſay, that they held correſpondence with *Jucundus* and *Tyrannus*, who formerly had been officers in the king's army, but for ſome male practices turned out and caſhiered. This report raiſing *Herod*'s indignation to a vaſt height, he preſently ſummoned the men, and put them to the rack; but they made no confeſſion (*a*) at all of any of the things charged againſt them. A letter was produced

(*a*) At confeſſiſunt ſe ab Alexandro ſollicitos ut Herodem inter venandum opprimerent, ſimulque indicaverunt aurum in equorum ſtabulo defoſſum, & præfectum venatorum arguebant, quod eis præbuiſſet lameas regias, & arma, ipſo jubente, Alexandri famulis. Aldrich, L. 16. c. 10. But they owned that Alexander, duced wrote by *Alexander* to one of *Herod*'s Governors, deſiring him to receive him and his brother *Ariſtobulus*, after they had ſlain their father, within his caſtle, and give them leave to make uſe of his arms and other things that ſhould be found neceſſary. But *Alexander* proved that the letter had been forged by *Diophantus*. This *Diophantus* was the king's ſcribe, a preſuming fellow, and one who had a ſurprizing art in imitating any one's hand writing that was ſet before him. He making a long excuſe, was, however, for this fact, put to death. But *Herod* putting the governor of the caſtle to the rack, could extort (1) no diſcovery from him of any one article with which he was charged.

But though *Herod* found the (2) accuſations inſufficient, he ordered his ſons to be kept in cuſtody, though not to be put in chains. He rewarded *Eurydes* with a preſent of fifty talents, and called him his benefactor and preſerver, who was the diſturber of his family, and the cauſe and promoter of all the wickedneſs that had been acted. And before the true news of theſe proceedings reached *Cappadocia*, he had the aſſurance to report that it was owing to his endeavours that a reconciliation had been brought about between *Herod* and *Alexander*; for which he received money from *Archelaus*, and going after this into *Greece*, he abuſed his ill-acquired wealth in the commiſſion of the very ſame baſe facts. But he was twice accuſed before with having filled *Achaio* with commotions, and robbed the cities there, for which he was ſent into baniſhment. And thus was he puniſhed after his treacherous proceedings againſt *Ariſtobulus* and *Alexander*.

It will not be improper to ſet *Evaratus* of *Bos* againſt this *Spartan*. For there being a ſtrict friendſhip between him and *Alexander*, and the king queſtioning him about the very time when *Eurydes* appeared, concerning the things he had laid to their charge, gave him his word, and at the ſame time confirmed it by an oath, that the young princes had never opened their mouths to him about any one article alledged againſt them. But this aſſertion did not at all move *Herod* in behalf of the miſerable princes. For he was an implicit liſtener to reports, though raiſed only by malice; if any one gave the like aſſent to, and ſeemed moved with them, he was certain to gain his favour by it.

CHAP. XXVII.

Herod, *by permiſſion of* Cæſar, *accuſes his ſons at* Berylus. *They, without being produced in court, are condemned, and ſoon after ſent to* Sebaſte, *and their ſtrangled.*

ALL this while *Salome* was privately endeavouring to put her cruel deſigns in execution againſt the ſon, and *Ariſtobulus* deſiring to involve her in the danger with him, who was both his mother-in-law and aunt, ſent to give her timely notice, to have a regard to her own ſafety; for the king would certainly put her to death; being ſtill under the guilt of the very facts ſhe had been charged with formerly, which were her deſire to intermarry *Sylleus* the *Arabian*, who was the king's profeſs'd enemy, and revealing to him all his ſecret counſels. Now the ſtorm to which the young prince had been a long time expoſed, proved too violent for them: For *Salome*, without making any heſitation, went directly to the king, to acquaint him with the news and warning ſhe had received. He, unable to put any longer check on his fury, ordered both his ſons to be put in chains, and in different places. Then he immediately ſent away to *Cæſar Volumnius*, the prefect of his army, and his friend *Olympus*, with a letter diſcovering the whole intrigue. They arriving at *Rome*, gave *Cæſar* the letter, who was extremely concerned for the ſons, but judged it unreaſonable to prevent the father from exerciſing his authority over them. At laſt he wrote back, and told him that he left him at liberty to be his own maſter over them, adding, he would act very prudently *to make inquiry into the conſpiracy in a free aſſembly of their relations, and the governors of the province; and if they were found actually guilty of it, to puniſh them with death, but if their deſign was no other than to eſcape, to chaſtize them with a milder treatment.*

Herod obeyed the contents of *Cæſar*'s letter, and arriving at *Berylus*, where *Cæſar* had ordered the aſſembly to meet, he ſummoned the court. *Saturnius* and *Pedanius*, the governors of the provinces, and the officers who came with them, to whom *Cæſar* had ſent his letters, ſeated themſelves in the firſt place. Among theſe was *Volumnius* the prefect; next to theſe ſat the relations and friends of the king, and *Salome* and *Pheroras*; and after them all the *Syrian* chiefs, except king *Archelaus*, whom, as he was *Alexander*'s father-in-law, *Herod* ſuſpected. The king, through a very dextrous management, kept the young princes from ap-

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Alexander, had very much interceded with them to kill Herod as he was a hunting, and made a further diſcovery, that there was gold hid under ground in the ſtables where the horſes ſtood, and charged the head huntſman with having ſupplied them with the king's lances, and Alexander's ſervants with arms, as he had given him orders. Aldrich, L. 16. c. 10.

(1) Ipſe enim nihil confeſſus eſt. Sed ejus haſce literas protulit quaſi ad parentem ab Alexandro datas. Literarum exemplar, alia que huc faciunt, vide in Ant. L. 16. Aldrich. He made no diſcovery, but produced the letter as though Alexander had given him it for his father. The copy of it, and the other circumſtances relating to this point, may be ſeen in Ant. B. 16.

(2) Hactenus a tanta humanitate temperavit: ſed cum poſtea Salome quoque delatrix accederet, tum ſui minime compus utrumque vinari juſſu. Ant. L. 16. c. 10. Aldrich. As yet he refrained from ſuch violence, but when Salome made one of the number of accuſers, he was not himſelf, but ordered both to be put in chains. Antiq. B. 16. c. 10.

pearing before the court, very well knowing, if they were but ſeen, they would move all the audience to pity, and if they had liberty to make their defence, that *Alexander* would ſoon clear himſelf of the accuſations brought againſt him. Mean while they were kept in cuſtody at *Platames*, a *Sidonian* town.

The king began firſt, and inveighed againſt them, as though they had been preſent. He charged them with conſpiracies and plots againſt him, but ſo weakly, as if he ſtood in need of evidences to confirm them, and objected to them the many reproaches, ſcofs, and ſlanders they had uſed againſt him, and the innumerable crimes they had been guilty of towards him, which he painted to the judges in as ſtrong colours as he was capable. Then when he found no one made any reply to his words, he began a moſt bitter complaint, as if he had been condemned himſelf who had obtained ſuch a cruel victory over his ſons, and aſked every one his opinion. *Saturninus*, upon this, gave his opinion firſt, and ſaid, he condemned the young men, but not capitally; for he thought it too hard to pronounce judgement of death upon the ſons of another perſon, when he had three of his own ſtanding by him. The two other judges were of the ſame opinion, and ſome others gave into their determinations. But the firſt who pronounced the fatal ſentence was *Volumnius*: and all the reſt ſeconded him, determining death upon the young men, either to flatter or ſhew their hatred to *Herod*; for none did ſo from a motive of revenge. All *Syria* and *Judæa* was in great ſuſpence and fear, waiting the event of ſo remarkable a circumſtance: But no body ſuſpected *Herod*'s cruelty would proceed ſo far as to take away his ſon's lives but he dragged them away to *Tyre*, and ſailing thence to *Cæſarea*, he conſulted there what death to puniſh them with.

While theſe proceedings were in action, an old ſoldier of the king's, named *Tero*, who had a ſon very intimate with *Alexander*, and who himſelf ſecretly loved the young princes, through an exceſs of indignation at the late management, in a frantick manner ran about, and cried out that juſtice was trampled under foot, truth deſpiſed, the order of things turned to confuſion, and mankind remarkable only for exceſs of impiety; and uttered a thouſand things beſides, which grief ſuggeſted to him, who was entirely regardleſs of his life. At length he took courage, and went to the king, *In my opinion*, ſays he, *you are the moſt miſerable man in the world, to give credit to baſe wretches againſt thoſe whom you ought to hold the moſt dear.* Pheroras *and* Salome, *whom you have ſeveral times condemned, gain credit with you. They deprive you of ſucceſſors who have a lawful claim to reign after you, and leave the government to* Antipater *alone, making him a king who is their profeſs'd enemy. Certainly it is your intereſt to ſee whether the ſoldiers will approve of your murthering his brothers. For there is not a ſoul but what is moved with pity for the hard fate of the young princes, and ſeveral of your principal officers are not backward openly to declare the ſentiments of their incenſed minds.* When he had ſpoke thus, he named the perſons who were enraged. Whereupon the king immediately ordered them, him and his ſon, to be apprehended.

After this, one of the king's barbers, named *Tryphon*, through a motive of unaccountable madneſs, ſtepp'd out and made a diſcovery, ſaying, *that* Tero *would have perſuaded me to cut yonr throat, as I ſhaved you, aſſuring me that I ſhould be handſomely rewarded for it by* Alexander. *Herod* hearing this, put *Tero* and his ſon, and the barber, to the rack. They making no diſcovery, and the barber giving no further light into the affair, *Tero* was ordered to be racked more vehemently. The ſon pitying his father, promiſed to make a full diſcovery, provided he would pardon his father. The king aſſuring him he would, he ſaid he only wanted an opportunity to put him to death, having been perſuaded to it by *Alexander*. Some were of opinion this was only an artifice to ſave his father, while others affirmed he ſpoke the truth.

Notwithſtanding this, *Herod* accuſed the officers and *Tero* before a council, and raiſed an aſſembly of the people againſt them, who with ſtones and faggots cruſhed them to death with the barber. Having ſent his ſons to *Sebaſte*, but a little diſtance from *Cæſarea*, he gave command for them to be ſtrangled, and his orders being readily put in execution, he ordered the dead bodies to be brought to *Alexandria*, and there interred with *Alexander* their grandfather by the mother's ſide. And thus did *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus* ſuffer their laſt cataſtrophe.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Antipater *is hated by all. The king marries the ſons of the deceaſed to his relations.* Antipater *deſigns other matches for them.* Herod'*s marriages and children.*

EVERY one being ſenſible that *Antipater* had been the ſole cauſe of all the accuſations that were brought againſt his brothers, now he had an inconteſtable right to the ſucceſſion, purſued him with an intolerable hatred. His fears preſent terrible images to him, when he ſaw the ſons of his mundered brothers every day advance in years. *Alexander* had by his wife *Glaphyra* two ſons, *Tigranes* and *Alexander*, and *Ariſtobulus* by *Berenice* the daughter of *Salome*, three ſons, *Herod*, and *Agrippa*, and *Ariſtobulus*, and two daughters, *Herodias* and *Mariamne*. *Herod*, after he had put *Alexander* to death, ſent *Glaphyra* back into *Cappadocia*, and returned her fortune with her; and *Berenice*, the wife of *Ariſtobulus*, was married to *Antipater's* *pater*'s uncle by the mother's ſide: This being purely done by *Antipater* to gain a reconciliation with *Salome*, whom he had offended. Beſides, *Antipater* made large preſents of money to *Pheroras*, and endeavoured to gain the intereſt of *Cæſar*'s friends by ſending large ſums of money to *Rome*. *Saturninus* alſo, and all the officers with him in *Syria*, were loaded with preſents. But the more he gave away, the more he was hated; as he diſtributed his prodigious kindneſſes not from any true generoſity, but prodigally threw them away through fear; and he had the ill fortune to find that thoſe who took his favours were not at all the kinder to him, and his enemies who got nothing proved the more inveterate. However, in the diſtribution of his rewards he became every day more profuſe and extravagant, when, contrary to the hopes he had formed, he ſaw the king mindful of the orphans, and, from a tenderneſs which he ſhewed to the children of his deceaſed ſons, diſcovered plain that their murther ſat heavy on his ſpirits.

Herod on a time having aſſembled his relations and friends, and ſet before them the young children, with a flood of tears burſt out and ſaid, *The fathers of theſe poor orphans have been taken away from me through a miſerable turn of fortune, and compaſſion and nature together plead for theſe, and recommend them to my protection and favour. I will now endeavour, if I have been a cruel father, to ſhew myſelf a more kind grandfather, and will leave them, after I am gone, to the care of guardians who are my beſt friends. Wherefore I betrothe* Pheroras, *your daughter, to* Alexander's *eldeſt ſon, that you may be a careful guardian to him through your nearneſs of kindred; and to your ſon* Antipater *I give the daughter of* Ariſtobulus, *in order that by this alliance you may be a father to her: and my own ſon* Herod *ſhall* (1) *take his ſiſter to wife, whereby he will have by the mother's ſide, an high prieſt for an uncle. Every one who loves me, let him agree with me in the ſame reſolution, for none but thoſe who hate me will render my good intentions fruitleſs. And I pray God to confirm theſe marriages with me, and make them happy, to the advancement of my kingdom, and the eaſe of my grandchildren, and to look on theſe orphans with a milder eye than their fathers were bleſt with.*

While he ſpoke thus, he cried, and joined the right hands of the orphans together, embracing each with great affection, and then he diſmiſſed the aſſembly. *Antipater* was nettled to the heart, and ſoon made it plain to all that his concern was none of the leaſt. For he concluded that the honour attributed to the orphans took ſo much of his own reſpect away from his father; and could not help fearing the danger the kingdom might be expoſed to, if *Alexander*'s ſons, beſides *Archelaus*, retained in their intereſt *Pheroras* the tetrarch. Beſides, he reflected on the hatred the whole nation bore him, and how they were moved with compaſſion for the orphans, how ſoon they were induced to promote their proſperity, and how deeply the deaths of the brothers which he had occaſioned ſat in the minds of the *Jews*; all which made him try every meaſure to break the alliances.

Knowing his father to be inexorable, and rouzed up with the ſmalleſt ſuſpicion, he was afraid to have recourſe to artifice to regain his favour. However, he boldly went, and begged him not to rob him of an honour he had given him, nor to let him have only the empty title of a kingdom, and ſuffer others to uſurp the authority. For it was impoſſible for him to obtain the adminiſtration, if *Alexander*'s ſon, beſides his grandfather *Archelaus*, ſhould have *Pheroras* for his protector and defender. Therefore he earneſtly begged him to alter the alliance, ſince there was ſuch a numerous poſterity in the palace; for the king had nine wives, and children by ſeven of them; to wit, himſelf by *Doris*, *Herod* by *Mariamne* the daughter of the high-prieſt, and *Antipas* and *Archelaus* by *Malthace* the *Samaritan*, and a daughter named *Olympias* by the ſame woman, whom *Joſeph* his brother's ſon had married; *Herod* and *Philip* by *Cleopatra* of *Hieroſolyma*, and *Phaſael* by *Pallas*. That he had other children, *Roxane* and *Salome*, one by *Phædra*, and the other by *Epis*, and had two wives who were both barren, a couſin and a brother's daughter, and two ſiſters of *Ariſtobulus* and *Alexander* by *Mariamne*; that therefore as ſuch a numerous progeny remained, *Antipater* begged that the marriages might not be conſummated ſo much to his diſadvantage.

The king ſeeing the drift he had againſt the orphans, was in a violent paſſion, and immediately thought of his murdered ſons, imagining *Antipater* had had the deepeſt hand in the ruin of them. He anſwered him in a very angry manner, and gave *Antipater* an abſolute denial, but perſuaded at laſt by his cunning ſpeeches, he conſented to alter the marriage, and betrothed to *Antipater* the daughter of *Ariſtobulus*, and his ſon to the daughter of *Pheroras*.

Any one may gueſs from hence what a maſter of diſſimulation *Antipater* was, and how much he could prevail in it, when *Salome* had not an influence to ſucceed in the ſame affair. Though ſhe was a ſiſter, and uſed her greateſt art and intreaties, *Julia*, *Cæſar*'s wife, interceeding for her all the time, to be given to *Syllæus* the *Arabian*, yet he proteſted by an oath, if ſhe did not ceaſe to mention even the leaſt circumſtance of that Affair, he would reckon her the greateſt enemy he had in the world; and at laſt, againſt her inclination, married her to *Alexas*, one of his friends; one of her daughters to *Alexas*'s ſon, and the other to *Antipater*'s uncle by the mother's ſide. One of the daughters he had by *Mariamne* was given to *Antipater* his ſiſter's ſon, and the other to *Phaſael* his brother's ſon.

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(1) Doris had a brother named Thendio. Ant. L. 17. c. 4. Doris's brother is called Thendius in the ſame place. To him was Berenice, Ariſtobulus's wife, after the death of her huſband, betrothed.

CHAP. XXIX.

Antipater*'s actions become intolerable. He is ſent to* Rome *with* Herod*'s will.* Pheroras*, rather than abandon his wife, leaves his brother. He dies at home.*

ANtipater having cut off all hopes from the orphans, and ordered the alliances by marriage to his own advantage, threw off the maſk as if he could now depend upon himſelf, and adding a grand aſſurance to his malice, behaved himſelf in an intolerable manner: for finding he could not ſhake off the general hatred that purſued him, he ſtrove to build his ſecurity on his power, by ſtriking a terror into the people. *Pheroras* preſently made his court to him, as though he was certainly to be king. And the women aſſembled together in the palace, from whence aroſe freſh diſturbances. *Pheroras*'s wife, aided by her mother and ſiſter, and *Antipater*'s mother, behaved her ſelf very inſolent in the palace, preſuming to uſe the king's two (1) daughters very ill, which made *Herod* hate her more than the reſt. Notwithſtanding they were hated, they exerciſed their authority over others. *Salome* was the only perſon that diſconcerted their meaſures, and acquainted the king with their frequent cabals, making out, that his intereſt was at ſtake by their actions. As ſoon as they heard of the diſcovery ſhe had made, and the great paſſion which *Herod* had received the report in, they forbore meeting together ſo publickly, and laid aſide the familiarity that had paſſed between them; pretending the quite contrary, and ſeeming to differ one from another; among whom *Antipater* played his part, and pretended the ſame diviſion, but in the ſight of all followed *Pheroras* very cloſe. Notwithſtanding this obſtacle, they found means to meet privately together, and had their nightly entertainments, being induced to unite firmly to one another from the conſtant obſervation that was made of their actions. But not a tittle paſſed that was either done or plotted, that could eſcape *Salome*'s knowledge, who went and told the king every thing.

He burned with anger, but chiefly at the wife of *Pheroras*. For *Salome* was more inveterate againſt her than the reſt. In conſequence hereof, *Herod* convened a council of his relations and friends, and laid ſeveral things to her charge, particularly the injuries ſhe had done his daughters: how ſhe had bribed the *Phariſees* to be his enemies, and made his brother, by her cunning behaviour, his adverſary; then he turned to *Pheroras*, and gave him the choice of theſe two alternatures, either to keep him his brother, or put away his wife. He ſaying he would ſooner looſe his life than his wife, *Herod*, in a perplexity what to do, turned the diſcourſe to his ſon *Antipater*, and charged him neither to keep any farther correſpondence with *Pheroras*'s wife, nor with *Pheroras* himſelf, nor with any other that belonged to her. He did nothing openly in oppoſition to his orders, but ſecretly ſpent whole nights with them: but fearing his conduct might be expoſed to the prying eyes of *Salome*, he endeavoured and gained his ends at laſt, by the interpoſition of his friends aſſiſtance, who lived in *Italy*, to go to *Rome*. They ſending a letter that it was *Herod*'s intereſt to ſend *Antipater* to *Cæſar* very ſoon, the king, without any heſitation, ſent him with a ſplendid retinue, and a large ſum of money, and his will to carry to *Cæſar*, wherein it was inſerted that *Antipater* was to reign after him, and *Herod* after *Antipater*, born of *Mariamne* the high prieſt's daughter.

Syllæus the *Arabian* ſailed the very ſame time to *Rome*, rejecting the commands *Cæſar* had laid on him, in order to diſpute thoſe points with *Antipater*, for which he had before been tried by *Nicolaus*. Beſides, he had an affair of great importance to tranſact again *Aretas*, the *Arabian* king, who had put to death *Syllæus*'s and ſeveral other perſons friends, and ſlain *Soemas*, the richeſt and moſt powerful man of all *Petra*. Having bribed *Fabalus Cæſar*'s procurator, with as large a ſum of money as he aſked, he uſed this man's intereſt againſt *Herod*, but *Herod* giving *Fabalus* a larger preſent, won him from *Syllæus*, and did every thing by him as *Cæſar* commanded. *Syllæus* finding he did nothing for him, accuſed him to *Cæſar*, alledging, he was a procurator who had a greater regard for *Herod*'s intereſt than his. This enraging him to a great degree, he, as he was ſtill in great eſteem with *Herod*, opened *Syllæus*'s ſecrets to him, and told him how he had corrupted with money *Cornithus*, one of his guards, who ought to be impriſoned. The king was not ſcrupulous in believing it; for *Cornithus* had been trained up in the palace, and was an *Arabian* by nation. In conſequence of this he preſently ordered him to be apprehended, when he ſeized him, with two other *Arabians*, one a friend of *Syllæus*, and the other a governor of a tribe; and being put to the rack, confeſſed they had offered *Cornithus* a great ſum of money to kill *Herod*. Upon a ſecond examination by *Saturninus*, they were ſent to *Rome*.

But *Herod* could not part with *Pheroras* on agreeable terms, wanting to force him to put away his wife. Neither could he find any way how to puniſh her, though he had cauſes ſufficient to hate her; till, ſtung with violent grief, he put his brother with her out of the palace. *Pheroras* patiently ſubmitted to this hardſhip, and retired to his tetrarchates, ſwearing that *Herod*'s death alone ſhould put an end to his baniſhment, and that he would never return while he was alive; and to make good his proteſtation, he never could be induced, though preſſed in the moſt earneſt manner in the world, to come to ſee his brother when he was ſick and kept his bed, who wanted to leave ſome orders with him before he departed. But *Herod* recovered of his illneſs beyond expectation, and *Pheroras* himſelf not long after fell ill, and found *Herod* in a milder diſpoſition, for he came to ſee him, and, with a tender concern for his condition, uſed all poſſible means for his recovery; but his affection and care proved fruitleſs, for *Pheroras* paid his laſt debt to nature ſome few days after. It was the common opinion that *Herod* poiſoned him, though he gave plain demonſtrations of his love to him to his laſt breath. Having ordered the dead body to be brought to *Hieroſolyma*, he commanded all the nation to pay ſolemn funeral honours to it, and interred it with extreme magnificence. And this was the end of one of thoſe who had been the ruin of *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*.

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(1) Virgines, Salomen puta & Roxanem, Elpide & phædranatas, quare fiebat ut illam odio haberet Herodes, Ant. L. 17. c. 2. dicitur quod Pheroras conjugi ſuæ obſequitur, quamvis odiſſet eam propter injurias filiabus ſuis virginibus illatas. Faciunt quidem ancillæ hujus mores, ut utrumque veriſimile videatur: an utrumque ſcripſerit Joſephus, ex ſequentibus lector judicat. Aldrich. Virgius, for example, Salome and Roſane, born of Elpis and Phædra, which induced Herod to hate her. Ant. L. 17. c. 2. It is ſaid that Pheroras obeyed his wife, though he diſliked her for her injurious treatment of his own virgin daughters. Her behaviour indeed makes both accounts ſeem very probable; but whether Joſephus wrote both, let the reader judge from the ſequel.

CHAP. XXX.

Herod *enquires into the Death of* Pheroras, *and finds that* Antipater *had prepared Poiſon for him.* Doris *and* Mariamne, *two of the Conſpirators, are diſcarded, and* Herod, *the Son of the latter, is diſinherited.*

THE death of *Pheroras* gave beginning to the puniſhment that afterwards fell on *Antipater*, the author of the late villainy. Some of his freedmen went to the king with ſorrow in their countenances, and ſaid that his brother *Pheroras* had been deſtroyed by poiſon, his wife having prepared victuals for him which had been dreſſed not after his uſual manner, and that he had ſcarcely eat of it, but he fell into the illneſs of which he died; that, but two days before, his mother and ſiſter had brought out of *Arabia* a woman that knew perfectly well the nature of poiſon, in order to prepare a philtre for *Pheroras*; and that through advice of *Syllæus*, to whom ſhe was well known, ſhe had given him poiſon that always carried certain death with it.

The king, tormented with a thouſand ſuſpicions, ordered the waiting and ſome of the freed women to be put to the rack. One, in the midſt of her agonies, cried out, May God, who is the ſupreme ruler of heaven and earth, puniſh according to her deſerts the mother of *Antipater*, who is the cauſe of theſe our misfortunes. The king making the woman's words the ground of further inquiry, proceeded to trace the truth out more cloſely. The woman, on this, made a plain diſcovery of the intimate acquaintance and ſecret meetings there had been carried on between *Antipater*'s mother, *Pheroras*, and his women; and how *Pheroras* and *Antipater*, when they left the king, ſpent the whole night in feaſting with them, and ſhut out all the men and women ſervants from being admitted. Thus, by the means of one of the freed women, every thing came to light.

Herod queſtioned each by themſelves; and from this found every one's tale exactly correſpond to one another; how *Antipater* had taken his journey to *Rome*, and *Pheroras* retired to *Perea*. For it had been ſeveral times ſaid by him, ‘That after *Herod* had compleated his revenge on *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, he would make them and their wives the ſubject of his anger, for it was not any way probable that he who had not ſpared *Mariamne*, and the fruits of her womb, ſhould reſtrain himſelf from any one of them; and therefore it was an action of great prudence and foreſight to get as far as they could from the power of ſuch a monſter.’ That *Antipater* had often complained to his mother, and ſaid, ‘That while his father was every day making himſelf young, he was growing old and grey headed. That there was more reaſon to think that he ſhould die firſt, than have the happineſs to receive the kingdom; and that, ſuppoſing *Herod* ſhould die before him, whenſoever it happened his pleaſure of the ſucceſſion would be of the ſhorteſt date; that the ſons of *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus* were ſo many hydra's heads ſprouting up, and that his father had robbed him of the hope he had put in his children; for none of them were to inherit any thing after his deceaſe, *Herod*, *Mariamne*'s ſon, being appointed heir by his father. That from this circumſtance it was plain, his old age had turned his brain; if it was to be thought that his will was to ſtand; for he had made no proviſion for any of his family. That his father's hatred far exceeded the indignation of all fathers that ever had any antipathy againſt their ſons, but that his ſpleen to his brothers was abundantly more. That from this infatuation he had been induced to give him an hundred talents to break off his acquaintance with *Pheroras*. On his ſaying, What prejudice do we do him? That *Antipater*'s anſwer was, I only beg that, after he has taken all away, he would leave us naked with our lives. But that it was impoſſible any one ſhould eſcape the hands of ſuch a monſter ſo deſirous of blood, who hindred them from bearing that affection to one another as they ought, that, upon that, we have privately met together, and, if we have the courage and ſpirit to exert ourſelves, we may venture to ſhew ourſelves in publick.’

This diſcovery was owing to the torments which the women were expoſed to, who added, that *Pheroras* had adviſed them to fly with him to *Peræa*. Now *Herod*, from the mention of the hundred talents, was induced to credit all they had ſaid; for *Antipater* was the only perſon he had mentioned that affair to. In conſequence of this, *Antipater*'s mother *Doris* felt the greateſt weight of his indignation; for after he had deprived her of her dignity and apparel which he had given her, and which was worth ſeveral talents, he baniſhed her from the palace the ſecond time; and reconciling himſelf to the women of *Pheroras*, he mitigated their puniſhment, and ordered them to be taken from the rack. Notwithſtanding, fears ſtill confounded him, and every ſlight ſuſpicion rouzed him up; for he dragged a great many innocent perſons to the rack, and ſeemed fearful to paſs by any that he thought were guilty.

The next inſtance of his revenge was on *Antipater* the *Samaritan*, who was procurator of *Antipater* his ſon. On putting him to the rack, he found that *Antipater*, by the aſſiſtance of his friend *Antiphilus*, had received poiſon out of *Egypt* which was to deſtroy his father, and that *Thendion*, *Antipater*'s uncle, received it from him, and gave it to *Pheroras*. That *Antipater* had given *Pheroras* orders to kill *Herod* while he was at *Rome*, out of the way of any ſuſpicions: That *Pheroras* had given the poiſon to his wife to keep. The king hereupon ſent for her, and commanded her to bring him what ſhe had received. She, as though her deſign had been to fetch what ſhe was ordered, went out, and threw herſelf headlong from the top of the palace, in order to prevent any diſcovery being made by her, and any puniſhment the king might inflict upon her. The providence of God, who had decreed the puniſhment of *Antipater*, preſerved her from ruin; for as ſhe was falling down a pinnacle catched hold of her; whereupon, being brought before the king, he asked her the reaſon of her throwing herſelf down, and ſwore he would forgive her if ſhe confeſſed the truth; but if ſhe concealed any thing from him, he would order her body to be torn in pieces and conſumed, that no part of her ſhould be left to be interred.

To this the woman, after a little pauſe, ſaid, 'Why, now *Pheroras* is dead, ſhould I refrain from bringing ſome ſecrets to light, or why ſhould I endeavour to ſave *Antipater*, who will prove all our utter deſtruction? Give ear, O king, and be God, who cannot be impoſed upon, witneſs with you of the truth I am going to confeſs. When with a flood of tears in your eyes you ſat by dying *Pheroras*, then it was he called me to him, and ſaid, Have not I, my wife, ſtrangely wandered from the true notions of love my brother has for me, who have hated him when he loved me ſo well, and have conſpired to put him to death, who is ſo paſſionately moved at the thought of my leaving the world? But my impious endeavours have met with their due reward. Do you, however, bring the poiſon which *Antipater* left with us, and was procured for him, and now is in your cuſtody, and in my ſight immediately throw it into the fire, that in the realms below I may not be tormented with a conſcience full of ſo much guilt. I brought it, as he had commanded me, and in his ſight threw the greateſt part of it into the fire, but, full of apprehenſions from you, I kept a ſmall ſhare, in the dubious circumſtances my life was involved, for myſelf.'

Upon this ſhe went out and brought in the bowl, and a little of the poiſon in it. The king thereupon put the mother and the brother of *Antiphilus* to the rack, who declared that *Antiphilus* brought the bowl out of *Egypt*, and that his brother, a phyſician at *Alexandria*, had given him the poiſon. The ſhades of *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus* traverſed round the whole palace, and made inquiſition into and brought to light what ſeemed the fartheſt from diſcovery; for they who were the leaſt liable to ſuſpicion were called to account. And from hence even *Mariamne*, who was the high-prieſt's daughter, could not ſecure herſelf from her having a hand in the treacheries, being diſcovered by her own brothers on the rack. Beſides, *Herod* puniſhed the mother's boldneſs in the ſon, expunging from his will *Herod*, who was born of her, and who was appointed *Antipater*'s ſucceſſor.

CHAP. XXXI.

Antipater *is diſcovered by* Bathyllus; *but, ignorant of it, returns from* Rome. Herod *allows him a Day for his Defence.*

BATHYLLUS, after this, gave a confirmation to theſe diſcoveries, as putting the laſt hand to the deſigns of *Antipater*, whoſe freedman he was. He came and brought another preparation of poiſon, made of the juices of aſps and other ſerpents, with deſign, if the firſt potion did not prevail, *Pheroras* and his wife might uſe this. But to ſhew how far beyond this *Antipater*'s preſumption was againſt his father, he brought letters wrote with his own hand againſt his brothers. Now *Archelaus* and *Philippus*, the king's ſons, were educated at *Rome*, and though but young, gave ſigns of an extraordinary and noble ſoul. *Antipater* taking notice that theſe young princes increaſed the opinion the world had of them more than what he hoped for, was deſirous not to be long in taking them out of the way, and with this view he wrote threatning letters to them in the names of his friends that lived at *Rome*; and prevailed upon others, with the preſents of money he made them, to write, and alledge that they were virulently bent againſt their father with their tongues, and publickly mourned for *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, and were much offended at their being recalled. For their father had ordered them home, which greatly diſturbed *Antipater*.

While *Antipater* was yet in *Judea*, and before he took his journey to *Rome*, he got, for money, theſe ſort of letters to be ſent from *Rome* againſt the young princes; and at the ſame time artfully went to his father, who then had no ſuſpicions of him, and excuſed them to him, remonſtrating that ſeveral of the particulars mentioned in the letters, were falſe, and the others frailties to which youth were naturally expoſed. Beſides, after he had largely rewarded the perſons who had wrote theſe letters againſt his brothers, he ſtrove, by buying up rich garments and carpets of various colours, and gold and ſilver goblets, and a great number of other furniture, to confound the charge, he had been at, ſo much that no diſcovery might be made. His main deſign being by the vaſt ſums of money he had laid out in the purchaſe of theſe ſeveral particulars, to conceal the expence he had been at in procuring his forged epiſtles. His expences amounted to two hundred talents, and the cauſe he had to try againſt *Syllæus* was made the groſs pretence for expending ſuch a large ſum. All the actions of leſſer importance which he committed were diſcovered from thoſe of a more heinous nature; for when every one diſcovered his guilt of parricide, and the letters themſelves produced ample evidence of his traiterous deſigns againſt his brothers, yet not one who went to *Rome* mentioned a ſylable of the deſperate ſtate his affairs in *Judea* were in, though between the diſcovery that was made and his return full ſeven months were paſt, and perhaps thoſe who had a mind to acquaint him, had their tongues tied by the ghoſts of his brothers that had been ſlain, who called for vengeance. In ſhort, he ſent a letter from *Rome*, with an account of his quick return, and the honourable farewel he was to receive from *Cæſar*.

The king ardently deſiring to have the traitor in his hands, and fearing, ſhould he get any previous intelligence of what had happened in his abſence, he would prevent his deſigns, concealed his anger, and pretended great kindneſs, and deſired him to come as ſoon as poſſible; for his immediate preſence might be a means of removing the complaints that had been made againſt his mother. For *Antipater* was not ignorant that his mother had been baniſhed the palace. He received the firſt news of the death of *Pheroras* at *Tarentum* in a letter; whereupon he ſhewed ſigns of a vaſt ſorrow, which ſome commended as done to the memory of his uncle. But, admitting room for conjectures, the cauſe of his uneaſineſs was, the contrary ſucceſs his ſchemes had met with, and his mourning was not ſo much for *Pheroras*, as that his inhuman meaſures did not anſwer his expectations. Beſides, his fears increaſed as he apprehended the poiſon might be found out. When he came into *Cilicia*, he received the letter which his father ſent him, as we have mentioned above, upon which he haſtened his journey. But ſailing to *Celendris*, he began to have ſome reflexions about his mother's diſgrace, and his mind preſaged ſome evil conſequences to himſelf. Some of his more prudent friends hereupon adviſed him not to move a ſtep farther to his father, till he had received good intelligence for what reaſons he had baniſhed his mother the palace, they being full of fears leſt the crimes alledged againſt her ſhould affect them alſo. But thoſe who were leſs provided and wary, and had a ſtronger deſire to ſee again their native country, than to conſult what was for the advantage and ſecurity of *Antipater*, adviſed him to make all the haſte he could, and not by delays give his father an opportunity to ſuſpect him wrongfully, and a fair pretence to his enemies to accuſe him, for that if any thing was then raiſed againſt him, his abſence would give ſufficient room for it, and if he had been preſent, no one would have attempted any thing. That it was ridiculous through uncertain ſuſpicions to deprive himſelf of advantages that were certain, and not to return quickly to his father, and receive from him the kingdom, putting his whole truſt in him alone. Theſe latter perſuading him, and the providence of God urging him to it, after weighing anchor from thence he arrived at *Sebaſtus*, a port of *Cæſarea*.

Here he was deſerted in an extraordinary manner, for every one ſhunned him, neither did any dare to come near him. For every one hated him, and none were afraid to diſcover their reſentment. Several, through terror and fear of the king, were awed from joining him; becauſe a report, prejudicial to *Antipater*, had filled all the cities, and *Antipater* was the only one that was ignorant of what was acted againſt him; for no one, when he ſailed for *Rome*, was conducted out with greater magnificence, nor any one received from thence with leſs marks of diſtinction. When he began to have ſuſpicions of the evils that waited for him at home, he behaved with great artifice, and diſſembled all his fears, and when he was almoſt dead with reflecting on what might happen to him, he was forced to appear brisk and undaunted. But no way of eſcape laid open for him, nor was he able to extricate himſelf out of the troubles that ſurrounded him: He could get no certain intelligence where he was, becauſe of the menaces the king had given, in what ſituation his family ſtood; yet he had ſome dawn of hope ſtill left him, either that none of his deſigns were found out, or, if his ſchemes were diſcovered, that he might by his aſſurance and artifice clear himſelf from the guilt, which was the only remedy he ſaw that could poſſibly ſecure him.

Wherefore, thus prepared and fortified, he entered the palace without his friends. For they were diſhonourably repulſed at the firſt gate. *Varus*, the governor of *Syria*, caſually was in the palace at this time. On his going into his father, and aſſuming a confident behaviour, he approached nearer, with a deſign of complimenting him; but the king ſtretching out his hands, and turning away his head, cried out, ‘ And this is the ſign of a parricide, over-‘ head and ears in villanies, who wants to embrace me. Avaunt, ungrateful villain, and do not touch me, till you have proved yourſelf innocent of the accuſations brought againſt you. I will give you both a court and a judge, who ſeaſonably is here preſent; I mean *Varus*. Go, and againſt to-morrow be ready to make your defence. And thus you ſee I grant you time to collect what artifices you can to clear yourſelf.’

This ſpeech confounding him to the laſt degree, as he could make no anſwer thereto, he departed out of the room. When his mother and wife came to him, they acquainted him with every diſcovery that had been made, which opening clearly his eyes, he began to think how to make his defence.

CHAP. XXXII.

Antipater is accuſed before Varus. *He is found a Traitor by the moſt manifeſt Diſcoveries and Proofs.* Herod *defers his Puniſhment till he recovers, and in the mean Time alters his Will.*

NEXT day the king ſummoned a council of his relations and friends, to which he alſo called *Antipater*’s friends. He and *Varus* were preſidents. The witneſſes were ordered to be produced; among whom were the ſervants of *Antipater*’s mother, who lately before had been apprehended, and who brought a letter wrote from her to her ſon, to the following effect:

‘Since your father is come to the knowledge of every thing, pray don’t come to him, unleſs you can obtain a ſufficient guard from *Cæſar*.’ Some others were produced with this, whereupon *Antipater* entered, and throwing himſelf proſtrate at his father’s feet, ‘Father, I beg you, ſaid he, not raſhly to condemn me, but liſten to my defence with open and unprejudiced ears; for, if you pleaſe I will ſhew myſelf innocent of the crimes laid to my charge.’

Herod with a loud voice commanding him to ſilence, thus ſpoke to *Varus*: ‘I am very well perſuaded, *Varus*, that you, and every other juſt judge, will pronounce *Antipater* to be an enormous tranſgreſſor; notwithſtanding, I have ſome fears upon me, that tell me, my condition diſpleaſes you, and that I ought to be thought worthy of my misfortunes, who have begot ſuch ſons. But pity rather ought to incline on my ſide, and you ought to be moved with compaſſion for me, for having ſo affectionately and tenderly loved ſuch wicked and undutiful children. For I made my former ſons, even in their youth, ſucceſſors to my kingdom, and, not to mention the great expence I was at in their education at *Rome*, friends to *Cæſar*, and to be envied by other kings; but when I found them traitors to me, I put them to death to gratify *Antipater*, to whom I was pleaſed to afford my ſhelter every way I could think on, as he was young and my ſucceſſor. But this abominable monſter, hath tried my patience beyond its bounds, and made me ſenſible of the ill I have brought on myſelf, by giving way to his malicious ſpirit. For he thinks I live too long, and my old age is an intolerable burthen to him, and he cannot ſuffer himſelf to gain the kingdom without committing parricide upon his father. And I muſt confeſs he hath juſtly formed theſe deſigns againſt me, becauſe I recalled him from baniſhment, and, by excluding all the ſons I had by a queen, declared him my ſucceſſor in the kingdom. *Varus*, to you I own my miſtake. I enraged thoſe ſons againſt me, becauſe, to favour *Antipater*, I deprived them of thoſe hopes they had a right to. And what favour did I confer upon them, that I did not load upon him in an extraordinary manner? I have almoſt thrown my own authority into his hands in my life time; openly and publickly made him in my will the ſucceſſor to my kingdom, allowed him a ſeparate revenue of five hundred talents, given him a large benefaction out of my own purſe, preſented him with three hundred talents on his late journey to *Rome*, and been pleaſed to recommend him to *Cæſar* as the only preſerver I had in all my family, and the faithful ſupport of his father. Can they be taxed with any wickedneſs againſt me ſo great as *Antipater* has involved himſelf in? Have any circumſtances appeared againſt them, ſo flagrant as thoſe that prove *Antipater* a traitor? Yet the parricide has the aſſurance to ſpeak for himſelf, and hopes, by artificial reaſoning, once more to diſguiſe the truth, and ſcreen himſelf from puniſhment. I would fain intimate to you, *Varus*, to be circumſpect; for I am too well acquainted with the monſter, and plainly foreſee the fine tales he is going to tell, and the falſe tears he is about to let fall. This is the man who ſome time ſince adviſed me, while *Alexander* was alive, to look narrowly after him, and not truſt my body to every one. And this is the man who uſually entered my bed chamber to look round if no conſpiracy was forming againſt me. This is the man who took care of my repoſe, and looked after my ſecurity, who adminiſtred conſolation to my ſorrow when I lamented the unhappy cataſtrophe of thoſe I ſlew; who gave his opinion, how my ſons, who were alive, ſtood affected to me, who was my buckler, and my body guard. *Varus*, when I bethink myſelf what a villain he has been to me in every circumſtance, and what a groſs diſſembler, can ſcarce think I am alive, and I am aſtoniſhed to think how I have ſecured myſelf from ſuch a traitor. But ſince it looks as though, thro’ the will of God, my family is become thus deſolate; the perſons I love beſt in the world have reſolved againſt my repoſe, I cannot but mourn at my unfortunate condition, yet not a ſoul that thirſts after my blood ſhall eſcape my hands, though proofs were produced againſt all the ſons I have.’

As he ſpoke, the emotion of his ſoul was ſo great, that he could proceed no farther: But addreſſing himſelf to *Nicholaus*, one of his friends, he ordered him to carry on the proſecution. In the mean time, *Antipater*, who lay proſtrate at the feet of his father, raiſed up his head, and ſpoke aloud, ‘Father, you have pleaded my cauſe for me, for how am I a parricide, who have your own confeſſion, that I have conſtantly been your defender. You ſtile my kind obſervance a pack of monſtrous lies, and the greateſt diſſimulation. How come I then, in other reſpects a man of ſuch penetration, to be ſo ſtupid and unthinking, as not to know, that although it is difficult for men to find out the plotter of ſo great an impiety, yet the celeſtial judge cannot be ignorant of it, whoſe eyes are every where, and who is preſent in every place? Was I a ſtranger to the fatal end of my brothers, whoſe puniſhment God hath ſuffered in ſo rigid a manner for their conſpiring to put you to death? What was it that hath thus irritated you againſt me? Was it ambition to have your kingdom? But I was in poſſeſſion of one. Was it any ſuſpicion of hatred? Was not I well beloved? Had you any other fears? I preſerved you in ſafety, and made my ſelf a terror to others. Was it through indigence, or want of money! Who had ſuch liberty as I to make my expences what I pleaſed? But I am repreſented as the vileſt man in the whole world, actuated with the ſpirit of the moſt heinous monſter. Ought not, father, all your extraordinary indulgences and favours to have weight with me, who, according to your own words, was reſtored to a palace, preferred before ſo many ſons, proclaimed a king in your life time, and by the vaſt acceſſion of other favours attracted the envy of others? Alas, unhappy man that I am, from my own bitter pilgrimage! what a long time have I given to detraction, and what a lengthen'd ſpace to my adverſaries. But, father, it was alone for you, and to manage your affairs, that I readily undertook my journey, to hinder *Syllæus* from bringing your grey hairs into contempt. *Rome* bears teſtimony of my duty, and *Cæſar*, the ruler of the world, who ſeveral times called me a lover of my father. Here, my father, peruſe this letter he has ſent; which deſerves more credit than the falſe accuſations againſt me. It is my ſole defence, and the beſt argument to prove my love for you. Think with what reluctance I ſailed from hence, as well knowing that malicious ſpirits were ſecretly concealed in the kingdom againſt me. Father, you have ruined me againſt your own inclination, in forcing me to allow time to my enemies to accuſe me. But now I am face to face, I ſtand to oppoſe any diſcoveries againſt me. I have ſuffered no misfortunes either on ſea or land as a parricide, though this argument makes nothing to my advantage. For I am found guilty both with God and you, my father. But as I am condemned, I requeſt that you would not confide in the torments of others, but let me be burned, or my body expoſed to the torture of the rack. I do not deſire any favour to my abominable body, for if I am a parricide, I ought not to die without feeling the greareſt torments.’ Theſe words he delivered with vaſt ſighs, and a flood of tears, and melted all the audience, even *Varus* himſelf, to compaſſion, except *Herod*, who, knowing the proofs to be true, could not weep through his exceſs of anger.

Upon this, *Nicolaus*, at the command of the king, ſtood up, and premiſing a great deal about the crafty inſinuation of *Antipater*, and taking away all room for pity of him, he then began a very terrible charge againſt him, aſcribing to him all the baſe and vile practices that had been committed in the palace, chiefly the death of his brothers, whom he proved to have periſhed by the wicked ſtratagems he had been the author of. Beſides, he ſaid that he had conſpired againſt thoſe who ſurvived, pretending they obſtructed him in the ſucceſſion: For how was it poſſible, alledged he, that he ſhould ſpare his brothers, who had prepared poiſon for his father? But when he came to the proofs about the poiſon, he related every thing juſt as it happened; and was in a violent rage about *Pheroras*, for *Antipater*'s making him a fratricide, and, after he had corrupted all the king's beſt friends, filling all the palace with wickedneſs. And thus, having produced ſeveral other allegations and proofs, he made an end of ſpeaking.

Varus hereupon (commanding *Antipater* to make anſwer; who, without ſaying any thing beſides, God is the witneſs of my innocence, lay without uttering a word) ordered the poiſon to be produced, and gave it to a condemned criminal to drink, who preſently dying therewith, he took *Herod* aſide to ſpeak privately with him, and then wrote *Cæſar* a letter of the tranſactions of the aſſembly, and the next day departed: Whereupon the king impriſoned *Antipater*, and ſent perſons to *Cæſar*, to acquaint him with his condition.

After this *Antipater* was charged with a conſpiracy againſt the life of *Salome*. One of *Antiphilus*'s domeſticks came, and brought a letter from *Acme*, one of *Julia*'s waiting women, who was named ſo. It was written by her to the king, and pretended to be found by her among the letters ſent by *Salome* to *Julia*, which, ſhe ſaid, ſhe ſent him through the reſpect ſhe bore him. This pretended letter of *Salome*'s was full of bitter invectives againſt the king, and charged him with very heinous crimes. The whole was a forgery of *Antipater*'s, who having corrupted *Acme* with a ſum of money, adviſed her to ſend the letter to *Herod*. But the cheat was diſcovered by a letter ſhe wrote him, which was to this effect:

‘According to your deſire, I have wrote to your father, and ſent the letter to him, being very well aſſured, when he peruſes it, that *Salome* will not eſcape. You will do me a ſignal piece of ſervice, after every thing is over, to keep to the promiſes you have made me.’

This, and the other letter which was forged againſt *Salome*, being diſcovered, the king began to think that in all probability thoſe againſt *Alexander* were forged in the ſame manner. He was vaſtly diſturbed in mind and concerned, that through means of *Antipater* it was ten to one but he had put his ſiſter to death. He no longer now delayed inflicting a juſt puniſhment upon him for all his crimes: but as he was rouzing up his avenging arm againſt him, he fell into a violent illneſs. However, he wrote *Cæſar* a letter, wherein he laid open the actions of *Acme*, and the accuſation maliciouſly forged againſt *Salome*: and then ordering his will to he brought him, he altered it, and made *Antipas* king, in priority to *Archelaus* and *Philip*, who were both elder, *Antipater* having accuſed them. In this will he bequeathed a thouſand talents to *Cæſar*, excluſive of the veſſels and other legacies he left him, and gave about five hundred talents to his wife, children, friends, and freedmen; and to all others large legacies of lands and money, and left his ſiſter *Salome* a very conſiderable ſum. And theſe were the alterations he made to his will.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The golden eagle is caſt down. The cruelty of Herod *at the point of death. He endeavours to lay hands upon himſelf. He orders* Antipater *to be put to death. He dies five days after.*

HIS illneſs increaſed upon him, as old age and ſorrow impaired his health, being now almoſt ſeventy years of age, and ſo dejected in mind from the conſtant ſucceſſion of troubles his ſons had expoſed him to, that even in his intervals of health he could not entertain any joy or pleaſure. But *Antipater* being ſtill alive, heightened his indiſpoſition, whom, on his recovery, he had reſolved to put to death, but not till then.

But while theſe misfortunes threatened *Herod*, the people broke out into a violent commotion. There were in the city one *Judas*, the ſon of *Sepphoræus* and *Matthias* the ſon of *Margulus*, both (1) ſophiſts, who were eſteemed, excellently well verſed in the laws of their country, and in great reputation with every body. When they were expounding the law, a great number of young fellows gathered to them, and every day they received a conſiderable increaſe of the ſame kind of perſons. On hearing that the king lay ill not only in body but in mind, they harangued their pupils, and told them what an opportunity was thrown in to their hands to vindicate the honour of God, and pull down all thoſe buildings that had been erected in oppoſition to the laws of their country. For it was very wicked to have in the temple either the images, or the appearances of, or any other work that denoted or was called after the names of live animals. The king, it ſeems, had made a golden eagle, and ſet it up over the great gate of the temple, which theſe ſophiſts adviſed them to pull down, ſaying, how glorious an action it would be, though danger was in the attempt, to ſacrifice their lives in defiance of the laws. For they, who ſubmitted their lives in this manner, would obtain a crown of immortality, and an everlaſting enjoyment of happineſs; but that there were a great number of perſons not ſo couragious as to act in this manner, being either ignorant of their wiſdom and doctrine, or ſuch deſpiſers of their own ſouls, that their inclinations were rather to die by a diſtemper, than in the performance of ſome heroic act.

While they were enlarging on this ſubject, it was rumoured that the king was on the point of death; ſo that the young rabble were emboldened to ſet about the buſineſs with greater alacrity. So about noon-time of day, while ſeveral were buſied in the temple, having let themſelves down by thick ropes from the top, they cut down the eagle with their axes. The news of this tranſaction was ſoon conveyed to the king's governor, who haſtening thither with a ſufficient force, took about (2) forty young men priſoners, and carried them to the king; who putting the queſtion to them, and asking them if they had had the aſſurance to cut down the golden eagle; anſwered, they had done ſo. He then asking them by whoſe command; by the order of the laws of our country, ſaid they. And when he demanded the reaſon of their being ſo joyful when they were going to be ſlain; they told him, becauſe they ſhould upon this account enjoy a particular happineſs after their deaths.

Theſe anſwers enraging the king to a violent degree, he ſeemed to conquer his indiſpoſition by his exceſſive paſſion, and accordingly ſummoned a council, where enlarging much on their ſacrilegious practices, and inveighing bitterly againſt what they had done, and in particular their making the law a pretence for the heinous offence they had committed; he judged it but juſtice that they ſhould ſuffer as impious men. The people fearing a great many might be diſcovered and ſuffer, begged him, after he had puniſhed the authors of the action, and the others who were taken in the fact, to pardon the reſt. This, at laſt, the king conſented to; who, having ordered the ſophiſts, and thoſe who let themſelves down by the ropes, to be burnt alive; ſurrendered the others, who were taken into the hands of his miniſters to ſuffer puniſhment.

After this, the violence of his diſtemper diffuſing it ſelf throughout every part of his body, tormented it with intolerable pains. The fever he had on him was not ſo vehement: he had an intolerable itching all over his head, his neck ſuffered continual pains, and about his feet burſt out humours full of water: he had a prodigious ſwelling in the lower part of his belly, and his genitals putrefying, ſwarmed with worms: beſides theſe torments, unleſs he was ſet upright, he could not fetch breath, and then it was with great difficulty. He had convulſions in every part of his body, which made the wiſe men give out, that ſuch a complication of diſtempers was a juſt puniſhment for the barbarous deaths of their ſophiſts. Though he was afflicted with theſe various calamities, he had ſtill a longing deſire to live; and entertaining hopes he ſhould ſtill recover, he had phyſicians to attend him. For this purpoſe he went over *Jordan*, and uſed the hot waters, which are near *Callirhoe*, they being ſo ſweet as to be pleaſant to drink, though they run into the lake *Aſphaltites*. His phyſicians here were of opinion, that dipping his body all over in a caſk of oil, would very much ſtrengthen it; but his eyes, in the operation, were quite enervated, and reſembled thoſe of a perſon in the agonies of death. The ſervants who were about him ſeeing this melancholy ſight, were in great diſorder, and *Herod*, rouzed up with the noiſe, came again to himſelf; but after this, placing no longer hope in a recovery, he ordered a donation of fifty drachma's each to his ſoldiers, and a large ſum of money to be diſtributed among his officers and friends.

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(1) The laws were expounded to youth by theſe ſophiſts, as we learn from this paſſage. In the ſeventeenth book of the Antiquities, where Joſephus recitesthe ſame hiſtory, he calls them *Exegetas, nomon* expounders of the laws; by which name the Romans called their juriſperiti, or lawyers; but commonly they were called *Nomicoi*, which ſignifies the ſame thing. The ſophiſts were doctors of the law, and the ſame as the *Nomicoi*, or lawyers, mentioned by St. Luke, ch. xi. ver. 45. Reland.

(2) Among them were Judas and Matthias, the firſt promoters of the action. Ant. B. 17. c. 6. ſect. 3.

Removing hence to *Hiericho*, though then overwhelmed with the deepeſt melancholy, and death preſenting it ſelf continually before him; yet he attempted to commit one of the moſt diſmal and cruel actions in the world. He commanded all the illuſtrious men of *Judæa*, who were aſſembled together out of their ſeveral villages and towns, to be ſhut up in the place, which was called the *Hippodrome*; then having ſent for his ſiſter *Salome*, and her huſband *Alexander*, "I am ſatisfied, ſays he, that the *Jews* after my death will celebrate feſtivals, and keep their ſolemn days in memory of me; but I may make my ſelf be mourned for the ſake of others, and gain a famous ſcene of funeral honours; provided you are willing to execute my commands. Theſe men who are pent up, as ſoon as I ſhall give up the ghoſt, let them periſh together, by ordering my ſoldiers to go in to them and deſtroy them all: by which means all *Judæa*, and every family, ſhould be forced to adorn my death with their tears."

He had juſt given theſe orders, when ambaſſadors from *Rome* arriving, brought a letter with an account that *Anne*, by order of *Cæſar*, had been put to death, and that *Antipater* was condemned to die. The letter alſo ſaid, that if his father was rather inclined to baniſh him, he had *Cæſar*'s permiſſion to do ſo. *Herod* hereupon began to deſire a continuance of his life; but want of ſuſtenance, and a convulſive cough, exhauſting his animal ſpirits, and being again borne down with ſorrow, he was reſolved to kill himſelf. Accordingly, taking an apple into his hand, he asked for a knife, (generally eating them cut) and then looking about him to ſee if any body was near to hinder him, he raiſed his arm as if he had deſigned to have wounded himſelf; but his couſin *Achiabus* running haſtily, got hold of his hand and prevented him. Suddenly the whole palace was in lamentation, as though the king had been actually dead; and when *Antipater* heard it, he took heart, and with ſigns of great gladneſs deſired the guards, with a promiſe of a large ſum of money, to ſet him at liberty: but their officer not only forbad it, but ran and acquainted the king with his treachery, who briskly called and ſaid how well he ſuſtained his illneſs, and then ſent immediately ſome of his ſpearmen to put *Antipater* to death. After he had ordered his body to be carried to and buried in *Hyrcanium*, he altered his will again, and appointed therein his eldeſt ſon (1) *Archelaus* his ſucceſſor, brother of *Antipas*, whom he made a tetrarch.

Herod ſurvived the death of his ſon five days and then died; having reigned (2) thirty four years from the time he put *Antigonus* to death, and thirty ſeven from his being firſt declared king by the *Romans*. He was bleſt with a proſperous run of good fortune, if any one can be ſaid ſo; in obtaining a kingdom, when but a private man, and keeping it ſo long time, and then leaving it to his ſons: but he was the moſt unfortunate man living, in his domeſtick affairs. *Salome*, before the army came to know the king's death, went with her huſband and diſcharged all thoſe who were pent up in the hippodrome, who were ordered by the king to be put to death, telling them the king had altered his reſolution, and diſmiſſed them to go to their ſeveral habitations. As ſoon as they were gone, ſhe then acquainted the army with his death, and aſſembled them with the reſt of the people, together in the amphitheater at *Hiericho*; where *Ptolomy*, who kept the royal ſignet ſtepping amongſt them, harrangued them on the proſperity of their king, and gave conſolatory words, and read to them the letter *Herod* had left; in which he begged them earneſtly to be loyal and obedient to his ſucceſſor.

Then, after having peruſed the letter, he opened and read over the will; in which *Philip* was declared heir of *Trachon* and the territories adjoining; *Antipater*, as we have obſerved above, made a tetrarch, and *Archelaus* the king. The ring was commanded in the will to be carried to *Cæſar*; and the accounts of the government, which he had ſealed up: for his intention was, that *Cæſar* ſhould be chief director of every thing he had appointed, and the ratifier of his will; but that the other articles ſhould ſtand good as they were ſet down in the former will.

Preſently a loud noiſe was heard of the people congratulating *Archelaus*; and the ſoldiers in companies, blending with the other multitude about him, aſſured him of their obedience, and deſired God to ſhower down his favour and bleſſings upon him. After this, they began to conſider about interring the deceaſed king. *Archelaus* left nothing undone that might contribute to the magnificence of his father's funeral, but purchaſed all the choiceſt ornaments he could get, that the deceaſed might be conveyed in pomp to his grave. There was a bier made of pure gold, and embelliſhed all over with rich gems, covered with a fine carpet, which ſhone with ſeveral curious colours; the corpſe, dreſs'd in purple, lay upon this: a diadem was placed on his head, a gold crown beneath, and a ſcepter in his hand. The bier was accompanied by his ſons, and a large number of his relations; and after them followed his guards, a band of *Thracians*, *Germans*, and *Gauls*, all accouter'd, and in their martial habiliments, as though they were marching out to war. The reſt of his army went before, all in arms, following the officers and conductors of their ranks in a very handſome and decent manner; and after theſe came five hundred of his ſervants and freedmen, bearing aromaticks. The corpſe, after a proceſſion of (1) two hundred furlongs, was, according to the king's order, interred in *Herodium*. And this is the period of thoſe circumſtances that regard *Herod*.

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(1) Born of Malthane the Samaritan, whom with Philip he had before paſſed by, when he appointed Antipas to be king. Aldrich. See Ant. Book 17. c. 8. ſect. 1. where Herod declares Archelaus king, and Antipas a tetrarch. Spanheim.

(2) This and the following number appear in all the Greek and Latin books of our author; and Joſephus in Ant. Book 17. c. 8. mentions the ſame; as do Zonaras and others out of him. So that there is no reaſon to make any doubt about them, though ſome famous chronologers have done ſo.

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(1) Twenty-five Engliſh miles.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

JEWISH WAR;

OR, THE

JEWISH HISTORY of the FALL.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Archelaus *gives the People a Funeral Entertainment, on Account of* Herod'*s Death; afterwards a violent Sedition breaking out among them, he ſends his Soldiers againſt them, who ſlay Three Thouſand of them.*

THE neceſſity *Archelaus* was under to take a tour to *Rome,* gave riſe to freſh diſturbances. After he had mourned for his father (*a*) ſeven days, and given the people a magnificent funeral entertainment, (this being a cuſtom that has impoveriſhed a great many *Jews,* becauſe they are obliged thus to entertain the people, and he that omits this ceremony, is branded with infamy) he put on a white robe, and went to the temple, where the people received him with many joyful acclamations. He, from his high tribunal and golden throne, made a mild ſpeech to the multitude, and thanked them for the ready obedience they had ſhewn him in performing the funeral of his father, and for that loyalty which they expreſſed to him, as tho' he had already been firmly eſtabliſhed king. 'But, he ſaid, he would not only for the preſent refrain from putting his authority in execution, but alſo from aſſuming any royal titles, till *Cæſar,* who by the will was conſtituted ſovereign of all, had confirmed the ſucceſſion to him; neither would he receive the crown at *Hiericho,* which the army had deſigned him. However, for their alacrity and loyalty, as ſoon as the ſovereign of the world had fully declared him king, he would give the army and the people his perfect acknowledgment, and endeavour in all things to ſhew himſelf more worthy of their love and obedience than his father.'

The multitude rejoicing at this promiſing beginning, ſoon made trial of his diſpoſition, by demanding from him ſeveral large conceſſions. For ſome roared out, that it was neceſſary the taxes ſhould be removed; others, that the tolls ſhould be taken away; and ſome again, that the priſoners ſhould have their liberty. He, to gain the affection of the people, readily complied with their deſires; and then, having offered divine ſacrifice, he feaſted with his friends. Toward the evening, a pretty large number of thoſe who wanted a change, having aſſembled together, as ſoon as the general mourning for the king was over, began to bemoan their own hard fate, lamenting for thoſe whom *Herod* had put to death for cutting down from the gate of the temple the golden eagle. The ſadneſs and dejection of the multitude on this occaſion, was far from being concealed; for the whole city was full of nothing but lamentation, ſorrow, and cries, for thoſe men, who, as they ſaid, had periſhed in defence of the laws of their country, and the honour of the temple. They loudly demanded to

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(*a*) It appears from Gen. l. 10. that to mourn ſeven Days was a Cuſtom of the moſt remote Antiquity. The Antiquity of Funeral Entertainments is ſufficiently mentioned, Ezek. xxiv. 17. Jerem. xvi. 7. Prov. xxxi. 6. Deut. xxvi. 14. Aldrich.

have their ignominious deaths revenged upon thoſe who were in *Herod's* ſervice; and firſt required that the high-prieſt, whom he had conſtituted, ſhould be removed; for it was but juſtice that another ſhould be elected to ſacrifice for them, and one who was of a more ſanctified life, and more proper to perform the functions of his ſacred office.

Theſe proceedings irritated *Archelaus* to the laſt degree, but as he was making all the ready preparations he could, to go to *Rome*, he reſtrained taking then any revenge, fearing, leſt the multitude which had render'd itſelf odious to him, ſhould by any commotion retard him in his intended journey. For which reaſon, he ſtrove by perſuaſion, more than by force, to pacify the diſturbances, and by the general of his army, whom he had ſent to that end, begged and intreated them to keep themſelves quiet, but the authors of the ſedition, on his coming to the temple, before even he could get time to ſpeak a word, repulſed him back with ſtones; and ſeveral others, (whom *Archelaus* ordered to go) who went after him to reduce them to a right ſenſe of their duty, met with the ſame outragious treatment. So that it was manifeſt, the diſturbance would increaſe with their number. In conſequence of this, at the feaſt of *Azymuth*, called by the *Jews* the (*a*) *Paſſover*, at which time a vaſt number of ſacrifices are offered, and a prodigious multitude of people from all parts of the country, on account of religion, came up to the temple; they who mourned for the ſophiſts, had then aſſemblies in the temple, and begg'd proviſion of thoſe who were ripe for the ſame commotions. This proceeding terrifying *Archelaus*, before the venom diffuſed itſelf through all the multitude, he privately ſent a tribune and a company of men in arms, with orders to reſtrain by force the authors of the ſedition. The whole multitude was furiouſly enraged againſt them, and the greater part of the company of men at arms periſhed with the ſtones that were thrown at them: But the tribune, who was wounded, got off, though with a great deal of difficulty. Thoſe who were concerned in this ſedition, after this, as though they had committed no crime, went to ſacrificing, but *Archelaus* plainly ſeeing now there was no way but by bloodſhed, to curb their violence, ſent his whole army againſt them, poſting the foot throughout the city, and the horſe throughout the plain, who falling upon them, as every man of them was buſied in ſacrificing, ſlew about three thouſand on the ſpot, and forced the reſt to ſeek ſhelter in the neighbouring mountains. The heralds of *Archelaus* followed, and commanded every one to retire to his habitation. And thus leaving the ſolemnity they were engaged in, they departed.

CHAP. II.

Archelaus *goes to* Rome *with a vaſt Retinue of his Relations. There* Antipater *accuſes him before* Auguſtus. *He carries his Point, through the Defence* Nicolaus *made of him.*

NOW *Archelaus*, leaving *Philip* to take care of his palaces and his family, with his mother *Poplas*, *Nicolaus*, and *Ptolomy*, his friends, went down to the ſea. *Salome*, with her ſons, attended him, as did alſo the king's brothers and brothers-in-law, pretending to aſſiſt *Archelaus* in obtaining the ſucceſſion to the kingdom confirmed to him; but in fact, to accuſe him with thoſe things he had done in the temple in oppoſition to the laws.

Sabinus, the governor of *Syria*, who was coming into *Juaea* to put a guard on *Herod's* treaſure, met them at *Cæſarea*. *Varus*, who was come before him at the importunity of *Ptolomy*, who had been ſent by *Archelaus* to that end, hindered him from proceeding any farther. *Sabinus*, to pleaſe *Varus*, neither offered to ſeize on the caſtles, nor ſhut up *Herod's* treaſure from *Archelaus*, but promiſed to remain neuter till *Cæſar* had given his determination in the affair. Accordingly, he remained at *Cæſarea*; but as ſoon as one of thoſe who had obſtructed him in his deſign was gone to *Antioch*, and *Archelaus* ſailed for *Rome*, he marched immediately up to *Hieroſolyma*, and ſeized upon the palaces; and then ſending for the officers of the garriſons, and the treaſurers, he endeavoured to get an account of the money, and the caſtles into his power. But the governors were not unmindful of the commands of *Archelaus*, but bravely perſiſted to keep and defend every one of them, accounting the keeping of them due more to *Cæſar* than *Archelaus*.

Antipas alſo, at the ſame time, went to *Rome* to diſpute his title to the kingdom with *Archelaus*, deſiring to get the firſt will, wherein he was named king, to be eſteemed more valid than the laſt. *Salome*, and ſeveral of his relations who ſailed with *Archelaus*, having promiſed to aſſiſt him in laying his claim to the kingdom, he took his mother, and *Ptolomy*, the brother of *Nicolaus*, along with him, who, he thought, was a perſon of great conſequence, as *Herod* had entruſted him with affairs of importance, for he was his intimate friend. But *Irenæus* the orator, by his being a great maſter of eloquence, had a very great aſcendant over him; through his means he confuted thoſe who adviſed him to yield to his brother, alledging, that ſeniority of age, and the ſecond will, were poſitive arguments that he ſhould. All his relations at *Rome*, that diſliked *Archelaus*, eſpouſed his intereſt with a great deal of warmth; for every one deſired nothing more than to live agreeably to the laws of their country, under the adminiſtration of a *Roman* governor, or, if that was denied, to have *Antipas* for their king.

(*a*) Concerning the Feaſt of Azymuth. See Ant. Book 7. c. 9. ſect. 3. otherwiſe called the Paſſover.

Sabinus was a confederate in this faction, and ſent a letter to that very end; wherein he charged *Archelaus* with ſeveral indirect practices, and enlarged very much in the praiſes of *Antipas*. In conſequence hereof, as ſoon as *Salome* and her party had digeſted into ſome order the accuſations againſt *Archelaus*, they laid them before *Cæſar*; whereupon *Archelaus* ſent to *Cæſar*, by *Ptolomy*, the heads of his claim drawn up in writing, as alſo his father's ſignet, and the accounts of the kingdom. *Cæſar*, hereupon, maturely having weighed within himſelf the proofs and allegations on both ſides, the largeneſs of the kingdom, the prodigious revenues of it, the numerous offspring of *Herod*, and having peruſed the letters which *Varus* and *Sabinus* had ſent him concerning theſe ſeveral circumſtances, he called a council of the moſt dignified *Romans*, in which he gave the pre-eminence to *Caius*, ſon of *Agrippa* and his daughter *Julia*, whom he had adopted: And then gave liberty for each to deliver his ſentiments.

Immediately *Antipater*, *Salome*'s ſon, (the moſt ſubtle orator of all the adverſaries of *Archelaus*) roſe up, and accuſed him, ſaying, ‘That *Archelaus*, who in fact was a king before, came now to diſpute for a kingdom, and fill *Cæſar*'s ears with a number of vain and idle tales, whoſe determination and confirmation of the kingdom to him he did not wait for: But as ſoon as *Herod* was dead, ſuborned ſeveral to be ſent to place the diadem upon his head, ſat elevated on the throne, gave anſwers as though a king, changed the poſts in the army, conferred new dignities, and, after having granted to the people every thing which he deſired might be aſked from him as a king, and diſcharged out of priſon thoſe who were confined by his father for the moſt enormous crimes, comes now to crave the ſhadow of a kingdom from his maſter, the ſubſtance of which he hath already taken poſſeſſion of, making *Cæſar* herein a lord not of realities, but only of names. Beſides, he had diſhonoured himſelf, in ridiculing the mourning for his father by a groſs diſſimulation, putting on in the day time a countenance full of ſorrow, and carouſing in the night till he got up and danced; whence the commotion of the people, who could not ſuffer ſuch a flagrant abuſe, had ariſen. After this the ſubſtance of his ſpeech turned on his having committed ſuch a ſlaughter in the temple, of the people who, being aſſembled together to celebrate the feſtival, had their throats cut in a cruel manner, like the ſacrifices they themſelves ſlew; that ſuch vaſt heaps of dead carcaſſes lay expoſed in the temple, that the like was not to be found in any foreign battle, unleſs it had been cauſed by the judgment of God. That his father foreſaw this cruel temper of his mind; neither would he ever have given him any hope of the kingdom, unleſs the diſeaſe of his mind had been worſe than his body, or his ſenſes very much decayed, not knowing what a ſucceſſor he had appointed in his ſecond will; that there was no fault to be found with, or crime to be alledged againſt the other, conſtituted king in the firſt will, as he was ſound in body, and had a ſoul free from any pertubation, when he made him ſo.

‘But if any one ſhould think that the determination of a ſick perſon is more valid than of a perſon in health, yet it muſt be confeſſed that *Archelaus* hath deprived himſelf of the kingdom, in committing what he hath done againſt the laws. And pray what ſort of a king will he make, after he hath received the government from *Cæſar*, who hath committed ſuch a barbarous ſlaughter, before he hath obtained the kingdom?’

Antipater having enlarged on ſeveral other articles in his ſpeech, and produced a great many of his relations to confirm the allegations he had advanced, made an end of his oration; whereupon *Nicolaus*, in defence of *Archelaus*, ſtood up, and ſhewed, *That the ſlaughter which had been committed in the temple, was abſolutely neceſſary, ſince the ſlain perſons were not only enemies of the kingdom, but of* Cæſar, *who was the judge thereof; and that they, who had brought the accuſation, had drove him, by their own advice, to other raſh actions. Beſides, he demanded, that as* Herod *had provided that his ſucceſſor ſhould be confirmed by* Cæſar, *the ſecond will on that very reaſon chiefly ought to be ratified. For he that had ſo much ſenſe to leave his authority to be determined by the lord of the univerſe, could not be ſo far wanting in his judgment about his heir; for certainly he muſt be of a ſound mind, when he choſe an heir to ſucceed him who knew him, who was the right perſon to conſtitute ſuch an heir.*

Nicolaus having gone through with his defence, *Archelaus* ſtepped up, and fell gently at the feet of *Cæſar*, who raiſing him up very civilly, ſhewed that he thought he was a perſon worthy to ſucceed his father, but gave no definitive ſentence about that affair then.

After he had diſmiſſed the counſellors, he had ſummoned together that day, he began to conſider the things he had heard, whether he ought to conſtitute either of thoſe who were nominated in the wills, the ſucceſſor, or make an even diviſion of the government between *Herod*'s ſons: For he was of opinion, that as they were pretty numerous, they would ſtand in need of a large aſſiſtance.

CHAP. III.

A ſharp Diſpute between the Jews *and the* Sabinians; *and a terrible Slaughter at* Hieroſolyma.

BEFORE *Cæſar* had determined any thing about theſe proceedings, *Malthace*, the mother of *Archelaus*, fell ill and died; and letters came from *Varus* out of *Syria*, with an account of the revolt of the *Jews*, who being willing to guard againſt the ſtorm, as ſoon as *Archelaus* had weighed anchor, marched up to *Hieroſolyma* to prevent the deſigns of the ſeditious, it being too plain the nation would not be quiet; and of the three legions he had with him, left one in the city, and then returned to *Antioch*. *Sabinus* coming after him, gave the *Jews* a pretence to endeavour at a change; for uſing forcible means againſt the garriſons to get the caſtles ſurrendered to him, and rigorouſly demanding the king's treaſure, he ſeemed to depend on the forces *Varus* had left, and his own troops, which were very conſiderable, all which he kept under diſcipline, and uſed them as the miniſters of his covetous temper. As ſoon as the pentecoſt drew on, (a certain feaſt ſo called by the *Jews*, and ſolemnized ſeven weeks after the paſſover, and named from the number of days it takes up in celebrating) the people, partly through the ſacredneſs of the time, and partly through indignation, aſſembled together, a vaſt number came out of *Galilee* and *Idumæa*, and the region of *Peræa* beyond *Jordan*: But the natives of *Judea* were far the greater number, and ſhewed a greater alacrity than the reſt. After having divided themſelves into three companies, they encamped in three different places; one company at the north ſide of the temple, another at the ſouth ſide, near the hippodrome, and the third at the weſt, near the palace; by which means they ſurrounded the *Romans* on every ſide.

Sabinus, terrified at their multitudes, and the alacrity they ſhewed, ſent frequent meſſengers to *Varus*, begging and intreating him to ſend him ſome aſſiſtance immediately, for the legion would be cut to pieces if he made the leaſt delay. Then going to the top of a very high tower, called *Phaſael*, called ſo from *Herod*'s brother, who loſt his life among the *Parthians*, he gave the ſoldiers of the legion a ſignal to attack the enemy, being himſelf afraid to go down amongſt his own men. The ſoldiers, deluded by his artifice, ruſhed onwards to the temple, and began a very ſevere conflict with the *Jews*; in which, ſo long as none offered to annoy them from the tops of the walls, they conquered them, who were but an undiſciplined multitude, by their ſuperior ſkill. But as ſoon as many of the *Jews*, having got up into the portico's, began to pour down their darts upon their heads, a great number of the *Romans* were very much wounded, without having it in their power to revenge themſelves upon them as they ſmote them from above; nor were they in a condition to ſuſtain this unequal poſture of engaging.

The conteſt continuing briſk for ſome time on both ſides, the *Romans* at length ſet fire to the portico's, which were ſurprizing for their magnificent workmanſhip, and admirable beauty. Several who were upon them, were ſuddenly taken in the flames and burnt to aſhes; a great many ruſhing down upon the enemy, were ſlain by them, and ſome, who deſpaired of their lives, threw themſelves on the points of their ſwords, and prevented the death they would otherwiſe have ſuffered by the flames; while others caſt themſelves down headlong from the walls. But as many as got down by the walls, and ſallied in upon the *Romans*, were in their fright ſubdued with a great deal of eaſe, till, what with thoſe that were ſlain, and thoſe that fled through fear, the ſoldiers got to the treaſure of God, which was abandoned, and took away thence four hundred talents: But what was not feloniouſly carried away, *Sabinus* took to his own ſhare.

The ruin of the portico's, and the ſlaughter that had been made, rouzed up a great number of the *Jews*, and thoſe whe were moſt remarkable for their courage againſt the *Romans*, who having laid ſiege to the palace, they threaten'd to deſtroy every thing with fire and ſword, if they did not draw off quickly: And they promiſed ſecurity to *Sabinus*, if he would depart with his legion. Beſides, a ſtrong party of the royaliſts, who had fled to them, contributed conſiderably to their ſtrength. But the *Romans* were joined by three thouſand choice and valiant *Sebaſtans*, headed by *Rufus* and *Gratus*, their generals, who, had no forces followed them, were, on account of their ſtrength, and ſkill in war, both to be reckoned men of great conſequence. *Gratus* commanded the infantry, and *Rufus* the cavalry. The *Jews* puſhed on the ſiege, and battered vigorouſly the walls of the caſtle, calling aloud to *Sabinus* to depart, and not obſtruct them who had lived ſo long conformably to the laws of their country. The deſign of withdrawing privately, was agreed on by *Sabinus*; but he could not confide in the promiſes made him, and ſuſpected that the *Jews* pretended lenity concealed their treachery; and becauſe he expected *Varus* to come to his aſſiſtance, he choſe to carry on the ſiege.

CHAP. IV.

A Commotion among the Veteran *Soldiers of* Herod. *The Robberies of* Judas. Simon *and* Athrongæus *take upon them the Title of Kings.*

SEVERAL places in *Judea* were now full of tumults and ſeditions, and theſe diſtracted times made ſeveral endeavour to obtain the kingdom. The two thouſand *Veterans* who had ſerved under *Herod*'s banners, took up arms, and conſpired iu *Idumæa.* They broke out againſt the royaliſts, but *Achiabus*, the king's couſin, oppoſed them from the fortified places, which ſtood high, avoiding all he could an engagement with them in the plains. In the mean time, *Judas*, the ſon of *Ezechias*, (the captain of a band of robbers, who formerly had made inroads into the country, and ravaged it with his depredations, and was taken by *Herod*) having muſtered up at *Sepphoris*, a town of *Galilee*, a ſtrong party, broke into the king's magazines, and having furniſhed his men with arms, he made an attack upon thoſe who aimed at the government.

At the ſame time *Simon*, one of the king's ſervants, was buſy in *Peræa:* Now he depending on his fine perſon, and gracefulneſs of body, put a diadem on his own head; then marching out with the *Banditti* he had got together, he ſallied throughout the country, burnt to aſhes the palace at *Hiericho*, and other magnificent buildings there, obtaining an eaſy plunder out of the ruins. If *Gratus*, who commanded the royal infantry, had not marched out to meet him with the bowmen of *Trachon*, and the valiant *Sebaſteus*, he would have taken all the houſes of ornament, and laid them in aſhes. A great number of the infantry periſhed in the engagement; but *Gratus* followed *Simon*, as he endeavoured to eſcape through a difficult paſs, and with a tranſverſe ſtroke cut off his head. Another ſedition breaking out in *Peræa*, the palaces at (*a*) *Betharmathus*, which lay next to *Jordan*, were conſumed to aſhes.

There was a ſhepherd too that had the boldneſs to graſp at the kingdom; his name was *Athrongæus:* And his hopes of reigning were founded on his bodily ſtrength, a ſoul that deſpiſed death, and four brothers that nearly reſembled him. Each of theſe he put at the head of a company of armed men, and uſed them as his officers and governors to make incurſions; but buſineſs of more importance he kept to manage himſelf, as the king over them. He now put a diadem upon his head, and then joining his brothers to ravage the country for ſome time, he placed himſelf at their head with a deſign to deſtroy both the *Romans* and royaliſts, neither could any one eſcape him, for he was reſolved to ſpare none. He had the boldneſs once to ſurround at *Emmao*, a whole band of *Romans*, who were carrying arms and proviſions to the legion. *Arius*, the centurion, who was at their head, and forty of their ſtouteſt men, were killed with their darts, but the reſt, who were very near ſuffering in the ſame manner, on *Gratus*'s coming up with the *Sebaſtens*, were ſaved. Several ſuch like actions as theſe having, during the courſe of the war, been committed by them, three of them, after ſome time, were reduced; the eldeſt by *Archelaus*, the two next fell into the hands of *Gratus* and *Ptolomy*, and the fourth, on promiſe of life, ſurrendered to *Archelaus*. Theſe accidents are what befel them afterwards, but all *Judea* then was expoſed to their hoſtilities, robberies, and depredations.

CHAP. V.

Quintilius Varus *puts an End to the Commotions of the* Jews. *Two Thouſand of the Seditious are crucified.*

AS ſoon as *Varus* had received the letters ſent him by *Sabinus* and his officers, he began to fear the loſs of his legion, and haſtened to their aſſiſtance. To this end he took the two legions, and four troops of horſe he had with him, and marched to *Ptolomais*, giving orders at the ſame time for the auxiliaries of the kings and other princes in alliance to meet him there. Beſides, as he travelled through *Berytus*, he received a ſupply of fifteen hundred men in arms. The other auxiliaries arriving at *Ptolomais*, and *Aretas* the *Arabian*, through an old grudge he ſtill entertained againſt *Herod*, bringing a conſiderable body of horſe and foot forces to join them, *Varus* immediately ſent a part of the army under the command of *Caius*, who was a friend of his, into *Galilee*, which lay contiguous to *Ptolomais*, who not only put to flight thoſe who dared to oppoſe him, but alſo took *Sepphoris*, which he laid in aſhes, and took all the inhabitants priſoners. *Varus*, with the main body of the army, march'd up to *Samaria*, which, as he found it to have kept neuter in the late commotions, he kept his hands from. He encamped, however, in a village called *Arus*, which was under *Ptolomy*'s juriſdiction; and the *Arabians*, who were profeſs'd enemies to *Herod*'s friends, for that very reaſon

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(*a*) Betharamphtha was a Town of Peræa, where Jordan flows into the Sea of Genneſareth. Third Book of the War.

ſacked it. From this place he moved up and marched to *Sampho*, another village, pretty well fortified, which met with the ſame fate from the *Arabians*, who ſack'd it, and every other place of plunder which fell into their hands. Every thing was deſtroyed by fire and ſword, every place was filled with havock and deſtruction, and not one thing eſcaped the depredations and fury of the *Arabians*. *Emmaus*, after the inhabitants were forced to fly for their lives, was burnt to the ground by order of *Varus*, who was ſorely enraged at the death of *Arius* and his men.

Moving up from hence, and coming to *Hieroſolyma*, and appearing in ſight with his army, he overthrew the *Jewiſh* camp. The *Jews* preſently diſperſed themſelves throughout the country by flight: Thoſe who remained in the city, after they had admitted him within, began to clear themſelves of the accuſations that might be brought againſt them for revolting; alledging, they had done nothing of that kind willingly, but having been obliged to let into the city the multitude on account of the ſolemnity, they had been rather beſieged in it with the *Romans*, than any way conſpired to carry on a war againſt thoſe who had abandon'd them. *Varus* was firſt met by *Joſeph*, the couſin of *Archelaus*, and *Rufus* and *Gratus*, who brought with them the royal army and the *Sebaſtens*, and the *Roman* legion, which had been beſieged, dreſſed in their uſual accoutrements. But *Sabinus* was already got out of the city to the ſea, not daring to appear in the ſight of *Varus*, who ſent part of his forces throughout the country to enquire after the authors of the ſedition, ſeveral of whom being brought before him, thoſe who had behaved themſelves with leaſt riot and diſturbance, he impriſoned, but thoſe who were found the chief aggreſſors, and promoters of the ſedition, were crucified, to the number of about two thouſand.

Now news was brought *Varus*, that about ten thouſand men in arms were ſtill remaining about *Idumæa*. Upon this, having obſerved that the *Arabians* did not behave themſelves as became auxiliaries, but uſed their arms in a lawleſs manner, and, through a grudge to the memory of *Herod*, committed their depredations throughout the country, contrary to his inclination, he ſent them home again, and then marched with the legions againſt thoſe who had revolted. But before they came to an engagement, by the perſuaſions of *Achiabus*, the king's couſin, they voluntarily ſurrendered. *Varus* pardoned the meaner ſort, but ſent the chief of them to *Cæſar*, to anſwer for themſelves. *Cæſar* forgave ſome, but ordered ſome of the king's relations (for there were ſome of *Herod*'s kindred in the league) to be put to death, for taking up arms againſt their king. *Varus* having thus compoſed the diſturbances at *Hieroſolyma*, and left the former legion in garriſon there, returned to *Antioch*.

CHAP. VI.

The Jews *bring ſeveral Accuſations againſt* Archelaus, *and deſire to have a* Roman *Governor ſet over them.* Cæſar *comes to hear of it, and diſtributes* Herod's *Poſſeſſions amongſt his Sons, as he thinks beſt.*

WHILE *Archelaus* was at *Rome*, he had another buſineſs to manage againſt the *Jews*, who, before the revolt, went with the appearance of ſo many ambaſſadors, having obtained *Varus*'s permiſſion to that end, to demand liberty to live in obedience to the laws of their country. They were fifty in number; and about eight thouſand other *Jews*, who lived at *Rome*, joined them. *Cæſar* finding this, called a council of his friends, and the principal *Romans* in the (*a*) temple of *Apollo* in the *Palatium*, which he himſelf had built, and beautified in a very extraordinary manner. A great number of *Jews* ſtood on the ſide of the ambaſſadors; *Archelaus*, with his friends, oppoſed them, but thoſe that were any way friends of his relations, remained neuter, not caring to appear for *Archelaus*, through ſome grudge of hatred or envy; and through fear of *Cæſar*, not being willing to be ſeen with the accuſers. Beſides all theſe, *Philip*, brother of *Archelaus*, went before through the friendly importunity of *Varus*, on two reaſons; the one to aſſiſt his brother, and the other, provided *Cæſar* diſtributed *Herod*'s poſſeſſions indifferently amongſt all his children, to obtain for himſelf ſome part thereof.

The proſecutors, having obtained liberty to ſpeak what they had to ſay, firſt enlarged on thoſe actions of *Herod* which were againſt the laws, remonſtrating, 'That he had not behav'd like a king, but a tyrant, nay, the moſt cruel of all tyrants: That he had put a great many to death, and thoſe who ſurvived, had ſuffer'd ſuch barbarous uſage, that they often ſaid death would have made them happy. That he had not only put the bodies of his ſubjects to the rack, but tormented whole cities. That he had torn in pieces ſeveral of his own nation, enriched ſtrangers, and given the blood of *Judea* to foreigners. That in the room of the happineſs his nation had enjoyed, and the

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(*a*) He erected many publick Edifices; the Principal whereof were the Market Place, with the Temple of Mars the Revenger, the Temple of Apollo in the Palatium, the Temple of Jupiter the Thunderer in the Capitol. Sueton. in Auguſt. c. 29. And a little after he built in that Part of the Palatine Houſe (which being ſtruck with Thunder, the Augurs gave out that the God deſired it) a Temple to Apollo, with a Portico, and a Greek and Latin Library, where, in the Decline of his Life, he often convened the Senate, and tranſacted the Decuria's of the Judges. This Temple is deſcribed by Propertius, Book II. ch. 23.

antient laws it had conſtantly been govern'd by, he had filled it with poverty and wickedneſs. In a word, that the *Jews* in a few years had ſuffered more calamities, which *Herod* had brought upon them, than their anceſtors had ſuſtained in all the time from their coming away from *Babylon*; and from the empire of *Xerxes* till their returning back to their native country. Notwithſtanding which, being ſo accuſtomed to hardſhips by their frequent misfortunes, and calamities now appearing ſo natural to them, and that they had voluntarily received him for a ſucceſſor, whom they knew would expoſe them to the crueleſt ſlavery. That *Archelaus*, the ſon of ſo great a tyrant, after his father's death, immediately had the name of king given him by them; that they mourned with him for the death of *Herod*, and wiſhed he might obtain the ſucceſſion. But that fearing he ſhould not be thought the true ſon of *Herod*, he had began his reign with a maſſacre of three thouſand citizens, ſacrificed ſo many victims for his kingdom, and filled the temple at the time of a ſolemn feaſt with ſo many carcaſſes. That therefore it was right in them, who had eſcaped ſo great an evil, to have regard in time to their calamities, by right of war bring to light what they had ſuffered, beg the *Romans* to have pity on the remains of *Judea*, and preſerve them from being any longer expoſed to the fury of thoſe who endeavour to tear them to pieces; but ſuffer their country, by annexing it to *Syria*, to live under the government of the *Romans*. By which means it will appear that the *Jews*, who are taxed as a ſeditious people, and a nation that is continually deſirous of war, know how to bear a mild and moderate government.' In this manner the *Jews* cloſed their accuſation with this petition. Next roſe up *Nicholaus* to oppoſe what they had advanced; he had little difficulty in clearing the kings from the charges that had been brought againſt them. He accuſed the nation of their obſtinacy, and the difficulty there was in governing them, and how naturally it appeared that their minds were bent againſt a regal government. After which, he charged the relations of *Archelaus*, who had ſided with the proſecutors, with baſe deſigns.

After *Cæſar* had heard the allegations of both parties, he broke up the council. A few days after he gave to *Archelaus* half of *Herod*'s kingdom, with the title of ethuarch, and promiſed to make him a king if he ſhewed himſelf worthy of that honour; the other half he divided into two tetrarchates, and allotted them to *Herod*'s two other ſons, one to *Philip*, and the other to *Antipas*, who had laid claim to the kingdom, in oppoſition to *Archelaus*. *Peræa* and *Galilee* fell to the portion of *Antipas*; the revenues whereof amounted to two hundred talents: *Philip*'s tetrarchate comprehended *Batanæa* and *Trachon*, and *Auranitis*, and ſome parts of *Zeno*'s poſſeſſions about *Jamnia*; the revenues whereof amounted to one hundred talents. *Archelaus*'s ethuarchate included *Idumæa* and all *Judea* and *Samaria*, which, as it had ſtood loyal in the late revolt, was eaſed of a fourth part of its taxes. The cities under his juriſdiction were, *Straton*'s tower, and *Sebaſte*, *Joppe*, and *Hieroſolyma*. But *Cæſar* annexed the three *Grecian* cities of *Gaza*, *Gadar*, and *Hippo*, to the government of *Syria*, by taking them from the kingdom. The revenues that accrued to *Archelaus* from that part of the kingdom which was allotted him, came to four hundred talents; but *Cæſar* gave *Salome*, excluſive of the legacies left her in the king's will, the government of *Jamnia*, and *Azotus* and *Phaſaelis*; and *Cæſar*, moreover, gave her the palaces in *Aſcalon*, from all which ſhe received an annual revenue of threeſcore talents. But her houſe was joined to the ethuarcate of *Archelaus*. The other children of *Herod* were paid their legacies according to his will. *Cæſar*, beſides the legacies given the two maiden daughters of *Herod* in their father's will, made them a preſent of five hundred thouſand drachms of ſtamp'd ſilver, and married them to the ſons of *Pheroras*. And, in the diviſion he made of the king's patrimony, he diſtributed among them the thouſand talents *Herod* had left him, and only reſerv'd a few of the king's houſhold goods, of little value, in honour of the deceaſed.

CHAP. VII.

The Hiſtory of the counterfeit Alexander. Archelaus *is baniſhed*, Glaphyra *dies*, *and both are forewarned in a Dream.*

WHILE theſe things were tranſacting, a youth, by nation a *Jew*, brought up at *Sidon* by a certain freedman of a *Roman* citizen, and nearly reſembling *Alexander*, whom *Herod* put to death, pretended to be that ſame *Alexander*, and came to *Rome*, thinking there to obtain his ends, and not be diſcovered. He was aſſiſted in his deſign by a man of the ſame tribe with him, who being verſed in every circumſtance that any way related to the kingdom, inſtructed him in the moſt material points; whereupon he affirmed, that thoſe who were ſent to kill him and *Ariſtobulus*, being moved with compaſſion, took them away, and laid other bodies like theirs in their room. This tale having deceived the *Jews* who lived in *Crete*, they gave him a ſplendid proviſion, and he then ſailed to *Melus*, where he abundantly increaſed his fortune, as the circumſtances of his relations carried ſuch convincing proofs of truth along with them, and gained over his friends to ſail with him to *Rome*. But happening to ſtrike upon *Dicæarhia*, he received conſiderable preſents from the *Jews* there, and was, by thoſe who ſtill favoured his pretended father, honoured as a king; for the ſimilitude of his form had gained him ſo much credit, that they, who had both ſeen and known *Alexander*, ſwore that this was he. All the *Jews* who dwelt at *Rome*, came to ſee him, and a prodigious multitude of people poſted themſelves in the roads he was carried through; for the *Melians* were ſo infatuated with his artifices, that they not only carried him in a chair, but gave him a royal attendance and habit, at their own expence.

Cæſar, who perfectly knew the lineaments of *Alexander*'s face, who had been accuſed before him by *Herod*, formed a right judgment of the fallacy of the reſemblance, before his eyes had ſeen the man; but he was willing to give ſome credit, that the impoſtor might conceive hopes of ſucceſs. To this purpoſe he ſent *Coladus*, one who had been acquainted with *Alexander*, to bring this *Alexander* before him. After he had ſeen him, he ſoon found out the difference; and having ſurveyed his whole body, his rough ſkin, and ſervile looks, the whole impoſture appeared very plain to him. *Cæſar* was extremely moved with the words he ſo confidently affirmed; for asking him about *Ariſtobulus*, he made anſwer, that he was ſafe, but purpoſely had left him at *Cyprus*, for fear of ſnares to take away his life; for that it was more difficult to take them when ſeparated. *Cæſar* hereupon drew him a little aſide, and promiſed to give him his life, if he would but diſcover to him who it was that had adviſed him to project ſuch a ſcheme. He aſſured him he would diſcloſe the whole affair to him; and then following *Cæſar*, he drew near him, and directed him to the *Jew*, who, by the likeneſs of his perſon to *Alexander*, had induced him to make an advantage of it; for he had received from all the cities he had paſſed, more and greater favours than ever *Alexander*, when he was alive, obtained. *Cæſar* could not forbear laughing at this; he put the counterfeit *Alexander*, becauſe of the hardineſs of his body, among his galley ſlaves, and ordered the author of the cheat to be put to death: And as for the *Melians*, the expences they had been at, were adjudged a ſufficient puniſhment for their folly.

Archelaus, being ſettled in his ethuarchate, could not forget the late proceedings againſt him; and therefore he not only unmercifully treated the *Jews*, but the *Samaritans*, both of whom ſent their ambaſſadors, and accuſed him before *Cæſar*, who, in the ninth year of his reign, baniſhed him to *Vienna*, a town in *Gaul*, and confiſcated his dominions. Before *Cæſar* ſummoned him to anſwer for himſelf, it is ſaid, he had the following dream: 'He thought nine 'ears of corn, full and large, ſtood before his 'eyes, which the bullocks eat up.' Upon which he ſent for interpreters, and ſome *Chaldeans*, and asked them what was meant by them. But the interpreters giving each a different interpretation to the dream, one *Simon*, an *Eſſene*, told him: 'Methinks the ears of corn point out ſo 'many years, and the bullocks denote a change 'in the affairs of his kingdom; becauſe in 'ploughing they turn up and change the ground. 'Therefore the number of years you will reign, 'will be as many as the ears of corn, and then 'you'll die, after ſeveral alterations of affairs.' He heard this told him, and five days after he was ſummoned to take his trial.

We muſt here mention *Glaphyra*'s dream, who was daughter of *Archelaus*, king of *Cappadocia*, and firſt wife of *Alexander*, (who was brother of the *Archelaus* we are now ſpeaking of, and ſon of king *Herod*, who put him to death, as we have mentioned before) and after his death married to *Juba*, king of *Lybia*; and then after his deceaſe returning home, and living a widow with her father, *Archelaus*, the ethuarch happened to ſee her, and was ſo much in love at the ſight of her charms, that he put away his wife *Mariamne*, and immediately married her. Some little time after her coming back into *Judea*, ſhe thought ſhe ſaw *Alexander* ſtanding by her, and thus ſpeak to her: 'Thy 'marriage with the *Lybian* ſhould have ſatisfied 'thee, but not content with him, thou haſt had 'recourſe to my family, and taken a third huſ'band, O ſhameleſs woman, who is my bro'ther. But I will not be witneſs to thy full 'diſhonour, but will take thee to me againſt 'thy inclinations.' And after ſhe had related this dream, ſhe ſcarce ſurvived two days.

CHAP. VIII.

The Ethuarchate of Archelaus *is made a Province. The Sedition of* Judas Galilæus. *An Account of the three* Jewiſh *Sects.*

THE dominions of *Archelaus* being reduced to a province, *Coponius*, a *Roman* of the *equeſtrian* order, was ſent procurator to govern it, with full powers from *Cæſar*. During his adminiſtration, a *Galilean*, named *Judas*, ſtirred up his countrymen to a revolt, ſaying, they acted without the leaſt courage, and were cowards to ſubmit to pay tribute to the *Romans*, and acknowledge, after God, men for lords, who were mortal. *Judas* was a doctor of his own ſect, but in nothing reſembled the others.

There are three kinds of philoſophers among the *Jews*; the *Phariſees* make up the firſt ſect, the *Sadducees* the ſecond, and the third is compoſed of the *Eſſenes*, men who practice a more ſevere kind of life, are *Jews* by nation, but act with a more ſtrict and mutual love to one another. Theſe abhor, as above, all manner of pleaſure, are remarkable for their continence, and account, as the greateſt virtue, not to give way to lawleſs deſires. They reject marriage, but take the ſons of others, that are of an eaſy temper, and docile, and fit to receive inſtruction, and reckon them as their relations, and train them up in their inſtitutions and morality; but matrimony, and the lawful ſucceſſion from it, they deſpiſe.

They cautiouſly guard againſt the ſnares and importunities of women, and are convinced that no truſt ought to be repoſed in any one that is an huſband.

Beſides, they deſpiſe riches, reckon a free and mutual enjoyment of one another's goods in common among them as the pureſt way of living; neither is there any one to be found amongſt them that has more than the others; ſo that every one is neither pinched with too narrow circumſtances, nor abounds with too large a ſhare of wealth, but their effects remaining in common among them, they enjoy an equal diſtribution of their goods as ſo many brothers. Oil they account as a great ſore; and if any one happens to be annointed againſt his will, he wipes his body; accounting it an honour to appear dry and parched, and to wear conſtantly a white garment. Beſides, they have procurators appointed to look after their affairs, every one of whom is little qualified for all their ſervices.

They have no one certain city, but numbers of them have houſes in each; and if any perſons of their ſect come from any other place, they give them as much uſe of any thing they have, as if it was their own property; and they are as free with thoſe they never ſaw before, as if they were in the moſt intimate acquaintance. And this is the reaſon that when they go a journey they take no proviſions with them, but only arms to ſecure themſelves againſt robbers. In every city they have a certain officer that takes care of ſtrangers, and ſupplies them with clothes and other neceſſaries, and generally the clothing and other ornaments of their bodies reſemble the apparel of boys who live under the awe and government of a maſter. But they never change either their clothes or their ſhoes, till they are worn to pieces with age. They have no buying or ſelling among one another, but each ſupplies the perſon that wants, out of his own ſtore, and mutually receives from him what he has occaſion for; and if no retaliation be made on either ſide, they are not at all hindered from taking from any other they have a mind to aſk.

Towards God they have a ſingular devotion, for no profane word comes out of their mouth before the riſing of the ſun, but they ſay certain prayers before it, as if they were praying to it to ſhine propitiouſly upon them. And afterwards they are ordered by their overſeers to employ themſelves each man in his particular employment, which they follow with great diligence till the fifth hour, and then return back again to the ſame place in their linnen veils, where they waſh their bodies in cold water; and after this waſhing is over, the next ſtep is, to retire into an houſe peculiar to them, where perſons of another ſect are abſolutely forbid to enter; and here, being purified from all impurities, they go to dinner, as if to ſome ſanctified temple. As ſoon as they have quietly and ſedately ſeated themſelves, a baker puts bread in order before each, and a cook ſets a meſs of pulſe. A prieſt ſays grace before they begin eating; for it is forbidden any to taſte before ſuch grace is repeated: And again, when dinner is ended, grace is ſaid; and both when they begin and leave off eating they reverence God, who ſupplies them with every thing for their ſuſtenance. Afterwards, putting off their garments, which they look upon as ſacred, they return again to their employments till the twilight of the evening, and then leaving off, they ſup together in the ſame manner as they dined, admitting ſtrangers to ſit among them, if any happen to come. Neither doth any noiſe or clamour diſturb the houſe at any time, but a ſtrict regularity is obſerved, and no man ſpeaks but in his turn, and they who remain without take the ſilence of thoſe within for ſome grand myſtery. But this good œconomy is owing to their perpetual ſobriety, and the conſtant ſhare of meat and drink allowed them, which is never more than will ſatisfy nature.

They never concern themſelves with other affairs without the orders of their governors; but theſe two articles are left entirely to their diſcretion to pity and aſſiſt others, for they are at liberty, juſt as they think fit, to relieve thoſe that deſerve it, whenever they aſk, and aſſiſt the needy; but to ſuccour any of their kindred is never done without the leave of their governors. They never are angry but on a juſt occaſion, are great maſters of their paſſions, ſtrict to their word, and lovers of peace; and what they ſpeak they reckon firmer than an oath, eſteeming ſwearing an uſeleſs and criminal action, and looking upon it as worſe than perjury: For they ſay a man is already condemned who cannot be credited without always calling God to confirm his word. They take a wonderful deal of pains in turning over writings of antiquity, the paſſages whereof always pleaſe them beſt, which afford them any knowledge or inſtruction, either for the advantage of their ſouls or bodies; and from hence they make diligent enquiry into the nature of roots that are fit for remedies, and endeavour to know the properties of ſtones of medicinal virtues in diſtempers.

Beſides, he that deſires to make one of this ſect, is not immediately admitted a member; but is firſt obliged to live a whole year, being preſcribed by the governors the ſame method of living, who give him the aforementioned girdle and white garment; and when this ſpace of time is over, and he has performed through his allotted penance, he is allowed a nearer ſtep to learn their inſtitutions, and from that time begins to be purified with holier water with the others, but is not yet admitted to partake in commons with them; for he is forced to undergo an open penance of two years more, after which, they examine into his morality, and if he appears worthy of admittance, then he becomes a member: But before he comes to their table, he binds himſelf to them with the ſtricteſt oath. Firſt, that he will reverently honour God; then, that he will deal juſtly with his fellow creatures, and do no injury, knowingly and willingly, to any man; that he will always be an enemy to the injurious, and give his aſſiſtance to the good and juſt; that he will conſtantly keep his word with all men, particularly with thoſe that are in authority, becauſe none are authorized but by God. That if he happens to be inveſted with any government, that he will neither proudly nor ſourly uſe his authority, nor in his dreſs appear different from his ſubjects. That he will always defend the truth, and chaſtiſe thoſe that falſify themſelves. That he will keep his hands from ſtealing, and his mind inoffenſive from any unjuſt gain. That he will never conceal from his fellow members the doctrines maintained in their body, nor diſcloſe them to others, not even if death ſhould be threatened as the puniſhment of his ſilence. Beſides this, every one takes an oath not to diſcover their doctrines any otherwiſe than as they received them; and that they will abſtain from committing robberies, and with a juſt veneration preſerve the books of their ſect, and the names of the angels. And theſe are the oaths they take on becoming members.

They who are taken in the commiſſion of capital crimes, are excluded the fraternity; and he that happens to be expelled, very rarely fails of ſuffering a very miſerable death: For the obligation of his oaths, and the ſtrict manner wherein he bound himſelf to obſerve the cuſtoms of his order, remaining ſtill in force upon him, he is made incapable of eating with any others; and this, and his feeding upon herbs, brings his body to ſo low a condition, that at length he muſt neceſſarily die. This is the reaſon that through humanity and pity to ſeveral, they receive them again at the point of death, ſuppoſing them, by their ſuffering, to have made ſufficient ſatisfaction for their crimes.

They are very exact and righteous in their determinations, none being made unleſs an hundred of their body are aſſembled together; and what once they decree, remains firm and unalterable. Next to God the name of Legiſlator carries the higheſt veneration with them, and they eſteem it meritorious to put to death him who traduces ſuch a venerable name. To obey their elders and a majority, is reckoned a ſhining qualification; ſo that when ten ſit together, liberty is refuſed any one man to ſpeak if the other nine are againſt it: And they are very careful to ſpit into the midſt of them, or on their right ſide, and to put their hands to any labour; but on the ſabbaths they are more ſtrict than any of the *Jews* in refraining from it: For the day before, they not only prepare proviſions neceſſary for the ſabbath, that they may not have occaſion to light the fire on that day; but alſo dare not move any veſſel out of its place, or even go to ſtool. On other days they dig a ditch in the ground of about a foot depth, with an ax, which each of them receives at his firſt admittance into the ſect, which they cover with their garment, not to give offence to God's light, and therein they eaſe nature, and then fill up the hole with the earth taken out of it; and this they do in very ſecret places. And though this manner of evacuation is natural to them, yet accounting themſelves ſtill as polluted perſons, they hold it as a ſolemn cuſtom to waſh themſelves, after it.

They are divided in four claſſes, according to the order of time in which they have been members of the ſect; and the younger members are thought ſo much inferior to the ſeniors, that if they but happen to touch any of them, they, as though they had been ſtrangers that had been among them, waſh a-part by themſelves; and ſeveral of the ſenior members live longer than an hundred years, which I take to be owing to the ſimplicity of their diet, and the moderation they uſe. They deſpiſe adverſity, and bear misfortunes with a remarkable greatneſs of ſoul, and prefer death, if it be attended with glory, to the greateſt fame or honours on earth: Nay, what their diſpoſition was to mankind, the war which was carried on againſt the *Romans*, was a noble example, in which, though tortur'd and rack'd, burnt and maimed with the flames, and expoſed to all other ſorts of torments, to traduce the author of their laws, or eat what had been unaccuſtomed to them, yet they could never be wrought upon to do either; neither to ſpeak ſoftly to their tormentors to leſſen their pains, or to ſhed even a ſingle tear; but in the midſt of their torments, without regarding their ſufferings, and deſpiſing their executioners, they joyfully gave up the ghoſt, with a ſure confidence of their ſouls remaining alive and unhurt, though their bodies ſuffered death.

For the opinion prevailed among them, that bodies were ſubject to death, but that ſouls were immortal, and continued ſo to eternity; and that being compoſed of the fineſt and thinneſt air, they were incloſed within the bodies as in a priſon, being drawn thither by a natural ſympathy; but that after they were ſet at liberty from the impriſonment of the fleſh, as though freed from a long ſlavery, they partook of pleaſure, and flew a-loft upwards; and that the ſouls of religious men, agreeable to the ſentiments of the *Greeks*, inhabited beyond the ſea, in a place neither expoſed to ſnows or rain, or heats, but where *Zephyrus* gently breathing from the ocean, rendered their habitations perfectly happy; but that the wicked ſouls were doomed to a dark cave under ground, where they ſuffered eternal torments. I am of opinion, that the *Greeks*, according to this notion, attributed the iſlands of the bleſſed to their great and famous men, ſuch as their heroes and demi-gods; but allotted to the ſouls of the wicked a place in hell peculiar to tranſgreſſors, where they fabled that ſome were expoſed to torments, as *Syſiphus*, *Tantalus*, *Ixion*, and *Tityus*, and men guilty of abominable crimes. And they lay it down as the firſt rule, that ſouls are immortal, and from thence exhort mankind to the love of virtue, and deter them from the commiſſion of vice; for good men will become better in this life, through the hopes of rewards after death; and the ſallies of wicked perſons will be check'd through fear, as expecting, though they concealed their crimes while they lived, to undergo afterwards perpetual puniſhment. Now theſe are the chief opinions of the *Eſſenes* about the ſoul, herein affording ſuch a bait, that they who have once taſted of their wiſdom, cannot but receive it.

Beſides, there are ſome among them who pretend to foretel future events, as having from their childhood diligently been converſant in the ſacred books, various purifications, and in the ſayings of the prophets; and 'tis very rarely that they miſs the truth in their predictions.

There is another claſs of the *Eſſenes*, which, with regard to their method of living, morality, and precepts, agrees with the former, but differs in one article, which is about marriages. They are of opinion, that the greateſt part of mankind, which depends upon ſucceſſion, would fail if they were to abſtain from marriage; but that the race of mankind would very quickly be annihilated ſhould a general conſent prevail as to this opinion of the former ſect. Yet, for all this, they make a three years trial of their ſpouſes; and if they hold out through three purifications, to try if they were able to bear children; they then marry them. But they have no carnal acquaintance with women after conception, proving in this, that they marry, not to gratify their ſenſual pleaſures, but thro' a deſire of having children. The women bathe with proper clothes on, as the men do with girdles about their waſtes. And theſe are the manners of this order.

Of the two principal ſects of the *Jews*, the *Phariſees*, who are ranked among the more accurate interpreters of the law, and were the founders of the firſt ſect among the *Jews*, attribute every thing to fate and God, and teach that good or bad actions are for the moſt part virtually inherent in mankind; that fate, or the determinate will of God, co-operates in all things; that the ſoul is immortal; that the ſouls of good men only paſs into other bodies, but that thoſe of the wicked are doomed to everlaſting puniſhment. The *Sadduces*, who conſtitute the other order or ſect, have nothing at all to do with fate, and deny that God is the immediate cauſe of any one's either doing evil or abſtaining from it; pretending, that good and evil is in the choice of man, and that every one, juſt as they pleaſe, do either. They alſo deny that ſouls exiſt after death, or that rewards and puniſhments attend the good or the bad. The *Phariſees* bear great regard to one another, and maintain, for the mutual advantage of their ſect, a ſtrict unanimity. The *Sadduces*, on the other hand, are more rigid in their morals, and behave with leſs meekneſs, converſing with their own members as though they were ſtrangers. And theſe are the material circumſtances which I judged neceſſary to mention concerning the different ſects among the *Jews*.

CHAP. IX.

The death of Salome. *The cities built by* Herod *and* Philip. *A tumult under* Pilate. *The greater* Agrippa *is impriſoned by* Tiberius, *and ſet at liberty and rewarded with the kingdom by* Caius. Herod Antipas *is baniſhed.*

THE ethuarchate of *Archelaus* being reduced to a province, the other ſons, *Philip*, and *Herod*, ſurnamed *Antipas*, governed their tetrarchates. *Salome* dying, bequeathed by her will to *Julia*, the wife of *Auguſtus*, her toparchate, and *Jamnia*, and the palm fields in *Phaſaelis*. After the death of *Auguſtus*, who reigned ſeven and fifty years, ſix months, and two days, the *Roman* empire devolved upon *Tiberias*, the husband of *Julia*, and *Herod* and *Philip* continuing then in their governments, the latter built *Cæſarea*, near the ſprings of *Jordan*, in the country of *Paneas*; and erected the city *Julias*, in the lower *Gaulanitis*; while *Herod* built *Tiberias* in *Galilee*, and a city named *Julias*, in the country of *Peræa*.

Pilate being ſent by *Tiberias*'s procurator into *Judæa*, conveyed in the night-time the images of *Cæſar*, which they call enſigns, into *Hieroſolyma*. This action, as ſoon as day appeared, occaſioned a great tumult of the *Jews*; for they who were near them were ſtruck with ſuch deep aſtoniſhment at the unuſual ſight, that they concluded the ſacredneſs of their laws was openly violated: For it was not a cuſtom with them to ſet up in the city the reſemblance of any image, or the image it ſelf. And while they in the city ſhewed their indignation at what had been done, a vaſt number of people came out of the country, and immediately went to *Pilate* at *Cæſarea*, where they begged him to remove the images out of *Hieroſolyma*, and not infringe the laws of their country. But *Pilate* refuſing to grant their petition, they caſt themſelves proſtrate upon the ground, and for five days, and as many nights, remained immoveable.

The next day *Pilate*, having ſeated himſelf on an eminence in the great *Circus*, and aſſembled the people together, under pretence of returning them his anſwer, made a ſignal to his ſoldiers, as had been before contrived, to ſurround the *Jews* in their armour. The *Romans* accordingly, hemming them in with a triple rank, the *Jews* knew not what to think at ſuch an unexpected ſight; but *Pilate*, threatening them with inſtant death, unleſs they allowed the images of *Cæſar* to be ſet up, ordered his men to draw their ſwords. The *Jews* hereupon, with a general conſent, fell down on the ground, and offering their necks to their ſwords, cried out, that they had rather ſuffer a thouſand deaths than do any thing in violation of the laws of their country. *Pilate*, ſurprized at their extrardinary deſire to preſerve their religion inviolate, immediately gave orders to remove the images out of *Hieroſolyma*.

But after this he occaſioned another tumult, by laying out the ſacred treaſure, which they call *Corbanas*, in the building of an aqueduct, which he brought three hundred furlongs in length to the city. This cauſing great murmurs and diſcontent among the commoner ſort of the people, they, on *Pilate*'s coming to *Hieroſolyma*, flocked round his tribunal, and made their complaint: *Pilate*, forſeeing that a tumult would ariſe, gave orders to his ſoldiers to dreſs themſelves in ſuch clothes as the common people wore, and mix amongſt the multitude, with a ſecret command from his tribunal to fall upon the ſeditious with their ſticks, but refrain from uſing their ſwords. This proved fatal to a great many *Jews*, who ſorely oppreſſed with the many blows given them, and trod upon by their own party as they ſtrove to get away, loſt their lives. And thus the people, terrified with the example of thoſe that had been ſlain, where hindered from making any further progreſs in their ſedition. Some time after theſe tranſactions, *Agrippa*, ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, who had been put to death by his father *Herod*, went to *Tiberia* in order to amuſe *Herod* the tetrarch. But the emperor rejecting the accuſation, *Agrippa*, then reſiding at *Rome*, ſtrove to gain over to his intereſt, by an inſinuating behaviour, ſome of the principal men, and chiefly *Caius*, the ſon of *Germanicus*, then a private perſon. In conſequence hereof, having on a time entertained him at a banquet, and profeſſed a great deal of civility to his gueſt, he broke out at laſt with a pathetic prayer, wiſhing that *Tiberias* might ſoon die, and he behold him emperor. This was carried to the emperor by one of his domeſticks, who, full of indignation, threw *Agrippa* into priſon, where he remained till the death of *Cæſar*, which happened after a reign of two and twenty years, ſix months, and three days.

As ſoon as *Caius* was declared emperor, he ſet *Agrippa* at liberty, and made him king of *Philip*'s tetrarchate, who was now dead. But *Agrippa*'s riſe to be a king, enflamed *Herod* the tetrarch's ſoul to an extreme degree, through hatred. His wife *Herodius* had ſtrove ſeveral times to put him in hopes of obtaining the kingdom; ſhe had charged him with indolence, and frequently told him that his backwardneſs to take a voyage to *Cæſar* had been the main obſtacle to his enlarging his dominions: For if he had made *Agrippa* a king from a private man, why ſhould not he hope, who was a tetrarch, to be promoted to the ſame dignity. Theſe perſuaſions prevailing upon *Herod*, he went to *Caius*, who rewarded his covetouſneſs with baniſhment, and ſent him an exile into *Spain*; for his accuſer *Agrippa*, to whom *Caius* gave his tetrarchate, would not have been content unleſs his revenge had been compleated. But *Herod*, accompanied by his wife in his baniſhment, died in his exile.

CHAP. X.

Caius *commands the* Jews *to ſet up his ſtatue in the temple at* Hieroſolyma. Petronius's *actions in that affair.*

CAIUS *Cæſar* was guilty of ſo notorious and inſolent an abuſe of his good fortune, that he thought himſelf a God, and wanted to be called ſo: He ſtrove to deſtroy his country by putting to death the moſt eminent men in it; and his impiety raiſed very terrible commotions in *Judæa*. *Petronius* was ſent with an army to *Hieroſolyma*, to ſet up his ſtatues in the temple, with expreſs orders to put every one to death that gave any interruption to the ſetting up of the images, and to make priſoners of all that remained in the nation. But God here interpoſed his power. Now *Petronius* with three legions, and a great number of *Syrian* auxiliaries, marched out of *Antiochia* to *Judæa*. Some of the *Jews* would not believe the report that war was proclaimed againſt them, and thoſe who did, were at the laſt extremity how to think of their defence. A general fear immediately prevailed; for the army was now marched as far as *Ptolomais*.

This city adjoins to *Galilee*, ſtands on the ſea coaſt, and is built on the great plain. It is hemmed in by ridges of mountains; the hills of *Galilee*, at threeſcore furlongs diſtance, are on the eaſt ſide of it; Mount *Carmel*, at about one hundred and twenty furlongs from the city on the ſouth, and a very lofty mountain, called by the natives *The ladder of the* Tyrians, and diſtant from it an hundred furlongs, on the north. About the diſtance of two furlongs from the city runs a very ſmall river, called *Bellius*, near which the monument of *Memnon* is to be ſeen, and a place near a hundred cubits diſtance, that's worthy of admiration. The place is concave, and affords a ſand like glaſs, which ſeveral ſhips, touching upon this coaſt, took away for ballaſt; but the place is conſtantly filled again, by winds that purpoſely ſeem to bring back the ſupply, and all that is thrown into the concavity is preſently changed as tranſparent as glaſs; but what ſurprizes me, is, that all the glaſſy particles that flow from thence, are again changed into common ſand. And this is the nature of the place.

The *Jews*, with their wives and children, preſently aſſembling together in the plain, warmly ſollicited *Petronius*, firſt, for the laws of their country, and then for themſelves; but he, not any ways molified with the earneſt ſollicitations of the people, left his army and the ſtatues in *Ptolomais*; and then going into *Galilee*, and aſſembling the people, and ſome of the principal natives at *Tiberias*, he laid open to them, in a long ſpeech, the great power of the *Romans*, and the menaces of *Cæſar*, and ſhewed them how vain and ridiculous their petiton was. For after all the nations that were ſubject to the *Roman* empire had ſet up in their ſeveral cities the ſtatues of *Cæſar* among their other Gods, that the *Jews* ſhould be the only perſons to refuſe it argued a great ſign of diſaffection, and was an action full of the moſt open contumely.

When they had alledged in their defence their ancient conſtitution, the laws and cuſtoms of their country, and had urged the unlawfulneſs of ſetting up in the temple any image repreſenting God or man, or putting them up in any other prophane place of their country; *Petronius* immediately anſwered, 'But I, ſaid he, muſt neceſſarily obey the decree of my maſter, and if I act contrary to it, and ſpare you, my life will certainly be made the price of my diſobedience. He himſelf who hath ſent me, and not I, will then beſiege you; for I, as well as you, am ſubject to his authority.' The whole multitude hereupon cried out, 'That they would ſuffer the worſt torments to preſerve their laws.' *Petronius* having appeaſed their clamour, ſaid, 'Are you in a condition to maintain a battle againſt *Cæſar*?' To which the *Jews* replied, 'Twice a day we offer ſacrifice for *Cæſar*, and the *Roman* people; but if his intentions are arbitrarily to ſet up the ſtatues, his firſt buſineſs ſhould be to make a general ſacrifice of the whole nation of the *Jews*; for, as for ourſelves, we are ready with our wives and children to offer our throats to any one that will cut them.' From this moment *Petronius* began to admire and pity them, who were ſo reſolute in defence of their religion, and ſo ſteadily prepared to yield to death. In ſhort, for this time they were diſmiſſed without any reſolution being taken againſt them.

The day following, having given a private ſummons to the principal *Jews*, and publickly cited the commoner ſort, he began with exhortations to them, ſometimes to preſerve peace among themſelves, and then concluding with terrible menaces, enlarging on the exceeding great power of the *Romans*, repreſenting to them the indignation of *Caius*, and then inſiſting upon the neceſſity which obliged him to act in that rigid manner. As the *Jews* ſtill perſiſted in this reſolution, and *Petronius* ſeeing the country likely to want ſowing, (the lower ſort of the *Jews* having idled fifty days, during ſeed time, in the city) he aſſembled them the laſt time, and addreſſed them in this manner: 'I had rather expoſe myſelf to danger than that ſuch a thing ſhould come to paſs, as you fear, and *Cæſar* has threatened you with: For if God aſſiſts me to cool *Cæſar*'s temper, it will be very agreeable to me that I ſhall be preſerved for you; but if his paſſion revenges itſelf on me, I will chearfully give up the ghoſt for ſo great a multitude.' After which, he diſmiſſed the people, who departed with wiſhes and prayers for his ſucceſs, and he himſelf marched his army from *Ptolomais*, and returned to *Antioch*. From hence he preſently wrote a letter to *Cæſar*, wherein he acquainted him of the eruption he had made into *Judea*, and of the petition the people had made him; and that, unleſs he was reſolved to deſtroy all the perſons that dwelt in the country, he muſt permit them to act entirely according to their own laws, and take ſomething off from the rigour of his decree. *Caius* returned an angry anſwer to this letter, threatening *Petronius* with death for being ſo dilatory in putting his orders in execution; but ſo it happened, that the meſſengers who carried this anſwer, were toſſed three months in a ſtorm, and the others, who went with the news of his death, met with a proſperous voyage. And hence it came that *Petronius* received the letter concerning the death of *Caius* ſeven and twenty days before that which threatened him with deſtruction.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Empire of Claudius. *Of* Agrippa'*s Kingdom. Of* Agrippa'*s and* Herod'*s Deaths, and the Children both left behind them.*

CAIUS being taken out of the way by treachery, after a reign of three years and eight months, the army, which was then at *Rome*, hurried away *Claudius*, to take upon him the government of the empire. The ſenate, with the conſuls *Sentius Saturninus* and *Pomponius Secundus*, having entruſted the care of the city to the three legions which were then near them, met frequently in the capitol, and *Caius*'s barbarity was made a pretence to proclaim war againſt *Claudius*; for they were reſolved either to be governed by an ariſtocracy, as the cuſtom had been formerly, or be at liberty to chuſe an emperor by vote, who ſhould be thought worthy of the empire.

It happened now, that *Agrippa*, reſiding at *Rome*, was ſent for by the ſenate to give his advice, and *Claudius* too ſent for him from the camp, to aſſiſt him in thoſe matters that ſhould be found conducive to his intereſt. When he found that *Claudius* had been made *Cæſar*, he went over to him; immediately he ſent him back, in quality of his ambaſſador, to the ſenate, to declare to them his pleaſure, 'That he had been taken away by the army againſt his inclinations; neither could he withſtand, with any juſtice, the loyalty they had ſhewn him, nor could he think that his condition was ſafe, his promotion to empire being very precarious, that he would govern the *Roman* empire, not by any tyrannical methods, but after the model of a good prince; for that his ambition was ſufficiently rewarded with the honourable name of emperor, and that he would always conſult them in all other affairs. For though he was not by nature made for modeſty, yet the ſudden and exemplary death of *Caius* was a ſufficient leſſon conſtantly before his eyes, to manage his authority with prudence and moderation.'

Agrippa went with this ſpeech to the ſenate. The ſenate returned him this anſwer: 'That they would not confide in his army, or the good councel he pretended to give, for that was to expoſe themſelves to a voluntary ſlavery.' And *Claudius*, having received this anſwer from the ſenate, ſent *Agrippa* the ſecond time to acquaint them, 'That it could never be his inclination to deal treacherouſly by them, who had unanimouſly ſworn to him; that his diſpoſition was entirely againſt engaging in a war with them, eſpecially with the aſſiſtance of men whom he could never draw out againſt them; but that if things were to be determined by the ſword, the field of battle ought to be fixed in ſome place without the city; for it was too unjuſt that their ſiniſter advices ſhould prove the ground of a civil war, and occaſion the ruin of their temples.' *Agrippa* having heard this, went and acquainted the ſenate with it.

A little after, a certain man among the ſoldiers, belonging to the ſenate, with his drawn ſword, ſaid thus: 'My fellow ſoldiers, what are theſe hardſhips we have ſuffered, that we ſhould reſolve to ſlay our brethren, and maintain a war againſt our relations, who follow the intereſt of *Claudius*, eſpecially ſince we have an emperor who can be charged with no crime, and are under ſuch near ties of alliance with thoſe we are going to fight againſt?' So ſaid, he ſtepp'd thro' the middle of the hall, and drew all the other ſoldiers after him. The fathers, as ſoon as they found themſelves thus abandoned, began to be in great fears, with reſpect to themſelves, and afterwards, foreſeeing that a revolt would be attended with no ſafe conſequences, they followed the example of the ſoldiers, and haſtened to *Claudius*. They who had flattered the fortune of *Caius*, and been tools to his ambition, met them at the walls with their drawn ſwords; and, in all probability, thoſe who headed the company, had run a riſque of their lives before *Cæſar* had heard a word of the ſoldiers attempts, had not *Agrippa* uſed great expedition, run and acquainted him with the dangerous conſequences that would attend ſuch an action, and that if he did not conſult ſome means how to reſtrain the furious behaviour of the ſoldiers upon the fathers, he would effectually loſe them, by whoſe aſſiſtance it would be glorious to hold the empire, and he would then only govern a deſart.

Claudius no ſooner had received this intelligence, but he curbed the inſolence of the ſoldiers, and received the ſenators within his camp, and having given them an handſome and civil admittance, and ſpoke to them in a pleaſing manner, he went out in company with them, in order to offer up ſacrifices, by way of thankſgiving, for the empire. He then gave *Agrippa* the whole kingdom of his grandfather, adding, beſides, *Trachonitis* and *Auranitis*, which *Auguſtus* had given to *Herod*, and further annexing to his poſſeſſions another kingdom, which went by the name of the kingdom of *Lyſanias*. He beſtowed upon the people a donative by an edict, and gave orders for the ſenate to have the donation engraved on tables of braſs, and laid up in the capitol. Add to this, he veſted *Herod* his brother, who, by marrying *Berenice*, was alſo his nephew, in the kingdom of *Chalcis*.

Agrippa in a ſhort time became exceeding rich, from ſo great a kingdom as he was now maſter of; and the money he procured was uſed to noble ends, and grand undertakings; for he began to ſurround *Hieroſolyma* with ſo vaſt a wall, that, had it been finiſhed, the *Romans* could never have taken it. But he died at *Cæſarea*, before he had brought the building to its propoſed height, having reigned three years, and governed the other tetrarchates three years before. He left three daughters by his wife *Cypris*, namely, *Berenice*, *Mariamne*, and *Druſilla*, and a ſon by the ſame woman, who was called *Agrippa*, who being an infant, *Claudius* reduced the kingdoms again into a province, and ſent *Cuſpius Fadus* as procurator, and after him *Tiberius Alexander*, who, making no alteration in the laws or cuſtoms of the country, govern'd the nation in peace. *Herod*, who reigned in *Chalcis*, died after theſe tranſactions, leaving two ſons, namely, *Berenicianus* and *Hyrcanus*, whom he had by his brother's daughter *Berenice*, and *Ariſtobulus*, by his former wife *Mariamne*. He had another brother named *Ariſtobulus*, who died a private perſon, and left a daughter, named *Jotapa*. Theſe were the ſons (as we have taken notice above) of *Ariſtobulus*, the ſon of *Herod*. And *Herod* had *Mariamne*, *Ariſtobulus*, and *Alexander*, whom their father put to death. But the poſterity of *Alexander* reigned in the greater *Armenia*.

For it may be ſeen, that this phraſe is taken in ſo large a latitude, that it can by no means be applied to overwhelm the controverſy about *Cæſar*'s age.

CHAP. XII.

Several Tumults under Cumanus, *which are appeaſed by* Quadratus. Fælix *Procurator of* Judea. Agrippa *changes* Chalcis *for a larger Kingdom.*

AFTER *Herod*'s death, who was king of *Chalcis*, *Claudius* veſted *Agrippa*, the ſon of *Agrippa*, in his uncle's kingdom; and *Cumanus* received the government of the other province after *Alexander*, under whoſe adminiſtration a violent commotion broke out, and the *Jews* began to bring about a change. The cauſe began thus: A great multitude of people being aſſembled at *Hieroſolyma* to celebrate the feaſt of tabernacles, and a company of *Roman* ſoldiers ſtanding above the portico of the temple, (for on holy days it was cuſtomary to place a guard there, to hinder the people that were aſſembled from creating any diſturbances) a certain ſoldier pulled aſide his clothes, and ſhamefully bending his body backward, ſhewed his backſide to the *Jews*, and then ſpoke in a deriſionary way, agreeably to the figure and poſture in which he ſtood. Which affront throughly nettling all the multitude, they petitioned *Cumanus* to have the fellow puniſhed. They who were of younger blood, raſh and haſty, and of a more turbulent diſpoſition, roſe up in arms, and ſnatching ſtones up in their hands, they threw them at the ſoldiers. *Cumanus* fearing the whole multitude might follow the example, ordered a large number of armed men to be ſent for, who throwing themſelves into the portico's, the *Jews* were overwhelmed with ſo vehement a fear, that they haſtily fled out of the temple, and withdrew into the city. But ſo violent and ſo great thruſting was at the gates of the temple, that above ten thouſand perſons, in the throng, and ſqueezing together, were put to death; ſo that the ſolemn day became a day of mourning to the whole nation, and every family had occaſion enough to lament it.

This deſtruction was followed by another commotion, whoſe riſe was owing to a band of robbers, who happening to fall upon one *Stephanus*, a ſervant of *Cæſar*'s, as he was travelling in the publick road leading to *Bæthoron*, robbed him of all the baggage he had with him. *Cumanus* hereupon ſent parties of ſoldiers every where about, with orders to bring bound to him the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages, whom he charged with not having followed after the robbers, and apprehended them. One of the ſoldiers preſuming on this liberty too far, having found the ſacred laws in a certain village, both tore the book to pieces, and threw it into the fire. The *Jews*, as though all their country had been demoliſhed by fire, were extremely confounded; and, actuated by a motive of religion, as if by ſome organ, with one loud voice they went to *Cumanus* at *Cæſarea*, petitioning, that the ſoldier, who had offered ſuch an heinous diſhonour againſt God and his laws, might not go unpuniſhed. *Cumanus*, to gratify them, (as he ſaw that the multitude, unleſs ſome redreſs was given them, would not remain quiet) demanded the ſoldier to be brought before him, and then commanded him to be dragged to condign puniſhment through the midſt of his accuſers.

A ſecond conteſt now aroſe between the *Galileans* and *Samaritans*. It fell out, as a great number of *Jews* were come up to celebrate a ſolemnity, that a certain *Galilean* was killed in a village called *Gema*, which ſtands in the great plain of *Samaria*. Several, hereupon, ran out of *Galilee*, as if their deſign had been to fight with the *Samaritans*; but the better ſort among them went to *Cumanus*, and petitioned him, that, before the danger grew to any head, he would croſs over into *Galilee*, and puniſh thoſe who had been the authors of the murther, for that there was no other way, before the multitude came to arms, to diſperſe them. But *Cumanus*, ſetting aſide their petition to the buſineſs then upon his hands, diſmiſſed them without granting their ſuit.

But when the report of what had happened to the ſlain perſons reached *Hieroſolyma*, the multitude were put into a ſtrange perturbation of mind, and without performing the ſolemnity throughout, haſtened into *Samaria*, without any perſon to conduct them, or any commands of the magiſtrates, who would have reſtrained them. They grounded the robberies and depredations they committed, and the commotions they raiſed, on *Eleazar*, the ſon of *Dimæus*, and on *Alexander*, who, having made inroads upon the frontiers of the toparchy of *Acrabateno*, put every one to death, without any diſtinction of age, and laid their towns in aſhes.

Cumanus, taking up one company of horſe, which was called the *Sebaſtens*, haſtened to relieve thoſe who had been ſufferers from their depredations, and ſeveral of thoſe who had followed *Eleazar*, he took priſoners, but put a great number to death. But the chief men among the *Hieroſolymites* ſtealing privately out of the city to the reſt of the multitude, who were making ready to fight the *Samaritans*, appeared before them cloathed in ſackcloth, and their heads covered with aſhes, and begged to retire, and not, by going to revenge themſelves on the *Samaritans* ſtir up the *Romans* in *Hieroſolyma*, but pity their country and temple, their wives and children, and not bring all of them, in going to revenge the murther of one man, into imminent danger of their lives. Theſe remonſtrances prevailed upon the *Jews*, and they diſperſed themſelves; notwithſtanding, many committed robberies up and down, thinking not to be puniſhed for them; and all the country was full of nothing but ſpoil and depredation, and every one becoming by degrees more preſumptuous, added to the diſturbance. Hereupon the principal *Samaritans* went in a body to *Tyre*, to *Numidius Quadratus*, then governor of *Syria*, requiring thoſe to be brought to a deſerved puniſhment who had committed their depredations over the country. Being come before the governor, the principal *Jews*, and *Jonathan* the high-prieſt, the ſon of *Ananus*, alledged, that the *Samaritans*, who had committed the murther, had given riſe to the late diſturbances, and that *Cumanus*, who neglected to bring to puniſhment the authors of the murther, had been the real cauſe of thoſe things which had afterwards happened.

But *Quadratus* put off both parties to another ſeaſon, telling them, that when he came into the places where the things had been committed, he would diligently enquire inte every circumſtance. And afterwards going to *Cæſarea*, he crucified every ſoul of thoſe who had been taken priſoners by *Cumanus*. And then coming to *Lydda*, he heard again the complaints of the *Samaritans*, and having ſent for eighteen *Jews*, who had been reported to him to have been accomplices in the late ſkirmiſh, he cut off their heads, and ſent to *Rome* two of the moſt powerful among them, with *Jonathan* and *Ananias* the high-prieſts, and *Ananus* his ſon; and ſome noble *Jews*, and illuſtrious *Samaritans*, he gave orders to *Cumanus*, and *Celer* the tribune, to ſail to *Rome*, to give *Claudius* an account of their actions. And having thus ordered things, he removed from *Lydda* to the city of *Hieroſolyma*, where, finding the people ſolemnizing the feaſt of unleavened bread in good order, he returned to *Antioch*.

Cæſar having heard at *Rome Cumanus* and *Beler* (*Agrippa* being then preſent, who laboured ſtrenuouſly for the *Jews*, by reaſon *Cumanus* had ſeveral powerful men who appeared for him) condemned the *Samaritans*, and commanded three of their moſt powerful men to be put to death, and ordered *Cumanus* into baniſhment. And having decreed that *Beler* ſhould be ſent back in chains to *Hieroſolyma*, he ordered him to be delivered up to the *Jews* to be puniſhed; and after having been dragged about the city, to have his head cut off.

Claudius, after this, ſent *Felix*, the brother of *Pallas*, to govern *Judea*, *Galilee*, *Samaria*, and *Peræa*; but removed out of *Chalcis Agrippa*, to a larger kingdom, and gave him the tetrarchate which had been *Philip*'s. This included *Trachonitis*, *Batanea*, and *Gaulanitis*; beſides, he added to his dominions the kingdom of *Lyxmias*, and the province which *Varus* had governed. *Claudius*, after he had governed the reins of the empire thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days, departed this life, leaving *Nero* the ſucceſſor to his dominions, who had been adopted into the hereditary right of the empire, by the contrivance and artful management of *Agrippina*, though he had a lawful ſon of his own, named *Britannicus*, by his former wife *Meſſalina*, and a daughter, called *Octavia*, which he had affianced to *Nero*. Beſides, he had *Antonia* by *Petina*, another wife.

CHAP. XII.

Nero *adds four Cities to* Agrippa*'s Kingdom*; *the reſt of* Judea *under* Felix. *The Robbers, Magicians, and the* Ægyptian, *the falſe Prophet*; *of the Diſturbances they raiſed. A violent Contention between the* Jews *and* Syrians *about* Cæſarea.

THE madneſs to which *Nero*'s great fortune and riches reduced him; the pride and arrogancy with which he uſed his authority; the manner how he put to death his brother, wife, and mother; the cruelty he afterwards exerciſed upon thoſe who were the neareſt related to him by blood, and the extreme folly he at length brought himſelf to, to become an actor upon the ſtage; all theſe things being ſo well known, I will paſs them over in ſilence, and turn my diſcourſe to thoſe events which fell out to the *Jews* in his reign.

He veſted *Ariſtobulus*, the ſon of *Herod*, in the leſſer *Armenia*, to be king of it; but annexed to *Agrippa*'s kingdom four cities, with their toparchies; namely, *Abila* and *Julias*, in *Peræa*; *Tarichee* and *Tiberias* in *Galilee*, making *Felix* governor of the reſt of *Judea*. This *Felix* took *Eleazar*, who for twenty years had committed his depredations over all the country, and ſeveral who accompanied him in his robberies, priſoners alive, and ſent them to *Rome*; and the number of robbers he crucified, and the others he put to death, whom he found to be aſſociates in the ſame methods of life, was very large.

The country being thus cleanſed, another ſort of robbers ſprung up, who were called *Suarii*, men who knock'd people on the head in the middle of the city in the day time: They chiefly mixed among crowds of people on ſolemn days, hiding a kind of daggers, called *Sicæ*, under their cloaths, wherewith they ſtabbed their enemies: And when they happened to fall down with their wounds, they who committed the murther would pretend a kind of reſentment with the ſtanders-by. By this means they concealed themſelves a long time from the puniſhment of thoſe who ſuſpected no baſe deſign in them. *Jonathan*, the high-prieſt, fell the firſt ſacrifice to their treacherous barbarity, and then a great many daily ſuffer'd from them; ſo that the fear which poſſeſſed the people was worſe than death itſelf, while every one, as though they had been placed in the foremoſt rank of battle, believed death every moment was ready to cruſh them. They diligently endeavoured to ward againſt their enemies, and could not have the heart to put any confidence in their friends who approached them; but in the midſt of their ſuſpicions and foreſight, were put to death; ſo ſudden were the attempts, and ſo concealed the artifices of theſe traitors.

But beſides this ſort of men, another ſet of wretches appeared, whoſe hands were indeed free from murther, but whoſe councels were attended with more deviliſh conſequences, and who, no leſs than the *Sicarii*, went about to deſtroy the peace of the city: For being a band of men trained up in deluſions, and full of deceit, who pretended to divine impulſe, and were deſirous at any rate to bring about a change; they by their ſtratagems and artifices ſo infatuated the commoner ſort of people, that they enticed them out into the deſart, as tho' God was there, to ſhew them a token of their liberty. *Felix*, who judged ſuch a mob might riſe up into an inſurrection, ſent a body of foot and horſes againſt them, and ſlew a great number of them.

But the greateſt evil that fell upon the *Jews* was owing to an *Ægyptian*, a falſe prophet: For entering the country, with the appearance of a knowing perſon, and procuring to himſelf to be thought and eſteemed a prophet, he, by his impoſtures and deceptions, got together a matter of thirty thouſand perſons, and having enticed them out of the deſart to the mount of *Olives*, he reſolved to make an irruption from thence into the city of *Hieroſolyma*, and having once overcome the *Roman* garriſon and the citizens, to ſeize upon the government, through the dependance he had in his followers, who were to break into the city with him. But *Felix* prevented his aim, by marching againſt him with his *Roman* ſoldiers; and all the people, for the defence of their country, gave the *Romans* great aſſiſtance. The encounter being begun, the *Ægyptian*, with a few about him, eſcaped; but a great number, who had followed him, were partly ſlain, and partly taken priſoners; but the reſt of the multitude diſperſing throughout the country, every one conſulted their ſafety by hiding themſelves.

But when theſe commotions were appeaſed, another part (as is uſual in a ſick and crazy body) burſt out into a furious heat: For the impoſtors and robbers mixing together, forced a great number to revolt, and adviſed others to endeavour at regaining their liberty, threatening death to thoſe who continued to pay obedience to the government of the *Romans*; and ſaying, that thoſe, who were for ſuſtaining a voluntary ſlavery, ſhould be forced to their liberty. For diſperſing themſelves in companies throughout the country, they ranſacked the houſes of the great, put the owners to death, and burnt the towns they entered; ſo that all *Judæa* came to be infected with their violent and barbarous depredations. And this civil diſcord grew daily.

Another tumult aroſe about *Cæſarea*, occaſioned by a ſedition between the *Syrians* and *Jews*, who indifferently inhabited in this city. For the latter pretended that it was their city, and that its founder was a *Jew*. This was king *Herod*. The *Syrians* did not deny but that a *Jew* had built it, and inſiſted that it was a *Greek* city; for that he who had given it to the *Jews*, would not ſuffer either ſtatues or temples to be built in it. Theſe things gave ground to a controverſy between them, and while the debate was carrying on between them, they came to open arms. The partizans of both ſides grew daily more preſuming in their hoſtilities; nor could all the endeavours of the graver *Jews* prove ſufficient to ſtop the inſolence of the ſeditious: For the *Greeks* thought it diſhonourable to yield, and the *Jews* entertained the ſame ſentiments on their ſide. The latter had the ſuperiority in wealth, and ſtrength of body. but the *Greeks* overpowered them by the help of the garriſon and other ſoldiers: For the better part of the *Roman* army were drawn out of *Syria*, and in a readineſs and preparation, as though they had been united by blood to give them their aſſiſtance, and defend them. However, the officers of the army were very careful, and whipped and impriſoned the more audacious of both ſides, as they fell into their hands; but the puniſhments they inflicted on thoſe they apprehended, could neither put a ſtop to the inſolence of the reſt, or ſtrike a terror into them; but they became the more exaſperated, and carried the ſoldiers to more violent lengths. And when *Felix*, perceiving the *Jews* had the ſuperiority in one of their encounters, he ſtepped out into the former, and uſing ſeveral threats and menaces, commanded every man to withdraw to his houſe. They refuſed to hearken to him, which made him ſend his ſoldiers among them, whereupon no ſmall number loſt their lives; and, to add to the misfortune, their goods were plundered. But the ſedition being ſtill kept up, *Felix* ſent to *Nero* ſome of the principal men of both parties, to try their right.

CHAP. XIV.

Felix *is ſucceeded by* Feſtus, *and he by* Albinus, *and he by* Florus, *whoſe Cruelties force the* Jews *to defend themſelves.*

BUT *Feſtus* having received from him the quality of procurator, was very diligent after thoſe who gave the country any diſturbance. In conſequence of this, he apprehended a great many of the robbers, and ordered ſeveral of them to be put to death; but his ſucceſſor, *Albinus*, did not manage his authority after the ſame prudent and wiſe way: For there was no ſort of miſchievous practices then on foot, which he did not connive at and paſs by. During his government, he not only made uſe of ſcandalous methods, ſuch as pelf, to augment his income, but ſtripp'd every one of their goods and eſtates: He loaded the whole nation with intolerable taxes, and ſet at liberty thoſe who had been confined in priſon for robberies by the decurions of cities, or his predeceſſors procurators, taking a ſum of money from their relations, and he only was left in goal as a felon, who could contribute nothing for his enlargement. And much about the ſame time thoſe, who ſought every opportunity to diſtract affairs, grew intolerably audacious at *Hieroſolyma*, the more wealthy part of whom procured the favour of *Albinus*, by their money, to ſit neuter while they puſhed on their ill-deſigning ſchemes; and thoſe among the people who were turbulent and nettled, joined them, who had a communication with *Albinus*. Every one thus ſurrounded with his own band of baſe creatures, *Albinus*, as the arch-robber, or tyrant, appeared more conſpicuous than the reſt, and uſed his guards inſolently to ſtrip thoſe who offered to moderate mattets: This made thoſe who were ſufferers, when they had reaſon to ſhew their reſentment, to hold their tongues; and they who had ſuſtained no damage, fearing to be expoſed to the like inconveniences, ſtrove to cajole and flatter them, who had committed actions that were worthy of death. In fine, all liberty of ſpeaking was taken away, and they were governed by ſo many tyrants: And the ſeeds of ſuch misfortunes were at this time laid, as afterwards ſprung up to the entire deſtruction of the city.

Albinus, demonſtrating himſelf in this manner, was ſucceeded by *Geſſius Florus*, to make it appear that he was the better of two, if a compariſon ſhould be made. *Albinus*, indeed, was ſuperior in the actions he committed, thro' privacy, and a grand diſſimulation; *Geſſius*, on the other hand, gloried and triumphed in the injuries he did our nation; and, as if he had been the hangman, ſent to puniſh the condemned, no method of extortion, no way of rapine, or violence, eſcaped him. For when he ought to have ſhewn pity, he was then the moſt cruel, and in baſe action the moſt ſhameleſs man in the world: Nor was there ever a perſon that ſo diſguiſed the truth, or had ſo many ways of artifice, or knew more methods how to deceive. It was equal to him of whom he made his advantage, ſo his gain was in the acquiſition; he plundered entire cities, and was the ruin to multitudes of people, and ordered proclamation to be made throughout the country, that robbing ſhould be free to all, provided he had part of the plunder. In conſequence of which avaricious temper, it came to paſs, that almoſt all the toparchies were reduced to beggary, and numbers were obliged to leave their native ſeats, and withdraw into other provinces.

And as long as *Ceſtius Gallus* continued in the government of *Syria*, no one durſt ſend an embaſſy to him againſt *Florus*; and on his coming to *Hieroſolyma* at the feaſt of unleavened bread, the people, to the number of three hundred thouſand, flocked about him, begging him to take compaſſion on the misfortunes of their nation, and ſhouting aloud that *Florus* was the bane and deſtruction of their country; but though he was preſent, and ſtood near *Ceſtius*, he only laughed at them. When *Ceſtius* had appeaſed the tumult, and told that *Florus* would uſe them with greater moderation for the future, he returned to *Antioch*. *Florus* conducted him on the road, as far as *Cæſarea*, and ſignified to him, that to maintain a war againſt the nation, would be the only means to conceal from ſearching eyes the iniquitous ſteps he had taken. For while there was peace, he every moment expected to find ſome of the *Jews* accuſing him to *Cæſar*; but if he could once bring it about, ſo as to force them to a revolt, he ſhould draw them from taxing him with trifles, to a greater evil on their ſide. And in conſequence of this conſultation and advice, he endeavoured, by the calamities which every day he brought upon the *Jews*, to make them renounce their obedience to the *Romans*.

About the ſame time the *Cæſarean Greeks*, having obtained a definitive ſentence about the government of the city from *Nero*, they brought with them a letter concerning it; and from this very affair commenced the *Jewiſh* war, in the twelfth year of *Nero*'s government, and the ſeventeenth year of king *Agrippa*, in the month of *Artemiſius*: But the magnitude of the misfortunes that were the conſequences of it, are not to be compared to the trifling cauſes that gave birth to them. The *Jews* of *Cæſarea* had a ſynagogue near a place which a *Greek* who inhabited *Cæſarea* poſſeſſed by right of authority; the *Jews* had gone ſeveral ways in order to procure poſſeſſion of it, offering abundantly more money for the purchaſe, than it really was worth. The *Greek*, as though he deſpiſed their ſolicitations, and had had a mind to abuſe them, erected buildings all over the place, which he turned into ſhops, and left the *Jews* a very narrow and difficult gateway to their ſynogogue. Upon this, the younger ſort of people, with an ill-concerted fervency, ran out and offered violence to the builders. *Florus*, offering to reſtrain their violence, the more powerful *Jews*, among whom was *John* the publican, being ignorant of what was doing, endeavoured, with a preſent of eight talents they made *Florus*, to perſuade him to make the builders leave off their work. *Florus*, that he might make his advantage, promiſed that he would do every thing they deſired, and having received the money, he preſently departed from *Cæſarea*, and went to *Sebaſte*, leaving the ſeditious in full power to act juſt as they pleaſed, as if he had ſold to the *Jews* the liberty of fighting.

The next day, being the ſeventh, when the *Jews* were aſſembled in their ſynagogue, a certain ſeditious *Cæſarean* took an earthen veſſel, which he turned upſide down, and then placing it in the paſſage leading to the ſynagogue, he ſlew birds upon it. A thing which extremely vexed the *Jews*, as if their law had been ridiculed, and the place impiouſly contaminated. But the more prudent and moderate part of the *Jews* judged it the moſt expedient to have recourſe again to the judges; but the ſeditious, on the contrary, who were carried away with an impetuoſity, and too young to conſult their real intereſt, ran and took up arms. To receive them, certain turbulent perſons among the *Cæſareans* were in readineſs, (for the fellow who had ſlain the birds had been purpoſely ſent before) whereupon they immediately came to open blows; but *Jucundus*, who was appointed maſter of the horſe, coming to appeaſe the tumult, and ordered the veſſel to be brought him, and then ſet about to terminate the differences; but the violence of the *Cæſareans* proving too much for him, he was foiled; whereupon the *Jews* having got the books of *Moyſes*, inſtantly withdrew into *Habata*, a certain country of theirs ſo called, and about threeſcore furlongs from *Cæſarea*. Hereupon *John*, with twelve of the principal *Jews*, went to *Florus* at *Sebaſte*, and complained heavily of the things that had happened, and reminding him of the eight talents, they begged that he would aſſiſt them. But *Florus* charging them with carrying the books of their laws from *Cæſarea*, commanded them to be apprehended and impriſoned.

The *Hieroſolymites* were nettled at this affront, notwithſtanding which, they prudently concealed their reſentment: *Florus*, in the mean time, ſent perſons to the ſacred treaſure to take thence ſeventeen talents, under a pretence that *Cæſar* had occaſion for them; by which means he kindled a war, as if he had induſtriouſly deſigned it. Upon this the people were preſently full of the greateſt confuſion; and aſſembling in numerous throngs at the temple, they called upon the name of *Cæſar* in loud acclamations, and in fervent ſupplications, begged to be delivered from the tyranny of *Florus*; and ſome of the ſeditious were very loud in caſting their reproaches at him, and carried about a box to beg charity for him, as if he had been poor, and in want. All theſe affronts were nothing to divert his avaricious mind from purſuing its covetous meaſures, but the more he was excited to make his gain and plunder. Laſtly, when he ſhould have gone to *Cæſarea*, and extinguiſh the fury of the war that had ariſen, and removed the cauſes that had given birth to the commotions, for which he had received a reward, he, on the quite contrary, marched to *Hieroſolyma* with a body of foot and horſe, in order to act as he pleaſed with the *Roman* arms, and ſtrike terror and menaces into the city.

But the people deſiring to remove his furious deſigns before he came, met his ſoldiers with loud acclamations, and ſeemed prepared to receive *Florus* with more extraordinary marks of duty. But he ſent before him *Capito* the centurion, with fifty horſe, with orders to bid them depart, and not then pretend to court his friendſhip, whom they had ſo lately vilely reproached: That they ought, if they were brave and valiant men, declare their ſcurrilous language before him then, and ſhew that they were ready, both with words and weapons, to vindicate their liberty. Theſe words frightening the multitude, and the forces that were with *Capito* ruſhing among the midſt of them, they diſpers'd themſelves, before they had even ſo much as complimented *Florus*, or manifeſted their loyalty to his men. In ſhort, every one withdrew to their houſes for that night, which they ſpent in fear and humiliation.

Florus lodged in the palace that night, and the next day having ordered his tribunal to be fixed up before it, he ſeated himſelf in it, whereupon the prieſts, and all other perſons of chief authority and dignity, came and ſtood by him: Whereupon he commanded them to ſurrender into his hands thoſe who had abuſed him, telling them that he would revenge himſelf upon them, provided they refuſed to produce them. In anſwer to this, they affirmed, that the people were deſirous to live in peace and quiet, and deſired that he would pardon thoſe who had raſhly betrayed their weakneſs in their tongues. For, in ſo great a multitude, it was a circumſtance not to be wondered at, that ſome were found of a temper more preſuming, and inconſiderate, by reaſon of their youth, and that it was next to an impoſſibility to ſeparate thoſe who had tranſgreſſed from the reſt, when every one were ſorry for what was paſt, and, through fear, were ready to deny, if charged. That, notwithſtanding it was his province to take care of the ſafety of the nation, and preſerve it in peace, and appoint *Romans* to protect the city; and that it was a greater action to pardon a few who had ſhewn themſelves out of the way for the ſake of many that were innocent, than for the ſake of ſome diſturbers, to breed diſſentions in ſo great a multitude of good men.

Florus hearing this, was but the more enraged, and, calling aloud to his ſoldiers, he bade them go and ſack the place which was called the higher market, and put to death every one they met. They, when they had thus the orders of their governor to be inſtruments to his covetouſneſs, not only ranſacked the place they were let looſe into, but ruſhed into every one's houſes, and killed the inhabitants they found therein. Every one ſtrove to eſcape as well as they could; every one were ſlain who were apprehended, and all ways of plunder and ſpoil were committed: Several of the more moderate were taken, and dragged to *Florus*, who firſt cruelly ſcourged them, and then took their lives away on a croſs. Indeed, all who were ſlain that day, accounting the women and children, (for the very infants were not ſpared) were numbered at three thouſand and ſix hundred. This new and unexpected barbarity made the calamity ſo much the worſe, becauſe none had ever before attempted it, till *Florus* at this time, I mean to ſcourge men before his tribunal of equeſtrian order; whoſe original was *Jewiſh*, but the dignity *Roman*.

CHAP. XV.

Berenice's *Solicitations are ineffectual to make* Florus *ſpare the* Jews. *How* Florus *kindled a-freſh the Sedition after it had been extinguiſhed.*

ABOUT the ſame time king *Agrippa* took a journey to *Alexandria*, to congratulate *Alexander* on his being ſent by *Nero* to *Ægypt* to govern that province. His ſiſter *Berenice*, who was at *Hieroſolyma*, and a ſpectator of the baſe proceedings of the *Roman* ſoldiers, was extremely troubled, and often ſent the officers of her brother's men, and ſome of her body guard, to *Florus*, with intreaties to refrain from his hoſtile proceedings. But neither the multitude of the ſlain, nor the high birth of the perſon that importuned him, had any influence upon him, his eye being turned only upon making his own gain; and his fury at length went ſo far, that he let his ſoldiers looſe upon the queen; whereupon they miſerably ſcourged and ſlew every one they met and apprehended, and had certainly ſlain her, had ſhe not eſcaped firſt into the palace; where, fearing the ſoldiers might break in upon her, ſhe kept a guard over her that night: For ſhe reſided at *Hieroſolyma* with no other view than to pay her vows to God. For it is a cuſtom for thoſe who are indiſpoſed, or any way expoſed to any misfortunes, to devote thirty days to prayer, before they are allowed to ſacrifice, to abſtain from wine, and ſhave their hair; all which things, while *Berenice* was performing, and ſupplicating *Florus* bare-footed before his tribunal; yet, beſides the irreverence that was paid her, her life was expoſed to imminent danger.

Theſe occurrences fell out on the ſixth day of the month *Artemiſius*. The day following the people aſſembled in throngs in the higher market-place, and loudly lamented the perſons that had been ſlain; but chiefly their exclamations were made to rouze up a general hatred againſt *Florus*, which the better ſort apprehending, went with the prieſts with rent garments, and falling proſtrate at their feet, prayed them to preſerve peace, and not enrage *Florus* to involve them in a worſe calamity than that which they had already ſuſtained. The multitude preſently gave way, through reſpect to the perſons of thoſe who petitioned them, and through the hopes they had that *Florus* would no longer expoſe them to the like injurious treatment.

Florus finding the tumult appeaſed, was ſomewhat troubled at it, and deſiring to bring things into the ſame uneaſy ſituation as before, he ſent for the prieſts and ſome of the better ſort, and told them, that the only argument to prove that the people would no more attempt to embroil affairs, would be their going out of the city to meet the ſoldiers who were marching to it, for two cohorts were coming. And while they were aſſembling the multitude, he, ſending ſome before, gave notice to the centurions of the cohorts, to acquaint their men, not to ſhow the leaſt kindneſs to the *Jews*, and if they happened to ſpeak any thing againſt him, to fall upon them with their arms. The prieſts, when they had aſſembled the people in the temple, exhorted them to go out and meet the *Romans*, and, before they expoſed themſelves to worſe misfortunes, receive the cohorts with marks of friendſhip. But the ſeditious rejected the advice, and refuſed to go, and the ſlaughter of their brethren prompted them on to ſomething of a more daring nature. Upon this, all the prieſts and ſervants of God brought out the ſacred veſſels, and dreſſed themſelves in the ſeveral habits they generally wore when in the performance of their ſeveral functions, and in company with the muſicians and choiriſters, threw themſelves proſtrate, with their inſtruments in their hands, at the feet of the multitude, and implored them that they would preſerve and defend all the ſacred ornaments they ſaw, and not enrage the *Romans* ſo far as to cauſe them to rob God of his holy veſſels. Now was to be ſeen the prieſts with their heads all beſmeared with aſhes, their breaſts bare, and their garments rent; and earneſtly begging the ſeveral noblemen by name, and the multitude, not to betray for ſo ſmall a fault their country into the hands of thoſe who wanted to ravage it. ‘What advantage will the ſoldiers gain from the *Jews* complimenting them, or how will ſatisfaction be made to the *Jews* for what has happened, if they now refuſe to go out and meet them? But if they went out in proceſſion, and complimented them as cuſtom required, they would be a means of removing from *Florus* all occaſion of war, and they be at liberty to preſerve their country, and not be expoſed to any more misfortunes. Beſides, that it argued the greateſt folly and madneſs, to join a few ſeditions, when it was their buſineſs, ſince they were ſo great a multitude, to compel them to come into the ſame ſentiments with them.’

Humouring the multitude with words like theſe, what by menaces, and what by the awe of their perſons, they cooled the inconſiderate raſhneſs of ſome of the ſeditious; then leading them in a quiet and compoſed manner, they went to meet the *Romans*, and coming near them, they complimented them. But the ſoldiers returning no anſwer, they began to inveigh loudly againſt *Florus*. This was the very watch word that was given againſt them. In conſequence hereof, as ſoon as the *Roman* ſoldiers had inveſted them, they beat them with their clubs, and the horſemen miſerably trod upon thoſe who fled, as they purſued them. Neither were the *Romans* the perſons who ſaved themſelves in this encounter, for ſeveral of them were made ſacrifices upon the ſpot, but a greater number periſhed by the hands of one another, for there was a prodigious ſqueezing in the very gates: And every one ſtriving to get before, all were extremely hindered in making their eſcape, and thoſe who fell found a very melancholy death; for the vaſt multitude of people preſſing furiouſly forward, they were ſuffocated and choaked to death in the throng, and the relations of thoſe who were ſlain, could not diſtinguiſh the dead ſo as to have them buried. At the ſame time the ſoldiers puſhed furiouſly forward, putting barbarouſly to death thoſe whom they took, and then drove the multitude through the higher *Bezetha*, ſtriving by main force to paſs through, and ſeize upon the temple and *Antonia*. And *Florus*, to gain theſe poſts, led the forces he had with him out of the royal palace, and ſtrove by main force to get into the caſtle, but he was diſappointed of his aim; for the people making a ſudden attack upon them, ſtopped their violence, and they who were of their party, and had poſted themſelves upon the tops of houſes, poured down upon the *Romans* whole ſhowers of ſtones. The *Romans* finding themſelves thus galled with the darts that ſhowered upon them from above, and having not ſufficient force to break through the multitude that blocked up the narrower ways, they withdrew to the army that remained in the palace.

The ſeditious apprehending leſt *Florus* might come upon them again, and ſeize the temple, by having *Antonia* in his hands, made a ſudden aſcent, and cut down the portico's that adjoined the temple towards *Antonia*; an action which cooled the covetous temper of *Florus*. For itching to be at the ſacred treaſures of God, and on that account wanting to get into *Antonia*, when he ſaw the demolition of the portico's, he dropped his deſign: And having aſſembled the prieſts and the ſenate, he told them that he would leave the city, but give them a garriſon, as they themſelves would deſire. Hereupon, they aſſuring him that they would purſue every method to ſecure things, and no more embroil affairs, provided he left them but one cohort, but not that which had lately diſturbed the citizens, (becauſe the people could not forget their animoſities for what they had ſuſtained from it) he, according to their requeſt, changed the cohort, and returned to *Cæſarea* with the remainder of his army.

CHAP. XVI.

Ceſtius *ſends* Neapolitanus *the tribune to look into the* Jewiſh *affairs.* Agrippa*'s ſpeech to the* Jews, *to diſſuade them from undertaking the war againſt the* Romans.

FLORUS purſuing another ſcheme to foment the war, wrote and ſent a letter to *Ceſtius*, wherein he falſely charged the *Jews* with a defection, laying the late ſtruggle at their door, and acquainting him that they had been guilty of the very ſame things they had ſuffered. Notwithſtanding this, the principal men of *Hieroſolyma* continued open in their complaints, and they and *Berenice* wrote letters to *Ceſtius*, wherein they explained the unjuſt actions of *Florus* in a very pathetic manner. When he had peruſed the letters each had ſent, he preſently deliberated with his officers what meaſures were proper to be taken. Some, hereupon were of opinion, that the beſt expedient was for *Ceſtius* to go up with his army, and exact puniſhment of the revolters, if there were any, or confirm thoſe *Jews* who ſtood for the *Romans*, in their obedience: But *Ceſtius* judged it better to ſend ſome one or other of his officers before, to ſearch into things, and bring him faithful word back how the *Jews* ſtood affected. In conſequence hereof, *Neapolitanus*, the tribune, was ſent, who, meeting near *Jamnia* with king *Agrippa*, as he was returning from *Alexandria*, told him who had ſent him, and the occaſion of his meſſage.

The prieſts of the *Jews*, the principal men, and the ſenate, came at the ſame time to congratulate the king upon his return. After they had performed the ceremonial part of their duty, they laid open, with tears in their eyes, their ſufferings, and made a miſerable relation of the barbarity of *Florus*. *Agrippa* ſeemingly gave ſigns of great emotion at the relation, but willing to mortify their elated minds, and baniſh from their breaſts the thoughts of revenge, as if they had received no injury at all, he cunningly turned his reſentment upon the *Jews*, whom he outwardly pitied. They who were of the better ſort, and in exchange for their late loſſes deſired peace, very well knew in themſelves that the king's reproof was but the effect of his kindneſs and benevolence. The people, indeed, went out of *Hieroſolyma* threeſcore furlongs, and with marks of extraordinary reſpect received *Agrippa* and *Neapolitanus*. The wives of thoſe who had been ſlain, running before the reſt, made piteous complaints and lamentation: which moving the hearts of the multitude to a ſympathetic concern, they prayed *Agrippa* to aſſiſt them, and loudly ſhouted to *Neapolitanus* what and how many the ſufferings had been to which *Florus* had expoſed them, and ſhowed them, upon entering the city, the deſolate and deſerted market-place, and the houſes that had been laid in ruins. Then they perſuaded *Neapolitanus*, by *Agrippa*'s interceſſion, to take only one ſervant along with him, and ſurvey all the city as far as *Siloe*, to ſee if the *Jews* did not obey the *Romans* in all other circumſtances, except *Florus*, who was the only one that kept their hatred alive, and that was owing to the greateſt barbarity with which he had uſed them. In conſequence hereof, having made a diligent and ſtrict ſearch throughout the city, and meeting with the cleareſt evidences in the world that the temper of the people was inclineable to peace and quietneſs, he went up into the temple, and there, having aſſembled the multitude, he made a copious ſpeech, wherein he praiſed their fidelity to the *Romans*, and ſtrenuouſly exhorted them to perſevere in peace and concord: And then, having paid his veneration to the temple, as much as became him, he returned to *Ceſtius*.

All the *Jews* now threw themſelves upon the protection of the king and prieſts, and begged for ambaſſadors to be ſent to *Nero* to accuſe *Florus*; and could not endure to think that paſſing over in ſilence the great ſlaughter they had ſuſtained, ſhould bring them under a ſuſpicion of having revolted: For it would look then as though they had been the firſt who had taken up arms, unleſs it was firſt made to appear who had been the firſt perſon who had done ſo. And they plainly foreſaw that things would continue in the ſame diſtracted condition, if the embaſſy met with interruption from any one: Beſides, *Agrippa* was of opinion, that, to chuſe out the perſons who ſhould accuſe *Florus*, would be argued as very invidious, and could eaſily foreſee, that to have the *Jews* animated to maintain a war, was diametrically oppoſite to his intereſt. Wherefore having aſſembled the people into the *Xyſtus*, and placed his ſiſter *Berenice* in a conſpicuous part upon the houſe of the *Aſſamomeans*, (which ſtood above the *Xyſtus* towards the fartheſt part of the higher city, and a bridge joined the temple to the *Xyſtus*) he made the following oration:

IF I had known that all of you were reſolved to maintain a war againſt the *Romans*, neither that the more ſound and ſincere part among you was inclined to cultivate peace, and preſerve harmony, I had never appeared thus before you, or preſumed to give you my advice; for all words are needleſs, and all language ſuperfluous, to point out thoſe things which ought to be done; when all who hear me are with an unanimous conſent hurried away to obey precepts of worſe conſequence than mine. But becauſe ſome of you may be ſo young as not to know the misfortunes that war produces, ſome of you may entertain raſh and ill-concerted hopes of liberty, and ſome of you may be deſirous of adding more to your preſent acquiſitions, and making advantage of the weaker ſide, if things ſhould come to be in confuſion: I have conſidered the means of inſtilling into ſuch perſons minds notions of better uſe, that may make them recant their reſolutions, and free themſelves from the dangers to which they expoſe themſelves by following the pernicious adviſe of a few; being now, as you are all aſſembled together, minded to explain thoſe circumſtances to you which I am perſuaded are for your common intereſt and advantage. But let no one exclaim againſt me while I am ſpeaking; if he happens to hear any thing that he cannot reliſh: For they, who are reſolved upon a defection, are ſtill at liberty, for me, after my exhortation, to continue in the ſame ſentiments as before. Neither will my words avail any thing with thoſe who are deſirous to hear me, unleſs every one preſerve ſilence. I am ſenſible, indeed that many exaggerate the injuries they have received from ſeveral procurators, and very much amplify and increaſe the commendations of liberty. But before I enter into any examination, who you are, and againſt whom you maintain a war, I will firſt of all lay open, and ſeparate one from another, the different pretences you urge for it: For if you go about to revenge your ſelves on thoſe who have injured you, to what end do you ſo much boaſt of your liberty? If you are of opinion that your ſlavery is not to be born with, then the complaints you bring againſt your governors, are of no moment. For though they ſhould govern mildly, yet the notion of ſervitude will ſtill preſent terrible ideas. Conſider things ſeparately by themſelves, how ridiculous is the reaſon for fomenting a war; but chiefly how far thoſe things go which you lay at the door of the *Roman* procurators. It is your buſineſs to gain the affections of thoſe in power by friendly offices, and not ſtrive to vex and irritate them with words. For when you charge them with crimes of ſlight conſequence, and make thoſe crimes of the moſt flagrant nature, you are all the time heaping the guilt upon your own heads, which you endeavour to lay upon others: So that the injuries they do you, will no longer be committed in ſecrecy, but your loſſes will be open, and acted above board: For nothing ſo much mitigates and elleviates an hardſhip, as patiently to bear it, and ſubmiſſively to receive the injuries done one; for oft times ſhame and delay are impediments in the way of thoſe who do them. But let it be ſo indeed, that the *Roman* governors are ſo troubleſome as not to be born with; yet all the *Romans* do not injure you, nor *Cæſar*, againſt whom you are going to undertake a war. There are no commands iſſued out by them, I apprehend, to ſend any bad governor, nor is it poſſible that they ſhould caſt their eyes from the weſt to the eaſt: But neither is it an eaſy matter that what is tranſacted here ſhould immediately be known there. It is rediculous to pretend to fight with ſo many becauſe of one, with ſo great a people, becauſe of ſuch trifling reaſons, and with thoſe who no nothing of what we complain of. Beſides, a ſudden remedy will be applied to the crimes which we charge them with. Neither will the ſame governor always continue in his poſt, and probably others of a more gentle behaviour may come and ſucceed him. When the war is once ſet on foot, it will be found no eaſy matter to lay it aſide, nor will ſuch a prceeding be carried on or ſuſtained without loſſes or hardſhips. But now it is unſeaſonable to harbour ſentiments of liberty, when your buſineſs ſhould have been before now valiantly to have fought to have maintained, and not loſt it. The experience of ſlavery is a very great hardſhip, and the endeavour to ſhake off the yoke is juſt and honourable; but he who is once ſubdued, and afterwards revolts, is deemed a more contumacious ſlave, than a lover of liberty. When *Pompey* firſt made his entrance into this country, every meaſure ought then to have been took, that the *Romans* were not admitted; but our anceſtors, and their kings, who had more money, larger bodies, and braver ſouls, than you, were not able to hold out againſt a ſmall portion of the *Roman* power. But you, who are accuſtomed to obey the *Romans*, and ſo much inferior in every circumſtance to thoſe who firſt ſubmitted to them, preſume to withſtand the whole *Roman* empire. The *Athenians*, who, to purchaſe the *Græcian* liberty, laid their city in aſhes, who, when *Xerxes*, the proudeſt man upon earth, ſailed through the land, and marched through the ſea, and whom the ocean could not confine, and led an army broader than *Europe* it ſelf; the *Athenians*, I ſay, purſued him as he fled in one ſhip, and broke to pieces that formidable power of *Aſia* near the ſmall town of *Salamis*: They now are ſlaves to the *Romans*, and *Italy* impoſes laws upon, and governs that city, which was once the miſtreſs of all *Greece*. Alſo, the *Lacædemonians*, after the famous battles of *Thermopylæ* and *Platæa*, and having ſuch a general as *Ageſilaus*, who penetrated throughout all *Aſia*, now acquieſce under the *Romans* as their maſters. The *Macedonians* too, gazing ſtill on the picture of *Philip*, and caſting their eyes with *Alexander* on him who promiſes them the empire of the world; quietly ſuſtain their change, and reverence thoſe to whom fortune hath allotted them. And there are innumerable other nations, who, puffed up with an elevate deſire of liberty, yet ſubmit to the *Romans*. You are the only people who cannot vouchſafe to obey them, who have juriſdiction over every thing. Upon what armies, or upon what arms is it that you depend? Where are your fleets to poſſeſs themſelves of the *Roman* ſeas? Where is the ſum of money ſufficient to defray the expence of ſo grand an undertaking? Do you ſuppoſe to maintain a war againſt the *Ægyptians* or the *Arabians*? Will not you conſider a little what a leviathan the empire of the *Romans* is? Will you not reflect a moment or two on your own imbecility and weakneſs? Have you not ſeveral times been conquered and defeated by the nations that dwell round you? And yet their ſtrength hath remained inſuperable over all the world, more than which they have made acquiſitions. The whole *Euphrates*, to the eaſt, the *Iſther* to the north, and the ranſacking of *Lybia*, as far as the deſart, to the ſouth, and the *Gades* to the weſt, were not ſufficient to humour their ambition. But they carried their arms beyond the ocean to another world, and to the *Britains*, unknown to them before. What then? Are you wealthier than the *Gauls*? Are you more valiant than the *Germans*? Are you more wiſe than the *Græcians*? Or are you more in number than the inhabitants of the whole world? What confidence is this that prompts you againſt the *Romans*? It will be objected and ſaid, perhaps, that it is an hardſhip to be ſlaves; but how much more reaſon have the *Græcians* to complain of this hardſhip, who are more dignified than any other nation the ſun ſhines upon, and poſſeſs ſo large a tract of land, now pay obedience to ſix faſces of the *Romans*. The *Macedonians* too obey the ſame number, who have abundantly more reaſon on their ſides to puſh for their liberty. What ſhould the five hundred cities of *Aſia* do? Do not they, without any garriſon, ſubmit to the ordinances of one governor, and give reverence to the faſces of conſuls? Why ſhould I mention the *Heniochians*, the *Cholchians*, and the nation of the *Tauri*, the inhabitants of *Boſpherus*, the people of *Pontus*, and the nations of the *Mæotis*, who formerly did not acknowledge a maſter of them, are now kept within the bounds of their duty by three hundred ſoldiers; and four hundred long ſhips make that ſea ſecure and peaceful, which before was innavigable, and full of pirates. How much have the *Bythinians*, and *Cappadocians*, and *Pamphylians*, *Lycians*, and *Cilicians*, to urge for regaining their liberty, and yet pay tribute without being compelled to it by force of arms? Why ſhould I produce the example of the *Thracians*, who inhabit a region of five days journey in breadth, and ſeven days journey in length; a country much more inacceſſible, and better fortified, than yours is; and, by reaſon of its penetrating cold, unfit to make an expedition into, yet theſe *Thracians* live under the ſubjection of two thouſand *Romans* garriſoned among them? And the *Illyrians*, their next neighbours, who inhabit a country reaching as far as *Dalmatia* and the *Iſther*, are under the obedience of two legions only; by whoſe authority the inroads of the *Daci* are reſtrained. The *Dalmatians* too, who have ſo often roſe up to vindicate their liberty, and been only ſo far defeated as always to endeavour at regaining it, and rebel by ſupplies of freſh forces, are now content to purſue a quiet life under the command of one legion of *Romans*. But if great opportunities were ſufficient to induce any to a revolt, certainly it is chiefly the buſineſs of the *Gauls* to bring about a defection; who are ſo fortified by the natural ſtrength of the places they inhabit, having the lofty mountains of the *Alps* on the eaſt, the *Rhine* on the north, the *Pyrænean* hills on the ſouth, and the ocean on the weſt. But though they have theſe ſtrong barriers to oppoſe and ſtand againſt their enemies, and are three hundred and five nations; and, if I may be allowed the liberty to ſay ſo, have fountains within themſelves that ſupply them with all the conveniences of life, and water the whole world with their produce, nevertheleſs they ſubmit to be tributaries of the *Romans*, and to own the happineſs they enjoy as a gift from them: And this ſubmiſſion can never be imputed to any effeminacy of theirs, or any degeneracy in their courage, having for fourſcore years maintained ſeveral ſucceſſive battles to recover their liberty. But it muſt be confeſſed that their obedience was the pure reſult of the ſurprize and admiration they had of the *Roman* courage, as well as fortune, which had a more powerful effect upon them than the force of arms. For which reaſon they patiently abide under the dominion of twelve hundred *Roman* ſoldiers, when they have almoſt a larger number of cities within the confines of their country. Neither could all the gold that was dug out of the earth, avail the *Spaniards* any thing in the battle they undertook to make a puſh for their liberty; neither their being ſeparated from the *Romans* by ſuch a vaſt ſpace of land and ſea, nor the warlike nations of the *Luſitanians* and *Cantabrians*, nor the bordering ſea, which looks dreadful to the natives with its raging and boiling tide. But the *Romans* carried their arms beyond the pillars of *Hercules*, and paſſed the *Pyrænean* mountains through the clouds, which they ſubdued. And though of exceeding great difficulty to penetrate, and placed at ſo great a diſtance, yet one legion is ſufficient to keep theſe countries in due obedience. Who among you hath not heard of the prodigious multitude of the *Germans*? For I ſuppoſe you have frequently been eye-witneſſes how much they excel in ſtrength, and the magnitude of their bodies, ſince the *Romans* have garriſons of them in moſt parts of the world. But tho' the country they inhabit is of ſuch vaſt extent, their bravery and ſpirits much ſuperior to their bodies, their ſouls above the apprehenſions of death, and their fury crueller than the moſt ſavage beaſts, and have the *Rhine* for the boundary of their incurſions, yet eight legions were found ſufficient to enſlave them. As many as are taken, are forced to the *Roman* obedience; and all the reſt of the nation is obliged to preſerve its ſafety by living a vagabond ſort of life. Beſides, think a little on the wall of the *Britains*, you who confide ſo much in the walls of *Hieroſolyma*. For the *Romans*, notwithſtanding their being hemmed in with the ſea, and inhabiting an iſland almoſt as large as the world we live in, croſſed the ocean and made ſlaves of them, and now retain an iſland of ſuch magnitude, within the bounds of its duty, with no more than four legions. Laſtly, What need have I to produce more examples, ſince the *Parthians*, the moſt warlike people upon earth, and under whoſe dominion ſo many people are ſubject, and whoſe great multitude of martial forces is ſuch, ſend hoſtages to *Rome*? And you may ſee the pride and glory of the eaſt, under colour of preſerving peace, remain ſlaves in *Italy*. Will you then be the only nation to maintain a war with the *Romans*, when almoſt all the nations which the ſun ſhines upon ſubmit to their victorious arms? Neither conſidering the melancholy fate of the *Carthaginians*, who, boaſting of their great *Hannibal*, and their illuſtrious race from the *Phænicians*, fell under the triumphant arm of *Scipio*. But neither have the *Cyreneans*, the deſcendants of the *Lacedæmonians*, nor the *Marmaridæ*, a nation ſtretching themſelves to the barren and unwatry deſarts, nor the *Syrtes*, *Naſamones*, *Mauri*, and the innumerable multitudes of the *Numidians*, terrible names to thoſe that hear them mentioned, made any reſiſtance againſt the *Roman* valour. And more than all theſe, their victorious arms won all the third part of the world, the many ny nations whereof are hard to be enumerated, which is bounded with the vaſt *Atlantic* ſea, and the pillars of *Hercules*, and which to the *Red* ſea produces and feeds innumerable numbers of *Æthiopians*; and beſides the annual exportation of corn made to *Rome*, which ſupplies the inhabitants of that city full eight months, the nations of this immenſe tract of land pay all other ſorts of taxes, and afford, by the tributes levied among them, a ſeaſonable ſupply to the neceſſities of the empire, and count it no diſhonour, as you do, to perform the commands which are laid upon them, although but one legion reſides among them. But what reaſon have I to cite farther examples to unfold the great power of the *Romans*, when you your ſelves can be ſufficient witneſſes of it in *Ægypt*, a country that borders upon you? Which being bounded with *Æthiopia*, and *Arabia Fœlix*, and bordering on *Judia*, ſupports with proviſions, excluſive of the inhabitants of *Alexandria*, a million and fifty thouſand ſouls, as may be calculated from the tax impoſed on every head; and yet thinks not much to live under the *Roman* obedience, though it has one of the ſtrongeſt inducements in the world to revolt: I mean *Alexandria*, with regard to the prodigious number of its inhabitants, and its exceeding great wealth; not to mention its magnitude, which ſtretches full thirty furlongs, in length, and no leſs than ten in breadth. And the taxes they pay in one month, exceed all that is exacted of you in a whole year; and, ſetting aſide the money raiſed among them, they ſupply *Rome* with proviſions for four months. Beſides, the town is defended on every ſide, either with walls, or ſome part of the inacceſſible deſart, or with the ſea, or with rivers or maſhes: Yet none of theſe are found to prevail ſo much as the fortunate ſucceſs of the *Romans*; two legions that reſide there in garriſon being ſufficient to keep *Ægypt*, ſo vaſt a tract of land, within the bounds of its obedience, and reſtrain the aſpiring aims of the *Macedonians*. Whom then will you take as confederates in the war you are going to undertake, out of a country that is uninhabited, if ſo be all, where the world is peopled, ſtand on the ſide of the *Romans*? Probably ſome may convey your hopes beyond the *Euphrates*, and have confidence to believe that your countrymen will bring you aſſiſtance out of *Adiabene*. Let me tell you, they will never ſuffer themſelves to be drawn into a war of ſuch great conſequence upon a frivolous reaſon, nor, ſhould they go about to act any thing in conſequence of ill-concerted ſchemes, will the *Parthian* ſuffer it. For it is his intereſt to preſerve, inviolated, the alliance made with the *Romans*; and ſhould any one in his dominions preſume to take up arms againſt the *Romans*, he will determine ſuch an one as an infringer of the truce. Your recourſe, then, is to rely on ſome divine aſſiſtance. But this is too viſibly ſeen on the *Roman* ſide; for it is not poſſible that an empire of ſuch greatneſs could arrive to its preſent height without the immediate aſſiſtance of God. Conſider the difficulty, even ſuppoſing the battle was to be fought with an enemy leſs powerful than you are, you would have to perform the exact and neceſſary parts of your religion; and ſhould neceſſity force you to do things quite contrary to thoſe from which you expect his aſſiſtance, probably you may turn the preſence of the Almighty from you; for if you keep ſacred the ſeventh days, and move your hands, during thoſe ſeaſons, to no manner of work, your captivity then is eaſy, and will be attended with the ſame conſequences, as when your anceſtors ſubmitted to *Pompey*, who chiefly made his moſt obſtinate attacks on thoſe days wherein the beſieged took reſt. And if you tranſgreſs the laws of your country in the proſecution of a war, I am plainly at a loſs to know what can be the next thing that can induce you to go out to battle. This one article ought to be well conſider'd, not to be your ſelves the inſtruments of ruining your country. But if you are voluntarily reſolved to abandon the ſervice and obſervance you owe to God, what aſſurance have you to implore his aſſiſtance? For every one undertakes the carrying on of a war, either through a reliance on God, or a dependance of ſome human means. But if your own contentions deprive you of either of theſe aſſiſtances, you may depend upon it, that your enemies will make themſelves your maſters. Bnt what impediment lies in the way that hinders you to cut the throats of your wives and children with your own hands, and lay this beautiful country of yours in aſhes? This ſeaſonable piece of rage will be of advantage to you, and ſave you from the diſhonourable treatment of your conquerors. It is prudent, my friends, it is prudent, while the ſhip remains in the harbour, to ward againſt the coming ſtorm, and not ſail out of the port in the midſt of a furious tempeſt, (for they who unwarily fall into dangers which they did not forſee, are worthy of our compaſſion and pity; but he who throws himſelf into a calamity which he might have ſeen and avoided, his fate is to be branded with reproach) unleſs ſome would have it be thought that there had been an agreement to maintain the war on both ſides, and that the *Romans*, proving victorious, would make a moderate uſe of their conqueſt, and deal gently with you; and not, to give other nations a leſſon in it, deſtroy the ſacred city with fire, and quite root out all your nation. Neither, ſuppoſing you ſhould have the fortune to ſurvive their arms, can you hope to find any place of refuge; ſince all at this time of day obey the *Romans* as their maſters, or are in expectation to have them as ſuch. Nor will the calamity only fall upon your heads, but as many as have habitations in other cities, will fall a ſacrifice; for there is no nation, whereſoever diſpers'd over the face of the whole world, but among whom you make a ſhare; wherefore you revolt will bring all under condemnation, and your enemies diſpatch every ſoul among them, and the pernicious counſels of a few men, will prove the fatal cauſe to make every city ſwim in *Jewiſh* blood. And yet they who ſhall commit theſe ſcenes of bloodſhed, will be indemnified in their actions. But allowing they ſhould neglect to put them in execution, yet conſider the impiouſneſs of the action in taking up arms againſt ſuch bountiful friends; probably you may have reaſon to pity this mother of cities, and this ſacred encloſure, though you may entertain no bowels of compaſſion for your wives and children. Be compaſſionate to the temple, and endeavour to preſerve that houſe with yourſelves, and the ſanctified things in it. For the *Romans*, becoming conquerors, will not any longer reſtrain their hands from them, ſince they made no advantage when they firſt ſpared them. For my part, I take all your ſolemn things to witneſs, and call upon the holy angels of God, and my country, that I have paſſed by nothing that any ways concern your welfare and ſafety; and as for you, if you are reſolved to act in concert in thoſe things which are abſolutely neceſſary to be done, you will live peaceably with me; but if you are bent to purſue the dictates of your inveteracy and furious paſſion, you will then expoſe yourſelves to numberleſs calamities, which I ſhall have no hand in.

Theſe words he poured out with a flood of tears, as did his ſiſter; and in a great meaſure he check'd the reſentment of their minds, and the furious thoughts they had entertained. And hereupon they cried out, 'That they determined the war not againſt the *Romans*, but '*Florus*, for the misfortunes they had ſuffered 'under his adminiſtration.' To which the king returned anſwer thus: 'Why ſhould I 'liſten to words, when I am an occular witneſs 'of the actions of thoſe who already fight againſt the *Romans*. Neither have you paid 'the tribute that is due to *Cæſar*, and yet you 'have cut down the portico's from *Antonia*. 'But you will remove the cauſe of your defection if you re-unite the portico's, and ſatisfy the tribute: For this is no longer any 'garriſon belonging to *Florus*, nor will the 'money raiſed be given to him.'

CHAP. XVII.

How the Jews *undertook the War againſt the* Romans. *Of* Manahem.

THESE remonſtrances pacifying the people, the king, and *Berenice*, they went up to the temple, and began the rebuilding of the portico's; and the principal *Jews* and the Decurions, diſtributing themſelves into the ſeveral towns and villages, employed themſelves in collecting the tribute. They levied in a little time forty talents (the ſum in arrear.) And thus did *Agrippa*, at this conjuncture, remove the menaces of war which the people threatened; after which, he ſtrove to perſuade the people to obey *Florus*, till *Cæſar* had ſent another to ſucceed him. This exaſperating them to a violent degree, they threw ſcandalous reflections at the king, and commanded him inſtantly to depart the city; nay, ſome of the ſeditious had the boldneſs to caſt ſtones at him. When the king ſaw the little probability there was to put an effectual check on the furious temper of the people, being much concerned at the ignominious treatment he had received, he ſent the principal men among them, with other perſons of figure and note, to *Florus* at *Cæſarea*, for him to appoint certain among them to collect the tributes of the country. And then he withdrew into his own kingdom.

About the ſame time, ſome of thoſe who were the moſt inſtrumental in fomenting the war, aſſembling together, made an attack upon a certain caſtle, which was called *Maſſada*; and having made themſelves maſters of the place through a piece of treachery, they put the *Romans*, who were within, to the ſword, and made ſome of their own body to defend the fortreſs; and at the ſame time *Eleazar*, the ſon of *Ananias* the prieſt, a youth of great courage, and of an enterprizing genius, being then governor of the temple, perſuaded thoſe who had the care over the ſacrifices in the ſacred worſhip, to reject all gifts or ſacrifices offered by ſtrangers and foreigners. This was the ground of the war that was maintained againſt the *Romans*, for they put back a ſacrifice which *Cæſar* ſent to be offered in their behalf; whereupon the principal citizens and prieſts made a long requeſt to them, not to reject in that manner the cuſtom the emperors had a right to, of being prayed for; but their petition was diſregarded, they confiding much in their great multitude, (for the very ſtouteſt men, and they who wanted to embroil affairs at any rate, ſtood in their intereſt) and the notion of belonging to *Eleazar*, who was governor of the temple.

In conſequence hereof, the principal *Jews*, prieſts, and ſome of the more eminent *Phariſees*, having aſſembled themſelves together, began to conſult about redreſſing the ſtate of affairs, as though they had fallen into the moſt dangerous conjuncture; and having come to a reſolution of trying what force words would have upon the ſeditious, and of ſifting into their diſpoſitions, they ſummoned the people to an audience before the brazen gate which faces the riſing ſun, in the inner part of the temple; where, ſhewing firſt the extreme rage they had againſt their inconſiderate rebellion, and the fatal war they had kindled up in the bowels of their country, they next proceeded to ſhew the ridiculous and abſurd pretence they had to begin it, by repreſenting, 'How their anceſtors had very much contributed to the beauty, ornament, and riches of the temple, by the preſents which foreigners had made; and that they had conſtantly received the gifts and donations ſent them by foreign nations; and had not only not prohibited the ſacrifices any brought them, (for that would have been an impious proceeding) but had likewiſe fixed up the preſents, which were yet to be ſeen, and had continued ſuch a long ſeries of ages. That they thus incenſing the *Romans* to take up arms againſt them, and making themſelves the ſole cauſe of drawing the war from them upon them, would bring innovations into the worſhip of foreigners, and bring a ſcandal of impiety and diſhonour upon their city, which would end in their own deſtruction, if the *Jews* made themſelves the only people in the world to account the offering ſacrifice, or paying veneration to their God by any foreigner, a matter of injuſtice and diſhonour. And ſuppoſing (they told them) that the ſame pohibition was made to debar a private man in the ſame circumſtance, they ſhould look upon the action with indignation, as though it had been ſealed with a great deal of inhumanity, and would have no concern at the *Romans* and *Cæſar*'s ſelf being refuſed the favour. However, there was room to be apprehenſive that they who rejected the ſacrifices which were brought to be offered up for them, were not themſelves in time forbidden to make ſacrifice, and the city deprived of its rights and privileges, unleſs they came to an immediate ſenſe of their error, and permitted the ſacrifices ro be offered up, as had been practiſed, and made ſatisfaction for the injury they had done, before the news of their miſcarriage came to the ears of thoſe who had been diſhonoured.’

As ſoon as they had thus delivered themſelves, they conducted in the midſt of them ſome of the prieſts who were the moſt ſkilled in the knowledge of the laws of their country, who repreſented to them, that it had been an uninterrupted cuſtom for their anceſtors to accept all the victims which were brought them by foreigners. Notwithſtanding this ſeaſonable remonſtrance, none of thoſe who wanted to embroil the kingdom gave the leaſt attention to what had been ſaid; nay, the very perſons who ſerved about the altar, refuſed to perform their ſeveral duties, their main deſign plainly ſhewing, that the fomenting the war was what they aimed at. When the chief *Jews* perceived theſe ſteps, and conſidered within themſelves how impoſſible it was for them to remove the ſedition, and that they themſelves would be the firſt perſons the *Romans* would expoſe to difficulties and dangers, they began to conſult means how to free themſelves from the blame; and accordingly diſpatch'd away to *Florus* ſome perſons in quality of ambaſſadors, the chief of whom was *Simon*, the ſon of *Ananias*; and others to *Agrippa*, among whom were *Saul* and *Antipas*, and *Coſtobarus*, all three nearly related to the king. The purport of both embaſſies was, to beg both of them to march up to the city with their armies, to pacify and put a ſtop to the ſedition, before delay made it difficult to conquer it. Nothing could pleaſe *Florus* better than the meſſenger who brought him the news of this evil that threatened, who wanting nothing more than to kindle up the war, diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors, without returning them any anſwer. But *Agrippa* having a regard to the equity of both parties, as well of thoſe who had revolted, as of thoſe who had reaſons to complain of the war; and deſiring to keep the *Jews* ſtill within the pale of the *Roman* obedience, and preſerve their temple and city, and adding to theſe good conſiderations a reflection that ſuch ſort of commotions were diametrically oppoſite to his intereſt, he ſent to the people's aſſiſtance a ſupply of three thouſand horſe, compoſed of *Auranites* and *Bataneans*, and *Trachonites*, under the command of *Darius*, his maſter of the horſe; but the chief commander was *Philip*, the ſon of *Jacim*.

The principal men and prieſts, and thoſe of the people whoſe inclinations were to maintain peace, confiding in this body of forces ſent them, ſeized upon the higher city (for the ſeditious had made themſelves maſters of the lower) and the temple. Darts and ſlings had no eaſe upon this occaſion, and both parts of the town ſhowered upon one another their darts; but coming out to fight in throngs and parties, the ſeditious ſhewed more courage, but the royaliſts a deeper underſtanding, in the knowledge of war. Theſe latter contended above all things to make themſelves of the temple, and drive out of it thoſe whoſe profanation made the ſacred houſe diſhonourable: The aims of the ſeditious, on the other hand, were to add the higher city to the acquiſitions they already had, and for ſeven days both ſides ſuſtained a great ſlaughter, and both couragiouſly maintained the poſts they had procured.

The next day, being the feaſt of *Ligni ferium*, or *bearing of wood*, (wherein 'tis cuſtomary for all perſons to bear a large quantity of wood to the temple, that the ſacred fires may never want materials to feed them, being never extinguiſhed) they ſhut out their enemies from performing their duty at this ſolemnity: Whereupon, having procured ſeveral of the *Siarri* (a ſet of robbers ſo call'd, from their wearing in their boſom the *ſice*, or a kind of ſmall daggers) to join them, they made an onſet with the weaker mob, and ſeemed more briſkly to go about the buſineſs: But the royaliſts were overcome both in number and ſtrength, and oblig'd to ſurrender the higher city to the ſeditious. After this, making a furious ſally into it, they put fire to the houſes of *Ananias* the prieſt, and the palaces of *Agrippa* and *Berenice*, which were ſoon reduced to aſhes; and then, with equal rage, they proceeded to the publick inſtruments or records, to which they ſet fire, their deſign being to aboliſh the deeds and writings of creditors, and diſcharge the debts of thoſe who owed any, in order to gain the vaſt number of debtors to their ſide, and make the poor behave inſolently to the rich. And, indeed, as ſoon as they found the keepers of the publick writings fly for it, they ſet fire to the houſes. Having thus burnt the nerves (if I may term them ſo) of the city, they ruſhed, with an impetuous violence, upon their adverſaries.

ſaries. From this moment ſome of the principal men and prieſts began to be afraid, and hid themſelves in the common ſewers; while others, in company with the royaliſts, threw themſelves into the higher palace, and immediately made the gates faſt upon them, among whom, were *Ananias* the prieſt, and his brother *Ezechias*, and they who performed the embaſſy to *Agrippa*: Whereupon the ſeditious, content with their late victory, and the deſtruction they had made with the fire, ſat quiet a while to take breath.

The day following, which was the fifteenth day of the month *Lous*, they made an aſſault upon the fortreſs of *Antonia*; and having laid cloſe ſiege for two entire days to the garriſon within, they took the place at laſt, put every ſoul therein to the ſword, and then burnt the caſtle to aſhes. After this action, they march'd to the palace into which the royaliſts had thrown themſelves, and dividing themſelves into four companies, they ſet about to pull the walls down. But not a man within had courage to ſally out, for the great number of the beſiegers; but poſting themſelves in the towers, and other fortified places, they ſhowered down their darts upon the enemy beneath; which occaſioned the robbers under the walls to tumble down frequently. Notwithſtanding, not a day or night paſſed wherein ſome ſkirmiſh or other did not happen, the ſeditious being of opinion that want of proviſions would effectually tire out the garriſon within; and the royaliſts believing that the beſiegers would leave off through the difficulty of the undertaking.

In the mean time, one *Manahem*, the ſon of *Judas Galileus*, ſo called, (who was a terrible man in his addreſs and ſpeeches, and had on a time reproached the *Jews*, that after God they were ſlaves to the *Romans*) having got together a party of the more eminent ſort, marched directly to *Maſſada*; where, having broke open the magazine of king *Herod*, where his military arms were laid up, and furniſhed with neceſſary accoutrements his countrymen and ſome other robbers that joined him, whom he uſed as his guards, he went back to *Hieroſolyma*, as though he had been a king; where, being appointed generaliſſimo over the ſeditious, he had the entire management of carrying on the ſiege. But the want of engines was a main impediment to his deſigns; nor were the beſiegers able to make any mines publickly under the walls, for the ſhowers of darts the enemy poured down upon them from above. To remedy this inconvenience, they wrought a very long mine juſt under one of the towers, which they left ſupported with tall pieces of timber; to which having ſet fire, they came out of it: Whereupon, the timber being burnt through, the tower gave a ſudden ſhock, and the other wall within, and the building over-againſt it, were ſeen; for the royaliſts penetrating into the deſigns of the beſiegers, by the violent ſhaking of the tower, when it was undermined, immediately went to work, and raiſed another defence; which, when the beſiegers unexpectedly ſaw, at a time they believed themſelves maſters of the place, they were put into a terrible conſternation: But the beſieged ſent a deputation of their body to *Manahem*, and the authors of the ſedition, praying liberty, on their word and honour, to depart; which being granted to the royaliſts only, and the natives, they ſurrender'd, and came out: Whereupon, the *Romans*, who were the only perſons that remained behind, began to be extremely caſt down and dejected; for there was no poſſibility of ſallying through ſo great a multitude; and to aſk for ſafeguard, in their opinion, was ignominious, becauſe they could have no room to truſt them, provided they gave them their faith. In conſequence of this, having abandon'd their tents, as being very eaſy to be taken, they fled into the royal towers, one of which was called *Hippicos*, another *Phaſael*, and the third *Mariamne*. Hereupon, they who were with *Manahem*, ſallied immediately into the place the *Romans* had abandoned, and put to the ſword as many as they apprehended before their getting up to the towers; and having rifled the tents of their furniture, they ſet fire to them. And theſe occurrences fell out on the ſixth day of *Gorpicens*.

The next day, *Ananias* the prieſt, and his brother *Ezechias*, were apprehended as they had hid themſelves in the aqueduct of the palace, and put to death by the robbers: And the ſeditious, as they laid ſiege to the towers, were very diligent not to let any of the ſoldiers make his eſcape. Beſides, the overthrow of the fortified places, and the death of *Ananias* the prieſt, ſwelled the ſoul of *Manahem* with a tide of cruelty, who, believing he had now no rival to fear in the management of affairs, proved an intolerable tyrant. They, who followed the part of *Eleazar*, roſe up againſt him, after they had had a mutual diſpute between one another of the unreaſonableneſs and diſhonour there was in them; who, to vindicate their liberty, had revolted from the *Romans*, to betray that choice bleſſing to one of their countrymen, and be ſubjects to a maſter, tho' he made uſe of no violent means, and was humbler than they were. For if it was neceſſary that any one ſhould be conſtituted the ſupreme head of affairs, they unanimouſly declared that the high office, by what name ſoever diſtinguiſhed, belonged to any other more than him, and having ſo expreſs'd themſelves, they fell upon him in the temple, whither he had aſcended with a ſhew of vaſt pride to worſhip God, clad in a royal garment, and attended with the men, his partizans, in arms. When the friends and confederates of *Eleazar* began to fall upon him, the reſt of the people, to join the aſſault, took up ſtones, and threw them at *Manahem*, being of opinion that his death would effectually remove the ſedition. The reſiſtance and defence *Manahem* and his party made, continued but for a ſhort time; for when they ſaw every one ruſhing upon them, each ſtrove to ſecure himſelf by flight, as well as he could; and death was the certain reward of thoſe who were apprehended, and diligent ſearch was made after thoſe who endeavoured to conceal themſelves. Notwithſtanding, a few, among whom was *Eleazar*, the ſon of *Jair*, nearly related to *Manahem*, made their eſcape privately into *Maſſada*. This *Eleazar* afterwards governed in *Maſſada*, but very tyrannically; and as for *Manahem*, after he had fled to a certain place which was called *Aphlan*, where he remained ſome time in a very mean condition, they found him out, took, and led him into the midſt of them, and there, after he had ſuffered many torments, put him to death. The ſame fate attended thoſe who had ſerved in quality of officers under him, and chiefly *Apſalom*, the moſt remarkable inſtrument of his tyrannical management.

The people purſued theſe violent ſteps, as I ſaid above, hoping to find ſome remedy applied to the cauſe of the ſedition; but, without endeavouring to put a period to the war, and rather to demonſtrate their great inſolence in firſt beginning it, they took away *Manahem*'s life. In ſhort, the people uſed a great many expoſtulations, in order to induce the ſoldiers to break up the ſiege; but they thereupon continued to carry it on with greater eagerneſs and vigour, till *Metilius* (who was the *Roman* governor) and his men, having no longer power to make reſiſtance, ſent to *Eleazar* and his confederates a very ſuppliant meſſage, begging, on the ſanction of their faith, liberty to depart with only their lives, and aſſuring them that they were ready to ſurrender to them their arms and baggage. Giving an immediate conſent to this requeſt, they deputed *Gorion*, the ſon of *Nicodemus*, and *Ananias*, the ſon of *Sadducas*, and *Judas*, the ſon of *Jonathan*, to go and give them an oath of indemnity. After the performance of this, *Metilius* came out with his men; and as long as they had a ſufficient quantity of arms, none of the ſeditious offered either to fall upon them, either openly or treacherouſly; but as ſoon as they had laid down, according to articles, their ſwords and ſhields, and without any apprehenſion of danger were making ready to go away, the followers of *Eleazar* fell upon them, and put them to death, without their making any reſiſtance or interceſſion for their lives, and only reminding them of the agreement they had made with them, and the ſacred oath they had confirmed it by. And thus all, except *Metilius*, who was ſaved, on his promiſing to become a *Jew*, and be circumciſed, were put to death with the greateſt barbarity: However, the loſs the *Romans* ſuſtained was but trifling, as the perſons ſlain were but a few in compariſon of their mighty army.

This action, notwithſtanding, ſeemed to be a prelude to the deſtruction of the *Jews*, which afterwards followed. When they ſaw the great improbability there was of removing the cauſes of the war, and that ſo violent a ſtream of impiety had overſpread the city with its pollution, from which there was all the reaſon in the world to conjecture that God's anger would be kindled againſt them, though the *Romans* had not taken due revenge upon them, they made piteous lamentations in publick, and all the city united in ſorrow and grief: And thoſe of the moderate and peaceable party, as though they were going to be puniſhed for the crimes of the ſeditious, were ſtruck with a terrible fear; for it happened to be the ſabbath when the great ſlaughter was made, which day, for the ſolemnity of the ſacred worſhip, is ſet apart from work and labour.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Calamities and Deſtruction which fell upon the whole Nation of the Jews.

UPON the ſame day, and the ſame hour, as if the divine providence had thus directed this action, the *Cæſareans* were near to have made a total deſtruction of the *Jews* that dwelt among them; for above twenty thouſand in one hour's time loſt their lives, and all *Cæſarea* was cleared of them. And they who endeavoured to make their eſcape, were taken priſoners by *Florus*, and made galley ſlaves. When this deſtruction came to be told out of *Cæſarea*, the whole nation of the *Jews* were furiouſly enraged; and having divided themſelves, they ravaged the *Syrian* towns and cities, namely, *Philadelphia*, *Sebonitis*, *Geraſa*, *Pella*, and *Scythopolis*. Then pouring in upon *Gadar* and *Hippo* of *Gaulanitis*, and overthrowing ſome places, and laying others in aſhes, they went directly to *Cedaſa*, belonging to the *Tyrians*, and *Ptolomais*, and *Gaba*, and *Cæſarea*. Neither *Sebaſte*, nor *Aſcalon*, were able to withſtand their incurſions; but after they had laid them in aſhes, they entirely demoliſhed to the ground *Anthedo* and *Gaza*; and ſeveral villages, which bordered upon theſe cities, were plundered, and a vaſt ſlaughter was made of the men whom they took priſoners.

Notwithſtanding all theſe calamities, the *Syrians* made as great a havock among the *Jews*; for, retaining the antient hatred they bore them, and ſeaſonably deſiring to prevent the danger that hung hovering over their heads, they apprehended them in their cities, and put them to death. All *Syria* was in the moſt violent commotion, and every city was divided into two parties. They placed their mutual ſafety in guarding againſt each other's deſigns, and in the day-time they lived in blood and ſlaughter, and in the night in the moſt terrible fears and apprehenſions imaginable; for when every one thought that the *Jews* were cut off, they yet had ſuſpicions of the profeſſors of *Judaiſm*, and no body would venture raſhly to kill any one of either ſide that was reaſonably to be doubted; and they feared thoſe who mixed with others as if they had been truly foreigners. Covetouſneſs was found ſufficient to induce thoſe to murther perſons of the adverſe faction, who before ſeemed to be men of the greateſt humanity and moderation. For they rifled the poſſeſſions of thoſe they ſlew, with wonderful boldneſs and preſumption, and carried off the plunder they took to their own houſes, as though it had been taken from their enemies ſlain in battle: And he who took the largeſt ſpoil was accounted the braveſt fellow, as if he had excelled the others in courage and conduct. Cities were to be ſeen full of dead bodies that wanted interment: Old men lay dead and ſtretched upon the ground with infants by them, and even the modeſty of women, tho' dead, was expoſed to public view. In ſhort, the whole province of *Judæa* was full of terrible and deſtructive ſcenes of horror and confuſion, which, beſides the cruelties already committed, ſeem'd to foretel and threaten a change of more fatal conſequence.

Hitherto the conteſts the *Jews* had,had been managed with foreigners: They now turned their arms upon the frontiers of *Scythopolis*, where they found the *Jews*, who reſided there, their enemies. But being ready to engage the *Scythopolites*, they thought their own ſafety alone was to be regarded; and that as they were their enemies, all conſiderations in their favour (as being their countrymen) ought to be laid aſide; and, accordingly, began their encounter with them. However, this their alacrity and readineſs to engage, became liable to ſuſpicion. In the concluſion; the *Scythopolites*, fearing they might make an attack upon the city in the night-time, and excuſe their revolt to their brethren, with the great calamity they had received, ordered them, if they had any thoughts of peace, and were willing their fidelity ſhould be ſeen by foreigners, to take their families and croſs over into the next grove. They, imagining no deceit in their words, did as they were commanded. Upon this, the *Scythopolites* continued quiet, without committing any hoſtilities, during two days; all which time, they artfully diſſembled with them: But the third night, taking the opportunity which offered, they fell upon them, and ſlew ſome who had no arms ready to defend themſelves with, and others as they lay aſleep, and then ſtripped them of the effects they had about them.

In this place we have an opportunity to ſpeak of the fortunes of *Simon*, who was ſon of one *Saul*, a perſon of no mean extraction, eminent for his bodily ſtrength and courage, both which he abuſed to the prejudice and miſchief of his countrymen. The ſenſe of theſe extraordinary qualifications puſhed him daily on againſt the *Jews*, who reſided near *Scythopolis*, great numbers of whom he ſlew; and his frequently driving before him, and defeating whole companies of them, made him appear like an army in himſelf. But the ſlaughter he made among his countrymen was deſervedly puniſhed upon himſelf; for after the *Scythopolites* had hemmed in the *Jews* in the grove abovemention'd, and ſlain them with their darts, he, with his drawn ſword, without offering to fall upon any one of the enemy, (for in ſo great a multitude he ſaw his inability to perform any thing) broke out into this loud exclamation: "O *Scythopolites*, ſaid he, I am deſervedly puniſhed by you for the actions I have committed; for giving you ſo large a teſtimony of my kindneſs for you in the great ſlaughter of my fellow citizens: Whereupon, it is but juſtice that we, who have impiouſly tranſgreſſed againſt our own kindred, ſhould find a ſtranger nation as little ſtrict to their word with us as we have been to them. I die as an execrable man, by my own hands, (for 'tis diſhonourable to fall by the hand of an enemy) which will be a puniſhment my crime deſerves, and turn to the commendation and praiſe of my boldneſs and courage; that it may not be ſaid that any of my enemies gloried in my death, or inſulted over my fall." Having ſpoke thus, he caſt a furious, but piteous look, upon his family; (for he had a wife and children, and parents in an advanced age) he firſt ſeized his father by his white locks, and thruſt his ſword through him; after whom, he ſtabbed his mother, who ſeemed willing; then his wife, and after her his children; every one of whom expreſs'd their inclinations to ſuffer in this manner. To prevent being ſlain by the enemy, after he had thus put a period to the lives of his family, he ſtood upon the dead bodies in the ſight of all, and lifting up his right arm,that all might have a full view of what he was going to do, he thruſt the point of his ſword into his bowels to make an end of himſelf effectually. If we conſider the ſtrength of his body, and his greatneſs of ſoul, and courage, he ſeems to deſerve our compaſſion; but his puniſhment was but juſt, if we have regard to his want of honour in breaking through all engagements, even the moſt ſacred, with foreigners.

After the late terrible ſlaughter at *Scythopolis*, all the reſt of the cities roſe up againſt the *Jews*, who dwelt in them: In conſequence of which, two thouſand and five hundred fell a ſacrifice to the *Aſcalonites*, and two thouſand to the *Ptolomaites*, beſides a great number which they impriſoned. The *Tyrians* too made a great ſlaughter, but put a great number in chains, and threw them into priſon; and their example was followed by the citizens of *Hippo* and *Gadar*, who took out of the way thoſe who were the moſt brave and valiant, and narrowly watched thoſe they ſtood in fear of; and all the other cities of *Syria*, in proportion to the apprehenſions they entertained of, or hatred they bore to the *Jews*. But the people of *Antioch*, *Sidon*, and *Apama*, were the only inhabitants that ſpared the *Jews*, and who would not ſuffer any of them either to be put to death or impriſoned. 'Tis probable the confidence they had in the great number and multitude of their citizens made them look upon the commotions of the *Jews*, ſhould they have happened to have raiſed any, as of little or no conſequence; but I am rather inclined to believe, that their humanity to them at this time was rather to be attributed to the compaſſion they had for them, whom they found guilty of no inſurrection or ſeditious actions. And the *Geraſenes* offered them no manner of hoſtility, but on their requeſt to depart peaceably out of their walls, they conducted them to their frontiers.

The *Jews* in *Agrippa*'s kingdom were alſo conſpired againſt; for on his going to *Ceſtius Gallus*, at *Antioch*, he entruſted in his abſence the adminiſtration of his kingdom to one of his friends, named *Noarus*, and next in blood to king *Soemus*, there happened to come out of *Batavea* threeſcore and ten perſons, the chief of their citizens, both for birth and prudence, in order to obtain a garriſon, in caſe any inſurrectino ſhould happen to be raiſed among them, that they might have a ſufficient force to quell them. But *Noarus* diſpatched a party of the king's ſoldiers againſt them in the night-time, and put every man of them to the ſword. Preſuming to commit thit action without *Agrippa*'s conſent or concurrence, and not refuſing to ſatisfy the coveteouſneſs he had for money with the impious ſlaughter of his countrymen, he took a ſure method to ruin the kingdom: Neither did he refrain committing his barbarities and cruelties upon his nation, till *Agrippa* came to hear of his actions, who tho' his fears of *Soemus* hindered him from puniſhing him as he deſerved, diſplaced him from the grand office with which he had honoured him; the ſeditious, in the mean time, having made themſelves maſter of the caſtle called *Cypros*, and which looked over *Hiericho*, put all the garriſon to the ſword, and levelled the fortreſs even with the ground. And about the ſame day the *Jews*, who were in great numbers about *Machiero*, perſued the garriſon, which was compoſed of *Romans*, to leave the place, and ſurrender it to them. They, fearing the caſtle might be wreſted from them by ſuperior force, agreed to depart on certain terms, and accordingly, having received a promiſe of indemnity, they came out and abandoned the place, which the people of *Machiero* fortified with a garriſon of their own, and kept in their own hands.

At *Alexandria* was a long contention between the principal inhabitants thereof and the *Jews*, during which, the latter proving of ſignal ſervice to *Alexandria*, againſt the *Ægyptians*, he, to reward the aſſiſtance they had given him, gave them an equal right with the *Greeks* to inhabit the town. And the ſame honour was continued to them during the reigns of his ſucceſſors, who aſſigned them a place peculiar to them, and more apart from their intercourſe of ſtrangers, that they might live more agreeably to their own laws and cuſtoms; and permitted them, likewiſe, to be called *Macedonians*. And after the *Romans* had reduced *Ægypt* to their obedience, neither the firſt *Cæſar*, nor any of his ſucceſſors, would ſuffer the *Jews* to be deprived of theſe privileges which *Alexander* had granted them. The diſputes carried on between them and the *Greeks* were almoſt without intermiſſion, and the magiſtrates daily making a ſevere inquiſition into the actions of both parties, proved the cauſe of increaſing the enmity, inſtead of putting a ſtop to it. And becauſe the rupture at this time was owing to other reaſons than party-matters, the mutual animoſities fomented againſt each other began to blaze out: For the *Alexandrians* having met to conſult about the ſending an embaſſy to *Nero*, it happened that ſeveral of the *Jews* were found mixed among the *Greeks* in the amphitheater; which their enemies no ſooner ſaw, but they began to call them traitors and ſpies, and then inſulted and beat 'em. The reſt endeavouring to make their eſcape, periſhed under their hands; but they apprehended three, whom they dragged thro' the city, as though they had deſigned to have impaled them alive. This affront ſo exaſperated the *Jews*, that they made an inſurrection of their whole body, in order to revenge it. And firſt, they took up ſtones and caſt at the *Greeks*, and then, ſnatching up clubs, haſtened into the amphitheater, threatening to burn and deſtroy every one of them; which they certainly had done, had not *Tiberius Alexander*, the governor of the city, put a ſtop to their furious behaviour. However, he at firſt made uſe of no compulſive means to reſtrain them, but exhorted them, by the mediation of certain principal *Jews*, whom he ſent to them, to continue peaceable, and not irritate the *Roman* garriſon againſt them. But the ſeditious received the advice with ſigns of ridicule and outrage, and threw opprobrious language at *Tiberius*.

When he ſaw that the tumultous proceedings of the ſeditions could not be appeaſed without ſpilling a great deal of blood, he ſent two *Roman* legions, which were in the city, and with them another body of ſoldiers, to the number of five thouſand, who were caſually come out of *Libya*, to deſtroy the *Jews*. He gave orders to theſe forces not only to put the *Jews* to the ſword, but plunder them of their goods, and then ſet fire to their houſes. They, according to their orders, made an irruption into a place called *Delta*, where great numbers of the *Jews* inhabited, and did as they had been ordered, but ſuſtained ſome loſs on their ſide: For the *Jews* muſtering together, and placing the more experienced among them in their front, made a vigorious reſiſtance for a long time; but when once they came to give ground, they were ſlain in heaps, and expoſed either to ſlavery or inevitable death, ſome being taken priſoners without doors, and others overwhelmed within their houſes, which the *Romans* firſt plundered, and then ſet fire to. In this terrible deſtruction, no compaſſion was ſhewn, even to the infants, nor any regard paid to the grey hairs of men advanced in years; but they raged with equal havock and deſtruction among perſons of all ages and conditions. So that all the places flowed with ſtreams of blood, fifty thouſand ſlain being expoſed in heaps on the ground. Neither would thoſe who remained have been ſpared, had not urgent intreaties and ſollicitations been uſed. For *Alexander*, moved with pity for them, commanded the *Romans* to ſound a retreat; whereupon they, accuſtomed to obey the word of command, at the firſt order ceaſed from the ſlaughter; But the commoner ſort of the *Alexandrians*, from their inveterate and exceſſive hatred, were with much difficulty recalled, and had much ado to be reſtrained from taking revenge, even upon the dead carcaſſes.

This miſerable deſtruction fell out at *Alexandria*; yet *Ceſtius* judged it no time to be quiet, ſince the *Jews* were every where up in arms. In conſequence hereof, having taken up the twelfth legion from *Antioch* with its full complement of men, and ſelected two thouſand others from the reſt, and ſix regiments of foot, and four troops of horſe, and the king's auxiliaries, namely, two thouſand horſe from *Antioch*, and three thouſand foot, and all the archers, the ſame number of cavalry from *Agrippa*, and one thouſand infantry, (for *Soemus* alſo followed with a body of four thouſand, three parts whereof where horſe, and the reſt archers) he marched to *Ptolomais*. A great number of auxiliaries were collected out of the cities, of much leſs experience in military affairs than the *Veteran* troops; but what they wanted in experience, was ſupplied in alacrity from their enmity and hatred to the *Jews*: Beſides, *Agrippa* came to aſſiſt *Ceſtius*, conducted him in his march, and ſupplied him with proviſions. When *Ceſtius* had muſtered up part of his army, he marched to the ſtrong city of *Zabulon* in *Galilee*, ſurnamed *of men*, and which ſeparates *Ptolomais* from the frontiers of our nation. And finding the place abandoned by its inhabitants, (for the multitude had fled to the mountain) but ſtored with all manner of proviſions, he gave his men liberty to plunder the city, and ſet fire to it, though it had abundance of very beautiful houſes, which were built after the model of thoſe at *Tyre*, and *Sidon*, and *Berytus*: And then making excurſions into the country, after he had ravaged every thing that fell in his way, and burnt the villages that lay round about, he marched back to *Ptolomais*. But the *Syrians* continuing the plunders longer than ordinary, and the *Beritians*, in a manner, exceeding them, the *Jews* took heart, (for they had been informed that *Ceſtius* was marched away) and fell upon thoſe that were left, when they had no apprehenſions of ſuch an encounter, and put about two thouſand of them to the ſword.

Now *Ceſtius* making a deſcent from *Ptolomais*, came to *Cæſarea*; but ſent part of his army before to *Joppe*, with orders to put a garriſon into the town, if they happened to prove able to take it; but if they foreſaw any likelihood of the enemy's making any ſally upon them, or if the citizens found out their deſigns, then to wait the coming up of his men and the reſt of the army. But they, ſome going by ſea, and others by land, which they performed with great expedition, readily made themſelves maſters of the city; and when the inhabitants could find no ways to eſcape, nor were in any readineſs to make their defence, they fell furiouſly upon them, and put every one of them (with their families) to the ſword, then plundered the city, and burnt it. The number of the perſons who were ſlain at this time, amounted to eight thouſand and four hundred. And purſuing the ſame example, he ordered a conſiderable body of cavalry into the toparchy of *Narbatene*, adjoining to *Cæſarea*, who ravaged the country, and made a great ſlaughter of the nations, and plundered their goods, and burnt their villages to aſhes.

Ceſtius ſent Gallus into Galilee at the head of the twelfth legion, and gave him as large a number of forces as in his opinion he thought was neceſſary to keep the nation within the bounds of its obedience: The ſtrong fortified town of *Sepphoris*, the beſt place of defence in all *Galilee*, received this army with demonſtrations of joy and gladneſs; and the other cities, following this prudent example, kept themſelves quiet. They who ſtill deſired change in the government withdrew to a mountain, called *Aſamon*, ſituated in the very heart of *Galilee*, overagainſt *Sepphoris*, *Gallus* led out his army againſt them: They, ſo long as they kept themſelves in the higher places, with great eaſe repulſed the *Romans* as they approached them, and ſlew above two hundred of their body. But the *Romans* drawing a compaſs, and by that means gaining the ſummits of the mountain, they were not able any longer to bear the ſhock, but preſently gave ground, and were defeated; and neither the heavy armed among the defendants were in a condition to ſuſtain the attack of the *Romans*, nor, when their cavalry gave ground, and fled, did they offer to retreat: So that a few ſheltered themſelves in the faſtneſſes and inacceſſible parts of the mountain; and two thouſand and more were laid dead on the ſpot.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the actions performed by Ceſtius *againſt the* Jews, *and of his unexpected drawing off from* Hieroſolyma, *on his laying ſiege to it. Of the accidents which happened to the* Jews *in his return.*

GALLUS marched back to *Cæſarea* with his army, when he ſaw the *Jews* in *Galilee* peaceable and quiet; but *Ceſtius* moving up from thence with all the forces he commanded, marched directly to *Antipatris*; and hearing that a large body of the *Jews* had thrown themſelves into the tower, which was called *Aybeci*, he diſpatched a party of his men before to give them battle; but, before they came to an engagement, the *Jews*, frightened at their numbers, took to flight, and on the arrival of the enemy they burnt their tents which they had abandoned, and the neighbouring villages. From *Antipatris*, *Ceſtius* marched to *Lydda*, which he found abandoned by its inhabitants; for all the people of the town were very near gone up to *Hieroſolyma* to be at the feaſt of tabernacles. Fifty, who appeared before him, being made a ſacrifice to his reſentment, and having laid the city in aſhes, he proceeded further; and making an aſcent through *Bethoron*, to a certain place called *Gabao*, he pitched his camp here, being about fifty furlongs diſtance from *Hieroſolyma*.

When the *Jews* ſaw that the ſeat of the war was coming to be fixed at their metropolis, they abandoned the worſhip of the feſtival, and haſtened to their arms; and placing their ſecurity in their number, without any order, and with a prodigious noiſe, ruſhed to the engagement, having no manner of regard to the ſeventh day, which they generally kept ſolemn: For the ſabbath was held in great reverence by them. The extreme fury which baniſhed out of their minds their conſiderations they ought to have had for their religion, was the cauſe of their proving ſuperior in this engagement: For they fell upon the *Romans* with ſo much violence, that they broke through the enemy's ranks, and ruſhed through the midſt of them, making a terrible ſlaughter. So that, had not the horſe made a compaſs, and come up to the aſſiſtance of a party of the enemy which ſtill maintained their ground, and ſuccoured the infantry that had ſtill breath to hold, *Ceſtius*'s whole army had been expoſed to imminent danger. The loſs of the *Romans* ſide amounted to five hundred and fifteen, of which, four hundred were infantry, and the reſt cavalry; of the *Jews*, only two and twenty. The moſt valiant in this engagement were *Monobazus* and *Cemedeus*, relations of *Monobazus*, king of *Adiebene*; and next to them was *Niger* the *Peraite*; and *Silas* the *Babylonian*, who had revolted from king *Agrippa* to the *Jews* (for they had before ſerved under his colours). The *Jews*, finding themſelves puſhed hard in their front, drew back into the city; and *Simon*, the ſon of *Giaras*, falling upon the rear of the *Romans*, as they were marching up to *Bethoron*, made ſome diſorder among them, and having taken ſeveral aſſes loaden with ammunition and proviſion, he drove them into the city. And *Ceſtius* abiding in the country three days, the *Jews*, ſeizing upon the places of aſcent, watched the ways they thought he would take his rout through; it being plain, had the *Romans* begun to march, that their deſigns were not to ſit ſtill.

Wherefore, when *Agrippa* ſaw that the *Romans* were not totally clear of danger, when ſo great a multitude of enemies lay ſcattered up and down the Mountains, he reſolved to try what effect words would have on the *Jews*. He believed that he ſhould have influence either to perſuade all of them to deſiſt from the war, or that he ſhould remove thoſe who were of oppoſite ſentiments, from attempting any thing more as adverſaries. In conſequence of this reſolution, he ſent *Borceus* and *Phæbus*, two of his men, who were very well known to them, to give them a promiſe of *Ceſtius*'s entering into a league of friendſhip with them, and of an indemnity being granted by the *Romans*, for all the crimes they had been guilty of, provided they would throw down their arms, and go over to their ſide. But the ſeditious, fearing all the multitude (through hope of ſecurity) might revolt to *Agrippa*, were upon determining to put the ambaſſadors he had ſent them to death. And, before they could find an opportunity to deliver their meſſage, they ſlew *Phæbus*, (for *Borceus*, though wounded, had the good fortune to make his eſcape) and forced into the city as many of the people as reſented the action, by beating them with clubs and ſtaves.

Ceſtius conſidered, that this difference which had fallen between themſelves gave him a fair pretence to fall upon them; whereupon he marched with his whole army, and putting them to flight, purſued them to the very gates of *Hieroſolyma*. Having pitched his camp in a place called *Scopus*, about ſeven furlongs diſtant from the city, he continued three days without doing any hoſtilities againſt the town, (probably ſuppoſing that the defendants within would ſurrender on certain articles) but ſent a conſiderable body of his army into the neighbouring villages to make plunder of the corn they found. The fourth day, which was the thirtieth of the month *Hyperbereteus*, having ordered his army, he marched with it into the city. The people were narrowly guarded by the ſeditious, and they, terrified at the marſhalled ranks of the *Romans*, abandoned the exterior parts of the city, and threw themſelves into the inner city and the temple. But *Ceſtius* puſhing his army in, ſet fire to *Bezetha*, a place ſo called, and the *Cænopolis*, and the market-place of *Matter*, ſo named: Then marching into the higher city, he encamped himſelf juſt over the royal palace; and, if he had but that very hour ſcaled the walls, he had immediately made himſelf maſter of the city, and then it would have happened that he would have finiſhed the war. But he was diverted from his attempt by *Tyrannius-Priſcus* and ſome other officers, who had been bribed by *Florus*; and for this cauſe the war came to be drawn to ſo tedious a length, and the ill fortune of the *Jews* to be attended with ſuch dire calamities.

In the mean time, ſeveral of the citizens of better note, perſuaded by *Ananus*, the ſon of *Jonathan*, called upon *Ceſtius* as though they had been going to open the gates to him. But he, through a motive of diſdain, and having ſome diſtruſt of their honour, made ſuch a long delay, that the ſeditious came to find out the treachery, and threw *Ananus*, with his confederates, down from the wall, and obliged them, with the ſtones they caſt at them, to take ſhelter in their houſes; and then they (diſpoſing themſelves through the towers) ſhowered down their darts upon thoſe who were attempting the walls. For three days the *Romans* made their attacks, about the walls, in vain; but the next day, *Ceſtius* taking a party of his choiceſt men, and his archers, made an aſſault on the north-ſide of the temple. The *Jews*, who had planted themſelves in the portico's, repulſed them, and every time they made their approaches to the walls beat them back; ſo that, overpowered with the multitude of darts thrown by the enemy, they were forced to give back. But thoſe of the *Romans* who were in the foremoſt rank, having firmly applied their ſhields to the walls, and the next rank to them following their example, and applying others, and in the ſame manner others after them, they erected a ſort of defence called a *Shell*; whereby all the darts that were thrown became uſeleſs and vain; and the ſoldiers, without being expoſed to them, had an opportunity to undermine the wall: So that the temple gates were on the point of being ſet on fire.

Hereupon, the ſeditious were in the utmoſt conſternation imaginable, and many made their eſcape out of the city, as if the ſame had that moment been going to be taken. The people, upon this, began to be animated with new hopes; and, the ſeditious having abandoned their poſts, they came with a deſign to open the gates, and let *Ceſtius* into the city as their benefactor: For had he made but a ſhort, but valiant reſiſtance in the ſiege, he had not been long in reducing the place to his obedience. But I am of opinion, that the proceedings of the ſeditious made God turn away from his own ſacred houſe, and that the impious tranſactions of late were the ſole reaſons that this day did not put a period to this war.

Hereupon *Ceſtius*, who was both ignorant of the deſperate condition of the defendants, and the inclinations the people entertained for him, recalled his ſoldiers immediately away; and to every one's little expectation of the matter, drew off from the city without vindicating the loſs he had ſuſtained. This unexpected retreat of his, animated the robbers with freſh courage, who, making a ſudden attack upon the hindmoſt, ſlew a great number both of the horſe and foot. That night *Ceſtius* abode in the camp he had pitch'd at *Scopus*; but marching the next further into the country, he gave his enemies a greater deſire to fall upon him; who, ſallying upon the rear guard of his troops, made a ſlaughter of them, and ruſhing from another part of the road they had poſted themſelves in, they flanked them with their darts. They in the hindmoſt part of the army ſuppoſing their purſuers were very numerous, had not courage to turn about and face thoſe who wounded them in the rear; nor durſt they endeavour to make any reſiſtance againſt thoſe who gauled them in their flanks, being heavy armed, and terribly afraid to have their ranks diſcompoſed and broken: For the *Jews* they ſaw were light armed, and better able to make incurſions Whence it fell out, that they were expoſed to ſeveral inconveniencies and hardſhips, but could give no annoyance to the enemy. Thus all the way they travelled, being expoſed to the ſallies of the *Jews*, and ſeveral puſhed out of their ranks and ſlain, among whom was *Priſcus*, who commanded the ſixth legion, and *Longinus* the tribune, and *Æmilius*, ſurnamed *Jucundus*, who commanded one of the wings, with much difficulty, and the loſs of a great part of their baggage, they got to *Gabao*, where they had firſt encamped themſelves, where *Ceſtius* ſtayed two days in an uncertainty what meaſures to take. But the next day, when he ſaw the enemy increaſe in their numbers, and that all the places round were full of *Jews*, he came at laſt to underſtand, that his delay had been of diſadvantage to him, and that, ſhould he ſtay there any longer, he ſhould have a greater number of adverſaries to deal with.

In conſequence hereof, that he might make his retreat as quick as the time would permit, he commanded his men to throw away every thing that might prove of any hindrance to them in their march: And accordingly, having ſlain the mules and other aſſes, ſetting aſide thoſe which carried their arrows and engines, (for they preſerved theſe as they might be of ſervice to them, and chiefly, as they feared, ſhould the *Jews* chance to take them, they might be turned againſt themſelves, and to their own deſtruction) he led his army to the very gates of *Bethoron*. While they were in the more open parts of the country, the *Jews* were leſs eager in diſturbing them; but always when they came to be hemmed in in the narrower paſſages, ſome always came upon them and diſputed the paſſages with them, while others puſhed upon their rear, and forced them into the faſtneſs, the whole multitude of the *Jews* covering the two ends of the way all the time burying them with their darts: So that the infantry, at a loſs how to defend and ſecure themſelves from their darts, put the cavalry into greater danger and diſorder. For neither could they keep their ranks together and march in any order, for the darts that ſhowered down upon them; nor would the ſteepneſs of the place, which denied them the uſe of their horſes, ſuffer them to go againſt their enemies? And on the other ſide were nothing but precipices and caverns, into which they were hurried; ſo that they had no opportunity to make their eſcape, nor could think of any means to defend themſelves, but, infatuated, and like deſperate men, they began to mourn and lament their cruel deſtiny; and, to add to their mortification, the glad ſhouts and enraged acclamations of the *Jews*, reſounded in their ears. Had not night approached, *Ceſtius* and his whole army had, in all probability, been taken; but the *Romans* fortunately, in the dark, got to *Bethoron*; and the *Jews*, having poſted themſelves in all the avenues round, narrowly obſerved their coming out.

Ceſtius now deſpairing of making his march openly, conſulted how he ſhould form his eſcape; and having ſelected about four hundred of his valianteſt men, he diſpoſed them up and down the fortreſſes, with orders, as ſoon as they had mounted guard, to ſet up the ſtandards of thoſe in the camp, which would make the *Jews* think that all the forces were there. He, in the mean time, ſilently marched on a matter of thirty furlongs; the *Jews*, in the morning, ſeeing the place abandoned where they had took up their quarters, fell upon the four hundred who had deceiv'd them, and preſently cruſhed them with their darts, and then gave chace to *Ceſtius*: But he, having ſecured the better part of the night before, and it being now day, he made a more expeditious march; ſo that the ſoldiers, through fear, left behind them their *elepoles* and *catapultæ*, and ſeveral other martial inſtruments; which the *Jews* chancing to take up, they uſed them afterwards againſt thoſe who had thrown them away. They purſued the *Romans* to the very gates of *Antipatris*, but finding themſelves repulſed from following them any farther, as they returned, they took up the engines of war the enemy had left behind them, and rifled the ſlain; and gathered together all the plunder they had ſuffered to remain behind them; and with ſongs of gladneſs and rejoicing they marched back to *Hieroſolyma*, having loſt but a ſmall number of their countrymen, and ſlain of the *Romans* and their auxiliaries five thouſand and three hundred foot, and three hundred and eighty horſe. Theſe actions were performed on the eighth day of the month *Dius*, in the twelfth year of *Nero*'s reign.

CHAP. XX.

Ambaſſadors are ſent to Nero *by* Ceſtius. *The* Damaſcenes *ſlay the* Jews *who inhabited among them. The* Hieroſolymites *return to their City from purſuing* Ceſtius; *and having ſettled their Affairs, conſtitute ſeveral Officers, and among them the Author of this Hiſtory. Some Remarks on the Government of* Joſephus.

AFTER theſe ſufferings of *Ceſtius*, ſeveral *Jews*, of the higher rank, abandon'd the city, as if nothing but deſtruction threatened, and the ſhip of the ſtate was going to ſink. In conſequence hereof, *Coſtobarus* and *Saul*, who were brothers, and *Philip*, the ſon of *Jacim*, (for he was the general of *Agrippa*'s army) departed ſecretly out of the city, and went over to *Ceſtius*. We ſhall take notice, in the ſequel, how *Antipas*, who was beſieged with thoſe perſons in the royal palace, but would not accompany them in their flight, was put to death by the ſeditious. *Ceſtius*, as *Saul* and the reſt of his aſſociates had petitioned, ſent them to *Nero*, then in *Achaia*, to repreſent their own caſe, and lay on *Florus* the beginning of the war, hoping in this to make the emperor angry with him, and remove ſome of the danger that threatened himſelf.

At this time, the late deſtruction which the *Romans* had ſuſtained, coming to the ears of the *Damaſcenes*, they induſtriouſly went about to put thoſe *Jews* to death who reſided among them. They called to mind how they had ſuſpected them when they were aſſembled before in the amphitheatre, and that this might be done again, and render their deſign eaſy to be put in execution. But they had apprehenſions of their wives, who, to a ſoul, favour'd the *Jewiſh* religion; wherefore their chief care was to conceal their ſcheme from them. In ſhort, ten thouſand *Jews* were in the ſpace of one hour, without any difficulty, put to death. As they were pent up in a narrow compaſs of ground, and without arms, and defenceleſs, when they were ſet upon.

After they who had purſued *Ceſtius* in his retreat were come back to *Hieroſolyma*, they, partly by compulſive means, and partly by flatteries and fair ſpeeches, got thoſe who were in the *Roman* intereſt to unite with them, and then aſſembling together in the temple, they created more officers to carry on the war. The election fell upon *Joſephus*, the ſon of *Gorion*, and *Ananus* the prieſt, who were veſted in the principal authority of the city, and were the chief inſtruments in rebuilding the walls of the city: For *Eleazar*, the ſon of *Simon*, though he had in his hands a large booty, which he had obtained from the *Romans*, and a great deal of money which he had taken from *Ceſtius*, and large ſums belonging to the publick treaſure, was rejected, and they would not admit him to any conſiderable poſt, becauſe they found his inclinations for tyranny, and his followers, attend him in the manner of a body guard. But in a ſhort time he ſo wrought upon the people by his artifices and money, that they gave him an implicit obedience in all things.

Others were choſen generals to be ſent into *Galilee*, namely, *Jeſus*, the ſon of *Sapphias*, one of the prieſts, and *Eleazar*, the ſon of *Ananias* the prieſt. *Niger*, who was now governor of *Idumea*, (being born in a country beyond *Jordan*, whence he was ſurnamed *Peraites*) had orders given him to pay obedience to theſe generals. They took care to ſupply other countries, ſending *Joſeph*, the ſon of *Simon*, to *Hiericho*, and *Manaſſes* into *Peræa*. *John*, the *Eſſean*, was commanded to govern the toparchy of *Thamna*; *Lydda*, *Ammaus*, and *Joppe*, were annexed to his principality. *John*, the ſon of *Ananias*, was ſet over the toparchies of *Gophius* and *Acrabatene*; and *Joſephus*, the ſon of *Matthias*, over both *Galilees*; and *Gamala*, the beſt fortified city in that country, was annexed to his government.

All the other governors who were appointed managed the places entruſted to them according to their abilities and pleaſure; but upon *Joſephus*'s taking upon him the government of *Galilee*, his firſt care was to procure the affection of the natives, as well knowing that this once obtained, would prove an efficacious means of making him ſucceed in moſt of his undertakings, though others were attended with leſs proſperity. When he had maturely weighed this conſideration within his breaſt, that he ſhould attach to his intereſt the more powerful inhabitants, if he granted them a ſhare in the government with him; but that all the country would be his friends, if he appointed the major part of the provincial buſineſs to be tranſacted by their natives, and perſons to whom they were accuſtomed, he ſelected the number of ſeventy of the elders of their country, who were men of the greateſt prudence, and veſted them with the authority over *Galilee*, appointing ſeven over each city to determine cauſes of leſs moment, but buſineſs of more importance and capital ſuits, he reſerved to be determin'd by himſelf and the ſeventy elders.

After he had diſtributed to the ſeveral cities a plan of laws to govern themſelves by, he took care to ſecure them from any foreign invaſion; and knowing that the *Romans* would make their inroads into *Galilee*, he fortified the places of conſequence with walls, ſuch as *Jotapat*, *Berſabæ*, *Selamis*, *Capharecchо*, *Japh*, *Sigo*, and the mountain called *Habyrius*, and *Taricheæ*, and *Tiberias*, and the *Deus* at the lake of *Genneſar*. Theſe were in the lower *Galilee*. He fortified the following places in the higher *Galilee*; namely, the rock of the *Achabari*, ſo called, and *Seph*, *Jamnith*, and *Meroth*. In *Gaulanitis* he ſurrounded with walls *Seleucia*, *Sogane*, and *Gamala*. He left the *Sepphorites* at their own liberty to build themſelves a wall for their city, as he found they had money ſufficient, and ſhewed great readineſs to act as confederates in the war. After the ſame example, *Giſchal* was walled about by *John*, the ſon of *Levi*, and the inhabitants, at their proper expence, as *Joſephus* had commanded them. But at repairing all the other fortifications, *Joſephus* was preſent, both in giving orders, and aſſiſting the works. Beſides, he muſtered out of *Galilee* an army of an hundred thouſand youth, and more, which he furniſhed with *Veteran* arms, as had been collected up and down.

After conſidering that the *Roman* courage was become inſuperable, and that their ſoldiers were always ready at the word of command, and frequently exerciſed to the uſe of their arms, he, through the neceſſity of keeping up a ſtrict military diſcipline, having a plain example before his eyes, that the readineſs wherewith the *Roman* ſoldiers on all occaſions ſhew'd their duty, was purely owing to the great number of officers appointed over them; and this conſideration made him form and divide the army under his command more after the *Roman* manner of diſcipline, and conſtitute a larger number of officers over the ſeveral companies in it. Add to this, he made ſeveral diviſions of his ſoldiers, over whom he put decurions, and centurions, and tribunes, and other officers, with command over larger companies of men. He inſtructed them in what manner they were to give one another the watch word, how to ſound a charge or a retreat, the method of the wings engaging, how to wheel about; after what ſort they were to give aſſiſtance to that part of the army that ſhould be wearied out; how to partake of the danger with them; and to theſe leſſons he added an home remonſtrance of the things that begat courage and valour in the ſoul, and enured their bodies to undergo labour and fatigues. But he chiefly inſiſted on the advantages of bravery and fortitude, and trained them to the love of martial exerciſes, by ſetting before them what was the true characteriſtick of a ſoldier, and the modeſty of the *Roman* army to all; and acquainting them, that they were going to fight with men who had ſubdued to their obedience the major part of the world by their extraordinary bodily ſtrength, and the great fortitude of their ſouls; adding further, in what manner they were to put his commands in execution at the time of the war: But that before they came to the field of battle, he would make the experiment if they had probity ſufficient to keep their hands from thefts, robberies, and depredations, miſcarriages to which they had been too much accuſtomed, and from defrauding and cozening their own countrymen; and from the ſentiment, that what was for the greateſt diſadvantage of their countrymen, was to be embraced by them as their emolument and advantage: For that thoſe campaigns were carried on with the beſt ſucceſs wherein the ſoldiers could boaſt of a good conſcience; for they who were iniquitous at home, would not only find thoſe their adverſaries who came againſt them, but alſo God their enemy.

He did not ceaſe to uſe many admonitions of this kind to inſtil good ſentiments into the breaſts of his men; and the neceſſary preparations for carrying on the war were already provided by him, namely, threeſcore thouſand foot, and two hundred and fifty horſe, beſides four thouſand and five hundred mercenaries, wherein he much confided. And as a body guard, he had about him ſix hundred choice men. Excepting the mercenaries, the reſt of the army were eaſily provided for by the cities; for each of them which we have taken notice of above, after having deputed half of their number to the management of the war, kept the other half to provide neceſſaries for them: So that but one part was deſtined to the uſe of arms; and the other employed in making their works, and ſupplying them with corn to ſecure their brethren.

CHAP. XXI.

Of John *the* Giſcalene. Joſephus *oppoſes his Snares in Kind, and takes ſome Cities that had revolted from him.*

WHILE *Joſephus* continued thus to govern the affairs of *Galilee*, a perſon named *John*, the ſon of *Levi*, who had his original from *Giſchal*, and was a traitor, roſe up, being a man of conſummate artifice and cunning, the moſt deceiful of all the nobler *Jews*, and in iniquity ſurpaſſing all: His poverty had expoſed him to many great ſtruggles, and his want had proved a main obſtruction to the putting in execution his malicious purpoſes. He had a ready faculty, and was trained up to vent falſhoods and lies: He was notable in gloſſing over the forgeries he uttered with the ſpecious appearances of credulity and truth; he reckoned cozening and deceit among the number of fine accompliſhments, and generally put theſe ſeveral methods in practice againſt thoſe of his neareſt acquaintance; he pretended much to humanity, and, through an hope of making his advantage, he was extremely thirſty after blood; he was always an affecter of momentous matters, and things of the greateſt conſequence, and grounded and cheriſhed his hopes on diſhonourable and baſe ſchemes. He was a robber of a ſingular kind, and by himſelf at firſt, but in proceſs of time he found out ſome perſons who made themſelves accomplices with him in his bold and preſumptuous undertakings. Their number at firſt was but ſmall, but the account ſwelled every day larger, till his depredations became of fatal conſequences. 'Twas his principal care to join none with him whom he thought would eaſily be taken; but they who were diſtinguiſhed for a fine habit of body, a conſtancy of ſoul, and underſtanding in the art military, thoſe he choſe. Thus he collected and got together a band of men, to the number of four thouſand, the chiefeſt part of whom flock'd to him out of the country of the *Tyrians*, and the neighbouring villages; and, by their aſſiſtance, he committed vaſt havock and ſpoil throughout all *Galilee*, and gave occaſion of offence to many who were in a doubtful expectation of the war.

His ambition now puſh'd him on to ſeize on the government, and his deſires prompted him to aim at higher matters; but the want of money put inſurmountable impediments in his way: When he found *Joſephus* well pleaſed with the induſtrious ſteps he took, his firſt buſineſs was to perſuade him to entruſt the rebuilding of the walls of *Hieroſolyma* to his care and management, in which he ſucceeded, whereby he made conſiderable advantage of the wealthier ſort, to enrich himſelf; and then, by a piece of the moſt artful contrivance and dexterity, whereby he had ſo managed it, that all thoſe *Jews* who inhabited *Syria*, ſhould be prohibited the uſe of oil, which was not prepared by their countrymen; he got *Joſephus* to veſt in him the ſole privilege of ſending them oil to their frontiers, and afterwards buying up a large quantity of oil at the price of the *Tyrian* coin for every four quarts, which anſwereth to four *Athenian* drachms, he ſold half a quart back again at the very ſame price; and finding that *Galilee* was very well ſtored with oil, eſpecially at that time when it abounded with it, ſo long as he had the ſole power of ſending what quantities he pleaſed into thoſe places where there was a ſcarcity, he amaſſed together a prodigious deal of money, which he converted afterwards againſt him who had been his benefactor, and granted him the licence of making the advantage. And ſuppoſing (ſhould he have the fortune to ruin *Joſephus*) he ſhould be in a capacity of putting himſelf at the head of affairs in *Galilee*, he gave orders to the robbers, over whom he commanded, to purſue their depredations with greater earneſtneſs, that, while ſeveral parties of them were embroiling affairs in different parts of the country, they might have an opportunity in ſome place or other either to fall upon the governor as he came to relieve the places from their ambuſcades, or, ſhould he overlook the actions of the robbers, he might have a fair pretence of accuſing him to his ſubjects: Then ſtretching the matter to a greater length, he invented ſeveral forgeries againſt him, as though the intentions of *Joſephus* had really been to betray to the *Romans* every thing that was to be put in execution: And abundance of ſuch like matters as theſe did he invent, in order to overthrow his power and authority.

About the ſame time, a band of young fellows, who belonged to the town of *Dabaritti*, having poſted themſelves in the great plain, lay in ambuſh for *Ptolomy*, the procurator of *Agrippa*, and *Berenice*, and at a convenient time ſallied out, and robbed him of all the baggage he had with him, which conſiſted of no ſmall quantity of rich clothes, a great number of veſſels of ſilver, and ſix hundred golden drachms. But having no opportunity to hide or conceal the booty they had thus obtained by theft and violence, they carried the whole plunder to *Joſephus*, then at *Taricheæ*; who, after he had reprimanded them for the inſult and robbery they had committed on the ſubjects of the king, took care to put every thing they had brought into the cuſtody of *Æneas*, a perſon of the greateſt authority among the *Taricheæates*, with a deſign he ſhould on the firſt conveniency reſtore the goods to their owners (an action which involved him in a danger of the worſt conſequence.) For they who had committed this robbery, being extremely offended that no part of the ſpoil ſhould fall to their ſhares who had brought it, and ſeeing clearly into the drift and deſign of *Joſephus*, which was to make the pains and labour they had been at a means of doing a compliment to the kings, every one of them in the night time broke into the ſeveral towns and villages, and openly gave out to all they found, that *Joſephus* was to be accounted a traitor to his country. Nor did they ſtop here; but the neighbouring cities were all put up into an uproar by the ſuggeſtions they procured to be ſcattered about: So that early next morning an hundred thouſand men at arms ran out to meet him. This prodigious number met together in the *circus* at *Taricheæ*, where they vented their paſſion in loud exclamations, ſome crying out for the traitor to be depoſed, and others for his being burnt. All this time *John* was carrying on his ſchemes, who, with *Jeſus*, the ſon of *Sapphias*, at that time the head magiſtrate of *Tiberias*, worked up their diſſention, and reduced a great many to a worſe temper than ever. And thoſe who were friends of *Joſephus*, and guarded his perſon, being frighten'd at the union of ſo large a multitude, endeavoured to ſave themſelves by flight, except four, who kept ſtedfaſt to him. In the interim, he (the houſe he lodged in being ſet on fire) happening to awake out of his ſleep and riſe, the four who remained with him adviſed him to make his eſcape; but neither his abandoned condition, nor the vaſt number of thoſe who were come againſt him, could throw any cowardly thoughts into his mind, or terrify him;

but, rending his garment, and covering his head with aſhes, placing his arms behind him, and tying his ſword to his neck, he preſently ſallied out of the houſe, and appeared before them; which melted the hearts of his ſervants, and the *Tarichæates*, to vaſt compaſſion. But the ruſtick crowd, and their neighbours, who entertained a worſe opinion of him, caſt their ſcurrilous language at him, and ordered him to produce immediately the publick money that had been brought him, and diſcover his treacherous deſigns (for they concluded, from the appearance he made, that he would not go about to deny any thing he was ſuſpected of:) And, for his part, he put every thing and thought to the ſtretch, that, he imagin'd, would gain their pity. For his ſole aim was to procure liberty to juſtify himſelf. This ſeeming humility and condeſcenſion, effectually ſecured him a way to put a ſtratagem he had in view, in execution; and, to that end, pretending a great deal of diſſimulation, he flattered himſelf that he ſhould be able to make thoſe who had animoſities againſt him, above the preſent heats they proſecuted him with, to diſagree between themſelves. In ſhort, after he had obtained leave to open himſelf, he began thus: 'My thoughts, ſaid he, were far from either ſending the money, in queſtion, to *Agrippa*, or keeping them to make any particular advantage from them to myſelf. For I never took him to be a friend, who was an enemy to you, or conſidered that as an advantage, which was attended with ill conſequences to the commonwealth. But when I conſidered, O men of *Tarichea*, that your city had extraordinary occaſion, even above any of the other cities, of being fortified, and that you were in extreme want of money to rebuild your walls; and was apprehenſive, for fear the inhabitants of *Tiberias* ſhould ſeize upon the money, and promote their treacherous deſigns, I reſolved within myſelf ſecretly to keep the money by me, that I might be in a capacity of building your walls. Now, if this is an action that diſpleaſes you, I am ready to produce what have been brought me, and to exhibit a faithful account of what were taken. But if it ſhall be found that I have not conſulted or done what is your real intereſt and advantage, you are at liberty to exact puniſhment of him who is your benefactor.'

This ſpeech had the effect he wiſhed over the *Tarichæates*, who ſpoke and pronounced every good and commendable thing of him: But the *Tiberians*, joined with others, ridiculed and reproached, and even threatened him. In ſhort, both parties left *Joſephus*, and began to diſagree among themſelves. This was the advantage he deſired to gain; and his hopes being now grounded on the *Tarichæates*, who were forty thouſand in number, and of the ſame ſentiments with himſelf, he took a freer liberty to diſcourſe the whole multitude. And having inveighed a great deal on their temerity and ill-concerted aſſembling together, he repreſented to them, 'That with the ſum of money he had then in his cuſtody, he would fortify and ſtrengthen *Tarichea*, and was ready to put the other cities into a better condition of ſecurity. For they ſhould have no reaſon of making complaints of the want of money; would but they agree with him in entertaining the ſame ſentiments as he did of thoſe who were to ſupply it, and not keep alive a train of injurious animoſities againſt him, who was the ſole cauſe of procuring it for them.'

In conſequence hereof, the other part of the multitude, who had been gulled with this ſpecious reaſoning, withdrew, though not altogether yet pacified and made eaſy; during which, two thouſand others in arms haſtened to find him out, (who had fortunately got the ſtart of them, and ſhut himſelf up in his houſe) and poſted themſelves before his gates, threatening him with utter ruin and deſtruction. *Joſephus* was now obliged to have recourſe again to ſtratagem, in order to quell their ſedition. Accordingly, he went up to the higher part of his houſe, and beckoning with his right hand to be ſtill and quiet a while, he told them, 'That he was at a loſs to know what it was they wanted of him; for he was not able to hear any thing for the clamour and noiſe they made, which confounded him: But that he would comply with any thing they deſired of him, provided they were willing that ſome among them ſhould be introduced to him, and negotiate their buſineſs in a peaceable and friendly manner.' Upon this news, ſome of the more noble ſort among them, with their magiſtrates, entered the houſe, to confer with him. *Joſephus*, on their admittance, conducted them to the moſt retired apartment of the houſe, and, having ordered the doors of the hall to be opened, he exerciſed the laſhes ſo long upon their bodies, till he made every rib under their ſkin appear. All this while the multitude ſtood round the houſe, concluding that their ambaſſadors were got into a longer diſcourſe than ordinary. But *Joſephus* ſuddenly having ordered the gates to be opened, diſmiſs'd the men in the bloody and terrible condition they were in; which ſo terrified thoſe that had threatened ruin to *Joſephus* ſo late, that they threw down their arms, and fled.

Theſe circumſtances ſwell'd *John*'s hatred to a great height, who invented other treacherous ſchemes againſt *Joſephus*, and, under a pretence of illneſs, ſent *Joſephus* a letter, wherein he begged him to give him liberty to uſe the hot baths at *Tiberias* for the recovery of his health. According to this requeſt, he, having as yet entertained no ſuſpicion of him, wrote to the governors of the city, to provide *John* with a houſe and other neceſſaries; which he having obtained, he put in practice, two days after, the ſcheme he came about; for having artfully and fraudulently circumvented ſome, and ſome corrupted with money, he perſuaded them to abandon *Joſephus*. But *Silas*, who had been appointed governor of the city by *Joſephus*, when he came to hear of his actions, immediately wrote him a letter, wherein he made known the treachery. *Joſephus*, as ſoon as he had received the letter, haſten'd his journey in the night time, and early next morning arrived at *Tiberias*, whereupon the inhabitants came out in throngs to meet him. *John*, who concluded his coming, was mainly againſt him, ſent one of his domeſticks to him nevertheleſs, and pretended great indiſpoſition from his illneſs, and how he was obliged to keep his bed; and therefore ſaid he could not pay him his reſpects as he would. But the *Tiberians*, having aſſembled together according to order of *Joſephus*, the very moment he was going to harangue them about the letter, a party of men at arms, by command of *John*, appeared with orders to put him to death; whom the people ſeeing, with their drawn ſwords approaching them, preſently gave a great ſhout: At which, *Joſephus* turning to the noiſe, when he ſaw the fatal point almoſt at his throat, he jumped down, and made the beſt way he could to the ſhore, (for he ſtood on an eminence ſix foot high, in order to ſpeak to the people) where fortunately getting aboard a veſſel, which luckily was there, he made directly into the middle of the lake, only with two ſervants belonging to his body-guard.

Hereupon his ſoldiers preſently ſnatch'd up their arms, and march'd againſt the traitors. This giving *Joſephus* frightful ideas, leſt a civil war ſhould take riſe from hence, and the city be made a ſacrifice, and laid in aſhes, through the envious temper of a few, he ordered certain perſons about him to go and admoniſh them to look principally and only to their own ſafety, and neither put any one to death, or charge any one with any fault or miſcariage. In obedience hereunto, they deſiſted from any further attempts: However, they who dwelt in the neighbourhood, and had received the news of this treachery, and of him who had offered to put it in execution, aſſembled together, and went againſt *John*. But he got the ſtart of them, and withdrew to *Giſchal*, the place of his birth. Mean time, the *Galileans*, every one out of their cities, flock'd to *Joſephus*, and having met together to the number of many thouſands in arms, they cried aloud, that they were come prepared to go againſt *John*, the common enemy, and to lay in aſhes him and the city that had given him birth. He told them, hereupon, that their loyalty and obedience were very acceptable to him; but he reſtrained them from commiting any violence, being rather deſirous that the conqueſt he made over his enemies ſhould be owing to his prudence than his ſword. When he had got a liſt of the names of thoſe of the ſeveral cities who had revolted with *John*, (for the commoner ſort were ready enough to diſcover their countrymen) he iſſued out a proclamation bythe voice of an herald, that, provided they, who were included in the defection, did not abandon *John* within five days, he would ravage their eſtates, and burn their houſes and families together, by which method he cauſed a matter of three thouſand to leave the intereſts of *John*, who came and threw down their arms at his feet. *John*, thus finding his party decreaſe, with the reſt who ſtood ſtedfaſt to him, being about two thouſand *Syrian* fugitives, had recourſe to more ſecret ſtratagems, when he found his more open ones would not do. In conſequence hereof, he diſpatched away privately to *Hieroſolyma* certain meſſengers, by whom he preferred ſeveral groundleſs charges againſt *Joſephus*; namely, how he had collected together a vaſt multitude of forces, and repreſented, ſhould not mature means be taken to prevent him, he would (probably) have recourſe to tyrannick methods, and make himſelf maſter of their metropolis. Theſe ſuggeſtions were no more than what the people had already imbibed; but they gave no regard to the remonſtrances made by the meſſengers: Some, however, of the principal citizens, and of the magiſtrates, through envy to *Joſephus*, ſent privately a ſum of money to *John*, to enliſt mercenaries, that he might be in a condition to oppoſe the aims of *Joſephus*; and the matter was at length concluded between them to recall him from placing himſelf at the head of an army. Notwithſtanding, they did not think their decree of ſufficient force of itſelf, but ſent two thouſand and five hundred armed men, and four perſons of diſtinction, namely, *Joazar*, the ſon of *Nomicus*, and *Ananias*, the ſon of *Sadducus*, and *Simon* and *Judas*, the ſons of *Jonathan*, all four of excellent tongue, and great orators, in order to draw the people off from the loyalty they had to *Joſephus*, and if ſo be he voluntarily would return, they ſhould give him liberty to reſtore an account of himſelf; but if he inſiſted to remain in his government, then they were to declare him an enemy to the ſtate. The friends of *Joſephus*, in their letters to him, ſignified, that the coming of the ſoldiers was againſt him; but they made not the leaſt mention of the reaſon of their coming, namely, becauſe the counſels of his enemies had been carried on in the greateſt ſecrecy. Hence it came, that, as he had no forewarning of their deſigns, and had made no proviſion to oppoſe their ſchemes, four cities, to wit, *Sepphoris*, *Gamala*, *Giſchal*, and *Tiberias*, revolted to his adverſaries the very moment they were arrived. But he had the good fortune not to be long in retaking theſe cities, without having recourſe to arms; and making priſoners of the four commanders by the ſtratagems he put in execution, and ſending to *Hieroſolymia* thoſe of the chiefeſt note, and of the moſt power, againſt whom, the people, at their arrival, expreſs'd their great reſentment and indignation; and had quickly put them, and thoſe who had accompanied them, to death, as a ſacrifice to their rage and fury, had they not taken care to be before hand with them, and made their eſcape a little before they were going to put their reſolution in force.

John, after this, through fear of *Joſephus*, kept himſelf cloſe within the walls of *Giſchal*: And not many days paſs'd, before *Tiberias*, after the inhabitants had petitioned king *Agrippa* to lend them his aſſiſtance, withdrew from their obedience to the government of *Joſephus*. His not coming to them on the appointed day, and an handful of *Roman* ſoldiers, who were horſemen, appearing before their walls the very ſame day, made them give out that *Joſephus* was baniſhed their city. The rumour of this revolt was not long in reaching *Taricheæ*; and becauſe all his men were ſent out to collect all the corn they could get, he found himſelf in no condition

tion to venture his perſon by himſelf againſt the deſerters; nor durſt he remain where he was, apprehending, ſhould he defer the time, the royaliſts would make themſelves maſters of the city before him. Nor was he able to put any thing in execution the next day, which was a ſabbath, and therefore obſtructed his deſigns. Wherefore he was reſolved to ply the deſerters with ſtratagems, as the ſureſt way to gain his ends over them: And accordingly, after he had given orders for the gates of *Taricheæ* to be ſhut, that no one might make a diſcovery of, or betray the ſtratagem he deſigned againſt the citizens of *Tiberius*, and after he had collected together all the veſſels he found in the lake, (being about two hundred and thirty, into each of which he put four mariners, and no more) he ſailed with all the expedition he could to *Tiberias*; and when he came within ſuch a length of ſpace from the city, that he could juſt be diſcerned, he ordered the veſſels that were empty to be let looſe, and float upon the water, while he, with ſeven of his body guard, and thoſe unarm'd, approach'd nearer the ſhore, in order to ſhow himſelf. When his enemies, who were yet in an opprobrious mood againſt him, beheld him from their walls, (and ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, as they imagin'd the veſſels were full of armed men) they threw down their arms, and ſtretching out their hands, begged, in a ſuppliant manner, that he would ſpare their city.

Hereupon *Joſephus* terrified them with a great many menaces and threatenings, and reproached them with having been the firſt of all the cities who had uſed the *Romans* in an hoſtile manner, and waſted their own ſtrength by the diviſions that had ſubſiſted among them, and that they had done thoſe things which could not have happen'd better to their enemies, or more to their wiſhes; and then he reminded them of their eagerneſs and haſte to ſuppreſs him, who was the only guardian of their ſecurity; and that they had not bluſh'd to ſhut the gates of their city againſt him who had taken care, and been mainly inſtrumental in having it fortified; telling them, that he was far from rejecting thoſe who would come and account for their paſt crimes, by which means he might be put into a capacity of affording ſecurity to their city. Upon this, ten of the *Tiberians*, who were of the great rank and authority, immediately went to him, whom he put into one of the ſhips, and conveyed them a-far off; but he gave orders for fifty others of the ſenators, and thoſe of principal figure, to come to him, as though his intentions were to have from them ſome terms of fidelity; after which, he pretended freſh cauſes of complaint, and, under colour of treating with the *Tiberians*, ſummoned numbers after numbers to come on board, and then commanded the captains of thoſe veſſels which were filled, to make the quickeſt diſpatch back to *Taricheæ*, and throw the men into priſon. And thus the whole ſenate, to the number of ninety, and about two thouſand of the vulgar ſort, fell into his hands, whom he put on board the veſſels, and carried with him to *Taricheæ*.

The reſt who remained behind, exclaiming aloud that one *Clitus* had been the principal author of the defection, and begging that his reſentment might fall upon him, *Joſephus*, who had reſolv'd within himſelf to put none of his countrymen to death, commanded one *Levias*, who belonged to his body-guard, to go a-ſhore and cut off the hands of *Clitus*. But he, fearing to expoſe himſelf alone amidſt the crowd of the enemy, refuſed to go. When *Clitus* ſaw *Joſephus* ſtanding in one of the veſſels, in an angry mood, and ready to leap out and come and puniſh him himſelf, he ſuppliantly begged from the ſhore to let him have one of his hands whole; which *Joſephus* granting him, on condition he himſelf cut off the other, he put his right hand to his ſword, and drew it, and then lopp'd off his left hand, being ſo much afraid of *Joſephus*, who, with the empty veſſels, and the ſeven guards he had brought with him, having made a pretty large number of the inhabitants priſoners, annexed *Tiberias* again to his government; and having not many days after retaken the city of the *Giſchalenes*, which had revolted with that of the *Sepphorites*, he gave his ſoldiers free liberty to plunder it. But all the things he was able to collect or find, he returned back to the citizens, as he likewiſe did to the *Sepphorites* and *Tiberians*: For having reduced them to his obedience, he was willing to make them ſenſible of their defection from the plundering of them; and thus, by reſtoring their goods back to them, he procured again their love and duty.

CHAP. XXII.

The Jews *make Preparations for War; and* Simon, *the Son of* Gioras, *commits his Depredations.*

IN this manner were the diſturbances in *Galilee* appeaſed, and brought to a ſtate of quiet; but no ſooner had they lain aſide their civil commotions, but they began to be intent on making preparations againſt the *Romans*. At *Hieroſolyma*, *Ananus* the prieſt, and thoſe of the principal citizens who were not of the ſame ſentiments with the *Romans*, were buſy in repairing and fortifying the walls, and getting ready great numbers of warlike inſtruments. In ſeveral places of the city, darts, and all other ſorts of weapons were making; multitudes of young men employed themſelves in exerciſes which they were not commanded, and nothing but confuſion and diſorder was to be ſeen in any place: They who deſired a neutrality, had extreme dejection on their ſpirits; and numbers, who foreſaw into the calamities which were going to enſue, burſt out into tears and lamentations. They who wiſh'd for peace and quiet, conſtrued all the preparations as omens of fatal conſequences: But they who had kindled up the war, immediately put meanings on every thing as their fancies ſuggeſted; and the city was in that ſituation as if it had then been going to deſtruction, even before the *Romans* came and took it. *Ananus* was reſolving to relax a little from his preparations for war, to reduce the extravagancy and madneſs of the ſeditious, and of the zealots, as they were called, to a better temperament; but their violence overpowered him. And what the period of his life was, we have ſhown in the ſequel.

Simon, the ſon of *Gioras*, having gotten together, in the toparchate of *Acrabatene*, a pretty number of perſons who wanted to embroil affairs, began his depredations; and not only rifled the houſes of the wealthy, but expoſed their bodies to ſtripes, and gave full demonſtration that tyranny was his aim, and what he would take the firſt opportunity. But *Ananus*, and the magiſtrates of *Hieroſolyma*, diſpatching an army againſt him, he withdrew with his followers to thoſe robbers who had ſeized on *Maſſada*; and there ſtaying till *Ananus* and the reſt of his enemies were ſlain, he, in conjunction with the robbers, ravaged *Idumæa*, and ſo terribly, that the magiſtrates of that nation, were, for the multitude of perſons that had been ſlain, and the frequent depredations they made, obliged to collect an army, and put garriſonr into the ſeveral villages. And in this ſituation were the *Jewiſh* affairs at this time.

The End of the SECOND BOOK.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
OF THE
JEWISH WAR;
OR THE
JEWISH HISTORY
OF THE
DESTRUCTION.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

Nero *ſends* Veſpaſian *into* Syria *to carry a war on againſt the* Jews.

WHEN *Nero* came to hear of the bad ſituation the *Jewiſh* affairs were in, he was privately (as was very probable to believe) much concerned, and ſtruck with fear; but outwardly he was borne away with a tide of arrogance, and his paſſion ſwelled him to an extreme, giving out, that the things which had fallen out, were rather to be attributed to the negligence and miſconduct of his general, than to any virtue or real courage of the enemy: And being of opinion, that to preſerve the dignity of his reign, it was his duty to deſpiſe, and value as nothing, miſaccidents; and that he ought to ſhow the world he had a ſoul above all the misfortunes that could fall. But his concern and ſollicitude on this occaſion, were fragrant teſtimonies to the contrary of his uneaſy and diſorder'd mind.

When he had deliberated a while with himſelf to whom he ſhould commit the eaſt, that was full of commotions and diſtractions, in order to puniſh the rebellious *Jews*, and prevent the nations that bordered upon them (who were involved in the ſame infatuation) from doing the like, he found *Veſpaſian* the only perſon equal to the neceſſities of the times, and the circumſtances of affairs; and who was able to take upon him the weight of a campaign of ſo great conſequence; being a perſon who from his youth till his old age had been converſant in battles, and who already had reduced the eaſt, which the *Germans* had invaded, to the *Roman* obedience, and made *Britain*, little known before, ſtoop to his victorious arms; whence he brought his father *Claudius* to have a triumph without any labour or toil of his own.

Theſe circumſtances thus concurring together, *Nero* drew an omen of ſucceſs from them, when he ſaw *Veſpaſian* of an eſtabliſh'd age, and of a knowledge in affairs proportionable to it, and his ſons hoſtages for his fidelity, and their mature ages giving copies of their father's prudence, and (probably) God pre-ordaining ſomething of all of them, he ſent him into *Syria* to take upon him the command of the army there, with many kind and ſoothing ſpeeches, ſuch as the urgency of the time demanded, in order to incite into him a deſire of taking ſuch command upon him. In conſequence hereof, he quiet, conſtrued all the preparations as omens of fatal conſequences: But they who had kindled up the war, immediately put meanings on every thing as their fancies ſuggeſted; and the city was in that ſituation as if it had then been going to deſtruction, even before the *Romans* came and took it. *Ananus* was reſolving to relax a little from his preparations for war, to reduce the extravagancy and madneſs of the ſeditious, and of the zealots, as they were called, to a better temperament; but their violence overpowered him. And what the period of his life was, we have ſhown in the ſequel.

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CHAP. II.

A great ſlaughter of the Jews *about* Aſcalon. Veſpaſian *comes to* Ptolomais.

THE *Jews*, after the defeat they had given *Ceſtius*, were ſo much puff'd up with their ſucceſs, which they had little reaſon to expect, that they had not ſtrength or prudence ſufficient to reſtrain the ſallies of their minds; and, as if they had been actuated with the blaſts of fortune, they deſired nothing more than to ſpin out the war to a greater length. In conſequence hereof, immediately thoſe who were the moſt courageous met together, and marched directly to *Aſcalon*. Now this is a city of great antiquity, diſtant about five hundred and twenty furlongs from *Hieroſolyma*, and a place which the *Jews* have conſtantly hated, and thereof was thought convenient to make their firſt incurſions upon. Three men were appointed to manage theſe ſallies, who were diſtinguiſhed for bodily ſtrength, and a prudent mind; namely, *Niger*, the *Peraite*, and *Silas*, the *Babylonian*, and *John*, the *Eſſæan*. *Aſcalon* was ſtrongly fortified, but in a manner ſtripp'd of its garriſon, having only one cohort of infantry, and a company of cavalry in it, commanded by *Anthony*.

Their rage and reſentment ſpurring them on, they marched with an uncommon expedition, and immediately appeared, as though they had come only out of the neighbourhood. *Anthony* (who was not ignorant that their deſign was to make an attack upon the city) firſt drew out his cavalry, and, without any fears of the great number of the enemy, or their boldneſs, ſuſtained the firſt ſhock with great bravery, and repulſed them as they ruſhed on towards the walls. They, as they were unſkilled in the arts of war, and were mingled with thoſe who knew how to behave in the engagement, the foot blending among the horſe, and the diſordered ranks with the thick and embodied files, the light-armed ſoldiers, with thoſe who were accoutred with heavy armour, fighting with greater courage than prudence, and engaging with a body of men ready at the word of command, and prepared to do every thing at the firſt ſignal, I ſay, conſidering all theſe circumſtances, they were foiled with great facility: For as ſoon as their front was put into diſorder, they were immediately fallen upon by the horſe, who put them to flight, and they in rear being very much galled towards the walls, they became one another's executioners, till, unable any longer to withſtand the force and violence of the horſe, they were obliged to diſperſe and throw themſelves over all the field, which being broad and large, was very advantageous to the horſe. This battle, as it proved of ſignal ſervice to the *Romans*, was the cauſe of the *Jews* receiving a very great ſlaughter; for the *Romans*, by laying impediments in the way of thoſe who took to their heels, made the deſerters turn directly back upon them; and of thoſe who had aſſembled together from their flight, innumerable multitudes periſhed by the ſwords of the enemy. Crowds ruſhing upon crowds, wherever they turned themſelves, were borne down by the ſhowers of darts that fell upon them, and their deſtruction, thereupon, became the eaſier. The *Jews*, as they could find no reaſon to fix any hopes of ſafety, but wholly to abandon themſelves to deſpair, accounted their multitude as a deſerted company; but the *Romans*, on the other hand, elated with their proſperous turn of fortune, though (in compariſon) they were but an handful of men, to come out to battle, yet thought themſelves a number ſufficient, if not too powerful, to anſwer the demands of thoſe they engaged with. However, the *Jews* ſtrove to repair the diſhonour of the day, and carry victory over their ill fortune, as they reckoned it unmanly and puſillanimous, ſuddenly to retreat; and as they were in hopes to change their croſs fortune for the better, the *Romans*, all the while that victory inclined to their ſide, ſhowing not the leaſt fatigue or weariſomeneſs, ſo that the battle was lengthened out to the very dusk, and the engagement hotly diſputed till near ten thouſand *Jews* were laid dead on the ſpot, among whom, was their two generals, *John* and *Silas*; but the reſt who ſurvived, the major part of whom were wounded, fled with *Niger*, the only general that remained, to a ſmall city of *Idumæa* named *Sallis*. A few of the *Roman* ſide were wounded in this engagement.

Notwithſtanding this terrible ſlaughter which the *Jews* had received, was far from putting a reſtraint upon their reſolutions, or cooling their courage; but the misfortunes and calamities to which they had been expoſed, rather emboldened them the more, and added courage to the hopes they ſtill entertained. Neither were the heaps of dead carcaſſes, which lay at their feet, any impediment to their views, but preſerving alive the remembrance of their former ſucceſs, they were fatally drawn in to another ſlaughter. In conſequence hereof, after a ſmall ſpace of time, which was too little to have their wounds dreſs'd in, and after they had muſtered from every place as numerous a body of forces as they were able, they, fired with a greater reſentment, and being more in number conſiderably than before, haſtened back to *Aſcalon*. Beſides their want of diſcipline and ſcanty knowledge in the art military, and all the other miſcarriages they laboured under in the management of this engagement, the ſame turn of fortune attended their arms. For *Anthony* having taken care to throw ambuſcades before-hand into the ſeveral paſſes, the *Jews*, without any thoughts of the matter, fell ſuddenly upon them; whereby the enemy's horſe hemming them in, before they could find time to put themſelves into a poſture of defence, they received another ſlaughter, to the number of eight thouſand men; and all the reſt betook to their heels, and among them *Niger*, who in his flight gave ſignal proofs of his extraordinary valour and courage. But the enemy puſhing hard after them, they were forced to throw themſelves into a caſtle of a certain village, called *Bezedel*, which was ſtrongly fortified. *Anthony* and his men, hereupon, that they might not waſte their time about a fortreſs which ſeem'd difficult to be taken, and ſuffer the only ſurviving general of the enemy, and one who was the ſtouteſt of them all, to make his eſcape, ſet fire to the walls. When the caſtle was in flames, the *Romans* in great joy drew off, concluding, that *Niger* had periſhed in the conflagration. But he ſaved himſelf by jumping down from the caſtle into a very dark cavern below; and three days after, when his ſoldiers (with ſigns of great ſorrow) ſearch'd for him, in order to bury him, he ſpoke to them from below; and, when he came out, all the *Jews* were filled with an unexpected gladneſs, as though he had been preſerved by ſome providence of God, to conduct them in their future campaigns.

Veſpaſian taking up with him the army from *Antioch* (which is the metropolis of *Syria*, and for its magnitude, and other great privileges and bleſſings, juſtly claimed the third place among the cities within the *Roman* dominions) when he found that king *Agrippa* was waiting for his coming with all his forces, he marched to *Ptolomais*, and was met at that city by the *Galileans* who inhabited *Sepphoris*, and who deſired that things might remain in a ſtate of peace there; who having a careful foreſight into their own ſecurity, and the extraordinary power of the *Romans*, before that *Veſpaſian* came among them, had thrown themſelves under the protection of *Ceſtius Gallus*, who had aſſured them of his aſſiſtance, and given them a garriſon of ſoldiers. Beſides, at this time, after they had given *Veſpaſian* an honourable reception, they chearfully promiſed to enter into a defenſive alliance with him againſt their countrymen. Whereupon, at their requeſt, he gave them ſo many horſe, and horſe for a garriſon, as he was of opinion was neceſſary to make head againſt the incurſions of the *Jews*, ſhould they offer to attempt any extraordinary enterprize. For he concluded, ſhould *Sepphoris*, the largeſt city of *Galilee*, and built in a place well fortified by nature, and which was a ſafeguard to the whole nation, be wreſted out of his hands, he ſhould lay expoſed to no ſmall inconvenience and danger in future war.

CHAP. III.

A *deſcription of* Galilee, *of* Samaria, *and of* Judæa.

THERE are two countries which go by the name of *Galilee*, one named the lower, and the other the higher, both which are ſurrounded by *Phœnicia* and *Syria*; on the weſt ſide *Ptolomais* bounds them with the frontiers of its territory, and *Carmel*, once a mountain of the *Galileans*, but now of the *Tyrians*; to which adjoins *Gaba*, a city which takes its name from the word *horſemen*, becauſe king *Herod* ſent his horſemen to inhabit there. On the ſouth, *Samaris* and *Scythopolis* bound it to the waters of *Jordan*, and to the eaſt *Hippene* and *Gadaris*, and *Gaulanitis*, and the frontiers of *Agrippa*'s kingdom; but to the north, *Tyre*, and the region of the *Tyrians*. Now the lower *Galilee* extends in length, from *Tiberias* as far as *Zabulon*, to which *Ptolomais* lies contiguous on the ſea coaſt. It extends in breadth from the village named *Xaloth*, which ſtands in the great plain, to *Berſabe*; whence the breadth of the higher *Galilee* begins, and reaches to the town of *Baca*, which ſeparates the country of the *Tyrians* from *Galilee*. Its breadth extends from the town of *Thella*, which borders on *Jordon* to *Meroth*.

Now as both theſe countries are ſo very great, and hemm'd in with ſo many ſtranger nations, 'tis no wonder they have conſtantly been expoſed to all the dangers of war, and been obliged to be always upon their defence: For the *Galileans* are trained up from their infancy to the exerciſe of arms, and are every where in their country very populous. Fear or cowardice was never known to humble the ſpirits of the men, nor doth their country labour under want or ſcarcity; for the ſoil is very rich, and fit for paſturage, and it produces all ſorts of trees; ſo that its fruitfulneſs would engage thoſe who were the leaſt fond of huſbandry, to inhabit it. This is the reaſon that the inhabitants cultivate every part of it, and ſuffer no place throughout the country to remain untilled or uſeleſs. Beſides, there are a great number of cities, and many villages ſcattered up and down, on account of the goodneſs of the ſoil, the very ſmalleſt of which contains no leſs a number than fifteen thouſand inhabitants.

In ſhort, whoever will have *Peræa* to be larger than *Galilee*, muſt certainly allow it the preference in reſpect of ſtrength and power; for 'tis cultivated all over, and in many places well ſtored with fruits. Indeed *Peræa* is conſiderable larger, but then the greateſt part of it is nothing but wilds and deſarts, and of too barren a ſoil to produce the moſt common kind of fruits. However, the ſofter and kindlier ſoil is exceeding fruitful, and its fields are diverſified and adorned with abundance of various trees; but the chiefeſt produce is from the numerous plantations of olives, vines, and palm-trees, being watered and refreſhed from innumerable rivulets that run down from the neighbouring mountains, and from wholſome ſprings of water, if at any time the mountain-torrents happen to be dried up. It reaches in length from *Machæro* to *Pella*, and in breadth from *Philadelphia* to *Jordan*; and 'tis bounded by the aboveſaid *Pella* to the north, and by *Jordan* to the weſt; the land of *Moab* terminates it to the ſouth, and *Arabia* and *Silbonitis*, as alſo *Philadelphene* and *Geraſis*, to the eaſt.

Now the country of *Samaria* lies in the middle between *Judæa* and *Galilee*, (for taking its beginning from a village ſituated in the great plain, named *Gimea*, it terminates in the toparchate of *Acrabatene*) the nature of its ſoil being of the ſame kind with that of *Judæa*: For both regions are full of mountains and plains, fit for tillage, and exceeding fruitful, adorned and beautified with woods and fine trees, and abounding in wild and uncultivated fruits. Theſe places are not bleſs'd with a great many ſprings or rivulets, but the ſhowers of rain that deſcend upon them are pretty copious and frequent. The rivers and ſprings that are found there have an extraordinary taſte and flavour, and the great quantity of paſturage and good graſs growing there, is the reaſon that the herds of cattle give larger quantities of milk than in any other place. But the greateſt argument to prove the courage of the inhabitants of both countries, is the exceeding great number of them.

The village of *Anuath*, otherwiſe called *Borceos*, ſtanding upon the confines of both countries, terminates *Judæa* to the north; but the ſouth part, if its length be conſidered, is bounded by a village bordering on the *Arabians*, which the *Jews* there call *Jardan*. It reaches in breadth from the river *Jordan* to *Joppe*, and in the very center of the country ſtands the city of *Hieroſolyma*, for which cauſe that city is by ſome, not without ſufficient reaſon, called *Omphalon* of the country. But *Judæa* is alſo render'd happy with the additional gifts of the ſea, extending on the ſea coaſt as far as *Ptolomais*. The whole region is divided into eleven parts, the firſt whereof, as it were, the palace, is the city of *Hieroſolyma*, which overlooks and towers over all the circumjacent country, as the head does over the body. The others after it are divided according to their toparchates or governments. *Gophna* ſtands the ſecond in place, and is followed by *Acrabatta*, then comes *Thauma* and *Lydda*, and *Ammaus* and *Pella*, and *Idumæa* and *Engaddæ*, and *Herodion* and *Hierichus*, after which ſucceed *Jamnia* and *Joppe*, which have juriſdiction over their frontiers: Then *Gamalitica* and *Gaulanitis*, and *Batanea* and *Trachonitis*, which are parts of *Agrippa*'s kingdom. The breadth of this country ſtretches from mount *Libanus*, and from the ſprings of *Jordan*, where it takes its beginning, to the lake of *Tiberias*; and reaches in length, from the village called *Arpha*, to *Julias*. 'Tis inhabited by *Jews* with a mixture of *Syrians*. And thus have I given an account, with as much brevity and conciſeneſs as I am maſter of, of *Judæa*, and the countries bordering upon it.

CHAP. IV.

Joſephus *makes an aſſault upon* Sepphoris, *and is repulſed.* Titus *comes to* Ptolomais *with a vaſt army.*

THE ſuccours which *Veſpaſian* had ſent to the relief of the *Sepphorites*, conſiſting of a thouſand horſe and ſix thouſand foot, under the command of *Placidas* the tribune, having encamped in the great plain, were divided into two bodies. The infantry were quartered in the city, in order to defend it, and the cavalry were poſted in the camp. Both parties took opportunities to make frequent excurſions, whereby they committed their depredations on every thing they found in the country; and though they were not able to move *Joſephus* and his men from their ſtation, yet they expoſed them to ſeveral inconveniences and hardſhips, by plundering and ſpoiling every thing about the city, and repulſing thoſe citizens who had courage enough to venture out of the town. However, *Joſephus* made an attack upon the city, which, before its revolt from the *Galileans*, he had ſo fortified, that the *Romans* themſelves would have found ſome difficulty in taking it. This was the main obſtacle to his hopes, and he found himſelf in too weak a condition to draw the inhabitants to back his intereſts, either by force of arms, or reaſon. But he was inſtrumental in blowing up the war to a greater blaze throughout the country, by the ſtratagems he put in execution, which the *Romans* took ſo heinouſly, that they never ceaſed either day or night from ravaging their fields, or from plundering the effects of every one, without diſtinction, throughout the country, or from putting to death thoſe who were of age to bear arms, or from carrying away into captivity thoſe who had not ſufficient power to defend themſelves. *Galilee* was now the ſcene of fire and bloodſhed, and every place in it was expoſed to innumerable miſeries and hardſhips; and the only aſylum the perſecuted people had at this conjuncture, was in thoſe cities which *Joſephus* had taken care to have well fortified.

Titus, having croſſed over from *Achaia* to *Alexandria*, much ſooner than was generally done in the winter ſeaſon, took up the body of forces, for which he had been ſent, and by long marches arrived at *Ptolomais* in a very ſhort time, where meeting with his father, to the two legions he had with him (being the fifth and tenth, and thoſe the very flower of the *Roman* army) he joined the fifteenth, which he had brought with him, by which conjunction the army now conſiſted of eighteen cohorts. Beſides theſe, *Cæſarea* ſent a reinforcement of five companies of foot, and one troop of horſe, which were accompanied with five others of *Syrian* horſe. Ten of the cohorts had in each a thouſand infantry, but the others only ſix hundred and thirteen foot, and one hundred and twenty horſe. The royal auxiliaries, when muſter'd, amounted to a very conſiderable number; *Antiochus*, *Agrippa*, and *Sohemus*, ſending a ſupply of two thouſand infantry, all archers, and a thouſand horſe, excluſive of the reinforcement ſent by *Malchus* the *Arabian*, who had already diſpatched away a thouſand horſe, and five thouſand foot, the major part of whom were archers. So that all the forces, taking into the number the horſe and foot ſent by the kings, amounted to threeſcore thouſand, beſides the ſlaves, whoſe number was pretty conſiderable, and who, becauſe of their being trained up to martial exerciſes, ought not to be ſeparated from the military liſt, being in times of peace continually inſtructed in the exerciſes of their maſters, and in times of war expoſing themſelves to the ſame dangers with them, that, ſetting aſide their maſters, they are ſuperior to any one elſe, either in prudent conduct, or the feats of arms.

CHAP. V.

A Deſcription of the Roman *Forces, of their Camp, and of other Circumſtances for which the* Romans *are commended.*

FROM hence the conſideration of the provident care of the *Romans*, in thus training up their ſlaves for their ſervice, as not only to make them ſubſervient to the ſeveral offices of life, but alſo to accuſtom them to the neceſſities of war, and the uſe of arms, may affect ſome perſons with wonder and ſurprize; but if we conſider the other methods of their military diſcipline, we ſhall with great probability conclude, that ſo vaſt an empire as they have made themſelves maſters of, has not been owing to the gift of fortune, but to their innate valour and prudent conduct. The breaking out of a war does not puſh them on to begin to uſe their arms, nor when any neceſſity urges them, do they then only betake themſelves to defence, as if in times of peace they had ſat down all the while idle and inactive, but as though the uſe of arms had been natural to them, they never ceaſe from martial exerciſes, nor wait till the times of war come. Their martial exerciſes differ in nothing from a real engagement; for each ſoldier, with great alacrity, every day performs the duty of arms, as if he was acting his part in a ſet battle; and from hence it comes, that encounters ſeem to them only acts of pleaſure and diverſion. And one remarkable obſervation is, that they preſerve the ſtation aſſigned them with unvaried conſtancy; nor are they ſeen to deſpond, or be caſt down with fear; nor do the labours to which they are expoſed, impair or diminiſh their ſtrength. And from theſe ſeveral circumſtances it comes, that they conſtantly bear away the victory from thoſe who happen to be found not of the ſame firm and immoveable temper with themſelves. And a man would not impoſe upon himſelf in ſaying that their exerciſes are conflicts without blood, and that their battles on the oppoſite ſide are exerciſes with blood. Neither can even the ſudden and unexpected ſallies of an enemy eaſily do execution among them; but in what part ſoever they themſelves puſh into an adverſary's country, before they put themſelves in order, or proceed to battle, they take care to fortify their camp with a trench round it. The fixing their camp is not a buſineſs of ſmall labour, neither do they pitch it on uneven ground, nor employ all their men about it, or go about it confuſedly; but if the ground happens to prove uneven, they reduce it to a plain, and meaſure out and deſcribe their camp in ſuch a form, that it may appear of a quadrangular figure; for a great number of carpenters, with tools and inſtruments neceſſary to this end, conſtantly follow them in their marches.

The inſide of the ground thus meaſured out is appropriated to the tents; but the outward circumference of the camp is raiſed with a wall, whereon are built towers at equal diſtances from one another; and the vacant ſpaces between the towers, are ſtored with their ſcorpions, *catapultæ*, and *balliſtæ*, and all other ſorts of miſſive engines; all which are accommodated, and made to throw any thing at the enemy: Beſides theſe, they erect four gates, facing the four ſides of the circumference, not only for the eaſy admittance of the carriage-beaſts, but made wide for ſallying out, ſhould there be a neceſſity for ſo doing; and in the inſide they make diviſions of their tents into ſtreets, to great advantage; and in the very center of the camp, they ſet up the pavilions of the officers, and in the heart of theſe they place a *prætorium*, in the ſimilitude of a temple. And thus, as if all things had been finiſhed in a moment, is a city ſeen to be made, a kind of form, and a place for artificers, and benches for the officers and principal commanders of the army to ſit on and determine controverſies, ſhould any ariſe. Beſides this, the circumference is built upon, and becauſe of the great number of workmen, and the ſkill of the artificers, every thing is executed ſooner than can be imagin'd; but if there be found a neceſſity, they ſink a ditch without the wall, four cubits deep, and as many broad.

As they are thus guarded and fortified on every ſide, every one enjoys perfect eaſe and quiet in his tent, and a ſtrict decorum is obſerved throughout the whole camp. Nor are the other affairs managed with leſs conduct; for every thing is tranſacted with good order, and in great ſecurity: Every one, in caſes of urgent neceſſity, lending his helping hand, in aſſiſting to bring the wood, corn, and water. Nor has any one the particular liberty to himſelf, juſt when he thinks fit, to ſup, or dine, but theſe are performed in a general body together. The ſignal is given by a trumpet, when they ſhall go to ſleep, when to watch, and when to riſe; and not the leaſt thing is put in execution without previous orders. As ſoon as morning comes, all the ſoldiers go to compliment the centurions, and they the tribunes, with whom all the officers of the army go to ſalute the chief commander, or general, over all. He, according to cuſtom, gives them the watch word, and ſeveral other orders to be carried to his inferiors; which commands being duly obſerved, they wheel about in an inſtant, whenever caſes of neceſſity oblige them to ſally out, and rally back in large companies.

When they break up their camp, the ſound of trumpet gives the ſignal, and none, at ſuch a time, are ſeen to be ſlow, or inactive; but at the firſt warning they take up their tents, and make all things ready for their departure, and then, when they are ready, the trumpet gives another ſignal. 'Tis almoſt incredible with what wonderful expedition they load their mules and aſſes with their baggage; and they ſeem to ſtand at the goal ready prepared to march out. At their departure, they ſet fire to their camp, being ſo ſurprizingly quick in forming an encampment again, if they ſhould ſo reſolve: And this they do, to prevent the enemy from making any advantage of it. And now the trumpet ſounds a third time, to warn them of their marching out, which, in ſome reſpect, is done to excite the ſlow not to quit their ranks. Hereupon, an herald, who ſtands on the right ſide of the general, aſks them three times, in their language, if they are prepared for battle; and they return the ſame number of times a loud and chearful ſhout, and ſay, that they are prepared. Hereupon, their alacrity is ſuch, that they almoſt prevent the perſon who puts the three queſtions to them; and, animated with a true martial ſpirit, in token of their courage, they raiſe up their hands with a great ſhout.

Then coming out, they march in a very ſolemn and decent manner, every one preſerving his rank, as though he was in battle. The infantry are accouter'd with breaſt plates and ſhields, and wear a ſword on the right, and a dagger on the left ſide. The foot, who are about the perſon of the general, are a band of ſelect men, and carry ſpears and ſhields; the reſt of the phalanx carry ſpears and oblong ſhields, beſides a fardle, a hatchet, a cord, an ax, a chain, a ſcythe, a basket, and proviſions for three days: So that the infantry come little ſhort of the loaded aſſes. The horſemen wear on their right ſide a long ſword, and carry a long dart in their hand; they have a ſhield hanging at the ſide of their horſe, and bear a quiver with three or more darts in it, of broad edges, and as large as their ſpears, and have, after the manner of the infantry, ſhields and breaſt-plates. But they who are choſen out by the general to be his body-guard, differ in no kind of accoutrements from the horſemen; and he, to whom the lot ſhall happen to fall, conſtantly puts himſelf at the head of the company, and leadeth them.

This is the method of the *Roman* marches and encampments, as alſo the difference in their ſeveral arms. In battles and engagements they commit nothing unadviſedly or raſhly, or thro' any ſudden and impetuous ſally; but, before they begin any undertaking, they always enter into a previous conſultation about it, and then, when they have maturely deliberated thereon, they put the reſult of their conferences in execution: Hence it comes, that either they very ſeldom err, or, ſuppoſing it happened they ſhould, they are at no great pains in rectifying their miſtake. For they are of opinion, that the miſcarriage, which happens after a previous conſultation, is much to be preferred to any proſperous events that owe their ſucceſs to fortune; concluding, that a ſucceſsful turn is but a bait to make them negligent; whereas deliberation, though ſometimes unſucceſsful, is the true means to inſtil juſt thoughts how to beware, leſt the ſame miſchance ſhould happen again; and that he, to whom ſuch fortunate turns happen, is not to be accounted the real author of them, but that it gave a great ſatiſfaction in thoſe unhappy accidents that came unlook'd for, that they had been well adviſed againſt before.

And by means of their inceſſant exerciſe to arms, it comes, that not only the bodies, but the ſouls of the ſoldiers, are corroborated and made more firm. Beſides, there is a neceſſity that enforces them to this exerciſe to arms, to remove the penalties provided in caſe of diſobedience: For the laws among them demand a capital puniſhment, not only of deſerters, but alſo of thoſe who are guilty of the leaſt negligence and remiſs behaviour. And the generals themſelves carry an air of greater terror than the laws. But to remove the idea of cruelty from thoſe who are doomed to puniſhment, they generally reward the valiant with honours and poſts. The officers are ſo ſtrictly obeyed, that in times of peace they are an ornament to the country; and in the forming of the battle the whole army appears to be one vaſt company of men; ſo juſt and regular is the diſpoſition of their ranks, with ſo much eaſe do they make their compaſſes about, ſo attentive and liſtening are they to the word of command, ſo watchful with their eyes to the ſignal, and ſo aſſiduous witht heir hands to the buſineſs they are about; whence they are always nimble to put things in execution, and the moſt patient to ſuſtain labour and fatigue. Beſides, in the midſt of a battle, they are never ſeen to give way to multitudes, to ſtratagems, or the difficulties of places, nay, not to fortune herſelf; for victory is more certain, and more conſtant, than ſhe to them. Wherefore, as theſe victors of the world calmly deliberate before they begin any undertaking, their army is ſo ſtrenuous in putting in force what they adviſe and determine on, why ſhould we wonder that the *Euphrates* in the eaſt, and the ocean in the weſt, the fruitfulleſt region of *Africa* in the ſouth, and the *Iſther* and *Rhenus* in the north, ſhould be the limits and boundaries of their dominions? For who will ſay, with any reaſon, that the poſſeſſion is greater than the maſters who own it?

I have expatiated thus far, not with a deſign ſo much to flatter the *Romans*, as in ſome meaſure to adminiſter relief to the vanquiſhed, and deter thoſe, who ſtill want to diſtract affairs, from expoſing themſelves to their victorious arms, or purſue their ill-concerted ſchemes. 'Tis highly probable, that this account of the *Roman* military diſcipline, may conduce to their advantage, by improving their knowledge and experience, who are deſirous to cultivate laudable arts, and are not acquainted with this article. But I return now to the place from whence I have made this digreſſion.

CHAP. VI.

Placidus, *endeavouring to take* Jotapata, *is repulſed.* Veſpaſian *invades* Galilee.

VESPASIAN, and his ſon *Titus*, all this while remained in *Ptolomais*, where they ordered their army. In the mean time, *Placidus* over-ran *Galilee*, and made terrible havock with his frequent incurſions. After he had made a great ſlaughter among the priſoners he took, (who were the weak and unexperienced part of the *Galileans*) and ſaw that the moſt valiant among them were conſtantly withdrawing into the cities which *Joſephus* had taken care to fortify, he haſtened to lay ſiege to *Jotapata*, the beſt and ſtrongeſt city of them all, ſuppoſing the place would eaſily be taken at the firſt aſſault, and the ſucceſs of the action be attended with great applauſe of his conduct from the other officers, and be of principal advantage towards furthering the execution of his other deſigns. For the reſt of the cities would immediately ſurrender, through fear, when the ſtrongeſt and beſt fortified ones were once reduced to obedience. But he was much deceived and fruſtrated in his expectations; for when the *Jotapenes* were acquainted with his coming, they received him without the city, and falling unexpectedly upon the *Romans*, being encouraged, and, as it were, inſpired by the hopes of preſerving their country, (their wives, and their children) they ſoon put them to flight, wounding ſeveral of them, but killing only ſeven, becauſe they drew off with great order, and without ſeparating their ranks in the leaſt; ſo that, conſidering the cloſe union which they ſtill preſerv'd, it may be ſaid, that the very outſide of them only was wounded; for the *Jews*, who were lightly armed, continued only to throw their darts, and durſt not cloſe in with an enemy which was heavy armed. However, three were ſlain of the *Jews* ſide, and a few wounded; and when *Placidus* found himſelf in too weak a condition to force the city to ſurrender, he marched away.

Veſpaſian, having a great deſire to break into *Galilee*, marſhalled his army after the *Roman* manner, and ſo marched out of *Ptolomais*. He gave orders for the light-armed auxiliaries and archers to go before, to ſtop the ſudden incurſions of the enemy, and ſearch the woods they ſuſpected, and which were convenient for ambuſcades. Then followed part of the heavy-armed *Roman* horſe and foot; after theſe marched ten in a breaſt out of each century, bearing with them their arms, neceſſaries, and tents; and after them came men who clear'd the roads, mended the ways where uneven, levelled brakes and rough places, and cut down the woods that hinder'd their paſſage, that the army might not be ſtopp'd in its march: And in the rear of this company of pioneers, his own and the other officers carriages followed, being, for the greater ſecurity of them, guarded with a ſtrong troop of horſe; after whom, he himſelf appeared, with a ſelect body of infantry, cavalry, and ſpearmen, being followed by the company of horſe belonging to the legion, (for every legion had an hundred and twenty horſe appropriated to it;) next to theſe marched the mules, which carried the battering rams and other engines of war; then followed the generals, and præfects of the cohorts, with the tribunes, attended with a choice body of men, and theſe were brought up by the ſtandards of the eagle, which is the higheſt poſt in the *Roman* legions, being the king and ſtrongeſt of birds, whence they make it an emblem of empire to them; and, through their taking it as a ſucceſsful omen, they march with alacrity againſt the moſt formidable enemy. And next to the ſtandards, which they hold ſacred, follow the trumpeters, and after them a phalanx, or company of old men, marſhalled out into their ranks, over whom, according to cuſtom, is ſet a certain centurion, whoſe office is to take care that their ranks are ſtrictly kept; and theſe are brought up by all the ſlaves who follow the infantry of the ſeveral legions, and drive along the carriage mules and aſſes; and after all the legions a multitude of mercenaries, who, for the greater ſecurity, are guarded with a body of heavy-armed horſe and foot.

This was the manner in which *Veſpaſian* marched with his army to the frontiers of *Galilee*, where he encamped: He then reſolved to lead his army within ſight of the enemy, that he might ſtrike them with terror, and allow them ſome ſpace of time to repent, if they were willing, before the war, to change their reſolution. At the ſame time, he made preparations to beſiege the places of ſtrength. Now the ſight of the *Roman* general made a great many blame themſelves for their revolt, and, indeed, all were ſtruck with a ſudden fear, and dejection of ſpirit; for *Joſephus* and his army had incamped at a city called *Garis*, at a ſmall diſtance from *Sepphoris*, but when they had heard that the enemy was not far off, and that the *Romans* were prepared to give them battle, they haſtily betook themſelves to flight, not only before they came to an engagement, but even before they had ſeen the faces of their enemies. This ſudden piece of ill fortune left *Joſephus* with a very ſmall number of men, and when he found that he had not a ſufficient body of forces to receive the enemy, and that the minds of the *Jews* were quite diſpirited, and that very many longed to come to ſome terms of accommodation, might they be truſted to negotiate the articles, it was then he began to have apprehenſions, and be doubtful of the event of the war; wherefore he reſolved to get as far out of the way of danger, as he could; in order to which, he took up the men that remained with him, and withdrew to *Tiberias*.

CHAP. VII.

Veſpaſian *takes the City of the* Gadarenes, *and then marches to* Jotapat, *and after a long Siege, makes himſelf Maſter of the Place by the Treachery of a Deſerter.*

VESPASIAN, in the mean time, fell upon the city of the *Gadarenes*, and at the firſt aſſault reduced it to his obedience, as he found the place abandoned by thoſe citizens who were of age to bear arms: After which, he entered the town, and commanded the youth in it to be put to the ſword; whereupon, the *Romans*, as well through their avowed enmity and hatred to the nation, as the remembrance of the calamities to which they had expoſed *Ceſtius*, gave no quarter to any ſex or age. *Veſpaſian* not only ſet fire to the town, but laid in aſhes all the ſmall cities and towns that were near it, ſome whereof were quite abandoned and deſerted, and the inhabitants of others made priſoners.

Mean while, *Joſephus*, by ſeeking refuge in that city which he had choſe out for his own ſecurity, filled it with terrible apprehenſions: For the citizens of *Tiberias* were of opinion he would never diſhonour himſelf by a ſhameleſs flight, unleſs he deſpaired of the ſucceſs of the war. And, indeed, ſo far were they in the right, with regard to the conjecture they made of his thoughts; for he had a plain proſpect before his eyes, with what fatal conſequences the affairs of the *Jews* would be attended, and that there was no probability of avoiding the dangers that hung over their heads, without they came to another reſolution. And though he had room to hope of obtaining his own pardon from the *Romans*, yet he ſeveral times wiſhed to die, rather than betray his country, or diſhonour the commiſſion given him to proſecute the war, by living comfortably among thoſe he was deputed to maintain the war againſt. Wherefore, he reſolved to write a faithful letter to the magiſtrates of *Hieroſolyma*, to acquaint them in what condition their affairs were; that, by repreſenting the number of his forces greater than it really was, he might not at any time afterwards be charged with cowardice; or, by giving too ſmall an account of them, he might not give an handle to thoſe who had already repented themſelves of their folly, to take freſh hopes, and to deſire them to return him a ſpeedy anſwer, whether they were pleaſed to come to terms of accommodation; or, if their intentions were to maintain the war, that they would then ſend a ſufficient reinforcement of auxiliaries to withſtand the attacks of the *Romans*. And after he had wrote this letter, he ſent certain perſons to carry it to *Hieroſolyma*.

Veſpaſian, having concluded on the ſiege of *Jotapat*, (for he had heard that great numbers of the enemy had taken refuge in it, and, beſides that, it was a place of extraordinary ſtrength) ordered ſome of his horſe and foot before to clear the way, which was exceeding mountainous and rocky, difficult for the infantry to march through, and altogether impoſſible for the horſe; which they in four days time effectually performed, and open'd a clear paſſage for the reſt of the army. *Joſephus*, on the fifth day, which was the twenty-firſt of the month *Artemiſius*, marched from *Tiberias*, and entered *Jotapat*, at which the *Jews* began to take courage. *Veſpaſian*, by means of a deſerter, coming to hear of his removal, who ſtrenuouſly urged him to march up to the city, which, provided he took *Joſephus*, he ſaid, would of conſequence fall into his hands with the reſt of *Judea*, took the meſſenger for an omen of his future ſucceſſes, and, ſuppoſing that the providence of God had brought it about that he who was reckoned the moſt prudent man of the enemy ſhould of his own accord throw himſelf into his power, he immediately diſpatched away a thouſand horſe, under the command of *Placidus*, and *Ebutius* the decurion, a very valiant and experienced officer, with orders to ſurround the city immediately, for fear *Joſephus* ſhould privately make his eſcape.

Veſpaſian, the next day, followed, with all the reſt of the army, and arrived before *Jotapat* in the duſk of the evening. He drew his men to the north ſide of the town, where he encamped on a riſing ground, about ſeven furlongs from the city, which he did on purpoſe that the enemy might have a full view of his camp, thereby to ſtrike them with terror, which had its deſir'd effect in ſo powerful a manner, that not a ſoul dared to ſtir out of the city. However, the *Romans* ſat ſtill, and did not think fit immediately to make an attack upon the place, as they had been all the day upon their march; however, they ſurrounded the town with a double file of men, to which they added a third of horſe; and by that means cut off all means of retreat from the *Jews*; who now deſpairing of ſafety, were animated with an extraordinary boldneſs: For nothing more ſpurs on the ſoul of man to exhort its faculties, in war, than neceſſity.

The next day they happened to have an encounter, and the *Jews*, who remained in the country, and had encamped without the city before the walls, firſt went and met the *Romans*: *Veſpaſian* advanced againſt them; his archers, and ſlingers, and all his dartſmen, permitted them to make uſe of their arrows, while, with his infantry, he poſted himſelf on a riſing ground, where the wall was fit to be attacked. *Joſephus* ſeeing this, began to be fearful of the city, and immediately ſallied out with the whole multitude of the *Jews*, who, falling all at once upon the enemy, repulſed the *Romans* from the walls, and gave ſeveral inſtances of great courage, and extraordinary conduct; but the difficulties to which they were expoſed, were equal to the valiant actions they had perform'd; for if their deſpair of ſaving themſelves was great, the ſhame the *Romans* conceived was no leſs; for the latter fought with magnanimity and prudence, and the former with an exceſs of boldneſs and rage: But the battle continuing all the day, night put a ſtop to it; and, of the *Roman* ſide, a great number was wounded, and thirteen perſons ſlain, but of the *Jews* ſeventeen were laid dead on the ſpot, and ſix hundred wounded.

Neverthelefs, they ſallied out again the next day, and fell upon the *Romans*, advancing againſt them with more reſolution, and aſſuming greater courage, from the conſideration that they had been able the day before to ſuſtain their ſhock. However, they found the *Romans* a little more hard for them in this encounter; for they who imagined themſelves entirely conquered, if victory did not ſoon incline on their ſide, added now to their ſhame a violent fury, and for five days the *Romans* never ceaſed making their aſſaults upon the town, nor the *Jotapatenes* from ſallying out and bravely fighting from their walls; and neither were the *Jews* terrified at the ſtrength of the enemy, nor did the *Romans* deſpair at the difficulty of taking the city.

Now *Jotapat*, in a manner, ſtands all upon a rock, and all its ſides are ſo ſteep, and fortified with large and deep ditches, that the ſight of thoſe who look down, is loſt before it comes to the bottom, except on the north part, where-alone it can be attacked, and there, on the lower ſide of the mountain, are houſes raiſed, which *Joſephus*, when he took care to fortify the town, defended with a wall, to hinder the enemy from making themſelves maſters of the top that looked over; and the town is ſo ſurrounded with mountains, that 'tis impoſſible to diſcern any one, before he arrives at it. And *Jotapat* at this time, was thus fortified.

Veſpaſian was very deſirous to prevail againſt the natural ſtrength of the place, and the rage of the *Jews*, and with that view reſolving upon a valiant attack, he called a council of war of all the under officers, to adviſed with them about the method of making it. Their advice was, to raiſe a rampart on that ſide of the town where the wall was moſt eaſy to be attacked; whereupon, he ordered all his army to carry the neceſſary materials, when immediately they began to level the riſing grounds adjoining to the city, and collect a vaſt quantity of ſtones and wood; while others, to avoid the darts thrown at them from above, expanded a great number of wicker works above the ditches, and rebuilt the rampart underneath, thereby ſuffering nothing, or very little, from the darts of the enemy from the wall; while others were all the time pulling down the neighbouring hillocks, and continually carrying the earth to them. And being divided into three companies, every one had ſufficient work upon his hands; but the *Jews* were not backward in rolling down large ſtones, and throwing every ſort of thing they could find upon their coverings, which though they made a great and terrible ſound in their fall, and gave ſome obſtruction to the men as they were at work, yet were not of ſufficient force to penetrate through the coverings, and do them any conſiderable damage.

When *Veſpaſian* had planted his miſſive engines round about, (which were about an hundred and threeſcore in all) he gave orders to direct them againſt thoſe who ſtood upon the wall. The *catapultæ* ſoon threw their darts with a whizzing ſound, and the *balliſtæ* caſt up ſtones of a talent's weight, and fire and ſhowers of arrows were inceſſantly made to fly upwards; all which, not only did execution upon the wall, but, alſo, whereſoever they fell. Beſides the great body of *Arabian* archers, and the dartſmen and ſlingers, poured all their force at once in company with the engines. Yet all theſe plying upon them, to repulſe them from committing their hoſtilities from above, could not make them quiet; for ſallying out in companies like ſo many robbers, they not only pulled away the coverings of the enemy whereever they could get to them, but alſo fell upon the workmen in the defenceleſs condition they were in; and wherever they ſurrendered the place to them, they effectually demoliſh'd the rampart, and ſet fire to the fortifications of the ditches, and the wicker coverings. But *Veſpaſian* underſtanding that the cauſe of this damage was owing to the ſpaces left between the works, (for theſe ſpaces gave the *Jews* a fine opportunity of falling upon the enemy's works) he brought all the coverings into one, and, giving them an additional ſtrength, he thereby ſecured them from the force of the enemy.

The rampart was now erected, and the works brought almoſt to an equality; when *Joſephus*, thinking it more diſhonourable and hard, ſhould he not put ſomething in execution that was for the advantage and ſecurity of the city, called together the artificers, and gave orders for raiſing the wall to a greater height. But they telling him of the impoſſibility of raiſing it amidſt ſuch a ſhower of darts, he invented this ſort of ſhelter for them. After he had given orders for ſtakes to be drove in, and the raw hides of bullocks to be ſtretched wide upon them, thereby to receive the ſtones ſhot from the engines; the other darts ſlid off with great eaſe, and the moiſture of the skins proved ſuperior to the fire, ſo that the workmen under this covering wrought day and night in great ſecurity, till at laſt they raiſed the wall twenty cubits high, and built towers pretty thick upon it, and fortified them ſtrongly; which put the *Romans*, who believed themſelves already victors, into great perplexity, and, what with the ſtratagem of *Joſephus*, and the reſolution and bravery the citizens ſhew'd, their hearts were very much dejected.

But this cunning ſtratagem, and the reſolution that appeared in the *Jotapatenes*, added fuel to the reſentment of *Veſpaſian*. Now their new fortification augmented their courage, they ſallied out upon the *Romans*, and daily in great companies had engagements with them, and committed all kinds of plunder, ravaging whatever they met with, and ſetting fire to the enemy's works, till *Veſpaſian*, wearied out with their continual hoſtilities, ordered his men to ſit ſtill, reſolving to lay ſiege to the place, and endeavour to make himſelf maſter of it by famine, and ſtarving it out; concluding, that want of proviſions would either oblige them to beg for mercy, or, ſhould they perſiſt to the laſt extremity in their preſent obſtinate temper, that hunger would effectually deſtroy them; ſuppoſing, ſhould he attack them again when worn out with famine, to find them in too languid and weak a condition to give him any obſtruction of conſequence. Wherefore he gave orders to watch ſtrictly their coming out.

The citizens in the town had ſtore of corn, and of all other neceſſaries, except ſalt; indeed, they wanted water, as there was not a well in the whole city; but this defect was remedied by rain water, which the inhabitants contented themſelves with; yet, during the ſummer-time, it ſeldom, if ever, rained in this country. So that the ſiege falling out at this time of the year, the citizens were very much diſpirited, and entertained frightful ideas of an enſuing thirſt, and ſtorm'd and rav'd, as if they had had no water at all. But when *Joſephus* ſaw that the city was in no want of any proviſions, that the hearts of the inhabitants were briſk and lively, and that he was able to hold out the ſiege ſo long as to fruſtrate the expectations of the *Romans*, he diſtributed a certain quantity of water among the citizens. This diviſion of the water was more terrible, in their opinion, than the thoughts of famine, and it ſerved but the more to increaſe their deſire of drinking, as they were debarred by it a free liberty of indulging their thirſt: Nay, they ſeemed to languiſh and faint, as though the moſt violent thirſt was upon them. The *Romans*, all the time, were not ignorant how matters went with them; for from a place that ſtood directly againſt the wall, they could ſee them crowding together, and taking the portion of water which was aſſigned them; whereby they had an opportunity of reaching them with their darts, which they threw out of their engines, and ſo put ſeveral of them to death.

The beſieg'd having the miſerable misfortune to find their ciſterns of water ſoon after this manner, quite exhauſted, *Veſpaſian* hoped that the neceſſity to which they were reduced would oblige them to ſurrender the city to him. But *Joſephus* was reſolved to fruſtrate the hopes he entertained, and, accordingly, ordered a great many clothes to be ſoaked in the water, and hung down from the fortifications, whereby all the wall preſently became wet by the water that dropp'd from them. The *Romans*, hereupon, were preſently dejected and confounded to ſee the beſieged waſte away ſo much water in ſport, which they did not imagine they had to drink; and therefore the general, when he found the impoſſibility of gaining the city by ſtarving the inhabitants, had once more recourſe to arms, which was a circumſtance the *Jews* very much long'd for: For ſince they had no reaſon to hope to ſave either themſelves or their city, they preferred dying in battle far before languiſhing away by hunger and thirſt.

Joſephus, however, beſides the above-mention'd ſtratagem, made uſe of another in order to ſecure himſelf. There was a ſubterraneous paſſage on the weſt ſide of the ditch, of very great difficulty, which made the *Roman* centinels not very ſtrict in guarding it: Through this paſſage *Joſephus* ſent certain men with letters to thoſe *Jews* out of the city who cou'd ſupply him, who returned him anſwers, and furniſhed him with what neceſſaries the city ſtood in need of: But his orders to the perſons he ſent, were to creep by the guards with coverings of hairy skins upon them, to deceive the perſons that ſhould happen to ſee them in the night, ſo far as to take them for dogs; which, accordingly, was done ſo often, that the guards came to detect the artifice, and ſet watch upon the place.

But *Joſephus* now finding the impoſſibility of the city making any long defence, and, ſhould he remain where he was, the uncertain condition to which his life would be expoſed, held a council with the principal citizens how to make their eſcape. But the people came to hear of the meaſures they were taking, and gather'd about him, with earneſt intreaties begging him, *That he would not abandon them, who put all their confidence they had in him alone; that they had hopes yet of preſerving their city; as his ſtaying among them would add courage to their ſtrength and power, and make them fight valiantly: And that ſhould they be taken priſoners, it would ſtill be a ſatisfaction to them to be taken with him. That they thought it was beneath him to fly from their enemies, or form any deſign of abandoning them, or to leap, as it were, out of a ſhip in danger of ſinking by a violent ſtorm, on which he embark'd when the ſea was ſmooth and calm. For if he forſook them in whom alone they repoſed their confidence, he would effectually be the ruin of their city, ſince there was none among them of ſufficient courage to oppoſe the enemy.*

Joſephus being cautious not to have them think that his aim was only to preſerve his own life, told them, *That it was for their advantage he deſigned to depart out of the city. For to remain among them, who were, as yet, in ſafety, would not be of the leaſt ſervice to them, and, ſhould they be taken, death would be the ſame with, as without him; that delivering them from the ſiege when he was out of the town, was his intent, and which would be attended with joyful conſequences to all of them; for he would muſter up, with all the diſpatch he could, the* Galileans *out of the country, and remove the* Romans *from their city by giving them diverſion elſewhere. That, for his part, he could not then ſee of what ſervice or good his ſtay among them cou’d be, unleſs to irritate the* Romans *more ſtrongly to carry on the ſiege, who ſet the taking him at a great price; whereas, ſhould they find that he had made his eſcape, that alone wou’d induce them to break up the ſiege.* Theſe words were far from having any influence upon them; they only the more ſerved to heighten their deſire of his ſtay: And, hereupon, the young and old men, and women with their children, came with tears in their eyes, and fell at his feet, which they embraced in a tender manner, and piteouſly intreated him to ſtay among them, and ſhare the ſame fortune with them; and herein I am of opinion, that it was not an envy to his life, but the preſervation of themſelves, that moved them to this: For they imagined, that ſo long as *Joſephus* was with them, no miſfortune would befal them.

Joſephus ſuppoſing, ſhould he comply with their demands, that their interceſſions would be conſtrued as the motives inducing him to it, and that ſhould he refuſe them, they would compel him to it, (and, indeed, the piteous behaviour of the ſupplicants contributed much towards baniſhing the thoughts he had entertained of leaving them) he reſolved to ſtay; whereupon, having armed the citizens who were full of deſpair, *Now is the time*, ſaid he, *of exerting the utmoſt of our power and courage, ſince we have no room of hoping to preſerve our lives, and liberties, but by ſome glorious action, the remembrance of which may be tranſmitted down to our poſterity with honour.* And thus, after this ſhort exhortation, he ſallied out with the moſt deſperate, and, at the ſame time, the moſt valiant, who penetrated to the very camp of the *Romans*, pulled down the skins that covered them, ſet fire to their works, and ſo, in the ſame manner, acted the next day, and the day after that, and ſeveral other days and nights, without any intermiſſion, or ſigns of fatigue.

Veſpaſian ſeeing the *Romans* expoſed to ſeveral inconveniences by theſe ſallies, (for ’twas diſhonourable, in their opinions, to turn their backs to the *Jews*; though they laboured under ſo great difficulties from their heavy armour, that they cou’d not purſue them as they would, at ſuch times as they made them retreat; for the *Jews* conſtantly did ſome damage without any hurt on their ſide, and were ſure to get into the city upon it) gave orders to his heavy armed men to decline engaging, and not fight with men who wanted to die; for that nothing made men more courageous than deſpair. However, that their ſallies might be abated, if their aims were diſappointed, as fire decays when it wants fuel; but that it became the *Romans* to be cautious how they uſed their arms, as a nation that was not obliged by any neceſſity to fight, but which aimed only at extending its dominions by conqueſt. That his making uſe of the *Arabian* archers, and the *Syrian* ſlingers, and the others who caſt ſtones, had contributed not a little to the repulſing of the *Jews*. Beſides, that his miſſive engines, of which he had a great quantity, had been continually employ’d; that theſe had done ſome execution among them, and made them retire, but that when they found themſelves within ſhot of the enemy, they had conſtantly borne more hard upon the *Romans*, had fought without any fear of their lives, and when one party was fatigu’d, it retir’d, and another ſucceeded it.

Veſpaſian ſuppoſing, from the length of the time, and the ſallies of the enemy, that they were reſolved to play the counter-ſiege upon him, having placed his works nearer to the wall, he concluded to try what the ram could do. Now this is a vaſt beam very much reſembling the maſt of a ſhip, being ſtrengthen’d at the end with thick plates of iron, made in the form of a ram’s head, whence it derives its name. ’Tis bound in the middle by ropes, and ſo hung to another vaſt beam, as it were, to the beam of a pair of ſcales, and ſtrongly under-propp’d with large ſtakes; and ſo, by being pull’d back with the force of a great many men, and with the ſame ſtrength puſh’d forwards again, it batters the walls with its iron head. Neither is any tower ſo ſtrong, or any walls ſo thick, which, though they can bear the firſt ſtrokes of it, can ſtand againſt the continual ſhocks of it. This was the inſtrument of war the *Roman* general was reſolved to make a trial of, in order to haſten the taking of the town, as he found the continuing the ſiege was attended with prejudicial conſequences to his men, and the *Jews* were always committing their hoſtilities. In conſequence hereof, after they had placed their *catapultæ*, and other miſſive engines nearer the walls, to remove the beſieged from them, who ſtrove to hinder their attacks, they poured their darts upon them, having, at the ſame time, the archers and ſlingers in readineſs. This effectually clearing the walls, ſo that not a *Jew* durſt appear upon them, the enemy had an opportunity to fix their ram, which they ſecured above with hurdles and skins, both for the defence of themſelves, and of the engine. At the firſt ſtroke the walls ſhook, and the citizens within the town, as though it had really been taken, made a vaſt and dreadful noiſe.

When *Joſephus* ſaw that the enemy kept beating upon one place, and that the wall was almoſt batter’d through, he put in execution a device, in ſome meaſure, to elude the force of the engine. He fill’d ſeveral ſacks full of chaff, and order’d them to be let down over-againſt that place where he ſaw the ram to beat, in order to miſguide the ſtrokes of the engine, and, by the looſeneſs of the ſacks, to diſappoint the ram of its full force; by which means he gave the *Romans* a great deal of hindrance and obſtruction: For to what place ſoever they applied the ram, they who ſtood upon the wall carried thither the ſacks of chaff, and let them down againſt the engine, to ſecure the wall from damage. But the *Romans*, to prevent this for the future, got long poles, to the end of which they faſtened ſickles, and thereby cut the ropes to which the ſacks were faſtened. *Joſephus*, when he found the extraordinary force of the ram, and the execution it did, and that the wall (which had been newly built) gave way to its violent ſhocks, he took the men about him, and haſtened to try what fire would do: For preſently (having ſet fire to all the combuſtible things at hand) they ſallied out at three different parts, and burnt all the *Roman* engines, hurdles, and works. All their endeavours to ſave their works, were attended with loſs on their ſide, and the boldneſs of the beſieged ſtruck them with aſtoniſhment, ſo that the combuſtible matter mixing among the pitch, tar, and ſulphur, made the flames ſpread all round in a moment; and what the *Romans* had been at prodigious pains in accompliſhing, was, in leſs than an hour's time, burnt to aſhes.

While theſe things were in agitation, a certain *Jew* ſignaliz'd himſelf in a manner that deſerves both to be praiſed, and the account thereof tranſmitted to poſterity. His name was *Eleazar*, and was the ſon of *Samæas*, and *Saab* of *Galilee* was the place of his nativity. He took up a prodigious large ſtone, and threw it from the wall with ſuch force upon the ram, that it broke off the head of the engine, after which, ſallying out into the midſt of the enemy, he took it up, and, without the leaſt fear, brought it up upon the wall. This action made him the mark of all the enemy, and, with a general indignation, they poured their darts upon him; his naked body became expoſed to their fury, and he received the ſhot of five arrows upon him, but it was ſo far from making him regard them, that, on coming upon the wall, he ſhowed himſelf full to the view of the enemy to teſtify the valiant act he had done, but, his wounds proving mortal, he tumbled down from the wall, with the head of the ram in his hands. The action of this brave man was ſeconded by two brothers, both *Galileans*, named *Netiras* and *Philip*, originally ſprung from the town of *Ruma*. This heroic pair ſallied out upon the ſoldiers of the tenth legions, and were carried with ſuch force and violence upon the *Romans*, that they not only broke through their ranks, but made every one fly before them whom they attack'd.

Joſephus, and the reſt of the multitude, after the performance of the two brothers, with the great quantity of fire they threw among the enemy, effectually burnt the engines, coverings, and other works, of the fifth and tenth legions, which had fled: Whereupon, the others following their example, threw down upon the ground all their inſtruments of war, and other martial preparations. All this, however, did not deter the *Romans*, who, in the duſk of the evening, carried and placed the ram again to that part of the wall which had before been expoſed to its battery. One of thoſe who were engaged in bearing off its aſſaults, hereupon, ſhot a dart, and happen'd to wound *Veſpaſian* near the heel of his foot; but the wound proved of ſlight conſequence, as the length of the place, where he ſtood, weaken'd the force of the caſt. However, the *Romans* were thrown into a great fright on this occaſion: They who ſtood near the perſon of the general, ſeeing the blood appear, were ſorely diſmayed, and the news of the wound *Veſpaſian* had received, in a moment ſpread itſelf throughout the army; ſo that great numbers abandoning the ſiege, through fear and dejection of ſpirit, ran to ſee him, and *Titus*, among the reſt, who was concerned for his father; which put the army, who had great tenderneſs and love for their general, into a very mournful condition. But *Veſpaſian* was not long in removing his ſon's fears, and eaſing his ſoldiers of their concern; for the pains of his wound being abated, he appeared to all thoſe who were concerned, or in any fear about him, and animated them with greater courage to maintain the war againſt the *Jews*. Hereupon, every one demonſtrated his readineſs to expoſe himſelf to any danger, to revenge the diſhonour of his general; for, exhorting one another to valiant deeds, with a ſhout they ruſhed impetuouſly upon the wall.

Notwithſtanding the deſtruction which the *Roman catapultæ* and *balliſtæ* made among ſeveral of the *Jews*, yet *Joſephus* and his men ſtill maintained their poſt upon the wall, and with fire, pieces of iron, and ſtones, plied the men that managed the ram under their covering of hurdles. The execution they made was of none, or of very little conſequence; for the men kept to their duty with prodigious alacrity, being ſeen by thoſe whom they themſelves could have no ſight of: For the fire making a light about them, 'twas no difficulty in ſeeing them, which made the defendants pour their darts upon them as though it had been day. However, the engines at ſome diſtance could not well be diſcerned, and therefore they had ſome trouble to avoid the ſhot of their arrows; for, with the force of the ſcorpions and *catapultæ*, the *Jews* fell in heaps, and, with the violence of the ſtones, which flew with a dreadful ſound from their engines, the walls ſhook, and the corners of the towers were broken down; for, in ſpite of all the reſiſtance of the defendants, though in bodies, the bigneſs and force of the ſtones broke thro' with a terrible execution. Therefore any one, from what happened that night, may form a judgment of the great ſtrength of the ram; for one of thoſe who ſtood about *Joſephus* on the wall, had his head torn from his ſhoulders by a ſtone, and, as though a ſling had conveyed it, it was toſs'd full three furlongs. Beſides this, a woman big bellied, who in the day-time had a little before ſtepp'd out of her houſe, by the violent ſtroke of another ſtone upon her belly, had the infant torn from her full half a furlong, ſo vaſt was the force of the *balliſta*. And the noiſe of the other engines made a dreadful ſound, as did that of the miſſive engines. The crowds of ſlain thrown done one upon another on the walls gave a ſound ; and the ſhouts of the women in the inſide was very great ; the groans of the dying ecchoed without, and every place, where the engagement was maintain'd, ſtream'd with blood, and the walls were cover'd with heaps of dead bodie, the mountains round about ecchoed back, and vaſtly contributed to the horror of the noiſe, and that night was witneſs to all manner of ſcenes that could ſtrike terror to the ears or eyes. Great numbers, in bravely defending *Jotapata*, were laid dead on the ſpot, and great numbers were wounded ; and, notwithſtanding the continual battering of the engines, the wall kept firm till the morning watch; others, who were covered with armour, all the time giving their aſſiſtance to the part that was weakened, before the *Romans* applied their ſcaling ladders.

After *Veſpaſian* had given his men a little refreſhment after the labours of the night, in the morning he gather'd together his army to take the city. As he was deſirous to repulſe the beſieged from that part of the wall where the breach was made, he there poſted three bodies of his ſtouteſt horſe, after having made them ride down to the place, quite covered with armour, and with their darts in their hands, in order to be the firſt in entering the town after the ſcaling ladders had been made uſe of. After theſe he poſted a ſtout body of infantry, and drew the reſt of his horſe near the walls in a line along the mountainous part of the city, to watch that none made their eſcape; and behind theſe he ſet a company of archers, who were commanded to be in readineſs to diſcharge their darts. The ſlingers, and men who managed the engines, had the ſame orders, who had other martial machines to apply to thoſe parts of the wall which were ſound, with a deſign to draw off ſome of the defendants who ſhould endeavour to withſtand them from guarding the breach of the wall, while the others, borne down with the ſhowers of darts thrown at them, ſhould leave a clear paſſage for entering in.

When *Joſephus* came to find this was the reſolution of the enemy, he diſpoſed on the parts of the wall which were entire, thoſe who were fatigued, and the old men, as ſeemingly to receive the ſmalleſt damage on thoſe quarters; but on that part which was battered down, he poſted the men of greateſt courage, and ſix perſons, above the reſt, among whom he himſelf made one, the very firſt to expoſe themſelves to the moſt imminent dangers, giving them orders, *Not to mind the noiſe of the legions, but ſhut their ears to the ſound, that they might not be terrified at it; and receive the ſhowers of the enemy's darts on their bended knees, and on their ſhields covering their heads, till they had emptied their quivers. That when the* Romans *fixed their ſcaling ladders, his commands were for them to ſally out, oppoſe themſelves to the enemy and their engines, and encounter with every man of them, not for preſerving their country, but to revenge the loſs of it, and to ſet before their eyes the old men and children to be butchered, and their wives who were going to be ſlain by their enemies, and to fall upon them with all their collected rage for the terrible deſtruction that would enſue.*

In this manner *Joſephus* diſpoſed both parts of the inhabitants. But ſo ſoon as the unactive part of the multitude, women and children, ſaw the city ſurrounded with three lines of the enemy, (for the guards and centinels ſtill maintain'd their poſts) the *Romans*, with ſword in hand, preſſing hard upon the place of the wall that had been battered down, the mountainous places above flaſhing with poliſh'd arms, and the *Arabian* archers ready to draw out their darts, then was the laſt diſmal cry given for the deſtruction of their city, as though no more misfortunes could threaten them, but their fulneſs of calamity was come. *Joſephus*, that the lamentations of the women, or any compaſſion for them, might not prove prejudicial to the bravery of his men, ſhut them up priſoners in their houſes, and, with menaces and threatenings, commanded them to be ſtill ; and then took his poſt before the breach of the wall, which fortune had allotted him : All the time diſregarding the engines which were levelled againſt him, but obſerving, with great caution, the execution of the darts.

Now all the trumpets together ſounded to the charge, and the *Roman* army gave a vaſt ſhout; whereupon, ſuch ſhowers of darts poured upon the defendants together, that the light was darkened. They of *Joſephus*'s party, ſtrictly mindful of the orders he had given them, ſtopped their ears againſt the ſhout, and defended their bodies againſt the darts; but as ſoon as they had played their engines, the defendants, with a furious ſally, fell upon them before the engineers had time to renew the charge. Several heroic actions, which fully witneſſed both a greatneſs of ſoul, and prodigious ſtrength, were done by them, as they fought with thoſe who endeavoured to mount up ; reſolving at the laſt puſh to ſhew themſelves not inferior, though expoſed to the moſt cruel extremity, to thoſe who were out of danger, and defended themſelves bravely againſt them : So that they were reſolved either to ſlay or be ſlain by the *Romans*. In this manner did the *Jews* expoſe themſelves to great and tedious difficulties in vigorouſly defending themſelves againſt, and repulſing the enemy, having no forces in reſerve to ſupply their place, and engage the *Romans*, who had freſh ſupplies ſtill ſucceeding thoſe who were wearied out, and mounting up the walls as faſt as the others were beaten back, encouraging one another to brave and couragious actions, after having form'd themſelves into a cloſe body, and fortified their heads by bearing their ſhields over them, and by that means they became an unſhaken company, and, as it were, with one body driving back the *Jews* with their whole number, from that moment got footing on the wall.

Joſephus, reduced to this miſerable condition, had recourſe to ſtratagem and counſel, to avert the impending danger, (for neceſſity is very quick in finding out means of avoiding immediate danger, eſpecially when deſpair ſharpens the invention) and commanded the *Jews* to pour down ſcalding oil upon the enemy ſo covered with their ſhields, who preſently had the oil ready in great abundance, and poured it every where about upon the *Romans*, at the ſame time letting down upon them red hot veſſels and pots; which burning the *Romans* in a miſerable manner, put their ranks into vaſt confuſion, and forced them from the walls with prodigious pain: For the oil eaſily finding a paſſage under their armour, ſpread all over their bodies, even from the crown of the head to the ſoles of their feet, and conſumed their fleſh like ſo much fire, being of a nature very eaſily to be ſet on fire, but not ſo ſoon cool'd, by reaſon of its fat and ſmooth ſubſtance. And as the *Romans* were accouter'd with breaſtplates, and helmets tied to them, there was no poſſibility for them to eſcape the fire, but were obliged to fly away, here and there, as faſt as they could, raving with the torments they ſuffered; and in this condition great numbers tumbled from the bridges. Nor was this all; for they who made their way to the reſt of their companions, who were endeavouring to aſſiſt them, were eaſily overcome by thoſe who wounded them in their rear.

Notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties, the *Romans* did not loſe any thing of their bravery, nor the *Jews* of their prudence: For the former, though eye-witneſſes of their companions being covered with the oil, and of the miſerable torments they had ſuffered, yet with bravery and reſolution puſhed forward upon thoſe who had poured it, every one, all the while, calling him who went before, idle and indolent, as if they were obſtacles to their courage. However, the *Jews* countermined their deſigns by another ſtratagem, which they executed upon them as they ſtrove to mount up; they poured boiling fenugreek upon the bridges, which made the enemy ſlide down, and tumble from their ſtandings, ſo that none of thoſe who fled, or of thoſe who ſtrove to mount up, could ſtand upright; for ſeveral, unable to fix themſelves, fell headlong from the ſcaling-ladders, and great numbers of others were borne violently down upon the mounts, and in their fall were wounded by the *Jews* from above. For, the *Romans* thus giving way, the *Jews* had not the trouble of engaging hand to hand, but were at free liberty of uſing their darts. *Veſpaſian*, about the evening, called his ſoldiers off, who had laboured under many difficulties during this aſſault. Of the ſlain, not a few were of the *Roman* ſide, but a far greater number were wounded; and of the *Jotapatenes* ſix were killed, and more than three hundred carried off wounded. And this engagement happened on the twentieth day of *Deſius*.

Veſpaſian endeavour'd to hearten up his men for the hardſhips to which they had been expoſed; but ſeeing that they burned with reſentment, and that it was not advice, but employment they wanted, he gave orders for raiſing the mounts to a greater height, and for raiſing three towers of fifty foot in height each, to be well fortified, and covered on every ſide, as well to make their weight a means of ſecuring them the more, as to ſtand a firmer proof againſt the fire the enemy would throw upon them; and then, having placed mounts upon them, he poſted his bowmen and archers, his lighter miſſive engines, and his ſtouteſt ſlingers, upon them; who, by reaſon of the height and mounts of the towers, ſecuring themſelves out of ſight, could, nevertheleſs, ſurvey thoſe who were upon the wall, and ſmite them. The defendants finding they could neither eaſily avoid the darts that poured upon them from above, nor revenge themſelves on the enemy, whom they could not ſee, and, at the ſame time, ſeeing that the height of the towers could hardly be reached by their arrows, and that the iron work which fortified them was ſufficient proof againſt their fire, they abandoned the walls, and made a furious ſally out upon thoſe who were endeavouring to climb them. The *Jotapatenes*, by this means, withſtood them, but every day had great loſs on their ſide, being in no condition to do the enemy any damage, unleſs by repulſing them, which was conſtantly attended with loſs on their own ſide.

Veſpaſian, about this time, ſent *Trajan*, the commander of the tenth legion, with an army of ten thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, againſt a certain city, adjoining to *Jotapata*, called *Japha*, on the point of revolting, and, greatly elated with the unexpected reſiſtance the *Jotapatenes* had made. *Trajan*, finding the city difficult to be taken, (for, beſides the natural ſtrength of the place, it was ſurrounded with a double wall) and ſeeing the inhabitants ready prepared to march out and fight him, he gave them battle, and, after a ſhort reſiſtance, put them to flight. The defendants having withdrawn within their firſt wall, the *Romans* preſſing hard upon them, broke in with them; whereupon, endeavouring to ſecure themſelves within the ſecond wall, the other citizens, fearing the enemy might enter with them, ſhut the gates of the town upon them. Indeed, God may juſtly be ſaid to gratify, on this occaſion, the *Romans*, with the deſtruction of the *Galileans*, and to give up to death all the inhabitants of the place, excluded from the aſſiſtance of their brother citizens, to an enemy the moſt covetous after ſlaughter. For ruſhing in crowds to the gates, and ſeveral times calling to thoſe who were appointed to guard them, in the very midſt of their entreaties to be let in, they were ſlain. The *Romans* ſecured the firſt wall from them, and their own countrymen the ſecond; ſo that being pent up in great numbers between theſe two barricadoes, many fell by the hands of one another, many by their own ſwords, and innumerable others by the *Romans*, who had not ſufficient courage to ſtand upon their defence: For, beſides the terror which the enemy ſtruck them with, the treachery of their own citizens contributed much to make them deſpair. In ſhort, they died with imprecations againſt their own countrymen, and not againſt the *Romans*, till the whole number that was ſlain amounted to eleven thouſand men. Hereupon *Trajan*, concluding the city was effectually cleared of its fighting men, and, provided there ſhould ſtill remain ſome in it, ſuppoſing that fear would curb their attempts, he reſerved the deſtruction of the city for the general, and ſending certain meſſengers to *Veſpaſian*, deſired him to ſend his ſon *Titus*, to put a finiſhing ſtroke to the victory. He, thinking that there was ſome labour ſtill left to perform, ſent his ſon with a reinforcement of five hundred horſe, and a thouſand foot. Immediately, on his arrival at the city, he put his forces into order, and placed *Trajan* on the left ſide, while he poſted himſelf on the right, to conclude the ſiege. But as ſoon as his men had fixed their ladders all round the walls, the *Galileans*, though they had for a little while repulſed the enemy from above, immediately abandoned the walls: Whereupon, *Titus*, with his men, making a quick deſcent, ſoon made themſelves maſters of the city. However, they in the inſide, having collected themſelves together, maintained a brave conflict with the enemy; for the more valiant citizens ſallied out upon the *Romans* from the avenues of the ſtreets, and from the tops of the houſes the women threw down upon them any thing they could find; ſo that, for ſix hours, the engagement continued very hot, and the defendants were reſolved not to yield. But they who were the moſt valiant and fit to make any reſiſtance, being cut off, the reſt of the multitude, old and young together, ſome in the open ſtreets, and ſome in the houſes, were made ſacrifices to the fury and revenge of the enemy; ſo that none ſurvived of the male ſex, except the infants, who, with the women, were carried away into captivity. And thus the number of ſlain throughout the city, and in the former engagement, amounted to fifteen thouſand, but of thoſe who were made captives, two thouſand, one hundred, and thirty. This deſtruction fell upon the *Galileans*, on the five and twentieth day of the month *Deſius*.

The *Samaritans*, alſo, were not free from calamities at this time; for having aſſembled together, they poſted themſelves on mount *Garizim*, which they hold for ſacred. Now this numerous meeting, and the elated minds they ſhewed, were looked upon as the preſage of a future war. The misfortunes to which their neighbours had been expoſed, were of no ſervice in curbing their ſeditious temper, but raſhly confiding in their own ſtrength, though they were unable to make any powerful reſiſtance, they only encouraged the *Romans* to purſue their good fortune and ſucceſs, even againſt them, and openly broke out into a ſedition. Upon this, *Veſpaſian* thought the wiſeſt and beſt courſe he could take, would be to prevent their motion, and cut off from them the means of giving him any diſturbance. For though all *Samaria* was well garriſoned, yet the numbers who had flock'd thither, and the probability of a conſpiracy, gave but juſt grounds of fear; for which cauſe, he poſted away *Cerealis*, who commanded the fifth legion, at the head of threeſcore horſe, and three thouſand foot. But he judged it not ſafe with this handful of men either to aſcend the mountain, or give the enemy battle, as great numbers of them had poſted themſelves in the higher places. Having, therefore, poſted all his forces at the foot of the mountain, he obſerved their motions all that day. By chance it happen'd, that the *Samaritans* had no water, and that prodigious heats, at this time, ſcorched the ground, (for it was ſummer-time, and the common people had forgot to provide themſelves with neceſſaries) ſo that ſome this very day died with thirſt, and many, who preferred ſlavery before ſuch a death, went over to the *Romans*. *Cerealis*, by this means, being informed that thoſe who remained in conjunction together, were reduced to the laſt extremity, he aſcended the mountain; and, having ſurrounded the enemy with his army, he firſt of all exhorted them to peace, and begged them to ſave their own lives while it was in their power, aſſuring them of an indemnity, provided they would lay down their arms.

But his repreſentations proving of no force to perſuade them, he fell upon them, and put every one to the ſword, to the number of eleven thouſand and ſix hundred perſons. This melancholy action was performed on the ſeven and twentieth day of *Deus*; and theſe are the calamities which the *Samaritans* ſuffered.

The *Jotapatenes* ſtill continuing to endure the ſiege again, and, beyond expectation, ſuſtaining the hardſhips to which they were expoſed; the *Romans*, on the forty ſeventh day raiſed their works above the height of the walls. On that very day, a deſerter went over to *Veſpaſian*, acquainting him with the few inhabitants that were in the town, and their great weakneſs; and that, being quite worn out with continual watching and fighting, they were not in a condition much longer to make reſiſtance, and might eaſily be taken by ſtratagem, if they would put it in execution: for that, about the laſt watch, when they ſought an opportunity to get ſome refreſhment from their misfortunes by reſt, and when the weary were ſeized with a profound ſleep, he told him that the guards took the opportunity to ſleep alſo, and adviſed him at that very hour to invade the city. *Veſpaſian* could not but doubt the deſerter, as he knew the great fidelity the *Jews* repoſed in one another, and with what contempt they bore the puniſhments inflicted on them. Having a particular example before his eyes of a certain *Jotapatene*, who juſt before had ſeemed to deſpiſe the torments uſed upon him, and, in ſpite of the fire which the enemy applied to him, to find out the ſecret of the defendant's tranſactions and ſituation within, ſmiled, even in the face of death, and patiently ſuſtained the torments of the croſs: This circumſtance, however, turned to the advantage of the deſerter, as it was concluded from it that he would reveal nothing but the truth. In the mean time, *Veſpaſian* thinking the conſequence would be very trifling, ſhould he happen to be impoſed on, gave orders for the deſerter's being kept, and prepared his army in order to take the city.

In conſequence hereof, at the appointed hour they proceeded with great ſecreſy and ſilence to the walls, and firſt of all *Titus*, with *Domitius Sabinus*, one of the tribunes, mounted them, being followed by a ſmall party of the fifth legion, which they took with them: And having ſlain the watch, they entered the city in a quiet manner; after whom, came up *Sextus Cerealis*, the tribune, and *Placidus*, with the men under their command, whom they introduced. Having ſeized upon the citadel, and the enemy being in the very heart of the city, and day-light now plainly appearing, they who were taken priſoners had not the leaſt imagination of their deſtruction being ſo near at hand; for many, through exceſs of fatigue, were diſſolv'd in a profound ſleep, and they who awoke had the ſight of their eyes darkened with a thick miſt, which, at that time, by chance, diffuſed itſelf all round the city. At laſt, the entry of the whole *Roman* army rouzed them up to a melancholy ſenſe of their misfortunes; for then they believed that their being in the city to be ſlain, would certainly make the place fall a prey to the enemy's arms; and, to confirm this, the *Romans*, who ſtill had freſh in their remembrance the innumerable hardſhips they had ſuſtained in the ſiege, had no thought of pity or concern to ſpare any, but hurrying the people headlong down from the citadel, ſlew them; where the narrowneſs of the place prevented thoſe, who could have made a longer reſiſtance, from the liberty of engaging: For being ſqueezed together in the narrow paſſages, and tumbling down the ſteep deſcents, the ſucceeding crowds of the enemy continually coming upon them, quite bore them down, ſo that many of the ſelect men, that were about the perſon of *Joſephus*, were induced, from theſe diſadvantages, to put a period, with their own hands, to their lives: For when they found they were not able to kill any of the *Romans*, they took all poſſible precaution not to fall a ſacrifice to them; and having aſſembled themſelves together in a diſtant part of the city, they there killed themſelves.

However, as many of the watch as had had the firſt knowledge of the taking of the city, and found opportunity to make their eſcape, ſeized upon a tower on the north ſide of the town, where they held out for ſome time; but as they were incloſed by ſo great multitudes of the enemy, 'twas too late for them to avoid the danger, or hope for mercy; and therefore they chearfully offered their throats to thoſe who bore hard upon them. The *Romans* might have boaſted of a period put to this ſiege without bloodſhed, had not one of their centurions, named *Anthony*, during the taking of the city, treacherouſly loſt his life. For one of thoſe who had taken refuge in caves, (of which there was a great number about the city) deſired *Anthony* to reach out his right hand to him, as a pledge for his preſervation and aſſiſtance to come up. *Anthony* was, indeed, ſo unwary as to reach him his hand; upon which, the other immediately with his ſpear, as he was lower than him, ſmote him through the windpipe, and inſtantly killed him.

As many as the *Romans* found that day, they put to the ſword; and the days after ſearching all the ſecret places, they fell upon all thoſe who had concealed themſelves in caves, raging without diſtinction of age, upon all, except the women and children. The number collected together, to be carried away into captivity, amounted to twelve hundred; and the number of the ſlain, taking in thoſe in the deſtruction of the city, and thoſe who ſuffered in the preceding engagements, made altogether the ſum of forty thouſand. *Veſpaſian* gave orders for the city to be burnt, and all the caſtles and fortified places to be laid in aſhes. And thus was *Jotapata* taken in the thirteenth year of *Nero*'s reign, and on the firſt day of the month *Panemus*.

CHAP. VIII.

Joſephus *is betrayed by a Woman, and has Intentions of ſurrendering himſelf to the* Romans. *The Remonſtrance he makes to thoſe who endeavour to hinder him. His Speech to* Veſpaſian *when brought before him, and his Reception.*

THE *Romans* having ſearched after *Joſephus* to no purpoſe, out of an extreme reſentment againſt him, and the general contributing much to the ſame purpoſe, (for the taking him was the greateſt deſign of the battle) they fell to ranſacking the dead, and all the ſecret receſſes of the city. But on the taking of the city, he, putting his truſt in ſome divine aſſiſtance, puſh'd through the midſt of the enemy, and jump'd down a very deep wall, on the ſide of which was a broad cave ſeparated from it, which, by thoſe who ſtood above, could not be diſcerned: Here he found forty men of note concealed, and a ſufficient proviſion of neceſſaries for ſeveral days. All day-time he kept himſelf concealed, as the enemy had ſeized upon every place; but, when night came, he aſcended up, to find an opportunity of making his eſcape, and trying the watch: But finding that every poſt and avenue was guarded upon his account, and that it was impoſſible for him to deceive the watch, he deſcended again to his cave, and there remained two days; but the third, taking a woman along with him, who happened to be among the company, ſhe diſcovered and betrayed him. *Veſpaſian*, thereupon, immediately ſent away two tribunes, *Paulinus* and *Gallicanus*, to give *Joſephus* aſſurance of indemnity, and exhort him to come up.

Upon their coming to him, they uſed a great many exhortations and perſuaſions to come up to them; and promiſed that his life ſhould be in no danger. But their remonſtrances had no effect; for he gathered his ſuſpicions of the evils there was a probability he ſhould be expoſed to, from his having been the author of the greateſt hardſhips the *Romans* had ſuffered in the ſiege; and thus, through fear of being call'd only to puniſhment for what he had done, he could not help entertaining very fruitful ideas of what wou'd happen, till *Veſpaſian* ſent another tribune, named *Nicanor*, known to *Joſephus*, and formerly his acquaintance. When he appeared before him, he acquainted him how merciful and tender the *Romans* were to thoſe whom they had once ſubdued; and that his valour was more ſurprizing than hateful to the officers; and that the general's inclinations were not to puniſh him, which he could do without his ſurrendering himſelf, but that he rather deſired to ſave ſo brave a man. He added, that *Veſpaſian* had not ſent a friend to deceive him, with a deſign to colour over the beſt intentions with the worſt, which was friendſhip with perfidy; neither had he conſented to come to deceive his friend.

Joſephus continuing to heſitate at what *Nicanor* had advanced, the ſoldiers, who were enraged at it, were going to throw fire into the cave, but their officer reſtrained them, who ſtrove all he could to take him alive. Now *Nicanor* urging the affair with more warmth, and *Joſephus* underſtanding the menaces of the hoſtile multitude, he brought to his remembrance what he had dream'd in the night, wherein God had foretold him the calamities to which the *Jews* were to be expoſed, and the events which ſhould fall out to the *Roman* kings. Beſides, his conjectures about his dreams, which God had delivered in ambiguous terms, were not attended with diſagreeable conſequences: nor was he ignorant of the prophecies contained in the ſacred books, as he himſelf was a prieſt, and deſcended from a family of the ſacerdotal line. Thus that very hour, as if influenced by ſome divine impulſe, the dreams that were freſh in his memory preſented to his mind a train of dreadful ideas; whereupon, he privately offered up his prayers to God in theſe words: 'Foraſmuch as 'tis thy pleaſure, who didſt create the nation of the *Jews*, to reduce it thus low; and foraſmuch as the *Romans* are crowned with all manner of ſucceſs, and thou haſt made choice of my ſpirit to foretel events, therefore I willingly throw myſelf into the protection of the *Romans*, and refuſe not to live: but I call thee to witneſs, that I ſurrender my ſelf to them, not as a traitor, but as a miniſter appointed by thee.'

Having thus ſpoken he conſented to go with *Nicanor*. And the *Jews*, who had taken refuge in the ſame place, after they had found that *Joſephus* had been prevailed on by the remonſtrance of thoſe who had been ſent to intercede with him, came all, and ſtood round him, and, with a loud exclamation, ſaid, 'That there was reaſon enough then to entertain frightful ideas of the laws of their country, which God himſelf had ratified, who had infuſed a ſoul into the *Jews* above being terrified with the thoughts of death. Can you, then, *Joſephus*, thus become a ſlave, and, through a deſire of continuing to live, ſuffer yourſelf to behold the day without your liberty? How ſoon have you forgot your ſelf? How have you perſuaded numbers to expoſe their lives, and ſuffer death gloriouſly, in defence of liberty? Indeed, you will give but a mean proof of your courage, and the prudence which has hitherto guided your actions, will be repreſented much to your diſadvantage, if you pretend to hope for ſafety among thoſe againſt whom you have with ſo much bravery defended your ſelf; or, ſuppoſe your ſafety be not in the leaſt to be queſtioned, would you be contented with being made a ſlave by them. Yet if the ſucceſsful fortune of the *Romans* had entirely made you forget your ſelf, it is our duty, notwithſtanding, to conſult the intereſt and honour of our country. For which reaſon, attend to our reſolution, we will ſupply you with a band of men and arms. Now if you are willing to die with honour, you ſhall be ſtiled the general of the *Jews*; but if you refuſe, you ſhall loſe your life as a traitor.' And, ſo ſaying, they ſtretch'd out their ſwords againſt him, and threaten'd to put him to death if he offer'd to ſurrender himſelf to the *Romans*.

Joſephus having apprehenſions of fear of their executing their deſigns upon him, and thinking he ſhould be guilty of not performing the commands of God laid on him, ſhould he ſuffer death, before he had revealed every thing to them, judged it neceſſary to begin with a philoſophical diſcourſe directed to them, to the following effect: 'To what end, my companions, are we ſo deſirous to procure our own deſtruction? Or, why do we occaſion the body and ſoul thus to diſagree, which are the moſt friendly beings in the world? Probably ſome will ſay that I am changed. This, indeed, is not a ſecret to the *Romans*. That 'tis honourable to die in battle, but by the law of war, that is, by the hand of the conquerors. Should I curſe the *Roman* ſteel, 'tis fit then for me to fall by my own ſword, and my own arm. Now if they are ſo moderate as to ſpare an enemy, why ſhou'd we be more cruel, and deny mercy to our own ſelves? For 'twill argue great folly in us to be guilty of thoſe things upon ourſelves, for the ſake of avoiding which, we differ from them. That is a brave and noble action to die in defence of liberty, I own, I have nothing to ſay againſt it; nay, to fight and fall by the hands of thoſe who go about to deprive us of that bleſſing. But the *Romans* now neither bring their forces againſt us, or endeavour to put us to death. After the ſame way of reaſoning, alſo, ought that man to be accounted a coward, who refuſes to die when particular circumſtances call him to it; or, who unadviſedly expoſes himſelf to death, when no neceſſity obliges him to it. But ſay, under what apprehenſions do we labour ſufficient to deter us from going up to the *Romans*? Is it the fear of death? What we have ſuſpected from our enemies, we have all the reaſon in the world now to aſſure our ſelves of. Some, probably, will object, and ſay, that we ought to avoid ſlavery, as if at this time we were bleſſed with a perfect liberty; and, in all probability, ſome again will anſwer, that it is the ſign of a great ſoul to be his own executioner. But 'tis certainly not at all but the moſt certain ſign of a coward; as I ſuppoſe that captain to be of the meaneſt heart, who ſhould, through fear of a tempeſt before the ſtorm comes, voluntarily ſink his veſſel. Nay, to kill one's ſelf is contrary to the practice of all animals, and a great impiety againſt God, who created us: For there is no animal that voluntarily ſeeks its own death. For the law of nature, by which we are taught to deſire to live, has a powerful influence over all; and for that reaſon we hold thoſe in the place of enemies, who go about in a publick manner to deprive us of our life, and puniſh thoſe who ſtrive to take it away by treachery. Are you not of opinion, that God will take it as an affront to him for man to preſume to deſpiſe that which he has preſented him with as a gift? For we have received from him our being, and 'tis but juſtice that we alſo allow him alone the privilege of taking that being from us. The bodies of all men are mortal, but the ſoul is to continue to eternity, and a portion of the divine ſpirit is inherent in our bodies. Beſides, ſhould a perſon idly ſquander away or manage to diſadvantage a thing entruſted to his care, he would be eſteemed a knave and a perfidious wretch: But ſhould he throw out of his body the depoſit of God, will he have aſſurance to think he ſhall conceal his crime from him whom he hath ſo injur'd? Further, it is thought a matter of juſtice to inflict puniſhments on ſlaves that run away, though they leave cruel and hard maſters; now, if we run away from God, who is the beſt maſter of all, do not we think we do an impious act againſt him? Do you plead ignorance, that thoſe who die according to the laws of nature, and repay juſtly back to God their natural debt, are rewarded with everlaſting happineſs, an eternal manſion in heaven, and are bleſſed with pure and obedient ſouls; which ſhall inhabit a moſt holy and ſanctified place in the heavens, whence, after the revolution of many ages there, they are ſent again to dwell in pure and holy bodies. But that thoſe who ſhall pollute their hands with their own blood, or be inſtrumental in putting an end to their own lives, ſhall be conveyed to the eternal darkneſs of hell; and that God, their father, ſhall purſue his vengeance upon the children of thoſe who ſhall tranſgreſs his commands in this manner. Hence this is wickedneſs that God abominates and abhors, and which our wiſeſt legiſlator hath provided puniſhment againſt. For our laws have enacted, that they who ſhall kill themſelves, ſhall be caſt out, and remain without the honour of interment untill ſun-ſet, though we ſuppoſe it lawful to bury our enemies in the ſame caſe. Beſides, the laws of other nations have commanded the right arms of thoſe perſons to be cut off, who have us'd them to kill themſelves; pointing out hereby, that as by ſuch an act they divide the body from the ſoul, ſo they are of opinion they ought to ſeparate their arm from their body. Wherefore, my companions, we ſhall merit praiſe by entertaining juſt notions of ourſelves, and not by adding impiety to our preſent misfortunes and hardſhips againſt God our creator. And if we are deſirous to ſave our lives, let us now ſecure them (for it will be no diſhonour to us to owe the obligation of living to them, to whom we have ſo fully demonſtrated our bravery and courage by ſuch a conſtant ſucceſſion of noble actions) but if we are more ſollicitous to die, death then will be an honour to us, if perform'd by the hands of thoſe who are victors and conquerors. I will never ſuffer my ſelf to be enliſted among the numbers of the enemy, thereby, to make myſelf my own betrayer; for then I ſhould involve my ſelf in a piece of greater folly than that of thoſe who of themſelves fly over to the enemy: becauſe they do ſo for the ſake of ſaving their lives; while I ſhould inevitably cauſe my own deſtruction. I wiſh with all my heart that the *Romans* may deceive me; for if they put me to death after having tender'd me their friendſhip, I ſhall ſuffer death with the greateſt pleaſure; as I ſhall carry away with me certain proof of their perfidy and treachery, which will comfort me more than if I had obtained the victory.'

Joſephus enlarged very much on the ſame topick, to diſſuade his companions from murthering themſelves; but deſpair had ſealed up their ears, as perſons who had long ſince reſolved to put a period to their lives, and their reſentment was but the more exaſperated againſt him; in ſhort, they ran to him from different quarters with their drawn ſwords in their hands, taxing him with indolence and cowardice; nay, every one made it appear by his looks that they deſigned to put him to death immediately. Upon this he called to one of them by his name, upon another he looked with the air of a general, a third he took by the hand, and intreated a great deal with a fourth, being reduced (as was probable in ſuch a circumſtance of neceſſity) to uſe all the different methods he was maſter of, to prevent them from executing their deſigns, whereby he diverted the ſwords of all of them from falling upon him, and might be compared to a wild beaſt ſurrounded on every ſide, which looks and caſts his eyes always upon him that moves towards him. However, thoſe who had ſtill ſome regard left for their general in his laſt ſcene of miſery and trouble, had not power to lift up their arms againſt him, but let their ſwords fall out of their hands; and, when ſeveral among them had ſtruck him with them, they voluntarily threw them down.

Notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties to which he was expoſed, he had ſtill addreſs enough left him to diſengage himſelf from them; but the committing himſelf to the care of God, without uſing his own endeavour to bring himſelf off, brought him into imminent danger of his life. 'Now come, *ſays he*, becauſe you are reſolved to die, let us caſt lots who ſhall ſlay one another; and let him, on whom the chance falls, die by the hands of him who his doomed to be his executioner: By this means it will ſo happen, that all will ſuffer death, and yet none make his arm guilty of his own death. For it is diſhonourable, after the reſt are ſlain, for any to repent of his raſhneſs, and wiſh for his life.’ When he had thus ſaid, they thought they might very well believe him in this article; and, having at laſt won them over to agree to his propoſal, he threw himſelf among them to take his lot. The firſt, hereupon, who drew his lot to die, chearfully offered his throat to the next perſon to him, concluding that it would ſoon be the general's lot to follow his example; however, *Joſephus* conceived the thoughts of dying preferable much to the preſerving of life. In ſhort, (whether it ought to be attributed to fortune, or to ſome providence of God) he was left with another perſon; whereupon, endeavouring neither to be condemned by lot, nor, ſhould he prove the laſt, to ſtain his hand in the murther of his countrymen, he aſſured him of his friendſhip, and perſuaded him not vainly to throw away his life.

Having, by this means, eſcaped the war between the *Romans* and his countrymen, *Nicanor* led him to *Veſpaſian*. All the *Romans*, hereupon, ran to have a ſight of him; and a prodigious multitude of people crowding about the general, vaſt commotions aroſe among 'em; ſome expreſſing their gladneſs that he was taken, others exclaiming aloud, and threatening, and others, in order to get nearer to ſee him, puſhing forward. They who were at a farther diſtance off, cried out to have their enemy puniſhed; on the other hand, thoſe who ſtood near, calling to mind his many valiant actions, were fixed in aſtoniſhment at his change of fortune; and none of the officers, though they had entertained thoughts of reſentment againſt him before, could, when they ſaw him, maintain their enraged temper any longer: But *Titus*, above the reſt, out of pity to the family, temper, and great patience of *Joſephus* in his misfortunes, was wonderfully taken with him. He began to fill his thoughts with a remembrance of what he had formerly been in battle, what a noble appearance he made now he was in the hands of his enemy, how ſurprizing the turns of fortune were, how ſudden the chance of war was, and how unſtable and uncertain human affairs were. *Titus* was followed in his thoughts by numbers of others, who came into the ſame opinion, and were drawn in to pity the misfortunes of *Joſephus*; nor was *Titus* of little advantage in obtaining from his father *Veſpaſian* ſecurity for his life. However, *Veſpaſian* gave orders to have him ſtrictly guarded, as if his intentions had been to have ſent him directly to *Nero*.

When *Joſephus* underſtood this, he ſaid he was deſirous to have a few words with him by himſelf. Whereupon, every one being order'd to withdraw, except *Titus*, and two other friends, he opened himſelf to the following effect: ‘You ſuppoſe, *Veſpaſian*, that you have only made *Joſephus* a priſoner; but I come a meſſenger to you of circumſtances of greater conſequence. Had not I been ſent by God to you, I had known the cuſtom of the *Jews*, and not been ignorant of how it became the officers of an army to die. Do you intend to ſend me to *Nero*? For what reaſon? Is it becauſe you ſuppoſe the ſucceſſors of *Nero* to you ſhall continue to reign long? *Veſpaſian*, you ſhall be *Cæſar*; you ſhall be emperor, and after you your ſon. But bind me in faſter chains, and keep me for yourſelf; for you ſhall not only have dominion over me, but your empire ſhall extend over the earth, and ſea, and all the race of mankind. I ſhall deſerve a much cloſer confinement for my puniſhment, if I ſhall be found to advance an untruth unadviſedly againſt the majeſty of God.’ Upon ſaying thus, *Veſpaſian* was immediately of opinion not to believe him, ſuppoſing the ſpeech of *Joſephus* was artfully calculated to ſave his own life; but God raiſing ambitious thoughts in his mind of graſping at the empire, and by ſeveral ſigns, foreſhewing him the ſcepter's devolving upon him, he was induced by ſlow advances to confide in what he had ſaid. In ſhort, in other circumſtances he found *Joſephus* a man of honour, and of his word: For, ſaying to one of his friends, who was privy to his ſecrets, ‘That he was ſurprized what ſhould be the reaſon *Joſephus* had predicted not a ſyllable to the *Jotapatenes* concerning their deſtruction, or his own captivity before, if his tales were not fabulous, who might avert the danger that hover'd over his head.’ *Joſephus* made anſwer, and ſaid, ‘That he had foretold the *Jotapatenes* of their holding out forty ſeven days, and of the *Romans* taking him priſoner alive.’

Veſpaſian, hereupon, making diligent enquiry from the captives, in relation to theſe circumſtances, and finding them true, began to put faith in what he had delivered concerning himſelf. However, he neither took the guard off him, nor releaſed him from his chains; but, in ſome ſort of requital, made him a preſent of clothes, and other things of value, and continued to give him tokens of his reſpect and kindneſs; to which *Titus* very much contributed.

CHAP. IX.

In what Manner Joppe *was taken, and* Tiberias *ſurrender'd up.*

VESPASIAN, on the fourth day of the month *Panomus*, returned to *Ptolomais*, and from thence went to *Cæſarea* on the ſea-coaſt, the greateſt city of *Judea*, and for the greateſt part inhabited by *Greeks*. The general and his army were received with great ſhouts and ſigns of joy, by the inhabitants, the effect of the reſpect they bore the *Romans*; but their hatred to the vanquiſhed was more the occaſion; beſides, great numbers of them were very loud againſt *Joſephus*, and demanded to have him ſurrendered up to puniſhment.

But *Veſpaſian* freed himſelf from the petition, as he found it made by an inconſiderate and unthinking multitude, by returning no anſwer to it. He appointed two legions to take up their winter quarters at *Cæſarea*, becauſe he found the city convenient to that end, and put the tenth and fifth in *Scythopolis*, that *Cæſarea* might not be expoſed to the burthen of the whole army. The place was open in the winter, but in ſummer it laboured under too violent heats, as it ſtood in an even country, and on the ſea coaſt.

In the mean time, a large number having collected themſelves together, out of thoſe who had abandoned the enemy during the ſedition, or had fled from the ruined cities, went to *Joppe*, which *Ceſtius* had demoliſhed before, in order to fortify it for an aſylum to them: But the ravages lately committed throughout the country, proving a great hindrance to them in their deſigns, they took up a reſolution of removing to the ſea; and, accordingly, when they had built a number of pyratical veſſels, they paſſed over into *Phœnicia*, *Syria*, and *Ægypt*, and there committed their robberies and depredations, the ſea on thoſe coaſts rendering it impracticable for veſſels to ſail. When *Veſpaſian* came to find out their deſign, and what they had reſolved upon, he ſent a body of horſe and foot to *Joppe*, who in the night time entered the city without any obſtacle, as it was unguarded. They who were in the town very well knew before that an aſſault was deſigned againſt them, and fearing the worſt, never once offered to make any reſiſtance againſt the *Romans*, but, creeping to their ſhips, when they found themſelves out of bow-ſhot, ſtayed all the night in them.

Now *Joppe* is by nature unfit for harbouring ſhips (for it ſtands on a rugged and craggy ſhore) both ends bending in a little with prodigious rocks and precipices, which hang over into the ſea, where the remains of *Andromeda*'s chains, which are to be ſeen there, add to the antiquity of the place; beſides, the north wind beats furiouſly againſt the ſhore, and the waves, daſhing againſt the oppoſite rocks, makes the ſtation for ſhips very dangerous; and the *Joppones* toſſing violently upon the ſurges, a very ſtrong gale began to blow in the morning, which they who ſail thither call *melas boreas*, or the black north wind. Hereupon, ſome of the ſhips were forced among one another, others driven againſt the rocks, and a great many more, who were ſeen ſtriving againſt the ſtorm, with all their might, to get to ſea, (for they feared the craggy ſhore, and the enemy that ſtood thick upon the beach) were by the wind, which raiſed the waves mountain high, ſunk down: So that there was no way for them to make their eſcape, neither could thoſe who remained entertain any juſt thoughts of ſaving themſelves; as the force of the winds drove them from the ſea, and the *Romans* hinder'd them from landing. On the ſhips daſhing againſt one another, a terrible outcry was heard, and, on breaking, nothing but lamentation and miſerable cries were heard to pierce the ears; ſome of the *Joppones* being thrown amidſt the waves, and ſwallowed up by them, and great numbers of others daſhed on the rocks. Some, to prevent the ſea from exerciſing its rage upon them, ended their lives on the points of their ſwords, eſteeming that the more honourable way of dying; while multitudes of others, borne on the waves, were daſhed to pieces againſt the oppoſite rocks, ſo that the ſea ſtreamed with the blood of the ſlain, and the ſhores were covered with dead bodies. Beſides all theſe misfortunes, the *Romans* ſtanding on the beach, catch'd thoſe who were driven on the ſhore, and ſlew them; and the numbers of thoſe who were thus driven on ſhore, amounted to four thouſand and two hundred. The *Romans*, by this means, took the city without bloodſhed, and entirely laid it in ruins.

Thus was *Joppe* twice, in a little time, taken by the *Romans*; and *Veſpaſian*, to hinder the pirates from fortifying themſelves in it again, raiſed a camp in the city, and left a company of horſe with a few infantry to defend it; ſo that their reſiding there might be of ſervice in ſecuring the place, and the horſe in ravaging the adjoining country, and taking all manner of aſſiſtance from the ſmall cities and towns lying contiguous to *Joppe*. In obedience to theſe commands, they made frequent incurſions into the country, and almoſt every day committed their ravages and depredations.

When *Hieroſolyma* received the firſt news of what had happen'd to *Jotapata*, a great many, conſidering the prodigious calamities to which it had been reduced, and becauſe no one appeared among them who had been a real eye-witneſs of what was told them, could repoſe faith enough in thoſe who brought the news (for there was not a man left that could give any account of the deſtruction; only fame, which is apt to ſcatter abroad a great many melancholy facts inconſiderably, noiſed about a great deal about the fall of this city) indeed about the neighbouring places ſomething of truth was to be found; and all were now put beyond any doubt to ſcruple the truth: Nevertheleſs, a great many performances and actions were trump'd up, which, in reality, never were done. For it was told about, that *Joſephus* had loſt his life in the fall; a circumſtance which filled *Hieroſolyma* with the greateſt fear and aſtoniſhment: Indeed, every family and houſe paid its laſt tears of concern for thoſe they had loſt, but the ſorrow for the general was univerſal. Some mourned for ſtrangers, ſome for their kindred, ſome, again, for their friends, and others for their brothers; but every one lamented for *Joſephus*. So that for thirty days the city was in a conſtant ſcene of mourning and deſpair, and the citizens hir'd ſeveral muſicians to bear a concert to their concern.

But when the time came of diſcovering the truth openly, and in what ſituation the affairs of *Jotapata* were, and that what had been told them about the death of *Joſephus* was all a fiction, and they came to know that he was alive, in the hands of the *Romans*, and honoured by the officers after a manner ſuperior to the condition of a priſoner, they ſhewed then as much reſentment againſt him, being alive, as before they had expreſſed love for him, when they believed him to be dead. Some tax'd him with indolence and cowardice, and others reproach'd him with having betrayed the city. The city was full of reſentment, and they thought no character too bad for him. The foils they had received exaſperated them, but their adverſe fortune made them the more outragious; and the unexpected havock made among their countrymen, which ſhould make wiſe men look to their ſecurity, and provide ſo for themſelves as not to be expoſed to the like hardſhips, only puſhed rhem on, and laid them open to other misfortunes: For the end of one calamity is often ſeen to prove the beginning of another. In ſhort, they were hurried away with a more impetuous fury againſt the *Romans*, as though they had been going to make ſufficient amends for the treachery and baſeneſs of *Joſephus*. And this was the condition of the *Hieroſolymites* at this time.

Veſpaſian having a deſire of viſiting *Agrippa*'s kingdom, (for the king himſelf had given him an invitation, partly through an inclination to give the general and his army an honourable reception, and partly through a view by their means to put a period to the troubles which then infeſted his kingdom) broke up his camp from *Cæſarea* on the ſea coaſt, and paſs'd over to that *Cæſarea* call'd *Philippi*; where, during the ſpace of twenty days, giving a relaxation to his army, and making ſeveral entertainments, he returned thanks to God for the ſucceſs with which his arms had been bleſs'd. But receiving the news that *Tiberias* was endeavouring at a change, and *Taricheæ* on the point of revolting, (both theſe places belonging to the kingdom of *Agrippa*) and having determined to extirpate the *Jews* wherever he found them, he believed it a fit opportunity to go with an army againſt them, in order, in ſome kind, to make *Agrippa* retaliation for his extraordinary reſpect and hoſpitality to him, to chaſtize theſe two cities, and reduce them to their former obedience. In conſequence hereof, he ſent his ſon *Titus* to *Cæſarea* to paſs with the army thence to *Scythopolis*, which is the greateſt city of *Decapolis*, and adjoins to *Tiberias*; where, being arrived himſelf, he waited for the coming up of his ſon, and afterwards marching about thirty furlongs from *Tiberias*, with three legions, he encamped at a place call'd *Sennabris*, in full view of the ſeditious, and then ſent *Valerianus*, the decurion, to negotiate ſome articles of peace with the citizens, and to exhort them to ſurrender voluntarily, having heard that the people in the town were deſirous to live in peace, and that the ſedition was owing to ſome who had excited them to take up arms. *Valerianus*, in obedience to his orders, haſtened his march, and coming before the walls of the town, diſmounted from his horſe, and order'd the horſemen who attended him to do the ſame, that the citizens might not think they came to commit any hoſtilities or ſkirmiſhes. But, before he had ſpoke a word, a body of the ſeditious, who had the greateſt authority in the city, all in arms, ſallied out upon him. One *Jeſus*, the ſon of *Papphalus*, commanded them, who was the captain of a band of robbers. *Valerianus* thought it not ſafe to hazard a battle with them without the orders of the general, though he had been certain of the victory; beſides, he found it dangerous for a few to engage with a great number, or for his men, who were unprepar'd to attack an enemy well accouter'd, and the unexpected boldneſs he ſaw in the aſpect and behaviour of the *Jews*, contributed much to make him decline the onſet: So he returned with all poſſible haſte on foot back again, with the other five men, who left behind them their horſes, which *Jeſus* and his followers, as though they had taken them by right of war, carried in triumph into the city.

The graver and more dignified inhabitants being concern'd at this action, fled to the camp of the *Romans*, and by the mediation of their king, proſtrated themſelves at the feet of *Veſpaſian* in a very ſuppliant manner, begging him to have regard to their prayers and intreaties, and not condemn a whole city for the folly of a few perſons, but ſpare the people, who had always continued loyal to the *Romans*, and revenge himſelf upon the authors of the ſedition, who, and the guards ſet over them, had hinder'd them from entering formerly into an alliance with them, as they deſired, and ſtill continued to keep them from it. This remonſtrance had the deſir'd effect upon the general, though the taking the horſes ſtill kept up his reſentment againſt the city; for he ſaw that the affair was not pleaſing to *Agrippa*. When he had received this teſtimony of their fidelity, *Jeſus* and his party, thinking it no longer ſafe for them to ſtay at *Tiberias*, fled thence, and went to *Taricheæ*. Hereupon, *Veſpaſian*, the next day, ſent *Trajan* before with the horſe, to the top of the mountain, to try whether peace was the deſire of all; and when he found the people had the ſame inclinations and thoughts as thoſe who had fled over to the *Romans*, he led his army to the city. They not only opened their gates to him, but went out to meet him with loud ſhouts, calling him their preſerver and benefactor. *Veſpaſian* ſeeing his men expoſed to difficulties, and crowded in the narrow entries to the city, gave orders for part of the wall to be pulled down, to open a wider paſſage to his army, but forbade them, to gratify the king, from taking any plunder, or committing any hoſtilities; and, for the ſame cauſe, finding the citizens ready to confirm their promiſe of obedience with an oath, he ſpared the walls. And thus did *Veſpaſian* put an end to the commotions of a city by the means recited above.

CHAP. X.

How Taricheæ *was taken. A Deſcription of* Jordan, *and of the Country of* Genneſar.

AFTER this he departed from this place, and encamped between it and *Tarichea*, and fortified his camp with an intrenchment, as he ſuſpected the war would continue ſome time; for all the mutineers and ſeditious had taken *Tarichea* for their place of refuge, putting their confidence in the ſtrength and fortifications of the city, as well as in the lake which the inhabitants call *Genneſar*. For the city, being like *Tiberias*, built on a riſing ground, *Joſephus*, where it was not waſh'd by the lake, had taken care to fortify it with a ſtrong wall, yet not ſo as *Tiberias*; for at the beginning of the ſedition, being ſtock'd with plenty of money and other neceſſaries, he raiſed a wall quite round; while *Tarichea*, on the other hand, was obliged to raiſe its fortifications by the contributions he made out of his own private purſe. However, the ſeditious had took care to provide themſelves with a large number of ſhips, ready in the lake, ſhould they happen to be ſoil'd on the land, to make their eſcape in; or, if neceſſity requir'd it, to maintain a naval engagement in, having been fitted out alſo for that purpoſe. The *Romans* defending their camp, and the multitude of the enemy marſhalled out in an exact and regular manner, had not ſufficient terror in them to diſpirit the hearts of *Jeſus* and his party, who making a furious ſally upon the enemy, at the firſt attempt, ſcaled the rampart, but ſeeing, after they had made ſome deſtruction in the works, the enemy in arms, and joined together, they, before they expoſed themſelves to any ill conſequence, retir'd back to their party; whereupon, the flying *Romans* purſued them, and forced them to their ſhips. Having thus far drawn the *Romans* after them, as to be able to reach them with their darts, they caſt their anchors, and, having put their ſhips into order of battle, they began a naval encounter, with the enemy on the land. But *Veſpaſian*, having heard that a great number of them were aſſembled together on the plain adjoining to the city, ſent his ſon *Titus* thither with a body of ſix hundred choice men.

On finding a great number of the enemy there, he ſent to acquaint his father that he wanted a reinforcement of more men; but, in the mean time, obſerving ſeveral of his cavalry, before the ſuccours came, were ready for action, and that ſome others, at the ſight of the number of *Jews*, were, on the other hand, dejected, after he had mounted himſelf on a place from whence he could be heard, he thus delivered himſelf: '*Romans* and countrymen, In the beginning of my oration to you, 'tis fit I acquaint you with your deſcent, that you may not be ignorant who you are, and with whom you are going to engage. Hitherto no nation throughout the whole world has been able to ſtand againſt our power, though the vanquiſhed *Jews*, that I may mention ſomething about them, are not yet worn out with the hardſhips they have been expoſed to; wherefore, 'twill be a diſhonour to us to ſee the *Jews*, ſurrounded with misfortunes on every ſide, give ſigns of great chearfulneſs and alacrity, and ſuffer ourſelves, in the midſt of fortune's ſmiles, to be concerned and dejected. Indeed, I conceive great pleaſure to ſee you appear ſo briſk and ready; but my fears are not over, to think ſome among you may be terrified at the numbers of the enemy. Wherefore, let each of you maturely weigh it in your minds what ſort of men you are, and againſt whom you are going to fight; and that the *Jews*, though men of ſingular courage, and who deſpiſe death, are yet an undiſciplined company, unskilled in the arts of war, and, in point of military knowledge, deſerve rather to be called a mob, than an army of men. But of your skill and experience, and exact maintaining of your ranks, why ſhould I be at the pains of ſaying any thing? We accuſtom ourſelves to the exerciſe of arms in times of peace, to the end we may not always in war be obliged to produce an equal number to the enemy; otherwiſe, of what ſervice or advantage would training ourſelves up to a continual diſcipline be, ſhould we attack with equal forces an unexperienced and undiſciplined enemy? Beſides, I would have you to conſider, that you are armed, and the enemy unarmed; you have horſes, they none; and that you are going to fight, under the conduct of a general, a number of perſons without either head or leader; and that theſe are all advantages which will not only prove of conſiderable conſequence on your ſide, but, on the contrary, expoſe the multitudes of the enemy to innumerable inconveniences. Neither is it the numbers of an enemy, be they never ſo bold, that makes the proſperous turn of a battle incline to their ſide; but victory is owing to the valour and courage of a few, as they can be rallied and ordered at pleaſure, and always ready and prepared to aſſiſt one another: But the great numbers of an enemy reap more diſadvantages from themſelves, than the adverſe party they contend with. 'Tis an ungoverned rage, and inconſiderateneſs, that bring the *Jews* together, which generally are the motives to ſpur on men in deſpair, and, as long as proſperity ſeems to crown their arms, they prevail much; but the ſlighteſt misfortune damps their vigour, and cools their courage; on the other hand, 'tis virtue and true fortitude that endures in the field, and a will reſolved to bear all things, and courage which flouriſhes in the day of proſperity, and is not caſt down in the night of adverſity. Beſides, the motive that animates you to the war, is grounded on nobler views than the *Jews* can boaſt of; for if it be liberty, and the preſervation of their country, that puſhes them on to undergo the hazard of war, what could we think a nobler advantage than the acquiſition of glory; and, after having made a conqueſt of the whole world, to have it known that we came into the field of battle againſt the *Jews* with a number of forces far unequal to them? And we ought to conſider, that we have nothing to be any way apprehenſive of, which can expoſe us to greater diſadvantages than we have hitherto ſuſtained. For we have ſupplies, and thoſe in readineſs, to come up to our aſſiſtance. We have an opportunity of ſnatching the victory out of their hands; and 'tis expedient that we be before-hand with thoſe which my father deſigns to ſend to our aid, that the proſperity of our arms may be extended with greater renown, and that we may ſuffer none to divide the honour of the day with us. Indeed, it ſhould now be determined of me, of my father, and of you, whether the glory of the advantages of fortune already ſucceſsfully thrown into his hands, and the brave atchievements done by him, are what he deſerves; whether I am to be thought a true ſon of his, and you to be ſtiled my ſoldiers; for conqueſt is familiar to him, neither can I endure the thought of being defeated, and return to him. What conflicts will not ariſe in your breaſts, and what a load of ſhame overwhelm you, to find yourſelves overcome, when the man that leads you out to battle ſhall expoſe himſelf to the dangers of the day? Believe me, I will run where dangers call me, and be the firſt to break into the ranks of the enemy. Wherefore do not abandon me, but aſſure yourſelves certainly that God my aſſiſter directs my arm, and guides my blow; and take it for granted, that our ſwords will do far more execution than the ſhowers of our darts thrown by engines.'

After *Titus* had made this ſpeech, the army, as if inſpired by ſome divinity, became immediately very chearful; but *Trajan*, before they had begun the engagement, coming up with a reinforcement of four hundred men, put them into an ill temper of mind, as if by this additional number of forces the honour of the victory would be taken from them. *Veſpaſian*, alſo, ſent *Antonius Silo* at the head of two thouſand archers, with orders to ſeize on the mountain adjoining to the city, in order to repulſe the defendants from the walls; and they, in obedience to his orders, effectually defeated thoſe who endeavoured to give any aſſiſtance on that quarter. *Titus* was the firſt who drove his horſe into the ranks of the enemy, and was followed by others with a great ſhout, who widened themſelves into as large a compaſs as the ground the enemy had poſted themſelves on, whereby they were thought a far greater number than they really were. The *Jews*, though terrified at their ſudden and furious charge, maintained their ranks, and for a ſmall time valiantly withſtood the firſt onſet; but at length, born down with the enemy's darts, and with the impetuous force of the horſes, they were trodden under foot. By this means, many of the *Jews* were ſlain, and they, who had an opportunity to make their eſcape, fled into the city with all poſſible haſte. *Titus*, however, preſſing hard upon their rear, ſlew ſeveral, and broke through the united bodies of others; while, on the other ſide, he got before a large number of forces, and did ſome execution in their faces; and others, again, tumbling one upon another through haſte, felt the effects of his power. Thus he deprived them of finding a retreat in the city, and drove them back into the plain; but the great multitude of the enemy, through their unequal force, preſs'd forward, and got into the town.

No ſooner were they got within, than violent commotions ruined all their hopes; for the inhabitants, for the ſake of preſerving their goods, and ſaving their city, had entertained no pleaſing ſentiments of the war from the time of its firſt breaking out; and the loſs they had ſuſtained in this engagement contributed much to heighten their diſcontent. The ſtrangers, on the other hand, who were pretty numerous, were ſo much the more incited to the war, and animoſities ſubſiſting between them, vaſt tumults and diſorders aroſe, which preſaged nothing but deſtruction. *Titus*, who was not far from the walls of the town, hearing the uproar, ſaid aloud, *Soldiers, this is the time which I have been wiſhing for, and why ſhould we loiter any longer, when God himſelf ſurrenders up the* Jews *to us? Graſp at the victory. What, do not you hear the ſhouts of the enemy? Who now are at variance among themſelves, and forming different ſchemes to eſcape our hands. The city is inevitably ours, if we take this opportunity which offers, and make haſte. But diligence and fortitude muſt be mix'd with your haſte; for dangers ſtill lie in the way of brave actions, and no heroic action is uſually perform'd without hazard to the perſon who attempts it. 'Tis our buſineſs not only to prevent the enemy from coming again to an agreement among themſelves, which neceſſity will ſoon bring about, but alſo to be before-hand with our auxiliaries, that, beſides the victory in defeating ſuch a numerous enemy with ſuch an handful of men as we are, the city, too, may be taken by our victorious arms alone.*

As ſoon as he had deliver'd himſelf in this manner, he mounted his horſe, and rode directly to the lake, through which, having made his way, he enter'd the city firſt, and, after him, the reſt. This piece of fortitude ſtruck thoſe who were poſted to defend the walls with a terrible fear; and none were found able, or of ſufficient courage, either to engage or repulſe him. The centinels having abandoned their poſts, *Jeſus* and his party got into the fields, and diſperſed themſelves, while others, running down to the lake, fell directly into the hands of their enemies, who were coming up againſt them. Others, in endeavouring to get on board the ſhips, were made ſacrifices to the *Roman* reſentment and fury, and others were knock'd on the head as they ſtrove to ſave themſelves by ſwimming; great numbers of the inhabitants in the city were ſlaughter'd in a miſerable manner, namely, of the ſtrangers, who had not offer'd to make their eſcape, and ſtood upon their defence, and of the natives, without ſtriking a blow, who, conſcious to themſelves that the war did not owe its beginning to any advice of theirs, had declined the engagement, and were in hopes of obtaining favour, till *Titus*, having ſlain all thoſe who were involved in the rebellion, took compaſſion on the natives, and exempted them from the ſlaughter. They who had fled to the lake, on ſeeing the city taken, puſhed forward into the deep, as far as they could, to be out of the reach of their enemies.

Hereupon *Titus* diſpatch'd away one of his horſemen, to acquaint his father with the joyful news of his victory. He, as was reaſonable to believe, was wonderfully pleaſed with his ſon's valour, and the bravery of the action (for now he thought the beſt part of the war was finiſh'd,) and on coming to the place himſelf, he gave orders for thoſe, who were ſet to guard the city, to obſerve that none made his eſcape, but commanded every one to be put to death. The next day, going down to the lake, he ordered ſhips to be got ready againſt thoſe who had took refuge in it; which was inſtantly put in execution, as there was plenty of materials, and a great number of workmen.

The lake of *Genneſar* takes its name from the country adjoining, extending in breadth forty furlongs, and, beſides ſo many, an hundred more in length; its water is of a fine ſweet taſte, and pleaſant to drink, being thinner than the water found in fenny places, and exceeding clear, being banked round with a ſandy ſhore. No river or ſpring can compare with it for its mild water; and yet, more than one could expect from ſo wide a lake could be, the water is perpetually cold. Its water, for coldneſs, very much reſembles ſnow, after it is ſet in the open air, which the natives generally in ſummer-time do in the night. There are ſeveral ſorts of fiſhes in it, both in ſhape and ſmell, differing from the fiſhes of other places; and the river *Jordan* parts it in the middle. Now *Panium* ſeems to be the ſpring-head of *Jordan*, which runs from a place called *Phiala* under ground hither. This place conveys you for a hundred and twenty furlongs from *Cæſarea*, up into *Trachonitis*, not much out of the road on the right hand. The lake, becauſe of its roundneſs, nearly reſembling the model of a wheel, has the name of *Phiala* aſcrib'd to it; and its baſon is conſtantly full of water, never leſſening, and never overflowing. Formerly it was not known that this was the fountain-head of *Jordan*; and *Philip*, the tetrarch of *Trachonitis*, was the firſt who made the diſcovery: For having ordered ſome chaff to be thrown into *Phiala*, they found it conveyed into *Panius*, whence they believed the original head of the river flowed. The natural beauty of *Panium* was increaſed by a very magnificent palace, built at the coſt and expence of *Agrippa*. 'Tis plain that the ſtreams of *Jordan* take their beginning from this ſubterraneous cave, for they divide the muddy waters of *Semechonitis*, and, running forward near an hundred and twenty furlongs more behind the city *Julias*, they ſeparate the lake *Genneſar*, and then, traverſing a long ſpace of the deſart, fall into the lake of *Aſphaltitis*.

The country called *Genneſar*, lies extended before the lake, being of an admirable and pleaſant ſituation: The fertility of the ſoil produces all manner of trees, and the tillers of the land plant all kinds of plants here, the temperateneſs of the air being accommodated to different kinds. Nuts, which love the ſhade of trees, grow here in great abundance, as do the palms, which claim a warm ſituation, and near them the fig-trees and olives, that flouriſh in a milder air. Some call this an ambition of nature, which thus ſtrives to reduce diſagreeing qualities to one point, and a pleaſing contention of the various ſeaſons of the year, each claiming the country as peculiar to it. Neither does it cheriſh various kinds of apples, which one would little think, but preſerves them a long time; and, what are the moſt valuable of all the reſt, it ſupplies the inhabitants with grapes and figs for ten entire months, and affords other fruits the whole year round. Beſides this mildneſs of the air, it is watered with a copious ſpring, which the natives call *Caphernaum*. Some are of opinion, that this is a vein of the *Nile*, becauſe it produces fiſhes reſembling the *Coracinus* found in the waters at *Alexandria*. The country, near the ſhore of the lake of the ſame name, extends in length thirty furlongs, and in breadth twenty. And this is the nature of the place.

Veſpaſian, having got his veſſels in readineſs, and put as large a number of ſoldiers on board as he thought were ſufficient to go againſt thoſe who had eſcaped into the lake, weigh'd anchor. But they who had been forced into the lake, expoſed to nothing but ill fortune, could neither retreat to land, or were in any condition to fight on water with equal advantage; for their boats being ſmall, and made only to plunder in, were not able to withſtand the *Roman* ſhips: Beſides, as each was but thinly manned, they durſt not draw near the *Romans*, who were puſhing forward in an united body againſt 'em. Notwithſtanding theſe diſadvantages, by ſailing about the enemy's ſhips, they ſometimes got ſo near them, as to reach the *Romans* with their ſtones, and ſometimes to hit them; but both ways they themſelves came off by the worſt; for their ſtones were of no other ſervice than making a great noiſe, as they were thrown at enemies encloſed in armour. Beſides, the *Romans* could reach them with their darts, and had they ventured nigher, they had been expoſed to ſeveral inconveniences before they could have been in a condition of doing any thing of conſequence, and they and their ſhips had inevitably been ſunk together. Several, endeavouring to break through the enemy, were reach'd by the *Romans*, and run through the body with their daggers; others, by the enemy boarding ſword in hand, were made a ſacrifice; and others, by reaſon of the veſſels mixing among one another, were taken in the tumult, and ſeized with their boats: And if any of thoſe under water heav'd up their heads, they were ſure, before they got under again, to feel the execution of ſome dart upon them, or to be taken by ſome ſhip. And if thoſe who were agitated with a kind of deſpair, ſtrove to ſwim to their enemies, the *Romans* either cut off their hands or heads. Various and many were the ſcenes of death exhibited at this time, till finding their veſſels ſurrounded on every ſide, they endeavoured to ſecure their ſafety by flight, and the reſt were forced to make the ſhore. Many, who could find no retreat in the lake, were overwhelmed with the dark, and many, after they had leap'd on ſhore, periſh'd by the hands of the *Romans*. One might behold all the lake colour'd with blood, and full of dead bodies; for not a ſoul ſav'd himſelf. The country, the following days, had a nauſeous ſmell throughout it,and the face of things had a melancholy aſpect; for wrecks and ſwoln carcaſſes lay in heaps upon the ſhores. The ſlain lying expoſed to the violent heat of the ſun, and, putrifying, corrupted the air, that the calamity, on this occaſion, was not only a miſerable circumſtance to the *Jews*, but the very authors of it cou'd not but be ſenſible of the ill effects of it. And this was the period of this naval engagement. And with thoſe who before had loſt their lives in the city, the number amounted to ſix thouſand and five hundred.

Veſpaſian, after the fight, mounted his tribunal at *Taricheæ*, and, ſeparating the ſtrangers from the natives (for theſe ſeemed to have laid the foundation of the war), he ask'd the advice of his officers, if it was expedient to ſpare them. They telling him of what prejudice to his affairs it would be to diſmiſs them, becauſe of the little probability there was, after having gained their liberty, that men, ſuch as they were, who were exiles from their country, wou'd remain quiet, and that they might oblige thoſe, to whom they fled, to take up arms: I ſay, *Veſpaſian*, when he found that they did not deſerve their lives, and that they might turn their eſcape to the diſadvantage of thoſe who ſhould let them go, began to think with himſelf in what manner he ſhou'd puniſh them: For ſhou'd he give orders for having them put to death were they then were, he thought the natives wou'd not be pleaſed with the action, and probably might turn his enemies, as being not likely to ſuffer that ſuch a number of ſuppliants ſhould be made a ſacrifice among them. And he himſelf had ſcruples to offer violence to perſons who had given him aſſurance of their loyalty. But the perſuaſions of his friends were too powerful for him, who alledged, that every thing was lawful againſt the *Jews*, and that intereſt was more to be conſidered than honeſty, when neither could be obtained. In conſequence hereof, he granted them a piece of liberty, but couched in very ambiguous terms, and, ſeemingly, to be attended with no favourable conſequences: For he permitted them to depart out the ſame way only which led to *Tiberias*. This liberty, ſo agreeable to their wiſhes, filled them with joy, having no fears of encountering any difficulties, as they were ſuffered to go, with their goods, through an open and publick road. But, at the ſame time, the *Romans* poſted themſelves all along the way, as far as *Tiberias*, to hinder any from making his eſcape, whereby they oblig'd them to keep within the town; and *Veſpaſian* preſently coming after them, ſtopp'd them in the road, and order'd his men to fall upon them: Whereupon, near twelve hundred old and weak perſons were laid dead on the ſpot; but as for the ſtouteſt youth, he choſe our ſix thouſand ſtom among them, and ſent them to *Nero*, to dig the iſthmus; the reſt of the multitude amounting to thirty thouſand and four hundred, he ſold for ſlaves, beſides thoſe which he made a preſent of to *Agrippa*, whom he left at his entire liberty to do as he pleaſed with thoſe belonging to his own kingdom; and theſe, too, were ſold by the king: The other part of the multitude, namely, the *Trachonites*, and *Gaulanites*, and *Hippenes*, and *Gadarites*, were chiefly a multitude of malecontents, and fugitives, and whom the ſhame of keeping peace had puſh'd on to take up arms. Their captivity fell out on the fourth day of the month *Gorpicens*.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

JEWISH WAR;

OR THE

JEWISH HISTORY of the FALL.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

The ſiege and fall of the city Gamala.

THOSE *Galileans* who had revolted from the *Romans* after the fall of *Jotapata*, ſurrendered themſelves to them after the *Tacichæates* loſs of victory: and the *Romans* thereupon took poſſeſſion of all their caſtles and cities, except *Giſchall*, and thoſe who had ſeized upon mount *Ilabyrius*. *Gamala* acted in confederacy with theſe, a city ſtanding over-againſt *Taricheæ*, and upon the mouth of the lake. It belonged to the frontiers of *Agrippa*, as did *Sogame* and *Seleucia*. Both of theſe ſtood in the country of *Gaulanitis Sogame* was part of the higher, called *Gaulana*, and *Gamala* made a part of the lower), but *Seleucia* ſtood at the lake of *Semechonitis*. Its breadth was thirty furlongs,and its length ſixty, and its pooly waters extended as far as the place called *Daphne*, a place, in other reſpects, of exceeding beauty, very pleaſant, and abounding in ſprings, which ſwelling the leſſer *Jordan*, as it is ſo call'd, at the temple of the golden bullock, the river proceeds thence wider, and broader. Now the inhabitants of *Sogame* and *Seleucia*, at the begining of the revolt, were, by *Agrippa*, joined in alliance with him; but *Gamala*, confiding in the ſtrength of its ſituation more than *Jotapata*, refuſed to act in concert with him; for it ſtood on a rugged hill, raiſed upon a very high mountain, and ſtanding up in the middle like a tendon; and, where it began to hang over, it ſtretch'd it ſelf out a little on the declivity, both behind and before; ſo that it reſembled the figure of a camel, whence it derives its name, though the natives have corrupted the word, and do not expreſs it with ſo much propriety as they ought. On the ſides and front are prodigious deep caverns and caves of the earth; but the back part, which joins to the mountain, is not ſo inacceſſible; to remedy which, the natives cut a croſs ditch, and ſo prevented any paſſage that way. On the ſteep ſide of it were houſes built very thick, and the city, in ſhort, ſeem'd to hang upon it ſelf,and to be every moment ready to fall down; the bending down pointing ſouthward, where a very lofty hill ſerved the town inſtead of a caſtle: And upon this was a precipice without any wall about it, which look'd down into a vaſt deep cavern. There was a fountain within the circumference of the walls of the city.

Though this city was thus by nature render'd almoſt invincible and inaceſſible, yet *Joſephus* fortified it abundantly more with additional ditches and mines, when he ſet about defending it. They, who were in poſſeſſion of the place, ſhewed greater preſumption, from the natural ſtrength of the city, than the *Jotapatenes* had done; but their fighting men were conſiderable fewer, and their ſtrong holds and the town being ſo well fortified, made them imagine the enemy's power not able to ſubdue them. But *Gamala* was well peopled, and full of men, who, as it was a city of great defence, had taken refuge in it. Hence it came, that on *Agrippa*'s ſending an army to beſiege it, the inhabitants made a valiant reſiſtance for ſeven months.

Veſpaſian, marching from *Ammaus*, (now if *Ammaus* be interpreted, the name is derived from cold water, for there is a cold bath there of ſovereign uſe againſt ſeveral diſeaſes and weakneſſes of the body) where he had encamped before *Tiberias*, came thence to *Gamala*, but was not able to poſt a guard about all the city in its preſent ſituation; but where he could he poſted centinels, and made himſelf maſter of the higher mountain. When his ſoldiers had encamped upon it, he began to throw up his trenches in the rear, and raiſe up mounts at the eaſt part of the town, where ſtood a tower on a very high place that overlooked the city, where the tenth and fifth legions had pitch'd their tents; the fifth, in the mean time, carried on their works againſt the middle part of the city, and the tenth were buſied in filling up the ditches and caverns. During theſe tranſactions, king *Agrippa* approaching the walls, and endeavouring to make a ſpeech to thoſe who ſtood upon them, in relation to a ſurrender, one of the ſlingers darted a ſtone, and wounded him on the right arm. Hereupon, his ſervants immediately gathered about him, and the *Romans*, enraged at the wound the king had received, and apprehending they themſelves might be expoſed to the like misfortune, were animated to begin the ſiege immediately, believing the *Jews* would give no quarter to ſtrangers and enemies, who had ſo openly exerciſed their cruelty upon one of their countrymen, who had been adviſing them to their intereſt and advantage.

In conſequence hereof, having brought their works to perfection in a ſhort time, as their numbers were conſiderable, and had been accuſtomed to ſuch like undertakings, they prepared their engines. *Chares* and *Joſephus* (for they were the men of greateſt authority in the city) endeavoured to put the citizens, though terribly afraid, into the beſt order they could, becauſe they ſuppoſed the town could not hold out the ſiege long, being in no great plenty either of water or other neceſſaries: And after they had exhorted them to behave bravely, they brought them upon the walls. For ſome time, they repulſed the enemy as they approach'd with the engines; but, the *catapultæ* and *balliſtæ* playing vigorouſly upon them, they withdrew into the city. The *Romans*, applying their rams to three different parts of the walls, ſhook them in a terrible manner; and, a breach being made, they ruſh'd in, with a prodigious ſound of trumpets, claſhing of arms, and a horrid noiſe they themſelves made, and began a furious encounter with the citizens within. Now they, at the firſt breaking in of the *Romans*, ſtood, for ſome time, firmly, to hinder their proceeding farther, and valiantly repulſed them; but, being borne down with the number of the enemy, who poured upon them on every ſide, and obliged to retire back and ſeek refuge in the higher parts of the city, they, at length, turn'd about, and, falling manfully upon the enemy that puſh'd forward, threw them into the ſteep places; and, having forc'd them into narrow and difficult paſſes, made a dreadful ſlaughter of them. When the *Romans* ſaw there was no poſſibility of driving the citizens from the high poſts they had ſecured, and that they could not make their eſcape to any part of the town, they fled to the tops of the enemy's houſes (being low built), and endeavoured to ſave themſelves there. But the multitudes flocking thither making the weight too much for the houſes to bear, they preſently tumbled down, and the fall of one occaſioned the ruin of many near it, at the ſame time; and thoſe were followed by others: Whereupon, a great many of the *Romans* periſhed; who, not knowing what courſe to take, ruſhed into the houſes, though they ſaw they were ready to fall. In conſequence hereof, many were buried alive under the ruins, and many made their eſcape, but not without having firſt received ſome hurt or other in ſome part of their bodies: And the duſt that flew about choack'd a great number; which the men of *Gamala* taking for a piece of aſſiſtance ſent them from God, and therefore diſregarding their own loſſes, they puſh'd hard upon the enemy, and forced them into the houſes; and having thus ſqueezed them into the narrow and difficult places of retreat, that they might cut every ſoul of them off, they poured whole ſhowers of darts upon them from above, and ſo made terrible havock among them. The ruins of the houſes ſupplied them abundantly with ſtones, and the ſlain with ſwords; for taking the ſwords from the dead bodies, they made uſe of them againſt thoſe who were but half alive: Beſides great numbers tumbling down from the houſes, fell upon thoſe below, and cruſh'd them to death; and they who endeavoured to make their eſcape found it almoſt impoſſible; for, ignorant of the ſtreets, and the thickneſs of the duſt that was raiſed obſcuring their ſight, they wandered about without knowing one another, and fell in heaps by the ſides of their countrymen.

They who found a paſſage out withdrew directly from the city: But *Veſpaſian*, who was conſtantly preſent among his labouring men (for he was extremely concern'd to ſee the houſes fall upon his army), without any regard to his own life, having no notion of his being got too far into the higher part of the town, where he was left expoſed in the midſt of dangers only with a very few about him, (*Titus* his ſon being then from him, and ſent to *Mucianus* in *Syria*) and finding it unſafe and diſhonourable to fly, and calling to mind the long train of valiant actions he had done from his infancy, as if ſome providence of God had directed his thoughts he made a ſhell of the bodies and armour of thoſe who were about him; and ſo avoided the deadly effect of the fury of the war that poured down from above, and, without having any fear of the multitudes of the enemy, or of their darts, he perſiſted in his deſign, till the enemy, fancying his extraordinary preſence of mind occaſion'd by divine influence, relaxed the vigour of the engagement. Now the heat of the battle being ſomewhat over, he drew back, but never offered to fly till he was got clear of the city. This engagement prov'd fatal to a great number of *Romans*, among whom fell *Ebutius* the centurion, a perſon who not only in the battle wherein he loſt his life, but in all other encounters before, wherever his country called him, gave remarkable and ſurprizing proofs of his valour, and had been a terrible enemy to the *Jews*, who owed a great many of their misfortunes to him. Beſides, there was a certain centurion, named *Gallus*, who, in the midſt of all this confuſion, in company with ten other ſoldiers, privately enter'd one of the houſes, where, having heard thoſe who were within, while at ſupper, diſcourſing about what the people had deſigned againſt the *Romans*, or in their defence (he being a *Syrian* and the men too, with him, of the ſame country) he fell upon them in the night, and ſtabb'd every ſoul among them, and then fled with his men to the *Romans*, without any accident happening to his life.

Veſpaſian, full of anxious thoughts at the ill ſucceſs of his army, and the hardſhips to which they had been expoſed, and troubled to the ſoul to think they had never ſuffered ſo much before, and to ſee the great confuſion they were in for having abandon'd their general in his dangers, ſtrove to adminiſter comfort to their deſponding ſpirits, without intimating one ſyllable about himſelf, that he might not be thought to complain, but repreſenting to them, ‘that they ought, like brave men, patiently to ſubmit to accidents which were common to all, and, by bringing to their remembrance the nature of war, conſider, that victory and conqueſt were no were obtained without effuſion of blood. That fortune, always inconſtant, ſtood round the combatants; and as they had put ſo many thouſands of the *Jews* to the ſword, ſhe had repaid them in their turn with a trifling loſs. That as it it argued the part of fools, in the day of proſperity to be arrogant and elated, ſo as it was no leſs the characteriſtick of mean and cowardly ſouls, to be diſpirited at an unſucceſsful turn of fortune. For the change was ſudden on either ſide; but that he was a man of true courage and valour, whoſe ſoul maintained an uninterrupted calm, even when the day of adverſity blackened upon him, and ſtrove to repair what he had loſt with freſh alacrity and vigour. What has now happened, is neither to be attributed to our effeminacy and weakneſs, or the power and valour of the *Jews*; but 'twas the difficulty of the place that proved to their advantage, and our loſs; upon which ſome may charge you with too much raſhneſs, want of prudence: For when the enemy had retreated into the higher places, 'twas your buſineſs then to have ſtopp'd, and not proceeded any farther; and not to have purſued them ſo as to expoſe yourſelves to dangers in the higher city; but firſt to have made yourſelves maſters of the lower town, and then, by degrees, have induced thoſe who had taken refuge in the higher to come and engage you in a ſet battle. Beſides, your rouzing yourſelves up now to a noble reſentment, to vindicate your injured honour, will only ſerve to make you more bold and vigorious. 'Tis not the cuſtom of *Romans* to make a furious or unadviſed ſally in war, who perform every thing from an exact knowledge and method of diſcipline: This belongs to *Barbarians*, and to the *Jews*; whoſe conſtant practice it is. Wherefore we ought to have recourſe to our native courage and conduct, and rather to ſhew our reſentment, than to deſpair at ſo diſhonourable a loſs. But let every man among you ſeek his own ſatisfaction by the vigour of his arm: For ſo we ſhall revenge our loſt companions, and effectually puniſh thoſe who were the authors of their deaths. And it ſhall be my principal care, even as now, in all ſucceeding engagements, to conduct you againſt your enemies, and be the laſt to depart thence.’

This was the ſpeech *Veſpaſian* made uſe of to chear up the hearts of his men. At the ſame time, the people of *Gamala* began, from the unexpected turn of fortune which had happened in their favour, to conceive ſome hopes of aſſurance; but, conſidering within themſelves afterwards, that they had no reaſon to entertain any hopes of obtaining a treaty, and reflecting that they were deprived of all means of making their eſcape (for their proviſions began now to fail them), they were very much dejected, and their reſolutions began to fail them: However, ſo far as their preſent circumſtances would permit, they took care to ſecure themſelves. For the ſtouteſt among them poſted themſelves at the breaches of the wall, in order to defend them, and the reſt were ordered about thoſe parts that remained ſound and entire. But as ſoon as the *Romans* had finiſh'd their batteries, and made an attack, in order to try the force of the city once more, numbers of them got out of the town through the vallies, where no guards had been poſted, and made their eſcape through the common ſewers. But as many, as through fear of being taken in making their eſcape remained behind in the city, were made ſacrifices to their neceſſities, and periſhed through want; for only thoſe, who were able to bear arms were ſupplied with proviſions.

Theſe were the hardſhips to which they were expoſed, and which they ſuffered a long time; but *Veſpaſian*, beſides carrying on the ſiege, fell upon thoſe who had ſeized on mount *Ilabyrius*, ſituate between the great plain and *Scythopolis*, riſing in height full thirty furlongs, inacceſſible on the north ſide, and opening on the top in a plain of twenty furlongs, fortified all round with a wall. In the fortifying it thus, *Joſephus* had been no more than forty days, and had ſupplied it with abundance of neceſſaries, and ſtock'd the lower places with water, the inhabitants having no other than rain water. This was the reaſon ſo vaſt a multitude had aſſembled together on it; whereupon, *Veſpaſian* ſent thither ſix hundred horſe, under the command of *Placidus*. But this officer could find no way of aſcending the mountain; and therefore, under a pretence of entering into a treaty with them, and forgetting what had paſſ'd, he amus'd them with hopes of peace; this brought them down, but their minds were intent on ſome ſtratagem againſt him. Indeed, *Placidus* ſpoke to them in very gentle terms; but his principal deſign was to entice them into the plain, and there take them priſoners. Accordingly, as though they had an implicit obedience to him, they came down, to be treacherouſly attack'd. *Placidus* got the better of them by his contrivance; for, on the *Jews* beginning an engagement, he pretended to fly; and having drawn a large number of his purſuers into the plain, he ſuddenly faced about, and turned his horſe upon them: Immediately they fled, and he put a great number of them to the ſword, and prevented the reſt of the multitude from getting back to the mountain: So that leaving *Itabyrius*, they fled directly to *Hieroſolyma*, after which the natives of the place, by reaſon of the extreme want of water they labour'd with, on *Placidus*'s promiſe of indemnity, ſurrender'd the mountain and themſelves to him.

However, thoſe of *Gamala*, who were thought to be more preſuming, fled and hid themſelves, and the weaker ſort periſhed with the famine: Yet a few, of undaunted courage, held out the ſiege ſo long, till three ſoldiers of the fifteenth legion, about the morning watch, on the two and twentieth day of the month *Hyperbenetas*, gained privately a very high tower that ſtood againſt them, by working a mine underneath; which the guards poſted to defend it, neither on their getting there, (for it was night) nor, after they had been there, perceived, or ſo much as ſuſpected. Theſe men, on their coming on the tower, endeavouring to make as little noiſe as they could, rolled down five vaſt ſtones, and threw themſelves after them; whereupon, the tower immediately fell, with a prodigious noiſe: And the centinels poſted to defend it were tumbled down with it. The guards, diſtributed in the other places, hereupon, were frightened, and fled, and the *Romans* ſlew many who ventured to break out of the town; among whom was *Joſeph*, killed by an arrow, as he was hurrying to a part of the wall that was broke down. They who were in the inſide of the town, being vaſtly ſurprized at the noiſe, ran up and down in the greateſt confuſion and fear, as if all the enemy had broke into the city. But *Chares*, who all this time was ill, and kept his bed, in the midſt of the means uſed to recover him, breathed his laſt moments, the great confuſion all were in, contributing very much to heighten his diſtemper, and put an end to his life. However, the *Romans*, who had not forgot their former deſtruction, forbore to enter the town till the twenty third day of the aforeſaid month.

Titus, (who now was come up) enraged at the hardſhips which the *Romans* had ſuffered in his abſence, took two hundred choſen horſe and his foot, and privately entered the town: But the guards no ſooner had found out that he was paſſed by them, than they ran to their arms with a prodigious noiſe. They who were in the inſide of the city, being informed that *Titus* had got in, ſome of them, with terrible outcries and confuſion, ſnatch'd up their children and wives, and fled into the caſtle; while others, falling directly in the way of *Titus*, were inſtantly put to death; and as many as could find no way to make their eſcape into the caſtle, through an infatuated confuſion, run into the very arms of the *Roman* guards. And what was ſtill more dreadful, a prodigious noiſe of the groans of dying perſons was heard in every place, and the blood ſtreaming down the ſteep places, ran through all the lower city. *Veſpaſian*, hereupon, went immediately with his whole army againſt thoſe who had taken refuge in the caſtle. The top of this place was one entire rock, of prodigious height, and of difficult aſſent, crowded with a vaſt number of people, and ſurrounded with hanging precipices, ſo that the *Jews* terribly galled thoſe who endeavoured to come at them; and, expoſed to great inconveniences, others, with their darts, and the ſtones they rolled down upon them. While they, on account of the height of the place, were out of the reach of the *Roman* darts. But a ſtorm, as if ſent by ſome divine providence, ſuddenly blew, which bore up the *Roman* darts againſt the defendants, but turn'd theirs aſide from the enemy: Neither could they ſtand upon the rocks for the violence of the wind, as having no ſure footing, nor ſee the enemy as they came up to them. In ſhort, the *Romans* got up, and, having ſurrounded them, put to death as well thoſe who ſurrendered, as thoſe who endeavour'd to make a reſiſtance. For the remembrance of thoſe who had loſt their lives in the firſt breaking into the city, animated all of them with an irreconcileable reſentment. Hence it came, that many deſpairing to ſave themſelves, now they were thus hemmed in, threw their children, wives, and then themſelves, headlong into the valley, which by the caſtle ſunk down to a vaſt depth. However, it happened that they who were taken thought the reſentment of the *Romans* of leſs violence than the committing ſuch a deſperate act upon themſelves. Four thouſand men were ſlain, and more than five thouſand, who had thrown themſelves down from the caſtle, were found; but not one ſoul, more than two women, eſcaped death; theſe were the daughters of *Philip*'s ſiſter. Now this *Philip* was the ſon of one *Jacin*, a nobleman, and general of king *Agrippa*'s army. And the ſaving their lives was owing to the relaxation the *Romans* had given their rage in the ſlaughter. They carried their reſentment ſo far, that not even the infants were ſpared, but every one at this time took ſeveral, and threw them down from the caſtle. And thus was *Gamala* taken on the twenty third day of the month *Hyperbenetas*, whoſe revolt began on the four and twentieth day of the month *Gorpicens*.

CHAP. II.

The ſurrendering of Giſchal, *upon* John'*s flying to* Hieroſolyma.

GISCHAL, a ſmall city of *Galilee*, was now the only place that held out; the inhabitants whereof were deſirous of peace, (for a great number of them being husbandmen, were intent upon nothing more than the fruits of the earth which they hop'd for) but abundance of robbers had crept in among them, the contagion of whoſe examples had ſhed its pernicious influence on ſome of the citizens. They were excited to a revolt by the perſuaſions of *John*, the ſon of one *Levi*, a perſon of conſummate artifice, of a very cunning diſpoſition, of addreſs to aſpire at great things, and of extraordinary abilities to put ſuch thoughts and deſires in action, and a man whom the world knew to love war, through a deſire of making himſelf maſter of the government. The ſeditious in *Giſchal* were entirely in his intereſt, and probably thoſe very people who had concluded to ſend their ambaſſadors about a ſurrender, to humour them, waited for the coming up of the *Romans* in a poſture to engage them. But *Veſpaſian* ſent *Titus* at the head of a thouſand horſe againſt them, diſpatched away the tenth legion to *Scythopolis*, and himſelf, with the two others, returned to *Cæſarea*, where he allowed them to refreſh themſelves after their great and continued hardſhips, ſuppoſing the great ſtore and plenty of things he found in the cities would contribute much to the health and ſtrength of their bodies, and animate their minds with a more prevailing alacrity to perform any future engagements. For he ſaw that a great deal of work was prepared for him about *Hieroſolyma*, which was the metropolis and principal city of the nation, and into which all thoſe who had eſcaped out of battle had fled. Beſides, as the city was ſtrongly fortified by nature, and ſurrounded with walls of prodigious ſtrength, he could not forbear being affected with extream concern, eſpecially when he conſidered that even without walls for their defence, the courage and bravery of the *Jews* were not to be ſubdued with any ſmall difficulty. For which reaſon he took care to exerciſe his men like ſo many wreſtlers, before he began any attack.

Titus coming near the city on horſeback, found it eaſy to be taken on the firſt aſſault; but conſidering, ſhould the place be won by compulſive means, the inhabitants and people therein would fall a ſacrifice to the reſentment of his ſoldiers, (himſelf being now no ways inclined for any further bloodſhed) and being uneaſy to let ſo vaſt a multitude be deſtroyed where the innocent would ſuffer equally with the moſt guilty, he choſe rather to have the town ſurrendered to him on certain conditions. Wherefore, as prodigious crowds of people were upon the walls, who, for the major part, ſided with the factious, he addreſſed himſelf to them in the following manner, ſaying, 'He was aſtoniſhed to think, on what dependance they could rely, after all their cities were already taken, and they the only one to reſiſt the *Roman* powers, when they had ſeen cities, of much greater ſtrength than theirs, taken at the firſt aſſault; and thoſe of their countrymen who had thrown themſelves into their protection, enjoyed their goods and fortunes in ſecurity: Which indulgence, he told them, he was ready to offer them, as being unwilling to ſeek any revenge for their inſolent behaviour. That he forgave them the hopes they had entertained of their liberty, but could not paſs by their perſevering in their deſperate reſolutions; and that if they would not obey his friendly words, and the kind offers he had made them, they ſhould ſoon be ſenſible of the force of his arms, that ſhould give no quarter; and find that the *Roman* engines would ſoon batter down their wall, in which they had confided ſo much, and ſhown themſelves a multitude of arrogant ſlaves.'

The defendants not only returned any anſwer to *Titus*'s ſpeech, but could not ſo much as get upon the walls; for the robbers had made themſelves maſters of the whole city, and guards were poſted at the gates, ſo that none were ſuffer'd to go out to manage a treaty, nor any horſeman admitted into the town. Hereupon, *John* declared himſelf, 'That he was willing to receive the conditions, and would either influence by his perſuaſions, or uſe forcible means upon thoſe who ſhould refuſe them; but that it was neceſſary to let that day, which was the ſeventh, be celebrated as the *Jewiſh* law had appointed: For as it was unlawful to have recourſe to arms thereon, ſo it was equally prohibited to enter into any engagement. That the *Romans* were no ſtrangers to their abſtaining from all manner of work on every ſeventh day. Which, ſhould they act in oppoſition to, would involve as well thoſe who ſhould force them, as thoſe who ſhould be compelled, in the ſame guilt of impiety. That a little delay would be attended with no prejudicial conſequences, (for what could any one reſolve on in the ſpace of one night, unleſs to take meaſures how he might make his eſcape, which, as the enemy's camp was pitch'd round them, 'twould be almoſt an impoſſibility to do) but that it would be entirely for their intereſt to act in conformity to the laws: And it was his buſineſs, who, beyond their hopes, made them tenders of peace, to ſave them, and preſerve their laws.' *John* made uſe of theſe artificial words to impoſe on *Titus*, but the religion of the ſeventh day was not ſo much the view of his thought, as a proſpect to preſerve his own life. For he was afraid, ſhould the city happen to be taken, of being deſerted and abandoned, having placed his hopes of life in the night, and making his eſcape. But God certainly brought it about, who ſaved *John* for the deſtruction of *Hieroſolyma,* that *Titus* ſhould not only be convinced of the deſign of his dilatory proceeding, but alſo move farther off, and encamp at *Cydeſſa*, which is an inland and ſtrong town of the *Tyrians*, at perpetual hatred and war with the *Galileans*, vaſtly populous, and well fortified to maintain itſelf againſt the animoſities which from time to time ſubſiſt between it and that nation.

When *John* perceived the city free from the *Roman* guards, he laid hold of the opportunity of the night, and not only took up thoſe armed men that were about him, but a great number of thoſe who had ſat neuter with their families, and fled to *Hieroſolyma*. For the length of twenty furlongs he had preſence of mind enough to conduct the multitude of women and children ſafe; but being a man in prodigious apprehenſions of his own captivity and life, he could proceed no farther without abandoning them; whereupon, thoſe who were thus left, were ſeized with a particular concern and dejection of ſpirit: For the farther every one thought they were removed from their friends, the nearer they believed themſelves to be to their enemies. And ſuppoſing they were followed cloſe at their heels by thoſe who were going to make them priſoners, they were reduced to the greateſt concern imaginable, and ſeveral times looked back at hearing the noiſe they made by their own tumultuous running, as if thoſe they fled from were falling upon them: And many, indeed, drew aſide into ways that were impaſſable, and many others, while they ſtrove to make the beſt of the road, and out-ſtrip one another, were killed in the hurry. The deſtruction made among the women and children on this occaſion, was a miſerable ſcene, and ſome of the women had the courage to call aloud to the men and their relations, after a very ſuppliant manner, to ſtay for them. But *John*'s remonſtrances were of more effectual force, who bade them aloud endeavour to ſave themſelves, and eſcape to that place, where they might revenge themſelves upon the *Romans*, ſhould they offer to commit their depredations there. In conſequence hereof, the multitude of thoſe who fled, each as his particular ſtrength and feet would permit, immediately diſperſed, and went away with all poſſible haſte.

Titus, the next day, ſtood at the walls of the town with the conditions in his hands. The people opened their gates to him, and coming before him with their wives and children, in loud acclamations ſtiled him their benefactor, and who, by his care and kind concern, had delivered their city from deſtruction. At the ſame time, they acquainted him how *John* had made his eſcape, and begged he would take compaſſion of them, go into the city, and puniſh thoſe who ſtill were remaining, and contriving freſh diſturbances. But ſetting aſide the petitions of the people, he diſpatch'd away a troop of horſe to purſue *John*, who could not come up with him, (for by this time he was got into *Hieroſolyma*) but near ſix thouſand of thoſe who fled were put to the ſword, and they brought back with them near three thouſand women and children. *Titus* was extremely enraged he had not immediately puniſh'd *John*'s perfidy and baſeneſs; but, becauſe he had been diſappointed in his enraged deſigns, he had ſome ſatisfaction in his mind, by the number of captives he had taken, and by thoſe who had been ſlain; and therefore he made his entry into the city amidſt the joyful acclamations of the people: And having commanded his ſoldiers to pull down part of the walls, as his right by conqueſt, he put a ſtop to the proceedings of the diſturbers of the city more by his menaces than puniſhments: And he was of opinion, there were ſeveral, who, ſhould he puniſh them as they deſerved, would involve the innocent in the ſame guilt with them: Wherefore, he concluded it was more ſafe and prudent to leave the criminal to his own fears and uneaſineſs, than puniſh any wrongfully who were innocent; for that, probably, the fear of puniſhment might have a kinder influence over him to rectify his future conduct, and the oblivion of what was paſt might create in his mind a reverence for the perſon who granted it; but that the puniſhments of thoſe who ſhould die wrongfully were impoſſible to be recall'd. However, he took care to put a garriſon into the town, by whoſe aſſiſtance he might reſtrain the ſeditious from any violent meaſures, and leave thoſe, who deſir'd to dwell in peace, in a ſure and eſtabliſh'd condition. Thus was all *Galilee* at length reduced, having coſt the *Romans* much labour and pains to ſubdue it.

CHAP. III.

Of John *the* Giſchalene. *Of the Zealots, and of* Ananus *the Prieſt; and how they fell out among themſelves.*

UPON *John*'s entering *Hieroſolyma*, all the city flock'd to him, and great crowds of people aſſembling about every one of thoſe who had made their eſcape, asked a thouſand queſtions about the hardſhips they had been expoſed to; but their extreme want of breath, and the confuſion they diſcovered, were ſufficient to ſpeak the neceſſity they were in: Notwithſtanding, they ſhewed a kind of pride and boldneſs in their misfortunes, ſaying, they had not turned their backs upon the *Romans*, but voluntarily were come to fight with them from a place of better defence. That it argued vaſt imprudence, and was of no ſignificancy at all, raſhly to expoſe themſelves to dangers in the defence of *Giſchal*, and a few other ſmall cities

ties not ſufficiently fortified, but that it became them to lay up and preſerve their arms and courage for the defence of the metropolis of the nation. When they had related the fall of *Giſchal*, and their commendable departure, as they pretended, many were of opinion that it was no other than a flight: But when they came to hear of thoſe things which had befallen the captives, then the people were in no ſmall confuſion, and from that moment drew certain omens of their own deſtruction: But *John* was no way concerned for the condition of thoſe he had left behind; he amuſed every one with artful ſpeeches, and with hopes incited them to war, pretending that the *Roman* affairs were in a weak ſtate, and exalting his own ſtrength, he deluded the ignorance of the unwary, by aſſerting, that ſhould the *Romans* take wing, 'twas impoſſible they ſhould reduce the walls of *Hieroſolyma*, who had encountered ſuch a train of difficulties and misfortunes about the towns of *Galilee*, and worn out their engines of war in battering down their walls.

Theſe ſpecious and inſulting words poiſoned the minds of a great number of the younger ſort, who being elated with vain thoughts of their own power, were induced to carry on the war; but of the more prudent and ancient there was not one who did not lament as much at the bare proſpect of their future calamities, as if the city had that moment been utterly deſtroyed. In this terrible ſtate of confuſion was the people: But before the ſedition broke out at *Hieroſolyma*, violent commotion raged among the people throughout the province; for *Titus* marching from *Giſchal* to *Cæſarea*, and *Veſpaſian* from *Cæſarea* to *Jamnia* and *Azotus*, ſubdued both thoſe places, and after having fortified them with ſufficient garriſons, he returned back, carrying along with them a large multitude of ſuch as had voluntarily ſurrendered to him. Every city now was divided with commotions and civil diſſentions; and thoſe who had ſome reſpite from the violence of the *Romans*, turned their arms againſt one another. The animoſities between thoſe who wiſhed for war, and thoſe who deſired peace, were riſen to an extravagant height. At firſt thoſe families between whom there had been ſome time before a particular enmity, through malice, began the diſpute; and then, upon a difference happening between thoſe people who had before agreed with a perfect harmony and friendſhip, every one who was in the ſame way of thinking joined them; ſo that, as ſoon as they had got a number of partizans to ſide with them, they did not endeavour to conceal their inveteracy and hatred. The diſagreement was univerſal, and the youth and boldneſs of thoſe who wanted to embroil affairs, and have recourſe to arms, prevailed over the prudence of the more ancient. The firſt enterprize of the natives was making excurſions for plunder and ſpoil; and then, having formed themſelves into bands and companies, they ſpread themſelves throughout the province: So that there was not much difference between the violence of the *Roman* arms, and the cruelty and barbarity of their actions; which made ſeveral of thoſe who were thus plundered, of opinion, that the rigour of the *Roman* arms would be attended with leſs deſperate conſequences.

Theſe guards, poſted in the ſeveral cities, partly either becauſe they did not care to involve themſelves in much trouble, or partly becauſe they were on no good terms with the nation, were of none, or very little aſſiſtance, to thoſe who were thus injured: So that, in the concluſion, the chief of the ſeveral bands of robbers, being ſatiated with the ſpoil they had taken throughout the country, aſſembled together from their reſpective quarters, and, forming themſelves into a formidable company, privately got into *Hieroſolyma*, a city, at this time, without any particular governor to manage its affairs, and which, conformably to its ancient cuſtom, now admitted, without any diſtinction, and without ſetting any one to obſerve their behaviour, all ſorts of *Jews*, within its walls, being, at this particular time, more eſpecially induced to do ſo, as every one believed that thoſe who deſired to come into the city, acted from a motive of affection to come and aſſiſt them. But theſe very people, without being the immediate inſtruments of raiſing a ſedition, were afterwards the perſons who plunged the city into all its future calamities. For what ſhould have ſerved for the maintenance and ſupport of their ſoldiers, was conſumed by an indolent and uſeleſs multitude. And hence it came, that, beſides the war, they occaſioned a ſedition and famine among themſelves.

Nor was this all: Other robbers, who had ravaged the neighbouring country, having obtained admittance into the city, and joined to their party thoſe within who were of a more cruel diſpoſition, were guilty of all thoſe actions which were likely to be attended with fatal conſequences. They not only made their depredations and ſpoils the meaſure of their preſumption and boldneſs, but proceeded ſo far in their violence, as to commit murthers: Nor were their actions confined to the night, or to privacy, or to killing ſome certain perſons; but they went on openly, and in the day-time, and began to exerciſe their barbarities on men of the greateſt diſtinction? For they firſt of all ſeized upon and impriſoned *Antipas*, a perſon of royal deſcent, and the moſt eminent citizen in *Hieroſolyma*, both for authority and many excellent qualifications, who was entruſted with the management of the publick treaſury; and, after him, *Levias*, a nobleman, and *Sophus*, the ſon of *Raguel*, (who were both nobly deſcended) and all others whom they thought were diſtinguiſhed above the reſt in the country. All theſe proceedings put together, gave the people a very ſenſible affliction; and every one, as if the city had already been actually taken, were employed in taking care of their own preſervation.

But to keep them confined in priſon, was not ſufficient to ſatisfy the robbers, and to detain them any longer in their confinement, they thought, was dangerous: For the perſons with their families, who were many, were in a capacity to revenge the diſhonour and injury done their friends: And, beſides, there was reaſon to think the people, offended at the unjuſt meaſures they had taken, would make an inſurrection. Wherefore, having determined to put them to death, they ſent *John*, one of their party, the moſt reſolute and inhumane, to put their decree in execution.

Immediately he went to the priſon, attended by ten perſons with drawn ſwords, who put to death the perſons confined there. To conceal, in an artful manner, ſo great an inſtance of barbarity, they pretended that they had held intelligence with the *Romans*, about ſurrendering the city to them; and ſaid, they had ſlain men who were going to betray all their liberties, and were ſo far from repenting of what they had done, that they gloried in the boldneſs of the action, as though they had done the city a ſignal piece of ſervice, and been the means of preſerving it.

In conſequence of theſe unjuſt proceedings, the people were reduced to the greateſt dejection of ſpirit, while they, on the other hand, were puffed up to ſo high a degree of inſolence and arrogance, as arbitrarily to fix upon perſons for the office of the prieſthood. The right of thoſe particular families was immediately thrown aſide and abrogated, out of which the prieſts ſucceſſively had been choſen, and men of ignoble birth, and no reputation, were conſtituted in their ſtead, with no other deſign than to procure abettors of their impious actions. Yet, as theſe were undeſervedly inveſted with the higheſt honours, there was a neceſſity of paying obedience to thoſe who had placed them in ſuch diſtinguiſh'd offices: But contentions and animoſities breaking out among them, made them graſp at the firſt opportunity to revenge themſelves on thoſe who had endeavoured to obſtruct them in their deſigns; and having now fully ſatisfied themſelves with the injuries they had done mankind, they turned their impiety againſt the deity, and, with polluted feet, entered the holy of holies in the temple.

This was ſufficient to raiſe the indignation of the people, who now were extremely enraged againſt them, (for *Ananus* had aſſiſted the people very much in their deſigns) who was the eldeſt prieſt, a man of great ſenſe and underſtanding, and, in all probability, had ſaved the city, had he had the good fortune to have eſcaped out of the hands of thoſe who ſought his life, they having made the temple of God a place to ſecure themſelves from the commotions of the people; and not only ſo, but an aſylum to their partizans, and a houſe to exerciſe their tyrannick actions in. But of all their actions that gave the greateſt diſguſt, was their groſs diſſimulation; for, to find out the meaſure of the people's fears, and their ſtrength, they pretended to elect prieſts by way of caſting lots; when, as we have obſerved above, the ſucceſſion ought, of right, to have continued in particular families. And, to colour over this fraud, they alledg'd an ancient cuſtom, ſaying, it had formerly been cuſtomary to chuſe the prieſts by caſting of lots: But this was, in fact, to ſtrike at the root of the ſtrongeſt law the *Jews* had, and plainly a device to get the power into their own hands, in order to conſtitute prieſts and other magiſtrates according to their own wills, and in their own intereſt.

In conſequence hereof, one of the tribes of the ſacerdotal line, was ſummoned, (which was called *Eniachim*) and thereupon they proceeded to chuſe a prieſt by lot: The chance fell upon a perſon who diſcovered in the cleareſt light, their violent and unjuſt meaſures: His name was *Phannias*, ſon of *Samuel*, and born at the town of *Aphtha*; and he was not only unqualified and unworthy of the prieſthood, but was alſo entirely ignorant of the nature and duties of his office. However, they brought him, againſt his inclinations, out of the country, and dreſs'd him, as is generally done in the repreſentation of a play, in another habit, not only putting a ſacred garment upon him, but alſo inſtructing in what manner to behave himſelf. So great an enormity was committed by them with the moſt open ridicule and mockery. But when the other prieſts ſaw at a diſtance the ſcorn to which their law was expoſed, they could not refrain from tears, and lament the downfal of thoſe honours which had conſtantly attended their moſt ſacred rites.

This flagrant abuſe was of too pernicious a nature to go unreſented and unrevenged by the people, who were enraged to a man, and reſolved to put a ſtop to ſuch violent proceedings. For *Gorion*, the ſon of *Joſeph*, and *Simeon*, the ſon of *Gamaliel*, perſons who were eſteemed of ſome authority, as well by themſelves to each, as in a body to all the people, went and had frequent conferences with them, exhorting them, and telling them by what method they might at laſt be revenged on the deſtroyers of their properties and liberty, and clear the holy place from the ſcandalous pollutions of ſuch wicked men. At the ſame time, the moſt diſintereſted and faithful of the prieſts, namely, *Jeſus*, the ſon of *Gamala*, and *Ananus*, the ſon of *Ananus*, in ſeveral diſcourſes they had with the people, taxed them with their great indolence, and animated them againſt thoſe furious zealots, who gave themſelves this name, as though they had a real concern for the intereſt of religion, and not abandoned themſelves up to the commiſſion of the moſt flagrant abuſes.

Hereupon the people were ſummoned together, and a general rage burnt in their breaſts to ſee the ſacred places thus ſeized upon by abandoned and wicked men, and every where made the ſcene of deſtruction and ſlaughter: But none hitherto had ſhewn courage enough to put a ſtop to their bold deſigns, ſuſpecting, as the caſe in fact was, the difficulty of gaining the advantage over theſe zealots: 'Till *Ananus*, ſtanding up in the midſt of them, and caſting his eyes ſeveral times about the temple, which were drowned in tears, declared himſelf in this manner: 'I ſolemnly proteſt, I had a thouſand times rather expoſe myſelf to death, than be an eye-witneſs of God's houſe being thus polluted and defiled with ſuch impurities, and the moſt ſacred places thus trod on by the feet of blood-thirſty men. Yet I am cloathed with a prieſtly habit, and honour'd with the beſt of names, I live, and ſtill deſire to live; neither will my length of years ſuffer me to die honourably. But if I am the only one left, and one, who ſtands as in a deſart alone, I ſhall think myſelf happy in loſing my life in the defence of God's honour: For to what purpoſe ſhould I live in the midſt of a people who have not the leaſt ſenſe of the hardſhips they ſuffer, and among whom there is not one to withſtand the preſent evils that threaten them? For you tamely groan under your burthens, and ſubmit cowardly to have your effects ſeized. You ſay not a word when ſtripes and blows oppreſs you, and not one among you has ſincerity and courage enough to make his complaints openly for the blood that has been ſpilt. Oh the government of tyrants! But why do I complain of them? The increaſe of their power is wholly owing to you, and your cowardly ſubmiſſion to thoſe hardſhips they think proper to impoſe on you; and to your diſregarding thoſe men, who were the firſt to put a ſtop to theſe tyrannick proceedings among you, while their number was inconſiderable, but your ſilence gave them liberty and an opportunity to enlarge their party: And when they made all neceſſary preparations, and ſharpened their weapons, they turned the edges of them upon you, when it was your duty to have check'd their proceedings at firſt, when your countrymen and relations were expoſed to their violence and abuſes. By your indolence and unconcern for your own affairs, you have given wicked men an handle to proceed in the depredations hitherto committed; and tho' your houſes have been plunder'd, yet not a ſyllable has been ſaid by you in oppoſition to ſuch proceedings. Hence thoſe, who were veſted with authority, have ſuffered the fatal conſequences of their rapacious hands, and when they were dragg'd through the ſtreets of the city, was there a ſoul of you found to give them any aſſiſtance? Nor was this all: Thoſe whom you betrayed, they tortured in priſon; but I wave making any mention, how many, and who they were. However, they were accuſed by none, and ſuffered death without being condemned in any formal manner. None of you aided them when under confinement; and the conſequence was, that when the ſame perſons were ſlain, we took no notice of their murtherers. This is a truth we are all ſenſible of; for the beſt bullock in the herd is conſtantly picked out for the ſacrifice, yet no one even matters a word about it, or offers to move his arm. But will you, therefore, ſuffer, and ſtill remain eye-witneſſes of your ſacred ordinances and places being abuſed? And after you have afforded to wicked men every opportunity of committing their villanies, will not ſeem diſpleaſed at their power? For now they will certainly proceed to the commiſſion of things of worſe conſequence, if they can but find in the ſacred places any thing to exerciſe their rage on; and the beſt fortified place in the city is now violently ſeized upon, (but ſhall I now preſume to call it a temple?) as a tower or caſtle of defence. But ſay, after ſuch a tyrannick body of men, armed againſt you, as you plainly ſee, what are the ſentiments you entertain within your breaſts? And what are the cauſes of them? Do you wait for the *Romans* to protect your ſacred places? What! Are the affairs of the city at ſo low an ebb? And are we reduced to ſuch a miſerable condition as to hope or think that our enemies will take compaſſion on us? Will not you awake, O miſerable men! with the injuries you ſuffer; and, forcing your enemies, as you may ſee the wild beaſts do, revenge yourſelves on thoſe who injure you? Will not each of you recal to his remembrance the calamities he has ſuffered; and, ſetting before his eyes the hardſhips he has been expoſed to, rouze up the vengeance of his ſoul to vindicate his honour, and puniſh his enemies? The deſire of liberty, that deareſt and moſt natural of all human affections, has now left you: For, in oppoſition thereto, we are become lovers of ſlavery, and act as if it was natural to us. But this was not the behaviour of our anceſtors in the vindication of their liberty; for they waged ſeveral remarkable wars, and neither the power of the *Ægyptians*, nor that of the *Medes*, was able to ſubdue them till they refuſed to do that which they were commanded. But why ſhould I cite the example of our forefathers? Now ſay, what are the motives that ſhould induce us to maintain this war againſt the *Romans?* (for I wave making any obſervation whether it be to our advantage, or intereſt, or otherwiſe) Why, 'tis the hopes of liberty? Why ſhould we then, who cannot bear to ſubmit to the yoke of a nation who have ſubdued the greateſt part of the world, tamely ſuffer the tyrannick ſway of our own countrymen? To pay a ſubmiſſive obedience to foreign maſters, may be, one time or other, the caſe of any one when fortune frowns upon him; but, to ſubmit to one's own countrymen, and thoſe of wicked principles, argues cowardice, and a deſire to be ſlaves. But, ſince I have once mention'd the *Romans*, I will be ſo far ingenuous in confeſſing to you, what has occurred to my mind during my ſpeaking, and which reſpects thoſe conquerors, that though we ſhould happen to be taken by them (which I hope will never be) yet there cannot be any more terrible hardſhips enſuing thereupon, than what we have hitherto ſuffered from them. Can it be any otherwiſe than a melancholy ſight to ſee that temple, adorned with the gifts of the *Romans*, and a city, one of the moſt famous in the world, made the ſpoil of our own countrymen, and ſubjected to their depredations, and ſo many men inhumanly murthered, whom, ſhould the *Romans* conquer, they would ſpare? For the *Romans* are not accuſtomed to prophane our temple, or to violate any eſtabliſhed cuſtom, but ſtand conſtantly at a diſtance from the encloſure of our ſacred places, and looked thereon with a kind of religious fear: Notwithſtanding this land has produced a ſet of men, educated and brought up in our principles, and ſtiled *Jews*, who have the aſſurance to walk in the midſt of our ſolemn places, while their hands are yet reeking with the blood of their countrymen. But is any afraid of the conſequences of a foreign war,

‘ or expects an enemy that will deal leſs favourably with us than our own people? And if we may venture to give our opinions freely, we dare ſay that the *Romans* have been the perſons who have preſerved our laws, and that thoſe within the city are in reality our enemies. Beſides, I am of opinion, that all of you, on your going home, will be fully convinced that theſe deſtroyers of your liberties, ought to ſuffer, and that puniſhment ſuitable to their villanies ſhould be invented. Beſides, by the hardſhips you have been expoſed to, before I made mention of a ſyllable to you, you will find yourſelves inclined to reſent their proceedings. ’Tis probable, a great part of you may ſtand in awe of their number and boldneſs, and be terrified at their having poſted themſelves in a high place of advantage: But as theſe advantages on their ſide are really owing to your own remiſſneſs and negligence, ſo they will ſtill increaſe, if we continue to delay any longer: For their numbers receive conſiderable ſupplies daily, by the flocking in of abundance of wicked men of the ſame way of thinking with themſelves. So that their preſumption is heightened from this circumſtance, as nothing is done to give them obſtruction; and the place they are in, as they are poſted higher, will be reinforced with ammunition and arms, if we defer the time, and allow them any longer opportunity. Put, for once, your faith in me, that, if we go up againſt them, the ſhame of their actions will riſe in their faces, and humble them, and the advantage of the height of the place they have poſted themſelves in, will ceaſe, when they come to conſider what they have done. Probably, the diſhonour they have done the majeſty of the deity will turn their own arrows upon themſelves, and ſo the wicked will periſh by their own darts. Let us but face them, and their courage will ſoon fail them. Nay, ’tis glorious to die, even ſuppoſing we were in danger of our lives, before the holy gates, and to ſhed the laſt drop of our blood, though not for our wives and children, in defence of God’s moſt ſacred temple: And I will aſſiſt you, both with my arm, and my counſel; and every thing ſhall be conſider’d by me that may tend to your welfare and ſecurity; neither ſhall you ſee me, at any time, regard my own preſervation, or ſpare any labour that will be of ſervice to you.’

This ſpeech *Ananus* made to exhort them againſt the zealots. But he was not ignorant all the while, of the almoſt impoſſibility there was of gaining advantage over them, of their great numbers, youthful ardour, and prodigious courage; and, chiefly, that the conſideration of what they had done, but incited them to proſecute their vile actions, as they had no hopes of obtaining pardon for what they had committed. Notwithſtanding, he choſe rather to expoſe himſelf to any difficulties, than ſuffer the ſtate of affairs to remain ſo uncertain and perplex’d. Beſides, the people were deſirous of being led againſt them, againſt whom himſelf had excited them, and every one ſhewed great readineſs to expoſe himſelf to danger.

But while *Ananus* was buſied in ſelecting out and preparing thoſe who were fit to bear arms to maintain the encounter, the zealots, coming to find out their deſigns, (for they had perſons every minute at hand who told them of every meaſure the people were taking) were extremely enraged, and, ſallying out of the temple, ſome in large numbers, and others in parties, they gave no quarter to any they met. Hereupon, *Ananus*, without delay, muſter’d up the people, who had the advantage over the zealots in reſpect of their number; but, in point of arms, and becauſe they were not marſhalled out into companies, were inferior. But the deficiencies on both ſides were ſufficiently made up by the chearfulneſs and alacrity they ſhew’d: For the citizens were ſpurr’d on by a reſentment of more force than their arms; and they who had ſallied out of the temple, by an inexpreſſible boldneſs, of more influence than all their number. For the former were of opinion, there would be no ſuch thing as living in the city, unleſs the robbers were forced out of it: And the zealots, on the other hand, imagined, ſhould they not obtain the victory, there would be no puniſhment left to which they would not be expoſed. In conſequence hereof, their diſputes were carried on againſt each other according to the influence of their paſſions, and the city and the place before the temple, were firſt of all made the ſcenes of throwing ſtones, and of throwing darts at one another. When either party ſaw their opponents to give ground and fly, they then had recourſe to their ſwords; and the ſlaughter on each ſide was great, but the wounded very many, who were borne off to their houſes by their relations: But the wounded among the zealots, returned back to the temple, all the way polluting the ſacred ground with their blood; ſo that it might with great truth be ſaid, that the blood they ſpilt was the only thing that polluted the ſacred places. And the robbers, in all the ſallies they made to engage the citizens, had the advantage. Theſe foils enraging the lower ſort among the citizens, which gradually rouzed up their reſentment to a greater pitch than ordinary, made them exclaim hotly againſt thoſe who had given ground: And they who preſs’d hard behind, by denying a paſſage to thoſe who fled, turned all their party at once upon the enemy; who finding themſelves in too weak a condition to make head any longer againſt them, and drawing gradually back to the temple, *Ananus* with his men made a furious ſally all together at once upon them; which ſo terrified thoſe who had loſt the advantage of the outward circumference of the temple, that they fled into the temple, and faſten’d the gates upon themſelves. *Ananus*, however, did not care to make any attacks upon the gates, though the enemy ſhowered down their darts upon his men, thinking it unlawful, though ſhould he get the victory, to introduce into the temple an unpurified multitude. Wherefore, having ſelected out of all the people ſix thouſand men at arms by lot, he poſted them to keep guard in the portico’s, who were ſucceeded by turns by freſh reinforcements; there being an abſolute neceſſity for all to be upon the watch quite round the temple: Several of the principal inhabitants being deputed out by thoſe who were in authority, went and hired the poorer ſort to ſucceed in their turns in the keeping watch.

But all theſe precautions were deſtroyed by the contrivances of *John*, whom, we have obſerved above, to have fled from *Giſchal*, a man of conſummate artifice, and whoſe ſoul entertained an inſatiable thirſt after authority, having already before plotted againſt the city. And therefore, at this time, under a grand pretence of imbibing the ſame ſentiments as the people did, he made no difficulty to get into the intereſt of *Ananus*, who, during the day-time, held frequent conferences about the ſteps to be taken, and, during the night, went about and poſted the guards: And from hence the zealots came to be acquainted with all the ſecrets of the citizens, and the deliberations they took; and before matters were fully ripened to be put in execution, the enemy were made privy to every circumſtance. And working his way ſo ſecret as to remove all manner of ſuſpicion, he ſtrove to oblige *Ananus*, and the other principals, with extravagant tenders of reſpect: But this obſequious behaviour met with a contrary turn; for the ridiculous and out-of-the-way flatteries he beſtowed, gave ground but of greater ſuſpicion; and this very circumſtance, which was his appearing in every place, without any ſummons, opened a clear field to think he was the perſon who diſcovered their ſecrets. For they concluded their enemies were privy to all their conſultations, and there was the moſt appearance of truth to believe that *John* was the perſon who betrayed them. And, to remove him, they found would be no eaſy undertaking, as his artifice went a conſiderable way, and a great number of perſons of figure were ready to ſupport and maintain his cauſe. Wherefore, they were of opinion, to confirm his loyalty by adminiſtring an oath to him. *John* made no heſitation in taking the oath, which was to ſtudy the good and advantage of the people, keep ſecret from the enemy all their deliberations and actions, and ſtrive both with his ſword and advice to defeat thoſe who had taken up arms. Hereupon, they, who were of *Ananus*'s party, putting confidence in what he had ſworn to, without any thoughts of ſuſpicion, admitted him to their debates, nay, ſent him their ambaſſador to the zealots, in order to terminate the differences, and heal up the animoſities that raged between both ſides: For their care was not to have the temple unpolluted, nor any one *Jew* to fall therein.

John, as if he had taken his oath to favour, and not oppoſe the zealots, going in, and ſtanding up in the midſt of them, ſaid 'That, for their ſakes, he had ſeveral times run great riſque of his perſon, to acquaint them with the ſecrets which were conſulted againſt them by *Ananus* and his aſſociates: That he and all them would ſoon be expoſed to terrible dangers, if ſome provident aſſiſtance did not intervene and ſave them. For *Ananus* was determined to delay no longer, but had perſuaded the people, and ſent ambaſſadors to *Veſpaſian*, to come as ſoon as poſſible and take the city: Which was not all, having proclaimed a general luſtration on the morrow againſt them, with a deſign, either thro' a religious pretence, or by open force, to break in upon and encounter them. That he could not ſee how long they would be able to ſuſtain the ſiege, or withſtand ſuch a numerous body of men. Adding, that he had been ſent, by the providence of God, to terminate the differences: But that this was only a pretence of *Ananus*, to fall upon them unprepared and defenceleſs. Wherefore, that it concerned them, provided they had any regard for their lives, either to petition for mercy at the hands of their beſiegers, or to ſeek ſome aſſiſtance from without. That thoſe who flattered themſelves with the hope of pardon on being detected, did not remember the actions they had been guilty of, or conſider that the moment ill-deſigning perſons repented themſelves of their faults, it was neceſſary, in order to gain a reconciliation with their ſuperiors, to ſuffer heavily. And that ſuppoſing the authors of the late injuries that had been committed, ſhould recant and prove uneaſy for what they had done, yet very often they lived under a load of hatred: And thoſe who had been injured, provided they were in any degree of authority, kept their reſentment more hot and violent. Beſides, he told them, that the friends and relations of thoſe who had been ſlain, were perpetually on the watch for them, and that the diſſolution of the laws and courts of juſtice had incenſed extremely a prodigious number of people: Among whom, ſhould there happen to be any of a merciful diſpoſition towards them, yet they would be obliged to ſubmit to a greater part that kept their reſentment alive.'

CHAP. IV.

The Idumæans *are called in by the* Zealots, *who forthwith come to* Hieroſolyma; *and being denied Admittance, ſtay the Night without the City: To whom* Jeſus *the Prieſt makes a Speech, who is anſwered by* Simon *the* Idumæan.

J*OHN*, by his artful management, and the dangers he cunningly diſcovered in theſe words, threw an univerſal terror among them; and, where their foreign aſſiſtance might be found, he ſtuck not to declare his ſentiments plain and open: For the *Idumæans* were the ſuccours he fully pointed at. But, in order to work privately upon the chief of the zealots, he traduced *Ananus* as a man of cruelty, and whoſe principal aim, he told them, was to complete his full revenge on their perſons. Theſe were *Eleazar*, the ſon of *Simon*, a perſon of extraordinary abilities and addreſs in projecting ſchemes, as opportunity wanted 'em, and in putting them, when projected, in execution; and *Zacharias*, the ſon of *Phalec*, both deſcended from the ſacerdotal line. When theſe two, beſides the evils threaten'd all their aſſociates, came to hear what was denounc'd in particular againſt themſelves, and that *Ananus*'s faction, for the ſake of aggrandizing their power, had ſent for the *Romans*, (for this too was one of *John*'s baſe inſinuations) they heſitated a long time, not knowing what to do, in the ugly ſituation they were plung'd into. For the people, they found, were preparing every moment to attack them; and the hope of calling in aſſiſtance was entirely cut off by the ſhort time they had to put their deſign in execution. And, probably, they might be expos'd to the worſt difficulties, before any one of their auxiliaries came to hear a word of them. However, they took it for the beſt expedient, to ſend for the *Idumæans*; and, purſuant hereto, they wrote a ſhort letter, 'How that *Ananus* had deluded the citizens, and was reſolv'd to betray their metropolis to the *Romans*; that, as for themſelves, they had made a defection in the cauſe of liberty, and were then beſieg'd in the temple. That they could not flatter themſelves with any long time to hold out; that if they did not immediately come to their aſſiſtance, they muſt, of neceſſity, fall into the hands of *Ananus* and their enemies, and their metropolis be the ſpoil of the *Romans*.' The meſſengers were charg'd with ſeveral other diſpatches, to communicate to the principal *Idumæans*; and the perſons propoſed to negotiate this embaſſy, were men of great application, excellently verſed in argumentation, and endowed with a ſurprizing talent to force a belief of what they ſaid; and, what was of more ſervice to themſelves, they were remarkable and fam'd for their ſwiftneſs of foot. They very well knew before-hand the *Idumæans* would inſtantly give into their remonſtrances, as they were a diſorder'd nation, impatient of any regularity, watching every moment to foment diviſions, and rejoicing in change and alteration, and influenc'd to take up arms upon a ſmall repreſentation of thoſe who petition'd them, and that they ran to battle with the ſame alacrity, as to the celebration of ſome feſtival. Diſpatch, indeed, was required in carrying this embaſſy: To the performance of which, no alacrity was wanting in the perſons of thoſe who were ſent, who both were named *Ananias*, and it was not long before they preſented themſelves before the princes of the *Idumæans*.

The *Idumæans*, aſtoniſh'd at the letter, and the other things the perſons who brought it communicated to them, like ſo many madmen, ran up and down the nation, and proclaimed war. A multitude of people were muſter'd together ſooner than they were commanded, and every one, as though to vindicate the liberty of the metropolis, ſnatch'd up their arms, and having formed themſelves into a regular army of two thouſand men, came to *Hieroſolyma*, under the command of four officers, namely, *John* and *James*, the ſons of *Soſas*, and *Simon* the ſon of *Cathlas*, and *Phineas* the ſon of *Cluſothos*.

This journey of the meſſengers was entirely a ſecret to *Ananus*, and his guards, but not the coming of the *Idumæans*. As he had got previous intelligence of this affair, he took care to have the gates of the city ſhut upon them, and guards poſted ſeaſonably upon the walls. However, he by no means thought it prudent to hazard an engagement with them, but rather to try what perſuaſions would do, than have recourſe to arms. In conſequence hereof, *Jeſus*, who was the oldeſt of the prieſts next to *Ananus*, having poſted himſelf in a tower, that faced the *Idumæans*, ſaid, 'That nothing ſo much ſurprized him, as, at the time their city was plunged in ſo many and ſo great commotions, the fortune to find a company of baſe men unexpectedly aſſiſted by them. For you are come to bring ſuccour to the vileſt people on earth in oppoſition to us, and that with ſuch ſigns of alacrity as ought not to be uſed, had our metropolis ſummoned you for aid againſt ſo many barbarians. Now, if I thought your army was compos'd of men like thoſe who have call'd you in to their aſſiſtance, I ſhou'd eſteem this expedition of yours a very judicious one; for nothing knits friendſhip ſo cloſe together, as a conformity of manners. And would any one but now give himſelf the pains of ſifting into the proceedings of each, a thouſand deaths would be found too few to recompence their villanies. For being ſcum and out-caſts of all the country, who have prodigally waſted their ſubſtance in riot and luxury, and given inſtances of an unbridled fury in and about the neighbouring cities and towns, they have, at laſt, ſecretly thrown themſelves into this metropolis; being a band of robbers, who have polluted with blood that ground which ſhould be held ſacred, and who may be ſeen now revelling with impunity amongſt our ſolemn things, and glutting their inſatiable bellies with the ſpoil of thoſe they have ſlain. I ſhould caſt my eyes on your great number, and preparation of arms, as was becoming, provided this metropolis had, by a general voice, called you hither to have aſſiſted us againſt foreigners. But what will any man call this but an injurious act of fortune, when he ſees a whole nation riſing to the aid of a pack of impious men? For my part, I was long in ſuſpence to think what ſhould be the cauſe that had brought you hither ſo ſoon: For, certainly, your intentions never were to take up in the defence of robbers and againſt a people nearly related to you, without ſome great reaſon inducing you thereto. But becauſe we have heard ſome news of the *Romans*, and a ſcheme to betray the city, (for theſe are what give ſome of you great diſcontent, who declare their coming is for preſerving the liberty of the metropolis) we confeſs we are more ſurprized at this malicious artifice and falſity of the diſaffected, than at all the actions elſe which they have

‘ committed. For they could not have found a more efficacious way of ſtirring up againſt us a nation of men, lovers and aſſertors of liberty, and ſo ready, at all conjunctures, to carry their arms againſt foreigners, than by forging a betraying of that liberty which is ſo much coveted. But, certainly, it behoves you to conſider, who the perſons are who are thus traduced and ſcandalized, and againſt whom the diſaffection is levell'd: For truth and realities are to be collected from the conjunction and aſpect of common things, and are not to be drawn from counterfeits and falſe tales. For what could be the reaſon inducing us to ſurrender at this time to the *Romans*, when we were at our own liberty from the beginning, either not to have revolted from them, or, after our defection, immediately have made ourſelves friends with them, before all things about us were made a prey? For now, though we ſhould deſire ſuch a thing, great obſtructions lay in our way, that abſolutely hinder us from healing our affairs, ſince the conqueſt of *Galilee* hath elated the minds of the *Romans*; and it would be an ignominy, more intolerable than death, to petition them in our behalf, though now at ſo ſmall a diſtance from us. Indeed, for my own part, I prefer peace to death; but if the war ſhould once break out, and the encounter begin, then would I chuſe to end my life in the bed of honour, rather than prolong my days in chains. But, 'tis ſaid, that we, the principal among the people, did either ſend privately to the *Romans* ſome certain perſons, or that the whole people, by an unanimous voice, admitted the embaſſy to be ſent. If 'tis alledged that we did it, let them produce by name the friends we ſent upon the errand, to be the miniſters of the treachery? Was any one ſeen or apprehended upon the road? Or taken upon his return? Or were any letters intercepted? But how was it poſſible to conceal ſo great a number of people, with whom we were every hour converſing? How comes it, that an handful of men, and they too ſhut up, and deprived of the liberty of coming into the city, are made privy to thoſe affairs which are tranſacted with ſecreſy out of the city? Ought the memory of their actions to be forgot, when their villanies call aloud for puniſhment? But ſo long as they found no occaſion of being afraid, not a ſoul among us was then ſuſpected or deemed a traitor. Now, if they throw the blame on the people, it muſt be ſaid that they conſulted it openly, and that not a man was miſſing when the deliberation was held; ſo that a piece of news more convincing than any other diſcovery hath quickly reach'd your ears. But what matters this? Was it not neceſſary to ſend ambaſſadors to make a treaty? Let them but ſay, then, who was the perſon deputed, but this was made only a pretence for their further villanies. For had the city been deſtin'd to have been betray'd, the very perſons, whoſe meaſure of iniquities only wants that one miſchief of treachery, and who accuſe us, would have been found the only men who would have attempted it. And ſince you are here now preſent with your arms, it becomes you to give aſſiſtance to the metropolis, which carries all the juſtice in the world along with it, and, in conjunction with us, remove thoſe tyrants who have endeavour'd to aboliſh our courts of juſtice, and, by trampling upon the laws, have determined the cauſes by their ſwords; having ſnatch'd away by violence perſons of conſiderable figure out of the midſt of the forum, whom no body accuſed, impriſoned them firſt, and then, without any regard to their remonſtrances or petitions, doom'd them to death. You may come in, but not by the right of war, and be your ſelves eye-witneſſes of what I have told you; namely, houſes made deſolate by their depredations, wives and children of the ſlain clad in mourning garments, and the whole city a ſcence of general ſorrow and deſpondency: For there is not one who has not fatally experienced the ill conſequences of their barbarous and villainous proceedings: For ſuch a length of madneſs and infatuation has poſſeſs'd them, that not only diſſatisfied with having acted their villanies and bare-fac'd plunders in the province and the cities therein, but conveying alſo their impieties and barbarities into this metropolis, which is the inconteſtible face and head of the whole nation, they have proceeded to act their irreligious meaſures in the temple. Whereby it is become a place of refuge, and a receptacle for them, and a ready aſylum to tranſact thoſe things in, which they deſign for you. And thus that place, which the whole world admire, and which fame and tradition have ſo enhanced in its reputation with the fartheſt nations, is prophaned and trampled upon by a ſet of monſters, pretending to be born among us. And yet, in this deſperate ſituation of our affairs, they have preſumption to be elated on receiving the news that people are againſt people, city againſt city, and the nation collecting an army to tear out its own entrails. When, on the contrary, it would be an honourable action, and what, as I ſaid before, would become you, to rout out in conjunction with us theſe traitors and villains, and puniſh their deceit, in preſuming to call you in to their aſſiſtance, whom they ought to have feared would have proved their avengers. But if you are pleaſed to favour the ſummons which men of theſe principles have given you, yet, by laying aſide your arms, and putting on the ſame habit as your relations wear, you may come into the city, and, aſſuming ſome name between that of an enemy and that of an auxiliary, make yourſelves the arbitrators of our differences. For but conſider the advantage they obtain from your being conſtituted judges, who would not ſuffer innocent men to ſpeak a word in their own juſtification. However, we are willing to allow them this favour as you are come hither. But if you are inclin'd neither

‘ to relent what we have done, nor be arbitrators of the diſpute between us, yet a third article remains, which is for you to lay down your arms, and neither inſult us in our misfortunes, nor ſtay here to ſuccour thoſe who wait for our lives, and want to betray our metropolis. For if you have any ſuſpicions more than ordinary, that any of us holds intelligence with the *Romans*, you are at liberty to obſerve our motions; and, provided any circumſtance appears, that we are charged with, to be true, then you are at your own choice to come in and guard the city, and puniſh thoſe who ſhall be found convicted. For ’tis of no advantage, we are aſſured, to ſuffer an enemy to be preferr’d to you, who are ſo nearly allied to the city. And if none of my words or offers are ſatiſfactory, or do not appear fair and equitable, do not wonder that our gates are ſhut againſt you, ſo long as you appear in arms.’

This was the ſpeech *Jeſus* made uſe of on this occaſion. Notwithſtanding, the *Idumæans* were ſo far from the leaſt regarding a word he had ſaid, that they were extremely enraged at not meeting with a ready entrance; and their officers reſented the affront too much to lay down their arms, being of opinion it was the part of ſlaves to throw them aſide at the command of another. However, one of the officers, namely, *Simon*, the ſon of *Cathlas*, having with much difficulty pacified the enraged temper of his men, and poſted himſelf in a convenient place from whence the prieſts might diſtinctly hear him, thus delivered himſelf, and ſaid, *That he did not wonder the aſſertors of liberty were then beſieged in the temple, when ſome diſaffected perſons were ſo bold as to ſhut the gates of a city which was common to all the nation, and were prepared to introduce the* Romans, *having in all appearance of truth crowned their walls, ſeeing they conferred with the* Idumæans *from their towers, and commanded them to throw down thoſe arms which had been taken up in the vindication of liberty. And not caring to entruſt the guardianſhip of the city in the hands of thoſe who you own kindred, they are pleaſed to conſtitute the* Idumæans *the arbitrators of their controverſies; and, by accuſing a few particular perſons, becauſe they have put them to death without any regular condemnation or formal trial, would involve the whole nation in the guilt of having ſhut the gates of the city upon men who are their kindred, which, by their religion, they are obliged to keep open to all foreigners. And we marched hither with quick expedition to maintain a war with your countrymen, being here now preſent to preſerve liberty among you in your adverſity. Probably you have been expoſed to theſe difficulties you mention, from the perſons you thus lay ſiege to, and, as I ſuppoſe, you may have had reaſon to entertain ſuſpicions of them. But then, again, after keeping in confinement thoſe who have a regard for the welfare of the republick, and denying us entrance into the city, and ſo haughtily giving orders for us to obey your commands, you ſay you groan under a tyrannick government, when, in ſhort, you actually accuſe thoſe of aſſuming an arbitrary authority who ſuffer your tyranny. But who, think you, will bear your ironical and deluſive ſpeeches, who ſees ſo vaſt a difference between your words and actions, unleſs the* Idumæans *will now exclude you from the metropolis, whom you drive away from their uſual worſhip, and the religion of their country? But any one has juſt reaſon to blame thoſe who are beſieged, who, after having taken the courage to puniſh the traitors againſt the city, whom, becauſe they were your aſſociates, you ſtiled noble and innocent, did not begin with you, and cut off the worſt branch of the ſedition and mutiny. But ſince they have ſhewn more compaſſion than was agreeable to their character, we* Idumæans, *nevertheleſs, will endeavour to preſerve the houſe of God, and vindicate the city, by taking a juſt revenge as well on thoſe enemies that ſhall diſturb us without, as on thoſe who ſhall conſpire againſt and endeavour to betray us within the metropolis. And we are reſolved to ſtay here in arms before your walls, till either the* Romans *are wearied out in waiting for yon, or you, through a deſire of enjoying your liberty, ſhall change your minds.*

Theſe laſt words were concluded with a general ſhout of the *Idumæans*; and *Jeſus*, who found the *Idumæans* were influenced too much by prejudice to conſider their caſe rationally, and ſaw the city expoſed to the ravages of two enemies at once, went away extremely concerned and dejected. However, the *Idumæans* were not ſo contented and pacified; for they extremely reſented the diſhonour of being denied and hindered entrance into the city; and, believing the ſtrength of the zealots was not inconſiderable, after they ſaw them at too far a diſtance, and under too many difficulties to aſſiſt them, they heſitated, and were in ſuſpence what meaſures to take, and ſeveral began to blame themſelves for coming. But ſhame, and the thoughts of having acted nothing, overballanced all other conſiderations, and influenc’d them to ſtay: So that they concluded to remain where they were, although their camp before the walls were expoſed to ſeveral inconveniences. For in the night their happened a terrible tempeſt, and a violent wind, with prodigious rain, attended with frequent flaſhes of lightning, dreadful thunder, and horrid ſhocks of the earth; which were manifeſt ſigns that the deſtruction of multitudes of man was threatened by this diſordered ſtate of nature: For it was reaſonable for any one to ſuppoſe that theſe omens portended only calamities of common or vulgar conſequence.

The *Idumæans*, as well as thoſe who were poſted within the city, entertain’d one and the ſame opinion of theſe dreadful preſages: The former concluded, that God was angry with them for reſolving to take arms againſt the city, and that there was no poſſibility for them, who had marched againſt the metropolis, to retreat or fly: While, on the other hand, *Ananus* and his aſſociates, ſuppoſed the victory theirs without the hazard of an engagement, and that the Almighty fought in their defence. However, there were ſome ill diſpoſed perſons who made raſh concluſions of the things to come; and who gave out by way of prediction that what they themſelves, were to ſuffer, would fall upon their enemies. Notwithſtanding, the *Idumæans*, by uniting numbers of their men together, afforded, by that means, ſome refreſhment to one another, and ſecured themſelves from being much damag'd with the rain, by joining together their ſhields, and placing them over their heads, and all this while the zealots were more concerned for them, than troubled at their own danger; and joining together in a body, they unanimouſly join'd in conſulting on ſome ſtratagem that would be of ſervice to them. Hereupon, the more vehement thought the beſt expedient would be to take up their arms and ſally out upon the guards; and then, after they had made their way into the midſt of the city, to open the gates of the town to thoſe who were come to ſuccour them: For the diſorder in which the guards would be put on their ſudden and unexpected falling upon them, would oblige 'em to give way, eſpecially as the greater part of them was unarm'd, and of no ſervice in war: And the citizens would find difficulty enough to muſter up in a body, ſeeing the violence of the ſtorm had forced them to keep cloſe within their houſes. Beſides, if their was any danger in the attempt, it was more honourable to undergo the worſt hardſhips, than neglect ſuch a number of men, who, for their ſakes, were ſhamefully periſhing. But the more prudent were not for having recourſe to violent meaſures, not only as they ſaw the guard ſet over them was more powerful than themſelves, but alſo that the walls of the city were diligently watch'd againſt the *Idumæans*: And concluded, that *Ananus* was continually up and down to obſerve every motion, and every hour diſpoſing the watch: And, indeed, this was no more than what he had really done the preceding nights. But this precaution was laid aſide this one night, which was not to be attributed to any negligence of *Ananus*, but conſidered as the effect of fate that he and the guards ſhould now be made victims. For the night being exceeding dark, and the ſtorm raging with great violence, the guards, poſted in the portico, were diſmiſs'd to take their reſt: But theſe very circumſtances brought a thought into the heads of the zealots, to take the inſtruments belonging to the ſacred veſſels, and wrench off the hinges of the gates. At the ſame time, the whiſtling and violence of the wind, and the frequent claps of thunder, contributed very much to drown the noiſe of the inſtruments.

Thus, privately getting out of the temple, they came to the wall, and, by applying their crows and inſtruments thereto, they open'd the gate facing the *Idumæans*, who, at firſt, were ſtruck with fear, ſuſpecting it was ſome attempt of *Ananus* and his aſſociates; and every man putting his hand to his ſword, was reſolved to withſtand the ſally: But knowing thoſe who drew near them, they preſently enter'd; and had they reſolv'd to have attack'd the city, nothing cou'd have hinder'd them from making a miſerable ſlaughter, with ſo much rage were they hurried on. But, on the contrary, they firſt of all haſtened to releaſe the zealots from their confinement, which was eagerly ſollicited by thoſe who had let them in, who earneſtly intreated them not to ſuffer thoſe who were ſurrounded with difficulties, and for whoſe ſakes they had come thither, to remain any longer in their impriſonment, or be expoſed to any worſe hardſhips then they had hitherto undergone: For if the guards were once taken, all difficulties would be remov'd, and they be in an eaſy condition to make an attack upon the city: But if once it came to be rouzed up, they would find ſome work on their hands to maſter the citizens; for, on the firſt receiving the news of their admittance, they would put themſelves into a poſture of defence, and hinder them from going up.

CHAP. V.

The Idumæans *enter the city while the ſtorm continues. The* Zealots *and their barbarity. The death of* Ananus, *of* Jeſus, *and* Zacharias. *Of the* Idumæans *returning home.*

THIS happy turn of fortune gave the *Idumæans* much ſatisfaction, who went up to the temple through the heart of the city; and the zealots waited, with hopes and fears, their arrival. Upon their going into the temple, they took heart, and boldly came out, and, mixing with the *Idumæans*, fell upon the guards, ſome of whom, being laid down to reſt, and buried in a profound ſleep, were made victims to their reſentment; while the ſhouts of thoſe who were awake rouz'd up the reſt of the people, who, not without extreme amazement, haſten'd to their arms, in order to defend themſelves. And ſo long as they thought they had none but the zealots to encounter with, they acted with courage; but when they ſaw others from without pouring in upon them, they were then convinced that the *Idumæans* had broke in. And the greateſt part of them, ſtruck with a ſudden fear, threw down their arms. But a ſmall party of the younger ſort, who had arms, gallantly receiv'd the attack of the *Idumæans*, and, for ſome time, protected the more ancient. In the mean time, others, with the ſhouts they made, inform'd thoſe who were within the city of the calamities they were then ſuffering; but none durſt venture to come and aſſiſt them, when they knew the *Idumæans* had got in: On the contrary, nothing but lamentation and cries were heard from them in their turns, and a prodigious wailing of women aſſailed the ear, and every centinel was expoſed to the moſt imminent danger. The zealots and the *Idumæans* made a terrible noiſe together, and the general ſhouts they gave, were heighten'd by the violence of the ſtorm. The

Idumæans gave no quarter, being naturally barbarous, and inclinable to ſlaughter; and as the ſtorm had incommoded them, they turned their power upon thoſe who had ſhut them out, and equally exerciſed their reſentment and fury upon thoſe who petitioned for mercy, as thoſe who made reſiſtance, and ſtabbed a great many, who reminded them of the kindred between, or intreated them to have ſome veneration for the temple that was common to them. In ſhort, there was no way to eſcape, nor any hope of ſaving themſelves; for being forced one upon another, the noiſe among them was very diſmal, and the greater part being joined together, ſo as to ſee no way to retreat, and their murtherers ruſhing upon them, madly and inconſiderately threw themſelves into the city, whereby, in my opinion, they ſuffer'd a voluntary death, as they fled, more terrible than if they had ſtood their ground. All the outer part belonging to the temple ſtreamed with blood, and, upon the appearance of day-light, there were found eight thouſand and five hundred men dead on the ſpot.

But this was not ſufficient to ſatisfy the enraged minds of the *Idumæans*; for, ruſhing into the city, they plundered all the houſes, and put to the ſword every perſon they met. They conſidered the ſlaughter of the reſt of the people as a needleſs piece of work, and made the prieſts the particular marks of their reſentment. Accordingly, ſeveral ſallied out againſt them, and immediately put them to death, and then, ſtanding upon their bodies, reproach'd *Ananus* with his care and concern for the people, and *Jeſus* with the ſpeech he had made from the tower; nay, to ſuch a length did they carry their impiety, as to caſt out their bodies without affording them the honour of interment, though the care of burial was thought ſo great among the *Jews*, that they took criminals who had ſuffered crucifixion, and buried them before ſun-ſet. I believe my conjecture is not erroneous, if I ſhould ſay the deſtruction of the city commenced from the death of *Ananus*, and the ruin of its walls ſucceeded ſhortly after; and that the *Jewiſh* affairs, from the time they ſaw the prieſt ſo vigilant about their preſervation, maſſacred in the heart of the city, never received a proſperous turn afterwards. Placing him in another point of light, he was a very venerable perſon, of extraordinary juſtice, and, ſetting aſide his noble extraction, and the other dignities and honours he enjoy'd, loved to put himſelf on a level with the very pooreſt and loweſt claſs of his countrymen. Liberty was the favourite and darling of his ſoul; he loved a popular government, and always ſet the publick good before his own private advantage: He was exceeding deſirous of bringing about a peace, as he foreſaw the impoſſibility of ſubduing the *Romans*, and was convinced the *Jews* would unavoidably periſh in battle, were not their affairs ſettled with the *Romans*. In a word, had *Ananus* but lived, there is no queſtion but things would have met with a more favourable iſſue: For beſides the excellent talent he had in delivering his ſentiments, and working upon the affections of the people, he had effectually removed every obſtruction that lay in his way, namely, thoſe who had oppoſed his deſigns, and thoſe who had ſhewn themſelves encouragers of the war. With this good man *Jeſus* was aſſociated; inferior to him much, if we compare them together, but much ſuperior in ſome particular points. In ſhort, I am perſuaded that God, having doomed his polluted city to deſtruction, and being pleaſed to purge the ſacred places by fire, purpoſely permitted the murther of theſe defenders of them. Thus they who a moment or two before were dreſſed in a ſacerdotal habit, and at the head of the publick religion of their country, and honoured by perſons coming from all parts of the world, to viſit the city, were ſeen naked, and thrown out a prey to dogs and wild beaſts. Virtue itſelf, methinks, poured out a flood of tears in memory of, and in pity to theſe perſonages, and heartily lamented that ſo much malice ſhould bring them to ſo ignominious an end. And this was the fatal end of *Ananus* and *Jeſus*.

After having exerciſed their cruelties upon theſe, the zealots, as the *Idumæans*, raged with uncontroulable fury among the people, as if they had been a number of wild beaſts. Wherever they found any of the meaner ſort, they killed them without granting any quarter: But the more noble and the younger ſort, they took, were thrown into priſon, through an expectation that the dilatory putting off their deaths would force ſome of them to come over to their ſide. But all their hopes were baulk'd, for not a ſingle perſon would in the leaſt hearken to any propoſitions made them, every one chuſing rather to ſuffer death than agree with a number of men reſolved to ruin their country. This refuſal to eſpouſe their party, amazed them highly; for neither ſtripes nor torments was of any effect: But when they found their bodies no longer able to endure the tortures and pains inflicted upon them, they vouchſafed, with a ſeeming kindneſs, at laſt to put a period to their lives with their ſwords. Thoſe they took in the day, were at night conveyed to priſon, and the dead they brought and threw out of doors, to make room for others: And the people were ſeized with ſuch extreme fear and dejection of ſpirit, that not one amongſt them durſt venture to ſhew his concern openly for his neareſt friends, or bury 'em, but was compelled to keep cloſe within his houſe, and ſtifle his uneaſineſs there. Neither durſt any lament without taking particular care to keep it concealed from the ears of their enemies; for the lamenter and the lamented were doomed to the very ſame puniſhment. Indeed, ſome in the night would ſcrape together a ſmall quantity of earth, and throw it over the bodies, but thoſe who had more courage, would do this in the day-time. And thus did twelve thouſand of the moſt eminent *Jews* periſh.

Slaughter and bloodſhed now had cloyed them, and the next things were the courts of juſtice, which they turned into ridicule. In conſequence whereof, being determined to ſacrifice the life of a certain nobleman, named *Zacharias*, the ſon of one *Baruch*, (whoſe extraordinary hatred to them, and great love of liberty, had brought down their reſentment upon him; and alſo being rich, which flatter'd them with hopes of plundering his effects, being, too, reſolved to take him out of the way, as they judged him a man of conſiderable intereſt to weaken, and even ruin their power) they ſummoned about ſeventy of the chief among them under a pretence of being judges, though without any authority; before whom *Zacharias* was indeed accuſed of having had intentions of betraying them to the *Romans*, and of ſending a certain number of perſons, for that very purpoſe, to *Veſpaſian*. They had no evidence to prove any one of the articles he was accuſed of, but ſaid, they were ſufficiently ſatisfied with the juſtice of the accuſation, and that was enough for them. *Zacharias* finding himſelf in too dangerous a ſituation to think of ſaving himſelf, as he had villainouſly been impriſoned, and not ſummoned to take his trial, did not forbear taking the liberty of explaining himſelf; but, ſtanding up in the midſt of them, ſmiled at the appearances of the charges brought againſt him, and, in a few words, cleared himſelf of the crimes alledged againſt him: Then turning his diſcourſe to his accuſers, he recited, in a gradual order, all their wicked and cruel meaſures, and extremely lamented the diſtraction and confuſion affairs were brought under.

The zealots, hereupon, made a violent noiſe, and had much ado to refrain from drawing their ſwords; but, willing to have the mock trial brought to a concluſion, and wanting to know if the judges themſelves, in their dangerous ſituation, would have any regard for juſtice, they kept themſelves quiet. In ſhort, the whole ſeventy unanimouſly brought in the perſon, thus called to his trial, guiltleſs, and pretended they would ſoon ſuffer death with him, than have his ruin aſcribed to them. This acquitment made the zealots raiſe a confuſed noiſe, who, to a man, were extremely offended at the judges, for miſunderſtanding the deſign of the authority they had veſted them with: However, two of the moſt courageous among them fell upon *Zacharias* in the very middle of the temple, and ſlew him, and, after he was dead, ſpoke in a ludicrous way, *We will judge you, and acquit you in a more particular manner*; and then, immediately, dragging him out of the temple, they threw him down into the ditch below. As for the judges, they, by way of diſhonour, were beat about the temple on the outſide, with the backs of the zealots ſwords, to puniſh them for not gratifying them in their bloody deſigns, and that their appearance in the city might convince all they were the tokens of their ſlavery.

But now the *Idumæans* began to blame themſelves for coming, and what had been tranſacted gave them ſome uneaſineſs. Being ſummoned together by means of a certain zealot, who privately went to them, he acquainted them with the whole train of the unjuſtifiable meaſures they had taken with thoſe who had ſent for them, and diſcourſed to them every particular circumſtance they had deſign'd againſt the city; *How they had taken up arms, under a pretence that the city was going to be betrayed to the* Romans *by the prieſts; but that no tokens could be found of ſuch an inſtance of treachery: That, on the contrary, the perſons ſlander'd and charg'd with ſuch a treacherous deſign, were the very men who ſtood in defence of the city, and had ſhewed courage enough to withſtand ſuch tyrannick attempts, and remove the ill conſequences of civil broils. That they had taken up arms, under a pretence the city was to be betrayed by the prieſts to the* Romans; *but that no proof or diſcovery of any ſuch action could be, or had been made; and that the very perſons who forged this accuſation, and thoſe too who had made themſelves guilty of the late violent and tyrannick attempts, owed their preſervation to them. That it was their buſineſs to have obſtructed their deſigns in their infancy; but ſince they both had equally involved themſelves in civil diſputes, it was neceſſary their commotions ſhould have an end put to them, and not for them to remain any longer where they were to give thoſe perſons an additional ſtrength who went about to ruin their country. For if the ſhutting of the city gates againſt them, and denying them entrance, had not well pleaſed them, yet they were to be acquainted, that thoſe who had ſo ſhut them, had been ſufficiently puniſhed for the action, that* Ananus *had loſt his life, and all the people, in one night, in a manner, cut off. That it was reaſonable to ſuppoſe theſe things gave ſeveral great uneaſineſs, who ſaw the horrid cruelty of thoſe who had ſent for them, that even their preſervers ſhould be denied the ſmalleſt reſpect. And that as they had not ſcrupled to perpetrate ſuch flagrant abuſes in the very ſight of thoſe who were come to aſſiſt them, there was the greateſt appearance of truth to believe the* Idumæans *would be charged with their villanies, ſo long as none obſtructed them, or any of them abſtained from his barbarous proceedure. That, upon this account, (as it was paſt diſpute that every circumſtance relating to the pretended betraying of the city had been invented, and that then there was no expectation of any arrival of the* Romans, *and that the city was ſo ſtrongly fortified, as to make its ſiege of vaſt difficulty) they ought to return home, and, by relinquiſhing the alliance of evil-diſpoſed perſons, clear themſelves of all thoſe things which the artifice of the zealots had drawn them into, and made them aſſociates of their villanies.*

CHAP. VI.

The Zealots, *having procured their Liberty through Means of the* Idumæans, *commit a greater Slaughter than before in the City*; *and* Veſpaſian *diſſuades his Soldiers, demanding to go againſt the* Jews, *to put away the Thoughts of War for the preſent.*

THESE remonſtrances gaining an aſcendant over the *Idumæans*, the firſt thing they did was their diſcharging a matter of two thouſand perſons who had been thrown into confinement, who immediately left the city, and went to *Simon*, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak preſently. After this, the *Idumæans* left *Hieroſolyma*, and returned home. Both parties were ſurprized at their ſo ſudden departure; for the people, having no notion that what they had done had ſat uneaſy upon their minds, began to reſume heart a little: And the zealots, as though their aſſiſters had not quite abandoned them, but had procured their liberty from thoſe who obſtructed and hinder'd their inſolent proceeding, were influenced to behave in a more outragious manner. In conſequence hereof, without any delay, or having recourſe to deliberation, they ſet about their injurious purpoſes, and, in the quickeſt manner, invented their ſchemes, which they put in execution, even ſooner than they had deliberated on them. The principal thing they thirſted after, was, the ruin of the couragious and noble *Jews*, being puſhed on to this by envy on the one ſide, and an intolerable fear on the other: For they ſuppoſed they could depend on no other ſecurity, with regard to their own perſons, than by effectually removing out of the way every ſoul among the principal ſort. In conſequence of this reſolution, *Gorion* was made a ſacrifice in company with ſeveral others, a perſon of dignity, and deſcended from a reputable family, one who loved a republican government, and, if any other *Jew* may be termed ſo, a rigid aſſertor of liberty. But the boldneſs he aſſumed in his diſcourſes, was, among his other accompliſhments, the chief means of his ruin; neither had *Niger* the *Peraite*, one who had moſt gallantly ſignaliz'd himſelf in the wars againſt the *Romans*, the fortune to eſcape their hands. Notwithſtanding he often call'd aloud, and expoſed the ſcars of his body, they dragg'd him through the middle of the city: But when he ſaw himſelf conveyed without the gates of the city, and that there were no hopes of ſaving his life, he deſired and begged he might be buried: But they refuſing him the honour of interment, which he greatly deſired, with a thundering menace, afterwards put him to death. When *Niger* was on the point of going to ſtake, he prayed that the *Romans* might revenge his cauſe; that, beſides the war with them, they might be expoſed to famine and peſtilence, and, as an addition to all theſe terrible evils, that they might fall by the hands of one another; all which, God, of a truth, confirmed againſt theſe monſters, and, as the moſt righteous judgment, cauſed them to fall out ſhortly after among themſelves, and experience the conſequences of their own madneſs. *Niger*'s death removed the fears they had entertained of loſing their authority and power; and there was no pretence left untried that might contribute to the ruin of the people. For ſome, through a pretext they had formerly interrupted ſome of them in the execution of their deſigns, were put to death: While others, who had kept a neutrality in the time of peace, were equally charged with crimes, as they ſeem'd neceſſary to their deſigns. He who abſolutely kept out of their ſight, was thought proud and lofty; he who with ſome aſſurance preſented himſelf before them, was reckoned a deſpiſer, and he who endeavour'd to compliment or humour them, was deem'd a traitor at the bottom: And death was the conſtant reward of the heavieſt, as well as the lighteſt crimes. Neither did any one eſcape, unleſs his ignoble birth, or low fortune, had made him exceeding mean.

All the *Roman* officers, from this diſſention on foot among their enemies, concluding what their future advantage would be, were excited to a deſire of laying ſiege to the city, and thereto endeavoured to urge *Veſpaſian*, who was their general, and veſted with the ſupreme command over them, by repreſenting, 'That the providence of God was viſibly on their ſide, by turning the hands of their enemies upon themſelves: Notwithſtanding a change was very likely to enſue, and probably the *Jews*, wearied out with their civil diſſentions, or reduced to a better ſenſe of their miſtakes, would ſoon unite in one common intereſt, and baniſh their differences.' To which *Veſpaſian* returned anſwer, 'That they were ſtrangely miſtaken in what concerned them to do, in deſiring to give proofs of their valour and might, and that with danger to their perſons, as in a theatre; and without conſidering what was for their intereſt and ſecurity. For ſhould they directly go and fall upon the city, they would prove the very means of a reconciliation being eſtabliſhed among their enemies, and of turning their force upon them which was now in its vigour. But would they wait with patience, the number they would engage would be reduced to a few, as their ſeditions had, and ſtill would take a great number of them off: For that God was a much better general than himſelf, who gave up the *Jews* to the *Romans* without any labour on their ſide, and granted the victory to his army without the hazard of any danger to it. That ſince their enemies periſhed by their own hands, and a ſedition, which was the worſt of evils, raged among them, 'twas rather their buſineſs to ſit down contented, and remain ſpectators of the miſfortunes they had brought upon themſelves, than offer to engage with men who wanted to die, and 'were ſo barbarouſly bent againſt one another. Now if any one imagines that the glory of conqueſt is much impaired by being obtained without war, let him be acquainted, that 'tis more for his honour and advantage to put a finiſhing ſtroke to what he has undertaken with quiet, than have recourſe to arms, and experience the dubious chance of war. For they who by continence and a prudent conduct have brought about the ſame things with the brave and valourous, ought to merit the ſame encomiums with them, and to ſtand upon the ſame level of honour. That as the forces of their enemies diminiſhed, thoſe of his own men would increaſe, and the recreation allowed them from their hardſhips, would animate them with greater alacrity to make head againſt them. And, beſides, if any among them had propoſed in their thoughts ſome glorious victory, they had pitched upon a quite wrong ſeaſon. For the *Jews* were little ſollicitous about preparing of arms, fortifying their walls, or calling in auxiliaries to their relief; all which might be effectuated by waiting: And, beſides, their being wearied out with their own diſſentions and civil feuds, would expoſe them to more miſerable hardſhips than any they would experience, ſhould they attack and take them priſoners. And further, that whether any had his ſecurity in view, or the glory of the action ſat uppermoſt in his thoughts, it was neceſſary to diſmiſs thoſe who reſolutely wanted to make away with themſelves; it being by no means prudent to engage with a nation at civil variance with themſelves. For it will be ſaid, and that with much appearance of reaſon, that the victory we obtained was not owing to ourſelves, but to the animoſities and ſedition of our enemies.'

This ſpeech of *Veſpaſian* was aſſented to by the officers, and it was not long before it appear'd how juſt the ſentiments of the general were; for every day numbers fled over to them, in order to get clear of the ſtrict guard the zealots kept over them. Their eſcape was attended with dangerous conſequences, as watches were poſted at all the avenues of the city; and they, who were any way taken, were, under a pretext of going over to the *Romans*, put to death. He who could purchaſe his ranſom, was diſmiſs'd about his buſineſs; and he who could raiſe nothing to redeem himſelf, was accounted the only traitor. And thus it fell out, that, as the richer ſort paid for their eſcape, the poorer were certain to be made ſacrifices. Every village, hereupon, was a frightful ſcene of dead bodies raiſed in heaps; and numbers of thoſe who had actually made their retreat, alter'd their ſentiments, and long'd to conclude their laſt day within the city. This opinion of their dying with more ſafety in the boſom of their country, was heighten'd by the hope they entertain'd of being buried: For to ſuch a length of cruelty did their paſſions hurry them, that they would neither allow the right of interment to thoſe who loſt their lives within the city, nor to thoſe who periſhed in the roads; but, as if they had covenanted to diſſolve the laws of nature with thoſe of their country, and, as an addition to their injuſtice to mankind, to pollute the majeſty of God, they left the dead rotting and putrifying in the open air. Death was the equal puniſhment as well of thoſe who preſumed to bury any of their relations, as of thoſe who endeavoured to make their eſcape; and he who had performed the rite of interment to his friend or relation, was not long himſelf before he was deprived of burial. In a word, there was no commendable affection of the mind ſo much laid aſide in theſe ſcenes of diſtreſs, as compaſſion. For what ſhould have principally incited the minds of theſe monſters to pity, became the very motives to heighten their reſentment: And from the living to the ſlain, and from the dead to the living, was their rage unaccountably carried: And ſo terrible a pannick had invaded the hearts of all, that thoſe who ſurvived reckoned thoſe who had given up their ſouls in the number of the happy, as they had found a period to their misfortunes; and thoſe who were expoſed to ſtripes and cruelties in their confinement, unanimouſly concluded, on comparing the caſe of the unburied with theirs, that the former was far more tolerable. Neither were theſe all, for they trampled under foot all human right, ridiculed divine things, and made mockery of the oracles of the prophets, as a collection of fiction and fable. The prophets, indeed, had made frequent prognoſtications concerning virtue and vice, which the zealots infringing with impunity, cauſed that prophecy which was underſtood to contain the deſtruction of the city, to have its juſt period. For there went an ancient report among men, that, upon the breaking out of a ſedition, and the place ſanctified to the ſervice of God being polluted with the hands of the natives, the city ſhould then be taken, and the holy place laid in aſhes; all which, the zealots did not deny, and yet made themſelves the very miniſters to perform theſe circumſtances.

CHAP. VII.

John *affects the Government. Of the Ills committed by the* Zealots *in* Maſſada. Veſpaſian *takes* Gadar. *Of the Performances of* Placidus.

JOHN, having affected the government, refuſed to admit his equals into the ſame honour; and, after having by ſlow advances got a pack of looſe and diſſolute men into his intereſt, he put himſelf at the head of their faction. As he perpetually rejected the advice of others, and urged, with an air of authority and imperiouſneſs, whatever he thought proper, 'twas plain to be ſeen his aims were ſolely calculated to make himſelf abſolute. Some, through fear, while others, through affection, aſſociated with him. He had a worderful and ſurprizing art to circumvent and allure perſons in order to join his ſchemes, and many were of opinion, it was more to their ſecurity, that whatſoever they did or committed ſhould be grounded on one, and not ſeveral cauſes. Beſides, as he was both a good ſoldier, and an able ſtateſman,he found a numerous body-guard to protect his meaſures. Great part, notwithſtanding, of the oppoſite faction, deſerted him, ſome, through envy, eſteeming it too intolerable to be ſlaves to him, who a little before was on the ſame level with them: While numbers, on the other hand, entertain'd ſuſpicions of the government of one man by himſelf. For they ſuppoſed, ſhould he once obtain the power to himſelf, great and inſurmountable difficulties would lay in the road to remove him, and it would be objected to them with having been the firſt who had interrupted him in his proceedings. Wherefore, every man concluded, it was more preferable to hazard the worſt inconveniences of a war, than, by ſubjecting themſelves to a voluntary bondage, die diſhonourable, like ſo many ſlaves. They who countenanc'd theſe opinions, reſolved themſelves into a ſeparate faction, while *John* governed the oppoſite party with almoſt a kingly power. But both ſides, all the while, took care to defend themſelves, and poſted their guards in every place; but, in the ſkirmiſhes they had with one another, nothing, or very little of any conſequence, was tranſacted: However, in the encounters they managed againſt the people, their animoſities were carried on with ſome warmth, and both ſides obſtinately fought to make the moſt plunder they could. Thus the city being embarraſſed at once with three of the greateſt evils,namely, war, tyranny, and a ſedition, the people judged war a lighter expedient than the other two. Wherefore, abandoning their countrymen, they went over to ſtrangers, and procured their ſecurity from the *Romans* which they had been denied by their countrymen.

But, beſides all theſe diſaſters, a fourth evil ſtarted up towards the deſtruction of the nation. There was an exceeding ſtrong caſtle, at a ſmall diſtance from *Hieroſolyma*, called *Maſada*, which had been built by the ancient kings of the country, as a ſtore-houſe for laying up the plunder obtained in the dangers of war, and to ſerve as a place of defence. The *Sicarii*, as they are ſo called, having ſeized upon this fortreſs, made frequent ſallies out of it into the adjoining country, but without committing any thing more than providing themſelves with neceſſaries, being afraid to puſh at any greater plunder. But ſo ſoon as they heard that the *Roman* army kept quiet, and that the *Jews* in *Hieroſolyma* were torn to pieces by the feuds and animoſities that raged among them, they pulled of the mask, and fell to the commiſſion of acts of a deeper conſequence. On the day of *Azymuth* (which the *Jews* celebrate in commemoration of the liberty they obtained from their bondage in *Ægypt*, and of their return into their country), they made an excurſion privately in the night, ſlew all who made any reſiſtance, and ſallied into a city called *Engaddi*; where, before thoſe who had any intention of withſtanding them, could get to their arms, or muſter up all together in a body, they immediately put to flight, and drove out of the city: But of thoſe who could not make their eſcape, they ſlew to the number of ſeven hundred women and children: After which, having rifled the houſes, and plundered the fruits that were now ripe, they took off their booty, and carried it to *Maſſada*. When all the villages and towns thereabout became a prey to their depredations, being aſſiſted herein by freſh companies and acceſſions of men of the like principles with themſelves, which aſſociated with them daily: And, at the ſame time, roſe up other bands of robbers throughout other parts of the country, who had contained themſelves, till now, in a peaceable condition. And as in the human body, when any principal part thereof is enflamed, the other members becomes at the ſame time obnoxious to the like ailment: So for the commotions and ſedition which now raged in *Hieroſolyma*, thoſe who were of abandoned principles laid hold of the opportunity and took a licenſe to prepetrate their villanies: And all, after they had made what ſpoil they could out of the places they lived in, retired into the deſart; where, having formed themſelves into bands and ſeparate companies, too few to furniſh out an army, and too conſiderable to be ſtilled a gang of robbers, they made their irruptions into conſecrated places, and towns of greater note. Sometimes it ſo happened, that they met with too warm a reception from thoſe they engaged, which generally happens to be the caſe of thoſe who are left in war, but at other times they prevented their puniſhment, by retreating off, after the way of robbers, with the plunder they had made. However, their was not a part of *Judæa*, but what, in company with *Hieroſolyma*, the moſt renowned place of all, was miſerably periſhing a-pace.

All theſe circumſtances were made known to *Veſpaſian* by deſerters. For though every avenue had a ſtrict guard ſet over it, and the ſeditious put to death, all thoſe who any way ſtrove to go over to the *Romans*, yet there were ſome who had the fortune to make their eſcape privately, and get to the *Romans*, who urged the general to ſuccour their city, and ſave the remains of their people: For many had periſhed for having entertained friendly ſentiments for the *Romans*, and thoſe who remained were in extreme danger. The calamities of the *Jews* now touching the general's breaſt with compaſſion, he broke up his camp as though his deſign had been to lay ſiege to *Hieroſolyma*, but, in effect, to deliver it from one. It was his buſineſs, however, before he went about this work, to demoliſh what was left, and not to leave any thing behind him that might give him obſtruction in the intended ſiege. To this end, coming to *Gadar*, the ſtrong metropolis of *Peræa*, he made his entry thereinto on the fourth day of the month *Dy-*

ſtrus. But the principal citizens, who were no better than rebels at the bottom, had already ſent ambaſſadors to him, about conditions of ſurrendering, being moved hereto through an inclination for peace, and a fear of loſing their effects; for ſeveral rich families dwelt in *Gadar*. They who were of the oppoſite faction, were entirely ſtrangers to the purport of this embaſſy; but the approach of *Veſpaſian* to negotiate about it, give them at laſt ſome intelligence; But for them to keep poſſeſſion of the city, they found impracticable, and even deſpaired of it, as they were both inferior to the number of their enemies within, and ſaw the *Romans* at ſo ſmall a diſtance from their walls. In ſhort, it was reſolved between them to fly, but to retreat without ſhedding of blood, and inflicting no puniſhment on the guilty, was thought too diſhonourable. Wherefore, they laid hold of *Doleſus* (who not only in reſpect of dignity and birth was the principal perſon of the city, but who ſeem'd to have been the author of the embaſſy) and put him to death, then, out of an exceſſive piece of reſentment, took and barbarouſly laſh'd the dead body, and fled out of the city. On the arrival of the *Roman* army, the people of *Gadar* receiving *Veſpaſian* with ſhouts and acclamations of joy, the general promiſed them ſecurity, and gave them a garriſon of horſe and foot to withſtand the excurſions of the fugitives. For themſelves, before the coming of the *Romans*, had pull'd down their walls, in order to obtain the great faith as to their inclinations for peace, as being now incapacitated, were their deſires never ſo ſtrong, to act defenſively, or maintain a war againſt him.

Veſpaſian, hereupon, diſpatch'd away *Placidus*, in purſuit of the fugitive *Gadarenes*, with five hundred horſe, and three thouſand foot; while himſelf, with the reſt of the army, return'd back to *Cæſarea*. The fugitives obſerving the enemy cloſe at their heels, were, before they came to a cloſe engagement, forced into a village called *Bethannabris*; where, finding a conſiderable number of youth, part of whom arm'd themſelves voluntarily, and part by compulſion, they precipitantly fell upon *Placidus* and his ſoldiers. At the firſt ſhock they gave ground a little, artfully deſigning thereby to draw them at a farther diſtance from the walls to fight them. And having got them into a convenient place, the cavalry immediately hemmed them in, and terribly gauled them with their darts, putting to the ſword every one that offered to retreat, while the infantry made a great ſlaughter of thoſe who oppos'd them. Indeed, the *Jews* periſh'd in ſuch a manner, as if they had deſired to do nothing more than give proofs of their extraordinary boldneſs. For being cloſed in with the enemy's arms, and their own walls, all the time they encounter'd the *Romans* in a compacted body, they could make their darts no way ſerviceable to them, nor by any force they had were able to break the *Romans* ranks: And thus being on every ſide expoſed to their darts, in a frantick rage, like ſo many untamed beaſts of prey, they ruſhed upon their ruin. Being terribly routed, ſome run down the mouth with the enemy's ſwords, while others were diſſipated by the cavalry.

But *Placidus*, wanting to hinder their retreat and force them into the village, rode diligently up and down to that quarter, when, ſuddenly facing about, he threw his darts upon the next to him, whom he certainly hit: Thoſe at a more remote diſtance, terrified at his preſence, gave ground; but the valianter ſort, by making a vigorous puſh through the enemy, fled to the walls. The guards, on this occaſion, were in ſuſpence what to do; they could not endure to think to be themſelves the means of excluding out of the town the fugitive *Gadarenes*; and, ſhould they admit them within, they believ'd they with them ſhould find one common fate; which, accordingly, happened. On their being forced to the walls, 'twas next to an ace but the *Roman* horſe had broke in with them: But though they had been beforehand in taking care to have the gates ſhut, *Placidus*, however, made a warm attack, took the walls and the town together. Hereupon, the inſignificant rabble were made a ſacrifice, but the more powerful ſort caſt themſelves into flight, and the *Roman* ſoldiers plunder'd the houſes, and ſet fire to the town. They who eſcaped, made the country people run away, and, by exaggerating the hardſhips they had endured, and reporting how the whole *Roman* army was at hand, ſtruck every ſoul with a prodigious panick; and being increaſed in their number, by an addition of people that frequently was coming to join them, they fled to *Hiericho*, which was the only place then that gave them hopes of ſecurity, as it was exceeding ſtrong and populous. *Placidus*, however, depending on his cavalry, and embolden'd with his former good fortune, went in purſuit of them, and made great ſlaughter of them to the very banks of *Jordan*, where, having forced their whole multitude to the very edge of the river, who, by reaſon of its rapid ſtream, could not paſs over (being ſwell'd with the late rains, and render'd unfordable), he poſted his men over-againſt them. Neceſſity now obliged the *Gadarenes* to fight, who had no way left of retreating; and having ſtretch'd themſelves a long way on the banks, they received the enemy's darts, and the incurſions of their horſe; who falling upon ſeveral of their men, puſhed them into the river. Fifteen thouſand were ſlain on the ſpot, but the number of thoſe who ſpontaneouſly or involuntarily were forc'd into the river, was infinite: And, beſides two thouſand and two hundred were taken priſoners, with a prodigious body of aſſes and ſheep, camels and bullocks.

Though the *Jews* were of opinion this cruel chance of fortune equalled any of their preceding calamities, yet they could not help thinking that it even exceeded them, not only in regard all the country where they fled to was filled with ſcenes of ſlaughter, but, alſo, in that *Jordan*, on account of the number of dead bodies, was made impaſſable, and the lake *Aſphaltitis* crowded likewiſe with the vaſt number thrown into it by the force of the river.

ver. *Placidus*, however, improving the advantage his good fortune had put in his hands, marched againſt the neighbouring cities and towns, and having taken *Abila* and *Julias*, and *Beſemoth*, and all the other places reaching to the lake, he placed in each thoſe of the deſerters he thought moſt proper: And then putting his ſoldiers on board ſeveral veſſels, he ſlew thoſe who had fled into the lake. And thus all *Peræa*, to *Machæro*, either ſurrender'd, or was won by the *Romans*.

CHAP. VIII.

Veſpaſian, *on receiving the news of troubles being raiſed in* Galatia, *haſtens to put an end to the* Jewiſh *war. A deſcription of* Hiericho, *and the great plain; alſo, of the lake* Aſphaltitis.

DURING theſe tranſactions, news was brought of commotions having been raiſed in *Galatia*, and of *Vindex*, in conjunction with the men of power of his country, having revolted from *Nero*, a more accurate account whereof is related elſewhere. The report of theſe alterations incited him to put a quicker period to the war, having at this time a clear proſpect of the wars and danger the whole empire was going to ſuſtain and be expoſed to, and finding, if the places in the eaſt were firſt reſtored to tranquillity, he had reaſon to think *Italy* might be delivered from its fears by his means. While the winter ſeaſon continued, he employed his time in putting ſtrong garriſons into thoſe cities and towns which he had ſubdued, placing decurions in the latter, and centurions in the former: Beſides, he repair'd ſeveral of thoſe places which had been laid in ruin, and ſack'd. As ſoon as the ſpring came on, he marched from *Cæſarea* with a larger part of his army, to *Antipatris*, where, employing two days in ſetting the city to rights, he moved thence on the third, in his march waſting and burning all the villages he paſs'd through; and having reduced to his obedience all the places within the toparchy of *Thamnia*, he proceeded onwards to *Lydda* and *Jamnia*, where, after both had voluntarily ſurrender'd to him, having left in them garriſons of the ſurrenderers whom he thought proper, he came to *Ammao*; and there ſeizing the avenues leading to their metropolis, he fortified his camp with a wall, and leaving the fifth legion there to guard it, he, with the reſt of his forces, marched into the toparchy of *Bethleptephorus*, and, having waſted it and the adjoining country with fire and ſword, fortified thoſe caſtles about *Idumæa* which ſtood convenient for his deſigns, and taken two towns in the very heart of *Idumæa*, namely, *Betaris* and *Cephartoba*, he put above ten thouſand men to the ſword, carried away above a thouſand priſoners, diſpers'd the reſt of the inhabitants, and then put a conſiderable part of his own forces there, who ravaged, by their frequent incurſions, all the mountainous places. Mean while, himſelf, with the reſt of his army, returned to *Ametho*, whence, paſſing through *Samaritis*, and cloſe by *Neapolis*, ſo called, but by the natives named *Mabortha*, he marched down to *Boreas*, and there encamped, on the ſecond day of the month *Deſius*, and went on the morrow to *Hiericho*, where *Trajan*, at the head of his forces, (being one of the generals) which he had brought out of *Peræa*, met him, having reduc'd to his obedience all the places as far as *Jordan*.

Before the *Romans* arrived, a great multitude of people got out of *Hiericho*, and took refuge in the mountains over-againſt *Hieroſolyma*; but a conſiderable number who remained behind, periſhed. Thus the *Romans* found the city abandoned which ſtood in the plain, having a naked and barren mountain of extreme length over-looking it; for it reaches northward to the country of *Scythopolis*, and ſouthward to *Sodom*, and the borders of the lake *Aſphaltitis*. 'Tis all vaſtly unequal and rugged, and its ſterility renders it uninhabitable: There is another mountain that ſtands juſt oppoſite to this, which takes its riſe northward from *Julias*, and reaches ſouthward to *Somorron*, which place bounds *Petra* of *Arabia*. The mountain called the *iron mountain*, is in this, extending in length as far as *Moab*; and the country lying between both theſe mountains, is called the *great plain*, ſtretching from the village of *Ginnabris* to the lake of *Aſphaltitis*. Its length is two hundred and thirty furlongs, and the breadth one hundred and twenty. *Jordan* cuts it in the middle, and the lakes of *Aſphaltitis* and *Tiberias* both ſtand in it, of oppoſite natures, the former being ſaltiſh and poor, the latter ſweet and rich. This plain, during the ſummer ſeaſon, is expoſed to ſcorching ſuns, and extreme heats; and the too much ſultrineſs of the weather occaſions an unwholſome and pernicious air to viſit it: For all of it is dry and ſandy, except the places about *Jordan*; which is the reaſon that the palms growing on its banks are fruitfuller, and more flouriſhing, which is not ſo with thoſe at a greater diſtance.

But near *Hiericho* there is a plentiful fountain that in abundance waters the adjoining meadows, pouring out its copious ſtreams juſt by the whole city, which was the firſt place *Jeſus*, the ſon of *Nave*, general of the *Hebrew* army, won by right of conqueſt in the land of *Canaan*. 'Tis reported of this fountain, that its influence was ſuch, as to weaken and debilitate not only the fruits of the earth, and of trees, but the infants women carried in the womb, and to bring diſeaſes and plagues upon every thing elſe; but that, in proceſs of time, this unaccountable nature of it was corrected, by the prophet *Eliſſæus*, who render'd it of a moſt wholſome and rich nature. *Eliſſæus* was the ſcholar and ſucceſſor of *Elias*, who, for the hoſpitality he found at *Hiericho*, and the uncommon civility the men of the place uſed him with, gave them and their country, in return, this everlaſting token of his favour: For going to the ſpring, and throwing into the ſtream an earthen cruize full of ſalt, then ſtretching his righteous arm towards heaven, and pouring into the fountain kind and affectionate prayers, he begg'd it to rectify its ſtream, and open ſweeter veins of water; then prayed God to temperate its ſtream with a richer air, and not only grant the natives plenty of fruits, and a ſucceſſion of children, but make its prolifick waters flow ſo long as they kept themſelves righteous and juſt. But, to theſe prayers, he added ſeveral other formalities practiſed with his hands, all conformable to his divine art; whereupon, the fountain was changed, and that water which before was the cauſe of barrenneſs and dearth, from that time became the ſpring of abundance, and the ſupplier of a happy and numerous progeny. In ſhort, its ſtreams were of that exceeding great influence, that if its water but touched the ground, it produced a kinder effect then if it had long ſettled and remained in the field; and, for this reaſon, it became of little ſervice to thoſe who uſed much of it, but a vaſt uſe to thoſe more ſparing of it. Its ſtreams diffuſe themſelves over a larger tract of ground than any other fountain, running through the plain threeſcore and ten furlongs in length, and twenty in breadth, and, in that compaſs, watering abundance of exceeding pleaſant gardens, and different kinds of palm-trees, both for ſmell and name; the oiler of which being preſs'd, there flows from them honey in great abundance, which, for ſweetneſs, gives place to no other kind; though this country is exceeding productive of honey; and, beſides, fine balſam grows here, (which is the moſt precious product in the whole region) and cypreſs,and mirth trees: So that, ſhould any one call this a ſeat of happineſs, his conjectures would not be amiſs, ſince what are very deſirable and rare in other countries, are produced here in extraordinary plenty. But, without having any reſpect to its other productions, the country excels all other parts of the world, as to the ſoil ſo far multiplies whatſoever is ſown in it. The reaſon of this extraordinary fertility, in my opinion, is owing to the warmth of the air, and the fecundity of the water, the former opening and diffuſing what is planted or ſown in the ground, the latter making every thing to take firm root, and invigorating them during the hot weather: For the country is ſo parc'd up, that ſcarce any riſes up eaſily. The water, if it be drawn before the riſing of the ſun, and expoſed to the air, cools and refrigerates, and, by the air's breathing upon it, aſſumes a quite different nature: In winter 'tis warm, and of very great temperament to thoſe who are dipped in it. And the mildneſs of the air is ſo great in this country, that, though the other parts of *Judæa* are ſubject to ſnows, here the inhabitants wear only a garment of thin linnen. Its diſtance from *Hieroſolyma* is a hundred and fifty furlongs, and ſixty from *Jordan*, all the ſpace ſtretching to *Hieroſolyma* from hence being deſart and rocky; but to *Jordan*, and the lake of *Aſphalitis*, the ground lies more low; however, 'tis altogether deſart and barren. But of the extraordinary fertility of *Hiericho*, this may ſuffice at preſent to ſay.

'Twould be worth a man's pains to treat here of the nature of the lake *Aſphalitis*, which, as I have obſerved before, is bitter and unproductive, the heavieſt things that are thrown into it lightly ſwimming upon the ſurface, and beyond any perſon's aim to ſink to the bottom: For *Veſpaſian*, being deſirous to ſee the place, came and ordered ſome perſons who knew not how to ſwim, to have their hands tyed to their backs, and caſt into it: But, it ſeems, every one floated on the top, as though they had been forced up above by ſome extraordinary ſpirit: And, beſides the change of its coulour is ſurprizing; for three times a day its ſurface alters, and reflects various colours, as the ſun beams dart upon it: Yet, in many places, it vomits up black lumps of bitumen, in figure and magnitude reſembling bullocks with their heads chopp'd off. The men working for their livelihood on this lake, upon coming to theſe pieces of bitumen, pull them into their boats, but find it impoſſible to move them after they have filled them, becauſe of the tenacious quality of it, which ſticks ſo cloſe as not to be removed till it is diſſolved by women's menſtrual blood and wine; to which, only, it gives way. Beſides, this bitumen is not only good for cloſing the rifts of ſhips, but wonderful in the curing of bodies; whence 'tis mixed amongſt abundance of medicines.

The length of this lake is five hundred and eighty furlongs, comprizing, in length, as far as to *Zoar* of *Arabia*; and the breadth reaches one hundred and fifty furlongs. The land of *Sodom* adjoins to it, once a fine and happy country, on account of its rich fruits, and the many cities that adorned it; but now its ground is entirely parch'd up, 'Tis reported, that, for the impiety of the inhabitants, it was burnt up by lightning; that, to this day, ſome remains of the divine fire, and the ſhadows and images of five cities, may be ſeen; as alſo, aſhes growing in the inſide of fruits, in likeneſs and colour reſembling real ones, but which, pulled off by the hand, fall into aſhes. Now what I have ſpoke concerning *Sodom*, is verified by perſons who were ocular witneſſes thereof.

C H A P. IX.

How Veſpaſian, *after the Deſtruction of* Gadar, *prepares to lay Siege to* Hieroſolyma, *but, receiving the News of* Nero's *Death, changes his Mind. Of* Simon Geraſenus.

VESPASIAN in the mean time, having hemmed in the *Hieroſolymites* on every ſide, built caſtles at *Hiericho* and *Adid*, and put garriſons into both, compoſed of *Romans* and auxiliaries. He diſpatched away to *Geraſa Lucius Annius* with part of the cavalry, and a conſiderable body of the infantry, who, at the firſt charge, took the city, and ſlew a thouſand of the youth who had neglected to make their eſcape: The families he led away captives, and gave his ſoldiers leave to plunder their goods; and, having laid their houſes in aſhes, he marched to the adjoining towns. Thoſe of conſiderable note or figure made their eſcape, but the weaker fell a ſacrifice, and periſhed, and every thing left behind was doom'd to the flames; and the fury of the war diffuſing itſelf throughout all the mountainous and champain country, they in *Hieroſolyma* were entirely blocked up; for they who wanted to make their eſcape, were narrowly watched by the zealots; and they who would not yet favour the *Romans* were reſtrained by their army, which inveſted the city on every ſide.

Veſpaſian being returned to *Cæſarea*, and preparing to lead out all his forces againſt *Hieroſolyma*, received the news of *Nero*'s being ſlain, after he had reigned thirteen years and eight days. Now to ſpeak particularly of him, or how he debaſed the empire, by committing the government to *Nymphidius* and *Tigellinus*, men of abominable principles, and the unworthieſt of his freedmen; or how he was treacherouſly conſpired againſt by them, and abandoned by his whole army, being forced to retreat into the ſuburbs, with four of his faithful freedmen, where he was ſlain; or how thoſe, who were the cauſe of his death, not long after were puniſhed; or how the war in *Gaul* was determined, and in what manner *Galba* was declared emperor, and returned to *Rome* from *Spain*; or how the army charged him with effeminacy and cowardice, kill'd him treacherouſly in the *Roman* forum, and declar'd *Otho* emperor, who made an expedition againſt the generals of *Vitellius*, and was defeated and ſlain; or how, after theſe commotions and feuds were raiſed againſt *Vitellius*, and a battle committed in the capitol; or how *Antonius Primus*, and *Macianus*, after they had ſlain *Vitellius*, and the *Germanic* legions, put a ſtop to the civil diſputes: All theſe circumſtances, I ſay, I have waved giving a particular account of, as every one are ſome way or other diſtaſteful, and may give offence; and as ſeveral *Greek*, as well as *Roman* hiſtorians, have tranſmitted accounts of them in their writings: But, for the ſake of preſerving a continued chain of hiſtorical facts, and that the ſame might not be interrupted, I have ſummarily treated of them according to their reſpective heads. *Veſpaſian* therefore at firſt deferred making his expedition to *Hieroſolyma*, waiting to ſee on whoſe lot the empire would fall after *Nero*. But, receiving the news of *Galba*'s being elected emperor, he offered nothing againſt the *Jews*, till he had got his inſtructions about proceeding in the war. In order to this end he ſent his ſon *Titus* to compliment him on his acceſſion to the empire, and receive his orders in relation to the *Jews*. King *Agrippa* ſailed with *Titus*, on the very ſame expedition and account, to *Galba*; but as they ſailed by *Achaia* in their long veſſels, (it being winter time) *Galba* happened to be ſlain, after he had reigned ſeven months and as many days: Whereupon *Otho* ſtood competitor for the empire, and obtained it after him. However, this altered face of affairs did not deter *Agrippa* from purſuing his voyage to *Rome*: *Titus* in the mean time, as if by ſome providence, croſſed over from *Greece* into *Syria*, and, with extraordinary diſpatch, came to *Cæſarea* to his father, where both, in an uncertainty how things would turn, (the *Roman* empire being in a very precarious ſtate) had no thoughts of uſing the army againſt the *Jews*; and the concern and fear their diſtracted country gave them, made them conclude an enterprize againſt foreigners was entirely out of ſeaſon, as affairs then ſtood.

Mean while another war broke out at *Hieroſolyma*. One *Simon*, a *Geraſene*, the ſon of *Gioras*, and a youth inferior to *John*, who ſwayed the city, in the way of ſcheme and artifice, but above him in the ſtrength of body and valorous attempts, which made *Ananus* the prieſt diſpoſſeſs him of the government of *Acrabatena*, then in his enjoyment, went over to theſe robbers who had ſeized upon *Maſſada*. At firſt they ſuſpected him, and therefore would only permit him to enter the lower caſtle with the women he brought, while they inhabited the higher. But as there was a cloſe conjunction of manners between them, and he was ſuppoſed to be depended upon, he was admitted to aſſociate with them in the depredations they made; and accordingly he plundered every thing that fell in his way about *Maſſada*. This, however, nor his attempts to ſpur them on to greater performances, could not procure them to rely wholly on him; for, being uſed to the caſtle, they were afraid of going farther from it, as if it had been their den: He, on the other hand, longing for rule and ſway, and aſpiring at great things, as ſoon as he heard of the death of *Ananus*, moved up into the mountains, and proclaimed, by his heralds, liberty to the ſlaves, and rewards to the free, conſiderable numbers of whom he gathered from all parts around.

His party being now conſiderably increaſed, and of great ſtrength, he ravaged, by his incurſions,

curſions all the villages in the mountains, and additional crowds flocking into him daily ſo emboldened him, that he had the aſſurance to deſcend into the plain country; and, after he had made himſelf a terror to the neighbouring cities, many of the principal inhabitants and chiefs of the country, having before their eyes his great authority and proſperous run of fortune, went over to him; and now his army was no longer a compound of ſlaves and robbers, but conſiſted of a vaſt number of the people who obeyed him as their king: He made his excurſions into the government of *Acrabatena*, and as far as the greater *Idumæa*. For, having fortified a town called *Nain*, he kept it in the nature of a caſtle for his own ſecurity; and the valley called *Pharah*, after he had made ſeveral wider dens in it, where he found ſeveral prepared to his hands, he kept as a magazine for his treaſures, where he repoſited them, and the plunder he required, as alſo the fruits he ravaged. Beſides, ſeveral companies of his men lived in them, which put it beyond diſpute that he was training up an army, and making preparations in order to fall upon *Hieroſolyma*.

Theſe meaſures of *Simon*'s giving the zealots juſt grounds to fear his treachery, who wanted nothing more than to ſuppreſs him who thus was every hour increaſing in ſtrength, marched out in a conſiderale number all in arms. *Simon* met them, and gave them battle, wherein he ſlew many of them, and forced the reſt into the city; but apprehenſive yet of his want of ſtrength, he durſt not beſiege the walls; and therefore, before he would put that in execution, reſolved on ſubduing *Idumæa*. With this view he put himſelf at the head of twenty thouſand armed men, and haſtened to the frontiers. The principal *Idumæans*, (having, with great celerity, muſter'd up out of the country an army of twenty five thouſand very valiant men, and left the reſt to guard their effects, becauſe of the excurſions the robbers made out of *Maſſada*) received *Simon* on their borders, where he gave them battle, and gallantly maintained it the whole day; but it was hard to ſay whether he went off the field the victor or the vanquiſhed. He returned back to *Nain*, and the *Idumæans* home; but *Simon*, ſhortly after, broke again into their territories with a greater army; and, having encamped at a village called *Thecoe*, he ſent *Eleazar*, one of his aſſociates, to the guards in *Herodium*, which was at a ſmall diſtance, to adviſe them to ſurrender their fortreſs to him. The guards, without any heſitation, received the meſſenger, as they were ignorant of the cauſe of his coming. But, on his ſpeaking about the ſurrender, they followed him with their drawn ſwords, till he, finding no room to make his eſcape, threw himſelf from the wall into the ditch that was underneath. He gave up his breath immediately, and the *Idumæans*, who dreaded *Simon*'s power, were reſolv'd to explore what forces he had, before they came to an engagement with him.

To this end *Jacob*, one of the *Idumæan* princes, and who thought of nothing more than how to betray his country, chearfully and readily offered himſelf to undertake the buſineſs: Wherefore, he went from *Colurus* (where the *Idumæans* kept their rendezvous) to *Simon*, and the firſt thing he did was agreeing with him about betraying his country into his hands; and, on receiving an oath of fidelity, and of uſing him always with honour and reſpect, promiſing him his aſſiſtance in reducing all *Idumæa* to his obedience. *Simon* received him with extraordinary humanity, and treated him with a fine entertainment; and *Jacob*, being elated with the ſplendid promiſes made him, on returning back to his countrymen, began firſt with a fictitious detail of the great number of forces *Simon* had, more than in fact there were. Afterwards, taking aſide the princes, and very near all the multitude, ſeparately, he humour'd and flattered them, and adviſed them to receive *Simon*, and, without having recourſe to arms, permit him to govern them. At the ſame time as he was thus tranſacting matters, he ſent for *Simon* by his meſſengers, promiſing to diſperſe the *Idumæans*, which he performed; for, the army being now very near, he firſt mounted his horſe, and, with thoſe he had corrupted, then made a pretended retreat. Hereupon the whole multitude were ſeized with a panic fear, and, before they came to an engagement, every one left their ranks, and fled home.

Thus *Simon*, beyond expectation, and without ſhedding of blood, entered *Idumæa*, where, ſuddenly making an aſſault, he firſt took *Chebron*, where a prodigious booty fell to his ſhare, and a large quantity of corn and other fruits. Now the natives tell us, that this *Chebron* is more antient than the other cities in the country, nay, of greater antiquity than *Memphis* in *Egypt*, reckoning from its foundation no leſs than two thouſand and three hundred years. They acquaint us beſides, that *Abram*, the progenitor of the *Jews*, lived in it after his removal out of *Meſopotamia*, and that his ſons went hence down into *Egypt*, whoſe monuments are yet to be ſeen in this city, which are built of beautiful marble, and the workmanſhip done exquiſitely fine. About ſix furlongs from the city may be ſeen the great *Terebinthus*, which tree, they tell us, has ſtood there from the creation of the world till now. *Simon*, marching from hence, penetrated through all *Idumæa*, ravaging not only the cities and towns, but laying all the country waſte: For, beſides his heavy-armed ſoldiers, forty thouſand others followed him; ſo that there were not neceſſaries found ſufficient to anſwer the demand of ſo large a multitude. This want, and *Simon*'s cruelty, and the reſentment he entertained in his breaſt to his country, made *Idumæa* feel a greater weight of misfortunes at this time, and be expoſed to more terrible depredations. And as we may ſee the woods ſtripp'd of their verdure and leaves after the locuſts, in like manner, whereſoever *Simon*'s army paſſed through a deſart was left behind; for what by burning down ſome places, pulling down others, trampling under foot every thing that ſprouted out of the earth, or feeding upon it, and marching over the cultivated ground, made it harder than the very barren ſoil. And, to ſum up all in a word, there was not a ſingle mark to be found in the havock and deſtruction they made, than any thing had before been tilled or cultivated.

Theſe proceedings once more added ſtings to the reſentment of the zealots: They durſt not however openly to oppoſe or give them battle; wherefore, having poſted ambuſcades in the roads, they took *Simon's* wife, and many others who waited upon her; and then, as though *Simon* himſelf had fallen into their hands, returned triumphant to the city, every moment waiting to ſee *Simon* throw down his arms, and ſuppliantly petition for his wife.

But compaſſion was far from lodging in or entering his mind: On the contrary, an unbridled reſentment for his ravaged wife ſeized him; and, on his approaching the walls of *Hieroſolyma*, he let looſe his fury on all he met, like wounded beaſts enraged at the eſcape of the purſuers. All who ventured to ſet foot without the gates, either to gather olives, or other neceſſaries, he took without diſtinction, unarmed and old, put them to exquiſite torments, and then, through his unparalleled cruelty, to death, to remove the ſuſpicion of feeding his barbarity upon the carcaſſes of the dead. But theſe ſteps were not all: For, having cut off the hands of ſeveral, he ſent them into the city to ſtrike a terror into thoſe who were his enemies, and to foment a ſedition among the people, in oppoſition to thoſe who were the occaſion of one. He gave orders to them to ſay, that *Simon* had ſworn by God, who was ſuperior to all, that, if they did not immediately reſtore him his wife, he would break through their walls, and puniſh in the very ſame manner thoſe who were within the city, without any conſideration to age, or making any diſtinction between the innocent and guilty. Theſe menaces terrified not only the populace, but the zealots themſelves, who ſent him his wife; which cooling ſomewhat the heat of his rage, he put aſide the thoughts of executing an immediate ſlaughter upon them.

Judeæ all this while was not the only ſeat of ſedition and civil commotions, but *Italy* too laboured under the ſame ills. *Galba* fell a ſacrifice, by being ſlain in the midſt of the *Roman* forum; and *Otho*, having been declar'd emperor, maintain'd a war againſt *Vitellius*, who likewiſe affected the empire, the legions in *Germany* having elected him emperor. The battle being fought againſt *Valens* and *Cæcinna*, officers of *Vitellius*, at *Bedriacus* in *Gaul*, *Otho* proved ſuperior the firſt day, and *Vitellius* the next; in which a terrible ſlaughter being made of *Otho*'s men, he on the firſt news thereof ſlew himſelf, after a ſhort reign of three months and two days. After this defeat *Otho*'s army went over to *Vitellius*'s generals, and he with the army marched down to *Rome*. During theſe occurrences, *Veſpaſian*, on the fifth day of *Deſius*, moved up from *Cæſarea*, and marched into thoſe places of *Judæa* which were not yet ſubdued; and, upon coming up into the mountains, he took two governments, which were thoſe of *Gophnitis* and *Arcabatena*, and after them the ſmall cities of *Bethel* and *Ephraim*; where having put garriſons, he rode up to the very gates of *Hieroſolyma*. Vaſt was the ſlaughter of thoſe he took, and a great number were made priſoners. *Cerealis* in the interim, who was one of his officers, taking part of the horſe and foot, ravaged the *Upper Idumæa*, and at the firſt aſſault took *Caphethra*, which laid pretence of being a city, and burnt it; but the other city, named *Caphapabis*, being ſurrounded with walls of exceeding ſtrength, obliged him to beſiege it: However, the inhabitants in the town, concluding he would keep his army long over them, immediately opened their gates, and very ſuppliantly ſurrendered. *Cerealis*, having thus reduced to his obedience theſe places, marched up to *Chebron*, another city of vaſt antiquity. It was ſituated, as I have obſerved before, in the mountains, at a ſmall diſtance from *Hieroſolyma*. Having broke into it by main force, he put to the ſword all he found within, without diſtinction, young and old, and laid the city in aſhes. Thus every place being reduced, except *Herodium*, *Maſada*, and *Machæro*, which the robbers ſtill held out, the *Romans* were determined to fall upon *Hieroſolyma*.

Simon, having regained his wife, marched back again into the remaining places of *Idumæa*, and, committing his depredations every where upon the nation, forced great numbers to fly, and take refuge in *Hieroſolyma*, which he purſued to the very gates of the city; and then, after having inveſted the walls with an unparalleled cruelty, put to death every ſoul he took, as they returned from their labour out of the fields. *Simon* was a greater terror to the people without than the *Romans*; and the zealots ſtruck thoſe within the city with greater apprehenſions than both *Simon* and the *Romans*; and amidſt theſe diviſions, the racking ways to commit more miſchiefs, which were aſſiſted with an unſampled boldneſs of the *Galileans*, became the effectual means of ruining the army. For *John*, owing the greatneſs he was arrived at to the help of theſe, did, in return for the government he had obtain'd, ſuffer them to act juſt as each thought fit or deſired. An inſatiable thirſt after ſpoil and plunder reigned among them; the houſes of the rich were ſearched and rifled, and putting men to death, and diſhonouring the women, were looked upon as trifles: Plunder, and the booty they made, were ſwallowed down in blood, and ſhameleſs womaneſſes permitted to be done with impunity; trimming and beautifying the hair, wearing women's apparel, perfuming, and, to ſet themſelves off to better advantage, adorning the eyes. But, not ſatisfied with the wearing the garb of women, they imitated them in their very inclinations and paſſions, and, by giving an impetuous looſe to their effeminacy and wantonneſs, ran into the commiſſion of prohibited pleaſures; in the perpetration of which they made the city like a common brothel, and polluted every part of it with their impure actions. Nay, working up their faces to the reſemblance of women's, they ſtill reſerved their hands for ſlaughter; and, making ſhew of a broken gate, would ſuddenly ſpring out and appear the warrior, then drew out their ſwords from their fine womaniſh robes, ſlay every one they met. Thoſe who fled from *John* happened to fall upon *Simon*, whoſe cruelty and thirſt after blood was abundantly the more; and he who had eſcaped the tyrant within the walls, certainly loſt his life by him who waited before the gates.

A ſedition now was raiſed againſt *John* by the army, and all the *Idumæans* who were in it ſeparately conſpired to do ſomething againſt the tyrant, being influenced thereto either through envy to his exorbitant power, or hatred to his inhumanity. An engagement being begun, many of the zealots periſhed on the ſpot, and the reſt being forced into the royal palace, built by *Grapte*, couſin of *Izalas*, king of *Adiabene*, the *Idumæans* broke in with them, and the zealots being forced thence into the temple, they went to rifle *John*'s money; for he not only lived in this palace, but all the ſpoils made by his tyrannick adminiſtration were repoſited there. Mean while great numbers of zealots, whe had been diſperſed throughout the city, gathered and fled to thoſe who had taken refuge in the temple; whereupon *John* made ready to lead them out againſt the people and the *Idumæans*. They, as they had more ſtrength, and were better fitted out to maintain a war, had not ſo much reaſon to fear their attacks, as the deſparate condition they were reduced to; and, leſt they ſhould ſally out in the night-time, out of the temple into the city, ſlay them, and ſet fire to the city. To prevent this, they aſſembled together, and, in conjunction with the prieſts, conſulted what meaſures they ſhould take for their own ſecurity, and to prevent the attacks of the zealots. But God, without doubt, cauſed their conſultations and reſolutions to turn againſt themſelves; and the remedy they had thought of for their ſafety, to be attended with more diſmal and bitter conſequences than death. For, in order to deprive *John* of his authority, they reſolved to admit *Simon* into the city, and ſuppliantly introduce another tyrant into it. Accordingly the determination was aſſented to, and *Matthias* the prieſt ſent to intreat *Simon* to enter, whom they had ſo often before ſtood in fear of: At the ſame time thoſe *Hieroſolymites*, who had fled from the zealots, begg'd him on the ſame account, every one being deſirous to preſerve their houſes and effects. *Simon* hereupon arrogantly promiſing he would take the government over them, entered the city through a pretence of delivering it from the zealots; and, upon his introduction, was received amidſt the acclamations of the people, who called him their preſerver and deliverer; but, having once got his forces into the town, he took care of ſuch things as were likely to prove ſerviceable in the aggrandizing himſelf, and raiſing his authority; and accounted thoſe his enemies who had called him in, as well as thoſe againſt whom he was prayed to come and fight.

Thus *Simon* became lord over the *Hieroſolymites* in the third year of the war, in the month *Xanthicus*. *John*, and the party of the zealots, finding themſelves deprived of getting out of the temple, having alſo loſt all the effects which they had in the city, (for *Simon* and his army immediately made plunder of them) began to deſpair of their lives. *Simon*, aſſiſted by the people, made an attack upon the temple, but the zealots being poſted in the porticos, and among the battlements, repuls'd their onſet; and many of *Simon*'s men were laid dead upon the ſpot, and many others carried off wounded; for the zealots, from the high places they were poſted in, had an eaſy opportunity to throw down their darts, which they did with an unerring hand. But, notwithſtanding this advantage, as to place, and the ſuperiority their ſituation gave them over their enemies, they raiſed four very great towers, to ply their arrows from on high. Now one of theſe towers was built on the eaſt and north angle; another above the *Xyſthus*; the third at another corner, facing the lower city; and the fourth above the top of the *Paſtophorion*, where one of the prieſts uſually ſtood the evening before every enſuing ſabbath, and foretold it by ſound of trumpet, and again in the evening when it ceaſed; alſo, when a feſtival was to be ſolemnized, and when to betake to labour. Theſe ſeveral towers had ſcorpion and ſtone engines diſpoſed throughout them, and alſo archers and ſlingers. But *Simon* finding this was not ſo eager of making his aſſaults, as he ſaw conſiderable numbers of his men decline the attack: However, as he had a very numerous army, he made a gallant reſiſtance, though the darts thrown out of the engines ſlew a great many, who fought at a conſiderable diſtance.

CHAP. X.

How the Soldiers in Judæa *and* Egypt *proclaim* Veſpaſian *Emperor*; *and how* Veſpaſian *ſets* Joſephus *at Liberty.*

BUT *Rome*, at this ſame time, was involved in heavier misfortunes. *Vitellius* was now come out of *Germany* with his army, having brought beſides, along with him, a prodigious multitude of other forces. Finding the ſpace allotted for the ſoldiers not capable of containing them, he took in all *Rome* for his camp, and filled every houſe with armed men. They, on ſeeing the *Roman* riches, things unaccuſtomed to their eyes, and the ſplendor of gold and ſilver darting upon them from every quarter, had much ado to reſtrain their deſire of falling on to plunder; and, putting to the ſword all who ſhould obſtruct their inclinations. This was the ſituation the *Italian* affairs were in at this time.

Vitellius having ſubdued every place contiguous to *Hieroſolyma*, returned to *Cæſarea*, where news was brought him of the commotions raiſed in *Italy*, and of *Vitelllius*'s being elected emperor. Though he was a perſon equally made to be governed or to govern, he could not, however, ſtifle his reſentment at this procedure, and could not bear to think him his maſter who furiouſly had invaded the empire in its forlorn and diſtreſs'd condition: Beſides, his concern ſtung him to the ſoul, and the torment he found unable to be born with: That when his country was made a prey to plunder and devaſtation, he ſhould idle his time in proſecuting foreign wars. But as much as his reſentment burned towards taking his revenge, ſo much did the thought of the diſtance of the places reſtrain him from it: For fortune, which was changeable, he conſider'd might, before he could poſſibly paſs over into *Italy*, eſpecially as it was then winter-time, bring about ſeveral new things and alterations; and therefore he endeavoured to ſtifle the reſentment that was growing within him.

The officers and ſoldiers aſſembling together in their reſpective companies, began now to be open in their conſultations about a change. The animoſities ran high, and they exclaimed, ‘Why ſhould the ſoldiers, appointed to remain at *Rome*, who revel in delights, and cannot endure to hear the report of war, have the liberty to manage the empire as they think fit, and create emperors through hope of advantage? While they, worn out with a continued ſeries of hardſhips, and grown old under their helmets, gratify others with the authority, and that at a time when they have one among them worthier of the empire. And when ſhould they ever find a better opportunity to diſplay a juſter piece of love and loyalty, if they neglected to give a token of that reſpect which was then in their power to do? That *Veſpaſian* had by ſo much the more juſt claim to reign above *Vitellius*, as themſelves were better than thoſe who had declared him emperor. That the battles they had fought, were not leſs in number, or inferior to thoſe which the *Germanick* legions had engaged in; nor were they more deſpicable in the exerciſe of arms, than thoſe who had brought the tyrant out of that country. That there was no occaſion of having recourſe to arms; for the ſenate and people of *Rome* would never prefer the libudinous temper of *Vitellius* to the continence of *Veſpaſian*, nor elect, in the room of a good emperor, a moſt cruel tyrant, or one who was childleſs, to be the ſupreme governor of their country. That true excellence in thoſe who are at the helm of affairs, was the greateſt article conducing to the ſecurity and firm eſtabliſhment of peace. That, therefore, if the empire was to be diſtributed to one whoſe experience of age laid claim thereto, *Veſpaſian* was the perſon who demanded their votes; or if to one whoſe vigorous youth did, then *Titus*: From both whoſe ages they might draw what would be good, and what advantageous to them. That they ſhould not only give thoſe whom they ſhould declare, an additional ſtrength, as having already three legions, and the auxiliary forces of the confederate kings; but that, alſo, they would bring into their alliance all the eaſt, and thoſe places of *Europe* out of the reach of *Vitellius*: That, beſides, *Italy* would join their arms; that they would be aſſiſted by *Veſpaſian*'s brother and his ſon, the latter having a numerous alliance of young noblemen, and the other being prætor of the city, which would prove of ſignal ſervice in the acquiſition of the empire. In ſhort, that if they deferred the time, it was probable the ſenate would declare him emperor, whom the army, guardians of the empire, had diſhonoured.’

Much ſuch words as theſe did the ſoldiers make among them; and, afterwards, having aſſembled together, and animated and exhorted one another, they named *Veſpaſian* emperor, and begged him to ſave the empire then in its ſinking condition. Now 'tis true that *Veſpaſian* had had, frequently before, thoughts of redreſſing the government; but his thoughts were far from thinking of the empire; he ſometimes conſidered that the famous actions he had atchieved might juſtly entitle him to be emperor, but he conſtantly preferr'd the enjoyment of a private condition of life to the hazards and dangers of an higher ſphere. On his refuſing the offer made him, the tribunes inſiſted more ſtrenuouſly, and the ſoldiers ſtanding about him with their drawn ſwords threatened to put him to death, if he would not accept the dignity. Long did he endeavour to refuſe them, in order to throw off from his ſhoulders the weight and burthen of ſo ponderous a charge as that of the empire; but, at length, finding all his remonſtrances vain, and that he could not perſuade them, he yielded to thoſe who had named him emperor.

Mucianus, and the other tribunes, exhorting thus, *Veſpaſian* to take upon him the adminiſtration of the empire, and the reſt of the army loudly intreating him to put himſelf at their head, and lead them againſt their enemies, the firſt care he had was to ſeize upon the government of *Alexandria*, well knowing *Ægypt* was the moſt conſiderable part of the empire, as it ſupplied it with corn, (which, could he get into his hands by force of arms, or other compulſive means, he was in hopes to throw *Vitellius* out of his ſeat; the *Roman* people ſtarving at home, being vaſtly unlikely to bear with him) and as he wanted to join the two legions then at *Alexandria*, to the army under him. Beſides, he conſidered the country might be a defence for him againſt the variableneſs and uncertainty of fortune; for 'tis not eaſily acceſſible, and the ſea there affords no good harbours: To the weſt lies extended the dry deſart of *Lybia*; to the ſouth *Syene*, which divides it from *Æthiopia*, and the unnavigable cataracts of the river *Nile*; to the eaſt the *Red Sea*, running to the city *Coptos*; and to the north 'tis fortified by a vaſt tract of land reaching to *Syria*, and by the ſea called the *Ægyptian Ocean*, would ſuddenly ſpring out and appear the warrior, then drew out their ſwords from their fine womaniſh robes, ſlay every one they met. Thoſe who fled from *John* happened to fall upon *Simon*, whoſe cruelty and thirſt after blood was abundantly the more; and he who had eſcaped the tyrant within the walls, certainly loſt his life by him who waited before the gates.

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BUT *Rome*, at this ſame time, was involved in heavier misfortunes. *Vitellius* was now come out of *Germany* with his army, having brought beſides, along with him, a prodigious multitude of other forces. Finding the ſpace allotted for the ſoldiers not capable of containing them, he took in all *Rome* for his camp, and filled every houſe with armed men. They, on ſeeing the *Roman* riches, things unaccuſtomed to their eyes, and the ſplendor of gold and ſilver darting upon them from every quarter, had much ado to reſtrain their deſire of falling on to plunder; and, putting to the ſword all who ſhould obſtruct their inclinations. This was the ſituation the *Italian* affairs were in at this time.

Vitellius having ſubdued every place contiguous to *Hieroſolyma*, returned to *Cæſarea*, where news was brought him of the commotions raiſed in *Italy*, and of *Vitelllius*'s being elected emperor. Though he was a perſon equally made to be governed or to govern, he could not, however, ſtifle his reſentment at this procedure, and could not bear to think him his maſter who furiouſly had invaded the empire in its forlorn and diſtreſs'd condition: Beſides, his concern ſtung him to the ſoul, and the torment he found unable to be born with: That when his country was made a prey to plunder and devaſtation, he ſhould idle his time in proſecuting foreign wars. But as much as his reſentment burned towards taking his revenge, ſo much did the thought of the diſtance of the places reſtrain him from it: For fortune, which was changeable, he conſider'd might, before he could poſſibly paſs over into *Italy*, eſpecially as it was then winter-time, bring about ſeveral new things and alterations; and therefore he endeavoured to ſtifle the reſentment that was growing within him.

The officers and ſoldiers aſſembling together in their reſpective companies, began now to be open in their conſultations about a change. The animoſities ran high, and they exclaimed, 'Why ſhould the ſoldiers, appointed to remain at *Rome*, who revel in delights, and cannot endure to hear the report of war, have the liberty to manage the empire as they think fit, and create emperors through hope of advantage? While they, worn out with a continued ſeries of hardſhips, and grown old under their helmets, gratify others with the authority, and that at a time when they have one among them worthier of the empire. And when ſhould they ever find a better opportunity to diſplay a juſter piece of love and loyalty, if they neglected to give a token of that reſpect which was then in their power to do? That *Veſpaſian* had by ſo much the more juſt claim to reign above *Vitellius*, as themſelves were better than thoſe who had declared him emperor. That the battles they had fought, were not leſs in number, or inferior to thoſe which the *Germanick* legions had engaged in; nor were they more deſpicable in the exerciſe of arms, than thoſe who had brought the tyrant out of that country. That there was no occaſion of having recourſe to arms; for the ſenate and people of *Rome* would never prefer the libudinous temper of *Vitellius* to the continence of *Veſpaſian*, nor elect, in the room of a good emperor, a moſt cruel tyrant, or one who was childleſs, to be the ſupreme governor of their country. That true excellence in thoſe who are at the helm of affairs, was the greateſt article conducing to the ſecurity and firm eſtabliſhment of peace. That, therefore, if the empire was to be diſtributed to one whoſe experience of age laid claim thereto, *Veſpaſian* was the perſon who demanded their votes; or if to one whoſe vigorous youth did, then *Titus*: From both whoſe ages they might draw what would be good, and what advantageous to them. That they ſhould not only give thoſe whom they ſhould declare, an additional ſtrength, as having already three legions, and the auxiliary forces of the confederate kings; but that, alſo, they would bring into their alliance all the eaſt, and thoſe places of *Europe* out of the reach of *Vitellius*: That, beſides, *Italy* would join their arms; that they would be aſſiſted by *Veſpaſian*'s brother and his ſon, the latter having a numerous alliance of young noblemen, and the other being prætor of the city, which would prove of ſignal ſervice in the acquiſition of the empire. In ſhort, that if they deferred the time, it was probable the ſenate would declare him emperor, whom the army, guardians of the empire, had diſhonoured.'

Much ſuch words as theſe did the ſoldiers make among them; and, afterwards, having aſſembled together, and animated and exhorted one another, they named *Veſpaſian* emperor, and begged him to ſave the empire then in its ſinking condition. Now 'tis true that *Veſpaſian* had had, frequently before, thoughts of redreſſing the government; but his thoughts were far from thinking of the empire; he ſometimes conſidered that the famous actions he had atchieved might juſtly entitle him to be emperor, but he conſtantly preferr'd the enjoyment of a private condition of life to the hazards and dangers of an higher ſphere. On his refuſing the offer made him, the tribunes inſiſted more ſtrenuouſly, and the ſoldiers ſtanding about him with their drawn ſwords threatened to put him to death, if he would not accept the dignity. Long did he endeavour to refuſe them, in order to throw off from his ſhoulders the weight and burthen of ſo ponderous a charge as that of the empire; but, at length, finding all his remonſtrances vain, and that he could not perſuade them, he yielded to thoſe who had named him emperor.

Mucianus, and the other tribunes, exhorting thus, *Veſpaſian* to take upon him the adminiſtration of the empire, and the reſt of the army loudly intreating him to put himſelf at their head, and lead them againſt their enemies, the firſt care he had was to ſeize upon the government of *Alexandria*, well knowing *Ægypt* was the moſt conſiderable part of the empire, as it ſupplied it with corn, (which, could he get into his hands by force of arms, or other compulſive means, he was in hopes to throw *Vitellius* out of his ſeat; the *Roman* people ſtarving at home, being vaſtly unlikely to bear with him) and as he wanted to join the two legions then at *Alexandria*, to the army under him. Beſides, he conſidered the country might be a defence for him againſt the variableneſs and uncertainty of fortune; for 'tis not eaſily acceſſible, and the ſea there affords no good harbours: To the weſt lies extended the dry deſart of *Lybia*; to the ſouth *Syene*, which divides it from *Æthiopia*, and the unnavigable cataracts of the river *Nile*; to the eaſt the *Red Sea*, running to the city *Coptos*; and to the north 'tis fortified by a vaſt tract of land reaching to *Syria*, and by the ſea called the *Ægyptian Ocean*, which is every where deſtitute of harbours. And thus is *Ægypt* fortified and bounded. Between *Peluſium* and *Syenes* it ſtretches in length two thouſand furlongs; and the ſea voyage from *Plinthine* to *Peluſium*, comprehends two thouſand and ſix hundred furlongs. The *Nile* is navigable to the city called *Elephantine*; but beyond the cataracts, which we have mentioned above, there is no further paſſage. The port of *Alexandria*, even in a ſmooth ſea, is very unſafe, and difficult for ſhips to ride in; for the mouth is exceeding narrow, and the rocks lurking under the water hinder a direct courſe into it. The left part is fortified with arms artfully contrived and built; and on the right ſtands the iſland of *Pharos*, having an exceeding large tower upon it, which darts a light three hundred furlongs to thoſe who coaſt that way, that they may anchor, in the night, at a convenient diſtance from the port, by reaſon of the difficulty of ſailing. There are prodigious moles raiſed by art, about this iſland, which the ſurges of the ſea daſhing againſt, and breaking againſt the bulwarks that oppoſe them, the paſſage is thereby rendered more difficult, and the ſailing through the narrow mouth often attended with fatal conſequences. However, the inſide of the harbour is the ſafeſt in the world, being thirty furlongs broad, into which are conveyed thoſe things which make the country happy; and out of it are carried to all parts of the univerſe, thoſe products of its own culture and natural income, which are redundant, and it ſtands in no want of.

And therefore 'tis no wonder that *Veſpaſian* made it his buſineſs to get this place into his hands, in order to confirm the whole empire to himſelf: Wherefore, he immediately wrote to *Tiberius Alexander*, who governed *Ægypt* and *Alexandria*, acquainting him in his letter with the readineſs of the ſoldiers in creating him emperor; and that being obliged, through neceſſity, to undertake the reins of the adminiſtration, he had choſen him his aſſiſtent and helper in the management thereof. *Alexander*, having peruſed the letter, exacted an oath very readily of fidelity to *Veſpaſian*, from the legions and the people. Both ſides chearfully took it, as they knew the virtue of the perſon and the many brave exploits he had done in their neighbourhood. *Veſpaſian* being thus entruſted with the things regarding the empire, began to make all neceſſary preparations for his arrival. Fame, ſooner far than could be thought of, proclaimed abroad that *Veſpaſian* was declared emperor in the eaſt; and every city proclaimed a feſtival on this occaſion, rewarded the meſſenger who brought the news, with gifts, and offered up ſacrifice for his preſervation. The legions in *Myſia* and *Pannonia* who a little before (on account of *Vitellius*'s enormous behaviour) were up in a ſedition, confirm'd *Veſpaſian*'s authority by a voluntary oath, and that with a ſurprizing gladneſs. Mean while, *Veſpaſian* went from *Cæſarea*, and came to *Berylus*, where ſeveral embaſſies out of *Syria* and the other provinces met him, bringing from their reſpectives preſents to him of crowns and congratulatory decrees. And *Mucianus* came alſo with the news of the readineſs and loyalty the people had ſhewn, and the oath of fidelity they had taken to him.

When *Veſpaſian* ſaw fortune favouring his wiſhes on every ſide, and that the entire adminiſtration of the empire was almoſt lodged in his perſon, he then began to reflect, that ſo extenſive an authority devolved upon him not without ſome intervening providence of God; but too, that ſome reaſon of fate had made him the inſtrument of ſwaying the whole world. He recalled to his remembrance ſeveral other remarkable tokens, (many of which happened, foretelling how he ſhould arrive to the empire) and what *Joſephus* had told him, who, during the life-time of *Nero*, durſt call him emperor. He was in the utmoſt conſternation imaginable, that he had hitherto kept him in priſon; and therefore, calling a council of *Mucianus*, the other tribunes, and his friends, he firſt began with a detail of that perſon's bravery, and of the many hardſhips and difficulties he had put him to, during the ſiege of *Jotapat*: Then he diſcourſed of his predictions, which he himſelf had ſuſpected of having been forged through fear, but that time, and the event of things, had fully proved them divine: Saying, *It would be reckoned an act of diſhonour, that one, who had foretold him the empire he was arriv'd to, and was the miniſter and harbinger of the voice of God, ſhould ſtill be accounted a captive, and undergo the condition of one conquered.* And, accordingly, having called *Joſephus*, he commanded his chains to be taken off. The officers being ſpectators of this extraordinary humanity to a foreigner, began to entertain juſt reaſons of hope of the fine times they themſelves ſhould find under him. *Titus*, who ſtood by his father, ſaid, *It is juſt, my father, to waſh away* Joſephus's *diſhonour with the ax; for then 'twill be as though he had never been in chains, when we do not loſe, but cut them in pieces.* Which is a circumſtance always performed upon thoſe who have wrongfully been thrown into chains. Theſe words were pleaſing to *Veſpaſian*; and a man with an ax preſently appeared, who ſevered the chain in two. Hereupon *Joſephus*, for what he had predicted, obtained the reward of an unſullied character, and of being one worthy of credit in the predicting future events.

CHAP. XI.

Vitellius *is defeated and ſlain, and* Veſpaſian *marches to* Rome. Titus, *his Son, returns to* Hieroſolyma.

WHEN *Veſpaſian* had returned his anſwer to the ſeveral embaſſies, and aſſigned governments to each according to juſtice, and as each was eſteem'd worthy, he came to *Antioch*; and conſidering within himſelf upon what meaſures he ſhould firſt proceed, he judg'd it more for his intereſt to take care of *Rome*, than go to *Alexandria*, as he ſaw it firmly united to him, and the *Roman* affairs in the utmoſt diſtraction occaſioned by *Vitellius*. Wherefore, he ſent *Mucianus* into *Italy*, at the head of a numerous body of horſe and foot forces: But it being in the heart of winter, *Mucianus* was afraid of truſting himſelf to the ſea; and therefore marched with his army through *Cappadocia* and *Phrygia*.

During this interval, *Antonius Primas*, who governed *Myſia*, took the third legion of thoſe forces which were in that province, and haſten'd to give *Vitellius* battle. *Vitellius* diſpatched away *Cæcinna* at the head of a powerful army, in order to meet him, putting extraordinary confidence in this general, as he had defeated *Otho*'s forces. *Cæcinna*, according to his order, marched with great expedition from *Rome*, and found *Antonius* about *Cremona*, a town in *Gaul*. This place ſtands upon the frontiers of *Italy*. When *Cæcinna* had taken a proſpect of the numerous army of the enemy, and their fine order, he durſt not hazard an engagement; and, thinking it diſhonourable and dangerous to draw off, began to think of betraying the forces under his command. Accordingly, ſummoning a council of the centurions and tribunes under him, he adviſed them to go over to *Antonius*, by diminiſhing the intereſt of *Vitellius*, and exaggerating the ſtrength and power of *Veſpaſian*; and repreſenting, *That* Vitellius *had but the empty appellation of emperor, while* Veſpaſian *was in the real enjoyment of its authority; and that it was much ſafer for them to anticipate the neceſſity they were reduced to by doing ſome act of favour, and, when they might reaſonably think of loſing the victory, preventing the danger by a voluntary ſurrender. For* Veſpaſian *could eaſily, without their aſſiſtance, join what remain'd to his empire; when* Vitellius, *on the other hand, with all the ſuccour they could afford him, was not in a condition to preſerve and keep what he had already conquered.*

By this ſpecious harangue, he won them over, and fled over to *Antonius* with his army; but the ſoldiers, that very night, became ſorry for what they had done, and drew apprehenſions of fear thence, leſt he, who had ſent them, ſhould prove ſuperior: Wherefore, drawing their ſwords, they went with a deſign to kill *Cæcinna*, and had certainly done ſo, if the tribunes had not thrown themſelves proſtrate at their feet, and petitioned to the contrary. Upon this, they refrained from coming to violent and bloody meaſures; but ſome were determined to bind the betrayer, and ſend him to *Vitellius*. *Primus*, on this news, preſently animated his men, and marched at their head againſt the revolters. The engagement being ſtruck, they made a tolerable reſiſtance for a little ſpace; but being ſoon forced out of their poſts, they turned back, and fled to *Cremona*. *Primus*, hereupon, with his cavalry, cut off their ways of communication, and, having cloſely hemm'd them in on every ſide, made a great ſlaughter among them before the city; then falling upon the reſt, he left his ſoldiers at free liberty to plunder and rifle the city, in which ſeveral foreign merchants, and ſeveral of the native inhabitants, had the ill fate to loſe their lives; nay, all the army of *Vitellius*, conſiſting of thirty thouſand men. *Antonius* loſt on his ſide four thouſand and five hundred of his *Myſian* forces, and ſetting *Cæcinna* at liberty from his chains, he ſent him to *Veſpaſian* to carry him the news of the victory; who, on his arrival, was not only honourably and handſomely received, but *Veſpaſian* covered the ignominy of his treachery by the unlooked-for honours he heaped upon him.

Sabinus, after he had received the news of *Antonius*'s approach, reſumed courage at *Rome*, and, accordingly, having collected into a body the bands of centinels, ſeized on the capitol in the night-time. As ſoon as it was day, many of the nobility flock'd to him, and among 'em *Domitian*, his brother's ſon, in whom was placed the greateſt hope of victory. However, *Vitellius* was leſs concerned about *Primus*; his rage was againſt thoſe who had revolted with *Sabinus*, and, out of his natural propenſity to cruelty, thirſting after the blood of the nobility, he threw into the capitol a body of ſoldiers headed by him. The engagement between it and thoſe in poſſeſſion of the capitol was warmly and valiantly maintained; but the *Germanick* ſoldiers being ſuperior in number, at length became maſters of the hill; and *Domitian*, with many of the nobility, at this time, by a divine fate, eſcaped death; but the reſt of the multitude periſhed to a man: And *Sabinus* being carried to *Vitellius*, loſt his life; and the ſoldiers, having ſtripped the capitol of all its gifts, ſet fire thereto. *Antonius*, the next day, puſhed into the city with his army, and was received by *Vitellius*: The battle was fought in three ſeveral places within the city, and every ſoul periſhed. This did not ſatiſfy *Vitellius*, who came drunk out of his palace, and exceſſively crammed with the ſpoils of his luxurious table. The people dragged him along amidſt a thouſand opprobrious and ignominious ſcurrilities and abuſes, and coming into the heart of the city, there ſlew him, after he had reigned eight months and ten days; whom, had fortune ſuffered to have continued longer at the helm of the empire, I am of opinion, all the *Roman* dominions would not have proved ſufficient to have ſatisfied his unequalled luxury and prodigality. Of the others who loſt their lives on this occaſion, were numbers. Theſe things fell out on the third day of the month *Apellæus*. The day after, *Mucianus* entered the city with his army, and having reſtrained *Antonius*'s ſoldiers from the ſlaughter, (who, in ſearching the houſes, put great numbers of the people to the ſword, who ſtood for him, through an irreſiſtible fury that took from them the ſenſe of diſtinguiſhing clearly whom they ſlew) and brought out *Domitian*, he recommended him to the people as a fit perſon to govern the empire till his father arrived. The people, now releaſed from their apprehenſions, proclaimed *Veſpaſian* emperor with loud congratulations, and, for his confirmation in the empire, and the removal of *Vitellius*, ſolemnized ſeveral days with mirth and gladneſs.

When *Veſpaſian* came to *Alexandria*, news was brought him from *Rome* of the joyful behaviour of the people there, on his account; and ambaſſadors, from all parts of the world, which was now his own, arrived to congratulate him on his acceſſion to his new dignity; ſo that that city, which, for bigneſs, vied next with *Rome*, was not large enough to contain the vaſt number of people aſſembled there at this time. The whole *Roman* empire being now eſtabliſhed, and affairs at *Rome* preſerved beyond expectation from ruin, *Veſpaſian* turn'd his thoughts upon the remaining parts of *Judæa*. It was the depth of winter, and yet he got ready to go to *Rome*, with orders for his ſon *Titus*, as ſoon as matters at *Alexandria* were in a promiſing ſituation, to march to *Hieroſolyma*, with a choice body of forces, and lay ſiege thereto. Accordingly, *Veſpaſian* took his rout to *Nicapolis*, diſtant about twenty furlongs from *Alexandria*; afterwards, having put his men aboard of long veſſels, he ſailed down the *Nile* by *Mandeſius*, as far as the town of *Thumis*. Departing thence, he came to *Tanis*, and ſtayed the night there; thence he march'd and made his ſecond ſtage at the city of *Heracleopolis*, and his third at *Peluſium*: Here he refreſhed his army two days, and paſſed the mouth of *Peluſium* the third; and after he had made a day's journey through the deſart, he encamped at the temple of *Jupiter Caſſius*, and the day following near *Oſtracine*. This ſtage was deſtitute of water, the inhabitants uſing water brought from other places. After this, he reſted at *Rhinocorura*, and proceeding thence he came to *Raphia*, his fourth ſtage, (which is a city of *Syria*) and departing from that place, he encamp'd, the fifth time at *Gaza*, and afterwards at *Aſcalon*, and from thence he came to *Jamnia*, thence to *Joppe*, and from *Joppe* to *Cæſarea*, having decreed to raiſe another army there.

The End of the FOURTH BOOK.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
OF THE
JEWISH WAR;
OR THE
JEWISH HISTORY of the FALL.

BOOK V.

CHAP. I.

Of the Seditions at Hieroſolyma, *and the Calamities brought, through them, upon the City.*

TITUS, as we have obſerved in the foregoing, having marched over that part of the deſart beyond *Egypt* reaching to *Syria*, came to *Cæſarea*, where he reſolved firſt to order his army. While he continued in *Alexandria*, modelling the empire with his father, which God had lately beſtowed upon them, it ſo happened, that the ſedition, then raging in *Hieroſolyma*, ſeparated into three factions, and one party violently oppoſed another, which, we may well conclude, was a good circumſtance, as the caſe then ſtood; for nothing better could have fallen out than what did at this time. We have faithfully before taken notice of the inſupportable authority and ſway the zealots exerciſed over the people, who were the real cauſes of the deſtruction of the city, the beginning it had, and to what intolerable miſchief it aroſe. However, a man would not impoſe upon himſelf in aſſerting that a ſedition aroſe in a ſedition, which, like a ravenous beaſt of prey, after it finds its proviſion cut off abroad, turns its teeth upon itſelf, and feeds upon its own bowels.

Eleazar, the ſon of *Simon*, who had been the firſt, and all along had ſet the zealots againſt the people, and been the cauſe of their retiring into the temple, pretending to reſent the daily outrages committed by *John* on every one, (who ſtill continued his bloody ways) but at the bottom extremely hating to be ſlave to a tyrant whom he thought far inferior to himſelf, and burning with a deſire to get the authority into his own hands, and have a particular government to himſelf, relinquiſhed the other two factions, and aſſociated with him of the more powerful, and men of intereſt, *Judas*, the ſon of *Chelcias*, and *Simon*, the ſon of *Ezron*; and with them *Ezechias*, the ſon of *Chobarus*, a perſon of conſiderable figure. Each of theſe were followed by no ſmall numbers of the zealots, and their inner incloſure of the temple was ſeized on, where, on the ſacred gates, facing the holy of holies, they placed their arms. The great ſtore of proviſions they had made them reſume courage, (for of ſacrifices, and other ſacred things, there was ſufficient plenty, and chiefly to thoſe who had had no hand in the late impieties) but the fewneſs of their number gave them fears; and, having placed their arms there, they kept themſelves cloſe within the place. *John*, by as much as he was ſuperior to them in the number of his partizans, by ſo much was he inferior in reſpect of their advantagious poſt; and having an enemy to deal with above his head, all the incurſions he made were attended with loſs on his ſide, neither would rage and reſentment ſuffer him to be quiet. Though the diſadvantages on his ſide, and the hardſhips he was expoſed to, were conſiderably more than the diſturbance he gave *Eleazar* and his faction; yet theſe could not influence him to deſiſt, but frequent excurſions and throwing of darts were made, and the temple, in abundance of places, polluted with ſhedding of blood.

In the mean time, *Simon*, the ſon of *Gioras*, (who had been invited into the city on account of the deſperate ſituation affairs were in, and whom, through hope of aſſiſtance, the people had conſtituted tyrant over them) having the higher city in his hand, and a conſiderable ſhare of the lower, began now to attack *John* and his party with greater fury, though they had the advantage of the higher ground to fight in. 'Tis true, on making the attack, he was lower, as to ſituation, as *John*'s faction was in reſpect to thoſe who had poſted themſelves in the higher places. This ſituation of *John*'s, which expoſed him to the rage of two enemies at once, who gauled him on both ſides, ſo reduced his caſe, that there was no difficulty to incommode him; and yet he had room to perform as much on his ſide: And if his inferior poſt, in reſpect to *Eleazar* and his faction, expoſed him to much ſlaughter and bloodſhed from that quarter, the advantage he gained over *Simon*, in regard of his ſuperior ſituation to him, was no leſs conſiderable. Hence it came, that, with little difficulty, he warded off the attacks made upon him from his lower enemy, and, by the aid of his engines, very much abated the force of the darts poured upon him out of the temple; for he had a pretty large number of ſcorpions, *catapulta*'s, and *balliſta*'s, wherewith he not only beat back thoſe who aſſaulted him, but ſlew many, as they were making ſacrifice. And though the factious crew proceeded to commit all manner of impieties, yet thoſe who deſired to make ſacrifice were ſuffered to be admitted, not without firſt narrowly ſearching the natives, though ſtrangers were ſomewhat exempted from the ſcrutiny; who, though at entering they exhorted them from ſuch cruelties, were, notwithſtanding, made ſacrifices themſelves by the ſeditious: For, the darts flying with a prodigious force to the altar, and the very temple, thoſe prieſts, who were officiating at the ſacred rites, were ſlain on the ſpot, and abundance of people, who were come thither from remote places of the world, only on account of the celebrated name of the place, and the ſolemn character it bore among all nations, were ſlain before the victims they were offering, and ſprinkled with their blood that altar which all the *Græcians* and *Barbarians* conſtantly held in veneration. Strangers were blended among the ſlain natives, and the prophane were mixed among the ſacrificed prieſts, and the blood of promiſcuous carcaſſes ſtagnated in the courts of the temple. 'But, oh! moſt miſerable city 'in the world, what calamities are reſerved 'ſtill for thee by the *Romans*, who will enter 'within thy gates, and purify with fire thy 'inteſtine abominations? Thou art no more 'an abode for God, neither is it determined for 'thee to remain, after thou haſt thus made 'thyſelf a grave for thy own dead, and thy 'temple the ſcene of civil hatred, and the 'ſtage of bloodſhed. Yet, may be, thou 'mayſt yet be changed for the better, pro'vided thou ſhould at any time pacify an en'raged God, who deſtroys thee.' But the law of hiſtory forbids giving way to grief, as this is no time for expreſſing one's concern, but of giving a true narrative of facts. So I return to the remaining part of the ſedition.

The ſedition which thus harraſſed the city, dividing itſelf into three different factions, *Eleazar* and his party, who had the cuſtody of the ſacred firſt-fruits, ruſhed all drunk upon *John*; and they who ſided with him, dragging the people along, went againſt *Simon*, who, too, found proviſions in the city to help him againſt the other ſeditions. *John* being expoſed to great difficulties on both ſides of him, faced both factions. With the darts he ſhowered out of the portico's, he repelled thoſe who endeavoured to come up out of the city, and, with the aſſiſtance of his engines, warded off the arrows thrown out of the temple. As often as he obtained a relaxation from his higher enemy (for drunkenneſs and laſſitude obliged them to deſiſt often,) ſo often did he, in conjunction with his party, with the greater boldneſs fall upon *Simon*. Now every time, as far as he forced them into the city, ſo far ſet he fire to thoſe houſes that were ſtored with corn and other neceſſaries; which example was exactly followed by *Simon*, at ſuch time as *John* returned; as if they had purpoſely reſolved to deſtroy every thing for the *Romans*, which the city had prepared aud laid up for the maintenance of the ſiege, and had conſpir'd to cut the very nerves of their ſtrength. By this means, every thing about the temple was laid waſte with fire, and the intermedial ſpace of the city rendered a deſolate place, and convenient for drawing up an army in: Nay, all the corn, except a very little, was deſtroyed in the flames, which might have ſerved the beſieged ſeveral years. Thus they expoſed themſelves to the miſerable ravage of a famine; which it had been impoſſible to have ſuffered, had they not before-hand been themſelves the ſole inſtruments in bringing it upon them.

The city being thus every where involved in the melancholy ravages of the ſeditious, and the pretended auxiliaries, the people, between both, was, like a great body, miſerably torn aſunder. The old men and women, in a deplorable condition amidſt theſe inteſtine calamities, prayed ſecretly for the *Romans*, and eagerly wiſhed for a foreign war, to deliver them from the domeſtic ills that cruelly bore them down. The natives were reduced to a melancholy conſternation and fear, no time being allowed of, or conſulting either to change their ſentiments, or make a peace, or procure their eſcape. Thoſe who deſired any of theſe were quite out of hopes to bring them to paſs; for ſtrict guards were kept in every place, and the chiefs of the plunderers put thoſe to death whoſe opinions ſquared not with the reſt, as their common enemies, which ſeverity was alſo inflicted on thoſe who favoured the *Romans*, or were ſuſpected of going over to 'em: Nay, theſe inhuman men agreed ſolely in this, to put thoſe to death who beſt deſerved to preſerve their lives. Perpetual was the ſhout day and night of the aſſailants; but more melancholy the wailings of thoſe who mourned. The many calamities they were expoſed to, gave innumerable and conſtant cauſes of grief, but ejaculation, and extremity of woe, was, thro' a vaſt conſternation of mind, reſtrained. Thro' fear, they were forced to ſtifle their ſorrows; but the abundance of their ſighs, which puſhed through their lips, racked them extremely. Relations had no manner of reſpect or reverence ſhewn them, and the dead were diſown'd, and the ſolemn rite of interment deprived 'em. The cauſe of both theſe was, that every one deſpaired of themſelves: They who did not ſide with the ſedition, put a ſtop to their deſires, as they imagined themſelves every moment going to die, and that by all manner of torments.

But the ſeditious, trampling the dead bodies under foot, which lay in heaps, fought againſt one another; and the miſerable meaſures of their countrymen which they trod upon, threw them to deſpair, and made them rage more furiouſly. The conſtant hatred they bore one another, the perpetual ſchemes they were inventing for one another's deſtruction, and the barbarouſly putting in execution every thing as came into their thoughts, and beſt pleaſed 'em, threw 'em upon all manner of injuries and cruelties: Nay, *John* had the open aſſurance to turn the ſacred ſtore, and other preparations, into warlike inſtruments for his own uſe; for the people and the prieſts taking it into conſideration to carry up the temple, ſome time before, twenty cubits higher, king *Agrippa*, at a vaſt expence and labour, hired perſons to fetch, from mount *Libanus*, a ſufficient quantity of matter to perform it, which conſiſted of very ſtately and large trees. But the intervention of the war putting a ſtop to the deſign, *John*, having hewn them to his own uſe, erected towers out of them, finding they were of a fit length, againſt thoſe who aſſaulted him from above out of the temple: And having brought them to the places he deſigned to put them in, he placed them behind the encloſure, and to the weſt againſt the *Exedra*, which was the only place he could put them in as the other places, for a conſiderable diſtance, mounted up by ſteps.

John, having impiouſly thus prepared him engines, was in hopes to defeat the meaſures of his enemies: But God ſhewed him the inſignificancy and vanity of his deſign, by bringing the *Romans* upon him before a ſoul had ſet foot within the towers; for *Titus* marched from *Cæſarea* the moment he had collected together part of his forces, and diſpatched away others to meet him at *Hieroſolyma*. There were the three legions, who, before, under his father, had waſted *Judea*, and the twelfth, which had received that fatal blow under *Ceſtius*, being, in other reſpects, a body of brave and gallant men, and reſolutely bent now to revenge their diſhonour which the remembrance of their ſufferings animated them to. He gave orders for the fifth *Roman* legion to march through *Ammao*, and meet him, and for the tenth to paſs through *Hiericho*, while himſelf, with the reſt of his army, took another rout, accompanied with conſiderable reinforcements of auxiliaries which ſeveral kings had ſent him, and a large number of *Syrian* troops. The four legions were ſupplied each with a complement of men, which *Veſpaſian* ſelected out of thoſe forces which marched with *Titus* to *Hieroſolyma*, and were ſent into *Italy* under the command of *Mucianus*; for two thouſand were choſen out of the army at *Alexandria*, and three thouſand others accompanied him, who were drawn out of the guards at the *Euphrates*. Beſides, *Tiberius Alexander* made one of the company, an experienced friend, both for his loyalty and prudence, who had been governor of *Egypt* before, but now was eſteemed a proper perſon to command an army, as he had been the firſt to receive the new emperor, and go over to him, when the ſtate of his affairs were in great uncertainty. For which *Tiberius*, and in regard of his age and experience, was always adviſed with the firſt in all military matters.

CHAP. II.

In what Manner Titus *marched to* Hieroſolyma, *and the Danger he expoſed himſelf to in taking a View of the City where he encamped.*

TITUS's march into the enemy's country was preceded by all the royal and other auxiliaries, after whom, followed the pioneers and encampers, then the officers baggage, and after this a body of men at arms, its convoy, then marched *Titus* at the head of another choice company of men at arms and ſpearmen, brought up in the rear by the horſemen and legionary ſoldiers. Theſe went before the engines, and after them came up the tribunes with ſelected companies, and the præfects with their cohorts. Next appeared the ſtandards of the eagle, and the trumpeters before them, and then a phalanx, conſiſting of ſeveral ranks of old men. The ſervants belonging to the legions followed behind theſe, bringing up the ſoldiers baggage, and the mercenaries brought up the rear, being convoyed by officers ſet over them. *Titus*, as the *Roman* cuſtom is, marched with his army in this regular manner through the country of *Samaria*, to *Gophna*, which his father had before won, and was now fortified with ſtrong garriſons; where, ſtaying one night, he departed thence in the morning, and, after a day's journey, encamped in a place called, in the *Jewiſh* language, *the valley of thorns*, at a certain village named *Gabathſaul*, (which is as much as to ſay *the mount of* Saul) about thirty furlongs diſtant from *Hieroſolyma*: From this place, having took about ſix hundred horſe, he went to take a view of the city, explore its ſtrength, and the reſolution of the

Jews, in order to know, whether the ſight of him, without having recourſe to arms, would not terrify and make them ſurrender. Having heard, as in truth he had, that the people, harraſſed out with the ſeditious and the robbers, were deſirous of peace, and kept themſelves quiet, becauſe they were too weak to make any reſiſtance againſt them.

So long as *Titus* rode down the deſcent leading to the wall, not a ſoul appeared before the gates; but, on going out of the way, and bending aſide with a company of horſe near the tower of *Pſepkina*, a vaſt number immediately ſallied out at the gate over-againſt *Helen*'s monument, by the *women's towers*, and beat back the horſe, and, puſhing hard upon thoſe who faced them, hinder'd ſome, who were yet in the way, from joining thoſe they had broke, while *Titus* was forced to ſeparate, with a ſmall party of his men. There was no going further for him; for every place was fenced in with the ditch and garden ground, ſeveral gardens and pales running athwart, and hindering his paſſage: And, to get back to his troops, he ſaw it impoſſible: for the numbers of the enemy that ſtood in his way, the major part of whom, knowing nothing of the danger the emperor was expoſed to, but concluding he was got back with his men, took to their heels and fled. But when *Titus* found that the only way left to preſerve his life remained in his own courage, he turned his horſe about, and, calling aloud to thoſe about him to follow his example, ruſhed into the midſt of his enemies, and, by main force, broke thro' to his army. From hence, there is all the reaſon imaginable to judge, that God has a particular care over the chance of war, and the hazards of princes; for, notwithſtanding the number of darts thrown at *Titus*, when he had neither ſhield, or breaſt-plate (for, as I ſaid above) he came not in quality of a warrior, but of a ſpy, he received not a wound, or the ſmalleſt hurt, upon his body, but every thing, as if on purpoſe, flew whizzing over him. But as the enemy endeavoured to come up with him, he conſtantly repulſed them with his ſword, and drove numbers before him, forced his horſe over thoſe who fell proſtrate before him. This ſignal bravery of *Cæſar*, made them ſhout aloud; and they exhorted one another to fall upon him, but wherеſoever he directed his courſe, every one fled and departed. Thoſe who partook of the danger with him, being expoſed to the enemy's darts both in rear and flank, cloſed with him; for every one had but one way to ſave themſelves, which was, to open a paſſage to *Titus*, before he was hemm'd in. Two who were at the greateſt diſtance from *Titus*, were ſlain, the one with his horſe being ſurrounded and buried with the arrows thrown at him, the other on diſmounting loſing his life and his horſe, which the *Jews* carried off. *Titus*, however, got ſafe to his camp with the reſt. This ſmall advantage gained upon the firſt onſet, raiſed the *Jews* minds with inconſiderate hopes, and this momentary favour of fortune animated them with great courage afterwards.

Cæſar, being joined in the night by the legion out of *Ammao*, mov'd the next day thence to a place which is called *Scopus*, from whence is a very fair proſpect of the city, and the fine and large appearance of the temple, where the plain, which adjoins to the north ſide of the city, is appoſitely called *Scopus*. He being at ſeven furlongs diſtance from the city, commanded two legions to pitch their tents together, and the third three furlongs behind him; for his ſoldiers being fatigued with marching in the night, he conſidered they very well deſerved to be covered, to make them go on with their wall with the leſs fear. The work, a while after, being begun, the tenth legion, which had taken its rout through *Hiericho*, arrived, when part of the ſoldiers were ſet to guard the avenues of the place, which *Veſpaſian* had before ſeized on. Theſe had orders, about ſix furlongs diſtant from *Hieroſolyma*, to encamp on the mount of olives, facing the city, where a profound and deep valley, called *Cedron*, lay between.

But now was the firſt time of awaking the minds of the ſeditious; who preſently laid down their animoſities at the ſudden appearance and vaſt number of foreign troops; they looked with aſtoniſhment upon the *Romans*, encamping themſelves in three different places; and the ſight awaked them to enter into an ill-timed reconciliation: They ſpoke one to another, and aſked what it was they ſought after, what made them expoſe themſelves to ſuch outrages, and ſhut themſelves up within three walls, and what influenced them, while their enemies erected batteries againſt them, like ſo many little cities, to ſit idle ſpectators of their commendable and advantageous works pent up in walls with dejected hands and arms. Upon which ſome anſwer'd aloud, *Againſt us nothing ſhall prevail if we be valiant; for the* Romans, *from our ſedition, will gain this advantage, to win the city without bloodſhed*. And, having ſo ſaid, they met together, and endeavoured to animate one another. Suddenly, they ſnatch'd up their arms, and ſallied out upon the tenth legion, and then, making an irruption through the valley, fell upon the *Romans*, who were ſet to guard the camp. The major part of thoſe who had been diſtributed about to finiſh the intended works, having, on that account, thrown aſide their arms (for they did not imagine the *Jews* would have had courage to ſally out, and, had they been never ſo minded to it, that their ſeditious temper would have diſtracted them,) were put into an unexpected diſorder, and ſome abandoning the works, immediately withdrew, while many others, haſtening to their arms, before they had time to turn themſelves about and face their enemies, were ſhot to death. The *Jews* were conſtantly augmented by freſh reinforcements, occaſioned by the ſlight advantage the firſt had obtained, which animated them with courage; and their number, both to themſelves and the *Romans*, appeared more conſiderable than in reality it was, becauſe fortune had deigned to ſmile favourably upon them. For theſe, who had always been accuſtomed to diſcipline and order, and to whom the arts of war were well known, and by whom regularity and an exact obſervation of the word of command were followed, were now ſeized with a ſtrange confuſion and panick: For this ſudden appearance of the enemies obliged the *Romans* to give way to their attacks: But the moment they faced about, the *Jews* were repulſed from proceeding any further, and many unwarily wounded, thro' the violence of their attacks. But the ſalliers perpetually increaſing in their number, put the *Romans* into ſuch confuſion at laſt, that they were drove out of their camp, and a thouſand to one then but the whole tenth legion had been expoſed to irretrievable danger, had not *Titus*, on the news of the bad ſituation they were in, maturely come up to their aſſiſtance; and, after a ſharp reprimand of their inaction, recalled his men from their flight: After which, he made a gallant puſh with a choice body of his forces, on the *Jews* that oppoſed him, many of whom he ſlew upon the ſpot, wounded a greater number, forced all of them to take to their heels, and drove them precipitately into the valleys. The ſteepneſs of the place expoſing them to great diſadvantage, by which they received no inconſiderable damage, they yet had the courage to face about again, after they were got to the other ſide, to fight the *Romans*, though the brook ran between. In this poſture they continued the engagement till noon; but *Titus* ſoon after mid-day, after he had poſted thoſe who came with him to ſuccour the other ſoldiers in diſtreſs, and ſome other parties of the cohorts, ſent the other legion to the higher places of the mountain, in order to ſecure the valley.

The *Jews* took this for a retreat; and a ſpy, whom they had poſted upon the wall, having given them a ſignal of the ſame, by ſhaking his garment, a very numerous and freſh multitude ſallied out immediately, who, in their precipitation, equalled the moſt ſavage beaſts: For none of the enemy were able to withſtand their fierce attacks; but, as though they had drove down all before them with the force of martial engines, the *Roman* ranks were put into the greateſt diſorder and confuſion, forced to turn to their heels, and ſeek ſhelter in the mountain. *Titus* was left with a few in the very middle of the aſcent; whereupon, ſome of his friends, who, through a regard to his high ſtation, and a diſdain of danger, expoſtulated freely with him, and adviſed him, *to give way to the* Jews, *who were reſolutely bent upon death, nor thus expoſe himſelf to danger for their ſakes whom it became, for him, to ſuſtain the enemy's ſhock, but rather that he would have ſome conſideration for his life and the rank he bore, and not, while he, who was both the general of the war, and the Lord of the word, performed the duties of the campaign, ſuffer himſelf to ſtand his ground in ſo precipitate a flight of men, in whom was repoſed the fortune of all.* But he ſeemed to give no manner of ear to this remonſtrance, and abſolutely rejected all that was adviſed by them; nay, he ſmote 'em, as they forcibly endeavoured to reſtrain him, in their faces and ſlew ſome upon the ſpot; then ruſhing into the midſt of the crowds, violently forced the multitude down the ſteepy hill. Notwithſtanding the confuſion this extraordinary preſence of mind, which *Titus* on this occaſion diſcover'd, threw the *Jews* into, they never offered to retreat back into the city, but dividing from him on either ſide, puſh'd hard upon thoſe who endeavoured to get up the hill. *Titus* preſently flanked them, and hindred them from proceeding in their career. While things were thus managed, thoſe who were ſet to guard the camp above, when they ſaw the ſoldiers beneath them give ground and fly, were ſeized with a terrible diſorder and pannick, and the legion diſperſed, ſuppoſing there was no poſſibility to withſtand the furious attacks of the *Jews*, and that *Titus* himſelf was fled: For if he had kept his ground, the others would not have taken to their heels. All being thus ſeized with terrible apprehenſions, they hurried to and fro in the greateſt diſorder and confuſion, till ſome, who eſpied the emperor fighting in the midſt of his enemies, and fearing he ſhould be expoſed to danger, ſhouted aloud, and ſo gave a ſignal to the legion of the precarious ſituation he was in. Shame and confuſion inſtantly recalled them, and taxing themſelves with ſomething of more than flying, that they had deſerted their emperor, they ruſhed upon the *Jews* with all their might, and forced them, when they found them once give ground, down the ſides of the hill into the valley. Notwithſtanding, they took heart, faced about, and ſtill maintained the engagement; but the *Romans* having the advantage over them in reſpect of their higher poſt, puſhed every ſoul of them into the valley. *Titus*, all the while, made a briſk defence againſt thoſe who attacked him, and ſent the legion to ſecure the valley; and with the forces he had before confided in, drove the enemy before him. So that, if I may be allowed to ſpeak the truth, neither adding any thing through flattery, or diminiſhing any thing through envy, it muſt be confeſſed that *Cæſar* was the ſole cauſe of twice ſnatching a whole legion out of danger, and bringing it about at laſt as to make them return in ſafety to their camp.

CHAP. III.

How the Sedition was rekindled at Hieroſolyma. *How the* Jews *afterwards laid Stratagems againſt the* Romans. *The Menaces* Titus *uſed againſt his Forces for their Temerity.*

THE foreign war taking a little reſpite of eaſe, domeſtic feuds broke out again. The feaſt of *Azymuth* approaching, which falls out on the tenth day of the month *Xanthicus*, when, 'tis ſaid, the *Jews* were firſt delivered from the *Ægyptian* captivity, *Eleazar* and his party opened the gates, and admitted all the people within who had a mind to be preſent at the ſolemnity. *John*, who reſolved to turn the feſtival to the advantage of himſelf and his ſchemes, ſupplied ſome of his faction, who were greater ſtrangers to his deſigns, and, for the major part, unpurified, with hidden arms, and ſent them, in company with others, with a deſign to ſeize upon the temple. They, when they were got within, threw off their garments immediately, and ſhewed themſelves in their armour; upon which there aroſe preſently a great buſtle and tumult about the temple, the people, who were ſtrangers to the ſedition, concluding the ſcheme was deſigned to be put in execution indifferently againſt all, while the zealots ſuſpected nothing leſs than that the attack was to be levelled ſolely upon them. Theſe latter leaving the gates to defend themſelves, after they had jumped down from the battlements of the temple, without ſo much as coming to an engagement, ſought ſhelter in the common-ſewers belonging to the temple, while the people, in the utmoſt trembling at the ſight of the arms, were knocked on the head with ſtaves and ſwords, and trod to death in heaps about the temple. Many, who had lived a quiet and ſedate life, through ſome pretence or other of enmity or of private hatred, were, as though they had eſpouſed the different faction, ſlain on the ſpot by their enemies; nay, whoſoever was taken, who had been a former traitor, and came to be known as ſuch, was, as if he had been a zealot, dragged to his deſtruction. Yet thoſe who thus exerciſed their barbarity by all manner of ways upon the innocent, granted indulgence to the guilty, and let thoſe, who had crept into the ſewers, quietly depart. After they had ſeized upon the inner apartments of the temple, and all the furniture in them, they then had the boldneſs to make head againſt *Simon*. Thus that ſedition, which before was divided into three parts, was reduced now to two.

Titus, having a mind to move his camp from *Scopos*, and pitch it nearer to the city, poſted there as many horſe and foot, as, in his opinion, he judged ſufficient to withſtand the excurſions of the enemy; and gave orders for the reſt of his army to level all the ground to the very walls and the ditch. In conſequence of theſe commands, all the ſtakes and pales, which fenced in the gardens and arbours of the inhabitants, were pulled down, and all the trees any where growing in the way, were cut down; by which all the hollow and uneven places were filled up. And thus they levelled all the ground, from *Scopos* to *Herod*'s monument, near the fiſh-pond called *the fiſh-pond of ſerpents.*

On thoſe days, in which theſe tranſactions were on foot, the *Jews* put the following ſcheme in execution againſt the *Romans*: The bolder among the ſeditious went out of the city to the towers called *the women's towers*, pretending they had been forced out by thoſe who wanted peace; and, under a pretext of fearing the incurſion of the *Romans*, ſtood together before the walls, and ſeemed to have terrible apprehenſions one of another. Some had contrived it ſo, as to plant themſelves up and down the walls, under ſhew of being part of the vulgar, calling out for peace, and promiſing the *Romans* to open their gates to them. And having thus called aloud, they threw ſtones upon their own partizans, as if they endeavoured to drive them away from the gates. They pretended a ſeeming willingneſs to break open a paſſage forcibly, and to ſupplicate thoſe within the city; and every time they endeavoured to go to the *Romans*, ſo often did they return back, like ſo many men terrified to the laſt extremity. The *Roman* ſoldiers did not want to be made to give faith to this piece of artifice of the *Jews*; for now concluding they had them almoſt in their hands to be revenged upon them, and hoping they would do no leſs than open the gates of the city to them, they went to put the affair in execution. *Titus* was not, however, to be impoſed upon; for he could not help ſuſpecting the invitation which was ſo ſudden and unexpected: For having the day before, by the mediation of *Joſephus*, invited them to an agreement, and receiv'd but an ungenerous and rough anſwer to his demand, he ordered his men to remain where they were. But ſome, notwithſtanding this, took up their arms, and ran to the gates. Upon which, they who had been thought to have been forced out of the city, made a pretence, at firſt, to draw back; but as ſoon as they had got them within the turrets of the gates, they preſently ſallied out, ſurrounded, and puſhed hard upon their rear. Thoſe who were poſted upon the walls, poured all manner of ſtones and darts upon them; ſo that many were ſlain, and a great number wounded: Nor was it an eaſy matter to ſave a man's ſelf by flight directly from the wall, when the *Romans* were terribly gauled by the *Jews* in their rear; and, beſides the ſhame in committing this inconſiderate ſtep, and the fear of their officers, perſuaded them to continue in the bad ſituation they were in, and which they had ſhewn themſelves guilty of. Wherefore, after a long ſtruggle, in which they received innumerable wounds from the *Jews*, to whom they gave as many, and as ill, they repulſed, at laſt, thoſe who had ſurrounded them. And the *Jews* purſued them, in their retreat, with their darts, as far as the monument of *Helen*.

The *Jews*, after this, puffed up with their good fortune, unhandſomely reproached the *Romans* with having gulled and deceived them, toſſed up their ſhields, and made loud acclamations. This was a procedure which enraged the centurions and *Titus* himſelf, who broke out into the following ſpeech: 'The *Jews* who are led by deſpair, acted nothing but agreeably to foreſight, juſt obſervation, and a clear diſcernment; they lay ſchemes and ſtratagems, and fortune favours their treachery: But the *Romans*, whom, for their exact diſcipline, and ſtrict obſervance to the commands of their officers, fortune too hath always favoured, now fail by running into the contrary meaſures, and deſtroy themſelves by the intemperance of their own hands, and, what is the ſhamefulleſt thing of all, fighting with no officer at their hand, when *Cæſar* himſelf was preſent. Certainly, the laws of war will groan, and the concern of my father will be inexpreſſible when he comes to hear the news of this diſaſter: For he, grown old in the many campaigns and battles he has fought, never ſhewed himſelf guilty of ſuch a miſtake: And the laws of arms enact, that they ſuffer death who act contrary to what the military conſtitution provides But now is an inſtance given them of ſeeing the whole army guilty of deſerting their ranks; and thoſe who have preſumed on ſuch a piece of boldneſs and aſſurance are to know, that to fight without previous orders of the general, nay, to prove victorious, is inglorious and diſhonourable.' Having delivered himſelf thus, in an angry manner, to the officers of his army, it was plain, he had intentions of puniſhing every ſoul as the law of arms required. A terrible dejection, hereupon, ſeized them, as if they had been going to be put to death, and that juſtly; but the legions gathering about *Titus*, begged him, in behalf of their fellow ſoldiers, to put the obedience of the greateſt part, by far, of his men, in ballance to the raſhneſs of a few, and pardon them who would ſtrive to amend the preſent fault they had committed, by their future valour.

Cæſar was induced to pardon them both for the ſake of the interceſſion they had made for them, and the advantage he found it would do his own cauſe: For he conſidered one man's fault might really be puniſhed with death, but words were enough for a multitude. And after he had given them ſeveral admonitions to behave more circumſpectly for the time to come, he made up the breach with his ſoldiers. In the mean time, he conſulted means how to be revenged upon the *Jewiſh* treachery. All the ground and valley reaching to the walls being made plain in four days, in order to bring his baggage, and the reſt of his forces, in ſafety, he ſtretched, from the north to the ſouth, in a direct line againſt the wall, the ſtouteſt of his ſoldiers ſeven men deep, placing his infantry before, and, behind them, his horſe, three men deep; and, in the middle, between both, his archers, ſeven men deep: By which cloſe poſition of his men, having effectually hindered the *Jews* from doing any execution by their excurſions, he paſſed in ſafety the baggage of the three legions, and the reſt of his forces. *Titus* being at two furlongs diſtance from the walls, pitched his camp near that corner of the wall, oppoſite to the tower of *Pſephina*, which ſtretching ſouthward, bends farther to the weſt. The reſt of his army encamped near the tower called *Hippicos*, alſo diſtant about two furlongs from the city. But the tenth legion kept in the ſame, on the mount of olives.

C H A P. IV.

A Deſcription of Hieroſolyma.

THE city was ſtrongly defended with a triple wall, except where impervious vallies ſurrounded it (for there it had only a ſingle wall.) It ſtood and was built upon two hills, whoſe fronts faced one another, being divided by the valley that lay between, and having a great number of houſes built thick together on either ſide One of theſe hills, on which ſtands the higher city, is abundantly the higher, and ſtretches farther in a direct length; ſo that its ſtrong ſituation made king *David*, who was *Solomon*'s father, and the firſt who built the temple, call it a caſtle, but we ſtile it the upper market-place. The other city is called *Acra*, and ſupports the lower city upon it, being pretty much deſcending on both ſides. There was a third hill over-againſt this, naturally lower than *Acra*, and, in times paſt, ſeparated by another deep valley; but afterwards, in the days wherein the *Aſſamomeans* held the chief adminiſtration, was filled up with earth and other rubbliſh thrown into it, in order to join the city to the temple. And the height of *Acra* at this time was lowered, to have the temple look over it. The valley, which is called *Tyropæon*, where, as we have obſerved above, the hill of the higher city, and the hill of the lower city ſeparate from one another, reaches as far as *Silva*: For ſo we call a fountain whoſe water is ſweet and plentiful. The two hills without are ſurrounded with very deep vallies, and the precipices about them make every place in them inacceſſible.

The firſt, and that which was oldeſt of the three walls, was inexpugnable, not only on account of the vallies that ſurrounded it, and the hill looking over whereon it was built, but, alſo, of the natural ſtrength of the place, and the many fortifications *David*, *Solomon*, and ſucceeding kings made thereto, at vaſt expence and labour. For beginning from the north part of the city, from the tower which is called *Hippicos*, it ſtretches along to the *Xyſthus*, ſo called, and then, joining to the *Curia*, terminates at the weſt portico of the temple. From another part it begins weſtward from the ſame place, ſtretching through that which is named *Bethſo*, to the gate of the *Eſſeni*, and then running northward to the fountain of *Siloa*, it bends again thence, and turns eaſtward, to *Solomon's* fiſh-pond, and to the place called *Ophlas*, where it joins to the eaſtern portico of the temple. The ſecond wall took its beginning from the gate called *Genneth*, which was the gate of the firſt wall, and taking in all the ground northward, reaches to *Antonia*. The third wall commenced from the tower of *Hippicos*, whence extending itſelf northward as far as the tower of *Pſephina*, then ſtretching along over-againſt the monument of *Helen*, queen of the *Adiabeni*, and wife of king *Izalas*, it paſſed for a long way through the royal caverns, bending to the corner tower by the monument of *Fullo*, ſo named, and then joining to a very antient wall, terminated at the brook of *Cedron*, ſo called. King *Agrippa* ſurrounded that part of the city with this wall, which belonged to the old one, and was entirely bare before; for the number of inhabitants conſiderably augmenting, the city by degrees crept out of its antient walls; and when the places northward of the temple, and which adjoined to the hill, were covered with buildings, they began to make conſiderable additions beyond the old hills; ſo that a fourth hill, which was named *Bezetha*, ſtanding over-againſt *Antonia*, was entirely built upon and covered with houſes. Now this *Bezetha* was cut off from *Antonia* by the intervention of a deep valley, or ditch (which had been deſignedly made,) to make the foundations of *Antonia*, if they ſtuck to the hill difficult of acceſs, and to appear tolerably high. By this means the depth of the ditch added a conſiderable height to the tower. That part which was added to the old city, if interpreted in *Greek*, ſignifies *Cænopolis*, but, in the dialect of our country, ſignifies *Bezetha*. Now they who inhabited in this quarter being minded to have a wall for their ſhelter and defence, *Agrippa*, the father of the preſent king, who is called after him, began this wall which we have juſt now mentioned: But apprehending *Claudius Cæſar* might be induced to ſuſpect ſo vaſt a building portended a new face of affairs, and that he might think it a ſeditious attempt, only laid the foundations, and then left the work at that ſtand; for the city had infallibly been inexpugnable, if he had gone through with the wall which he had thus begun: For the ſtones, wherewith it was built, were twenty cubits long, and ten broad; inſomuch, that iron was almoſt unable to pierce through them, or engines to remove them from their place: And the breadth of this wall was ten cubits, and, in all likelihood of appearance, had been carried up to a more conſiderable height, if the magnificence of him who had laid the foundation of the building had not been check'd. In after-times this ſame wall was raiſed by the *Jews* with prodigious labour, and carried up twenty cubits, with additional bulwarks of two cubits, and baſtions of three cubits high; ſo that the entire altitude of it roſe to five and twenty cubits.

The towers looked over the wall twenty cubits broad, twenty high, ſquare and ſolid, like as was the wall; but the nice joining and beauty of the ſtones anſwered, in every reſpect, thoſe of the temple. Above the ſaid altitude of the towers, twenty cubits broad, there were placed very magnificent apartments and upper-rooms above them, and great numbers of ciſterns to receive the rain-waters, every one having broad ſtair-caſes leading up to them. The third wall was adorned with ninety towers of the ſame make with theſe I have mentioned, having a diſtance of two hundred cubits between each. The middle wall was divided into fourteen, and the old one into threeſcore towers, and the whole circumference of the city was thirty-three furlongs: But if all the third wall was admirable, the tower of *Pſephina* was much finer, and more beautiful, which made a charming proſpect at the north and weſt corners of the wall, over-againſt which *Titus* had encamped. Being threeſcore and ten cubits high, it afforded a proſpect into *Arabia* with an eaſtern ſun, and to the very limits of the land of *Judæa*, as far as the ſea. The tower was octangular, and over-againſt it ſtood the tower called *Hippicos*, and near to that two others, which king *Herod* built on the old walls, and which for beauty and ſtrength, excelled all others in the world: For, beſides that the king was by nature of a great and lofty mind, and gave a looſe to his magnificence in adorning and beautifying the city, yet he ſtudied to pleaſe his inclinations in the excellence of his buildings, and conſecrated theſe towers to the memory of three of the deareſt perſons he had in the world; namely, to a brother, to a friend, and to a wife, after whom he named them. The wife, through an exceſſive love of his, fell a ſacrifice to his ill-grounded jealouſy; and the two others loſt their lives in the field of battle, after having given proofs of extraordinary valour and courage. The tower of *Hippicos* was denominated after his friend, and was quadrangular, every ſide opening five and twenty cubits in breadth and length, and thirty cubits in height. *Hippicos* was no where unuſeful; for above this ſolid and firm ſtony frame, was a ciſtern thirty cubits deep, to receive the rain-water: Above this, was a houſe of two floors, five and twenty cubits high, and divided into ſeveral apartments, over which were baſtions two cubits, and bulwarks three cubits high, inſomuch, that the whole height of it was fourſcore cubits. The ſecond tower, which he named after his brother *Phaſael*, was equal as to length and breadth, and opened forty cubits both ways, and the ſame number in height. This tower was an entire ſolid, and a portico ſurrounded it, ten cubits high, being alſo fortified with baſtions and bulwarks. In the middle of the portico, above, was erected another tower, divided into magnificent apartments with a bath, inſomuch, that nothing ſeemed wanting to make it be thought a palace. The top was adorned with bulwarks and baſtions, finer than thoſe we have juſt now mentioned: So that the whole height roſe up full fourſcore and ten cubits. It very much reſembled, in form, the tower in the iſland *Pharos*, which caſt a light, at a far diſtance, to thoſe ſailing to *Alexandria*, but its circumference was by much the more conſiderable. This place, *Simon*, at this time, had made the houſe of his government. The third tower was named *Mariamne* (for ſo was the queen called,) being an entire ſolid twenty cubits, and the ſame number of cubits broad and high. Several apartments were in it, ſurpaſſing others in magnificence and furniture; the king thinking it became him to apply more ornament to a tower which took its appellation from his wife's name, than to thoſe which had been called after men, as they were ſtronger and more fortified than this, to which a woman had improved its name. The entire height of the tower was fifty-five cubits.

As theſe three towers were of ſo great magnitude, the ſituation of their places made them appear conſiderably larger: For the old wall, whereon they were built, had been raiſed on an high hill, and out-topped the hill thirty cubits; inſomuch,that theſe towers,being erected upon the very ſummit, received a conſiderable addition of height by that means. The largeneſs of the ſtones was ſurprizing; for they were not built of common ones, ſuch as men generally bear, but of beautiful white marble, cut, each ſtone being twenty cubits long, ten broad, and five deep. There joining was ſo nice and fine, that each tower ſeemed as tho' nature had made them of one entire ſtone, which, by the workman's hands, afterwards had been faſhioned into the form and angles they repreſented. Thus it was impoſſible to find out the joinings, or ſeams of the ſtones.

To theſe, which ſtood on the north ſide of the wall, was annexed a palace, ſurpaſſing any thing that can be ſaid of it,as its curious workmanſhip, and magnificent furniture, exceeded any thing of that kind. It had a wall ſurrounding it, thirty cubits high, and round about were placed, at equal diſtances, towers of the greateſt ornament in the world. Nor was this all, yet; there were very large feaſt-rooms, fit to entertain an hundred gueſts,wherein were an inexpreſſible variety of ſtones: For every thing that was rare and uncommon in this kind, was collected and put here. The roofs and cielings, both for the length of the beams, and the magnificence of the workmanſhip, were admirable: There were a vaſt number of bed-chambers, and the repreſentations and figures about them were extremely delighted as to their variety: All there furniture was of ineſtimable value, and the apartments were fitted out with abundance of rich veſſels, the greater part whereof were of gold and ſilver. The *Peryſtilla* were many, one after another, in a circle, and adorned with ſeveral beautiful columns; thoſe which ſtood in the open air had a fine verdure to ſet them off. There were, alſo, ſeveral groves, which had long walks in them, and about them were deep canals, and baſons, with abundance of brazen figures in them,ſpouting out water; and about the canals were ſeveral turrets, having innumerable tame pigeons in them. But, to give an account of the palace, what it was, and the magnificence of it, is impoſſible; and nothing but torment racks the memory, to go about to relate what the things were, that were undiſtinguiſhably loſt in the flames. Yet the *Romans* were not the perſons who burnt all theſe things; but the conflagrant of them was owing to the ſeditions within the city, at the beginning of the defection. The fire firſt began at *Antonia*, then invaded the palace, and, at laſt, conſumed the three towers.

CHAP. V.

A Deſcription of the Temple.

THE temple, as I have taken an opportunity to ſpeak in the foregoing, was built upon the top of an high hill; and at the time it was firſt ſet on foot to be erected, the plain on the ſummit of the hill was not ſufficient to take in the temple and altar: For every ſide of it was exceeding ſteep, and full of precipices. When king *Solomon*, the ſame who built the temple, had ſurrounded the eaſt ſide with a wall, then a portico was raiſed upon the earth put there; but the temple, on every ſide elſe, was naked and bare. In proceſs of time, the people perpetually heaping vaſt quantities of earth till the hill was brought to a level, the ſame became broader, and fit to take in a larger compaſs. For having broken through the wall to the north, they took in a ſpace of ground, which afterwards made the juſt circumference of the whole temple. After they had carried round the hill, from the very foundation, a triple wall, and been at ſuch labour and expence, as could never have been thought of (wherein whole ages were ſpent, and all the ſacred money, which had been ſpent by way of tribute to the honour of God from all parts of the world, conſumed), they erected the higher circumference and the inner temple, whoſe loweſt parts were carried up three hundred cubits, and more in ſome other places; for the whole altitude of the foundations could not be diſcerned: For the greater part of the vallies were filled with earth to level them even with the angles of the city. In this building they made uſe of ſtones four hundred cubits big; for the vaſt ſums of money, and the liberality of the people, on this occaſion, made the ſtructure go on more than really can be ſaid,or even imagined: And what was thought impoſſible to be brought to perfection, was, by long perſeverance, and length of time, compleated.

The buildings raiſed above theſe, were really worthy of ſuch vaſt foundations; for all the portico's were double, and pillars of five and ten cubits high, ſupported them, every one of the moſt beautiful white marble, and having cielings of cedar-wood wonderfully adorned: The ſtones were naturally magnificent, and neatly poliſhed, and the cloſe and uniform joining of them together gave a very ſplendid and remarkable proſpect, unaided without, neither by painter's nor ſculptor's art. They were thirty cubits broad, and the whole circumference, taking in *Antonia*, comprized a ſpace of ſix furlongs: But all theſe ſpaces without was beautified with all kinds of ſtones, and its variety gave an agreeable proſpect. Thro' this was the way to the ſecond temple, and the ſtony encloſure was carried round three cubits high, built after a wonderful manner. There were columns placed here at equal diſtances from one another, ſome with *Greek*, and ſome with *Latin* inſcriptions upon them, warning thoſe, who were going to enter, of the law of cleaneſs; that no ſtranger were to be admitted to enter into the holy place: For the ſecond temple was called *holy*, and the paſſage up to it, from the firſt, mounted by fourteen ſtairs. Its area, or floor, was ſquare, and ſurrounded with a wall peculiar to it; and though it was forty cubits high on the out-ſide, the many winding ſtairs covered it; for the inneraltitude was no more than five and twenty cubits; and being built with ſtairs in the higher place, the interior could not all of it be diſcerned, as the hill ſhadowed it. The ſpace to the wall from the fourteenth ſtep, was ten cubits, and entirely a plain. Hence were other ſtair-caſes of five ſteps, leading up to the gates; but thoſe to the north and ſouth had eight, four on each ſide, and two to the eaſt, which were neceſſary: For the place here being peculiar to the women, on account of religion, was ſeparated with a wall; and there ſeemed a neceſſity for another gate: For this was made over-againſt the firſt. Beſides theſe, there was a ſouth gate, and a north gate, which led to the women's court; for there was no paſſing to the women through any other, neither through their own, any farther than the encloſure appropriated to them: But this place not only was open to the women living in *Judæa*, but to females of their country, who came on a religious motive. To the weſt ſide was no gate at all, but the wall was carried up in a direct line; the portico's, next to the gates from the wall, and turning in to the *Gazophylacia*, or treaſuries, were ſupported with vaſt and exceeding fine pillars. 'Tis true, they were plain, but, ſetting aſide their magnitude, they were no way inferior to the portico's of the lower encloſure.

Nine of the gates were covered all over with gold and ſilver, to the very poſts and ſuperſtructure: One, indeed, which was without the temple, was of *Corinthian* braſs, which far ſurpaſs'd, in dignity, the others plated over with gold and ſilver. Two doors were in every gate, and every one was thirty cubits high, and fifteen broad. After the entrance within, there were made ſeats on both ſides, thirty cubits in length and breadth, and built after the form of a tower, and forty cubits and more in height. Each of theſe ſeats were ſupported with two pillars, twelve cubits in circumference; all the other gates were of equal magnitude to one another. That above *Corinthia*, eaſtward, which gave a direct proſpect from the women's court to the gate of the temple, was conſiderably larger than the reſt, being fifty cubits high, forty broad, and having doors of equal bigneſs, which ſurpaſſed the others in magnificent workmanſhip and ſplendor, being covered over with thicker plates of gold and ſilver. All the gold and ſilver beſtowed upon theſe nine gates, was at the order and expence of *Alexander*, father of *Tiberius*. The wall that ſeparated the woman was divided from the greater gate by fifty ſteps; but thoſe which led to the other gates were leſs in number by five ſtairs.

Twelve ſteps led up to the temple, placed in the middle, that is, the *ſacroſanct*, or holy temple. Its height and breadth, in front, are of equal dimenſions, being each an hundred cubits, but the third part only forty cubits; for two ſhoulders, as it were, each of twenty cubits, ſhew in front, and ſtretch beyond the ſides of the temple. Its firſt gate, which was ſeventy cubits high, and twenty-five broad, had no doors (this being done to let a clear proſpect of the sky appear round about), but all its fore-part was covered over with gold. Through it could be ſeen the firſt edifice of the temple, which was extraordinary large, and every thing about the interior of the temple, which appeared vaſtly glittering and bright, darted full in the beholder's eyes. As its interior part was cover'd, the firſt edifice could only be ſeen. Its direct height roſe ninety cubits, its length was fifty, aud its tranſverſe breadth twenty. But the interior gate, as I have obſerved above, wus covered all over with gold, as was all the wall about it. Above were ſeven gold vines, with cluſters of grapes hanging down as big as a man. But becauſe this edifice was covered in the middle with a cieling, the inward part appeared conſiderably lower than the outward: It had golden Doors fifty-five cubits high, and ſixteen cubits broad. Over the doors were fine hangings extended, of equal length, and made of a *Babylonian* veil, diverſified with violet, ſcarlet, fine linnen, and purple, and woven together with ſurprizing art; the mixture of the ſeveral colours was admirable, and not unworthy for the eye to feed its curioſity upon them; but there was, in theſe different colours, a myſtical repreſentation of all things in the world; for the ſcarlet ſeems to prefigure the fire, the fine linnen the earth, the violet the air, and the purple the ſea; the fine linnen and purple, eſpecially from the ſimilitude of their colours, and from their original: Becauſe fine linnen is produced from the earth, and the purple from the ſea. This veil, beſides, gave a fine deſcription of all the lines of heaven, except the ſigns.

The firſt view, to thoſe who enter in, is the inferior part of the temple, whoſe height, at this time, was ſixty cubits, its length as many, and its breadth twenty cubits; but the ſixty cubits were divided again. The firſt part having been cut off, and reduced to forty cubits, had three pieces of workmanſhip within it, ſurprizing in their kind, and which were celebrated all over the known world: Theſe were, the candleſtick, table, and altar of incenſe, The ſeven candles ſignified the ſeven planets; for that number aroſe out of the candleſtick; the twelve loaves, placed upon the table, were types of the circle of the zodiac, and of the year. The altar of incenſe, by its thirteen odours, wherewith it was filled from the ſea that is uninhabitable, and from the earth that is habitable, pointed out that all things belonged to God, and were for his ſervice and uſe. The inner part of the temple was twenty cubits, and ſeparated from the outward in the like manner, with a veil. There was nothing at all placed within this apartment; 'twas inacceſſible and inviolable, prohibited for any man to enter therein, and was called the holy of holies. There were many ſmall apartments about the ſides of the lower temple, which led into one another, and had a triple wall, and a door opened into them from either ſide of the temple gate. There were none of theſe ſmall apartments to the higher end of the temple, where it was narrower; the height was forty cubits, and the ſpace ſtraiter than the lower part of the temple. The calculation of its dimenſions was thus: As the ground-plot was threeſcore, the entire height was made an hundred cubits. The exterior appearance of it had every thing that might engage the mind and eye to wonder and aſtoniſhment; for being covered all over with prodigious heavy plates of gold, it darted a ſplendor, at the firſt riſing of the ſun, the moſt like fire of any thing in the world; and obliged thoſe, who could not help but gaze upon it, to turn away their eyes, as from the radiant beams of the ſun. To travellers, at a diſtance, it appeared like a mountain covered with ſnow; for where there were no plates of gold, it conſiſted of beautiful white marble. The top look'd dreadful with ſpikes of gold, vaſtly ſharp at the point, to hinder birds from ſitting upon, and polluting it. The ſtones, whereof the temple was built, were ſome forty-five cubits long, five deep, and ſix thick. The altar for the temple was fifteen cubits high, in length and breadth fifty cubits. It ſtood ſquare, having angles jetting out, in the ſimilitude of horns; and the aſcent upon it, to the ſouth, gently bent backwards. It was built without the aſſiſtance of any iron, no ſuch thing having ever touched it. The temple and the altar were ſurrounded with a certain portion of beautiful ſtone, which gave no diſagreeable proſpect, of one cubit high, which ſeparated the people from the prieſts. Thoſe perſons in a gonorrhæa, or leper, were driven entirely out of the city; and women, who had their menſtrual effluxions upon them, were ſhut out of the temple: Nor could they, tho' clean, paſs farther than the place whereof we have made mention already. The men who were not thoroughly purified, were denied admittance within the interior apartment; and thoſe prieſts who were the leaſt polluted, were in the ſame manner excluded.

All, who were deſcended from the ſacerdotal line, and incapacitated to perform their functions, for ſome defect or other, were admitted, with the other who were ſound in body, within the aboveſaid ſtone partition, and allowed, in right of their families, to receive their ſhares of the ſacrifices; but were diſtinguiſhed by common garments, which they were admitted only to wear: For he only was ſuffered to appear in ſacred veſtment, who performed in the ſacred rites. And thoſe of the prieſts who were pure and immaculate, clothed in a veſtment of fine linnen, who abſtained religiouſly from the uſe of wine, and through a reverential decorum to their worſhip, to hinder their ſacred office from being ſcandalized, were admitted to go up to the altar and the temple. The pontifex aſcended with them, but not always, only on certain days, ſuch as the ſevenths, and on the new moons, and when, at any time, there was an annual feſtivity, or ſolemnity of the country, going to be celebrated, whereat all the people were preſent. The pontifex aſſiſted at the ſacrifices, with his thighs hid, to his privities: He had a veſtment underneath, of fine linnen, and a round covering of violet colour, hung depending below to his toes, curiouſly fringed all round the ſkirts. From the fringe hung golden bells, and punic apples woven in alternate rows. The bells ſignified thunder, and the punic apples lightning. The tænia, which faſtened the covering of his breaſt, was diſtinguiſhed and diverſified with five zones or colours; namely, gold, purple, ſcarlet, byſſus and hyacinth, wherewith we have took notice above, the veils of the temple were wrought. He had an epocrus, or rochet, of the ſame workmanſhip, wherein was a greater quantity of gold; and the figure of it reſembled the breaſt-piece any one wears. This was faſtened by two gold buttons, in the ſhape of ſmall ſhields, wherein were ſet two ſardonix ſtones, the very largeſt and richeſt that could be obtained, having inſcribed upon them thoſe names from which the *Jewiſh* tribes took their ſeveral denominations. Over-againſt theſe hung twelve other precious ſtones, three in the ſame ſeries, and diſpoſed into four rows, namely, the ſardix, topaz, ſmarag, carbuncle, jaſpar, ſaphire, agate, amethyſt, diamond, onyx, beryl, and chryſolite, each whereof had a ſingle name again inſcribed upon it, denominating its reſpective tribe. On his head he wore a tiara of fine linnen, ſkirted round with a coronet of violet colour, about which was another crown of gold, expreſſing the ſacred letters: Theſe are the four vowels. The pontifex did not make uſe of this attire at other times, having a more plain one for other occaſions; only he wore the former whenever he went into the adyt, which was once a year, by himſelf;

at which time the *Jews* uſually celebrate a general faſt to the honour of God. But we ſhall take an opportunity more accurately to ſpeak of the things relating to the city and the temple, and the manners and cuſtoms to be obſerved in them, in another place. For a large field of matter is ſtill behind, as to theſe particulars.

Now *Antonia* ſtood at that angle of the wall where the north and weſt portico's of the encloſure of the exterior temple joined together. It was built upon a rock, fifty cubits high, having precipices all round it. 'Twas raiſed at the expence of king *Herod*, who, in its ſtructure, amply diſcovered the greatneſs and magnificence of his mind: For the very firſt part of the rock at the foundation was covered with light ſlates of ſtone, which was an additional ornament thereto, and made thoſe, who endeavoured either to go up, or come down, to ſlide along. After this, there was a wall of three cubits high before the main building of the tower; *Antonia* being every where, within this circumference, carried up forty cubits high. The inſide had all the magnificence, form, and amplitude, of a king's palace; there were abundance of apartments and rooms in it, diſtinguiſhed into all manner of forms, and made for all uſes; ſuch as courts, portico's, baths, and ample halls, proper to poſt guards in: Inſomuch, that it might juſtly be called a city for the neceſſary ſituation of all the places in and about it; but a royal palace, if the magnificence of its ſtructure be regarded. As it had throughout the entire appearance of a tower, ſo at the four angles, or corners, were erected four other towers, ſome whereof were fifty cubits high; but that ſtanding to the ſouth-weſt was carried up threeſcore and ten cubits; ſo that a full proſpect of the whole temple might be made from it. Where it was annex'd to the portico's of the temple, were two places to deſcend at, through which the guards generally went (for *Antonia* had always a *Roman* legion in it) to poſt themſelves in different quarters about the portico's, in order to reſtrain, on feſtival days, any tumult or ſedition of the people. The temple was a citadel for the city, and *Antonia* for the temple. The guards of three places lodged there, and *Herod*'s palace was a fortreſs to the higher city. The hill *Bezetha*, as I have had an opportunity to hint above, was divided from *Antonia*. As it was the moſt ſtately and higheſt of all the reſt, it was annexed to the neweſt part of the city, and only obſcured the temple on the north ſide. And as I have purpoſed to ſpeak again about the city and its walls, I apprehend I have ſufficiently delivered my ſelf at preſent.

CHAP. VI.

Of John *and* Simon *the tyrants.* Titus *marching about the walls,* Nicanor *receives a wound, which makes* Titus *reſolve on puſhing on the ſiege with more wrath.*

THE men at arms in the city, and the ſeditious multitude, that aſſociated with *Simon*, were in number ten thouſand, excluſive of the *Idumæans*; and fifty officers were ſet over ten thouſand, over whom *Simon* kept the abſolute and ſupreme command. The *Idumæans*, who were in *Simon*'s intereſts, were five thouſand, and had ten officers ſet over them, the principal of whom were accounted to be *Jacob*, the ſon of *Soſas*, and *Simon*, the ſon of *Carthlas*. *John*, who was maſter of the temple, had ſix thouſand men at arms under him, commanded by twenty officers. The zealots, abandoning their animoſities, came into his intereſts with their additional reinforcement, being two thouſand and four hundred, all commanded by their former officer *Eleazar*, and *Simon*, the ſon of *Arinus*. A war being carried on, as we have obſerved above, with violence among themſelves, the poor people was the ſacrifice pointed at in either's encounters, and both committed their unlimitted inſults and depredations on part of the people, that refuſed to come into their ſchemes. *Simon* was maſter of the higher city, and was poſſeſſed of the great wall to *Cedron*, and all the old wall being from *Siloe* eaſtward to the palace of *Monobazus*, who was king of the *Adiebenians* beyond the *Euphrates*. He had, likewiſe, in his hands, the fountain *Siloe*, and the mountain *Acra*, (which comprehends the lower city) and every place to the palace of *Helen*, who was conſort and queen of *Monobazus*. *John* was maſter of the temple, of every place round about for a conſiderable ſpace, of *Ophlas*, and of the valley called *Cedron*; and as every place, which lay between, had been already reduced to aſhes, ſo much room was cut open for the war to diffuſe itſelf through the ſeditions; and though the *Roman* camp was at ſo ſhort a diſtance from the walls, the city was ſtill expoſed to the fury of the different parties within: And though the firſt aſſault of the *Romans* had contributed ſomething to make the *Jews* reflect more ſeriouſly on their condition, yet it was not long before the old diſtemper took them again: The former animoſities and ſpights broke looſe the ſecond time, and arms and war where what they aimed at; inſomuch, that they did every thing which the *Romans*, who beſieg'd them, could have either wiſh'd or deſired. The ills the *Romans* expoſed them to were not of more dreadful conſequences than the calamities which their own ſeditious temper involved them in: For they themſelves gave the laſt fatal blow to the city. 'Tis true, indeed, the city, before its entire overthrow, was reduced to a more miſerable ſtate; but thoſe who took it, made a better return for them: For I aſſert, that the ſedition was the effectual ruin of the city, and that the *Romans* removed the ſedition, which was of ſtronger force than all the walls that fortified the defendants. Now 'tis but juſtice to aſcribe all the hardſhips and ills the *Jews* ſuſtained to their own ſeeking, and conclude that the *Romans*, not without deſert, behaved conſtantly in a juſt and equitable manner. But every man judge for himſelf as he pleaſes, from the facts and circumſtances themſelves.

Things within the city being in this poſture, *Titus*, with a choice body of horſe, marched round it, in order to ſpy out a convenient place for an aſſault. Finding himſelf abſolutely debarred from coming over the vallies, and that the firſt wall, at another place, was too ſtrong for his engines to do any execution upon, he, at length, removed his ſuſpence, and concluded to attack the city at the monument of *John* the prieſt: For the firſt wall was conſiderably lower at this place, and the ſecond no where joined it, the defendants having neglected to fortify it, as the new city here was leſs peopled: And *Titus* conſidered, that he ſhould find no difficult work in gaining the third wall this way, which would open him a paſſage into the higher city, and through *Antonia* he ſhould be able to make himſelf maſter of the temple. Mean while, as he was taking a ſurvey of every place, one of his friends, named *Nicanor*, received a wound on his left ſhoulder from an arrow ſhot at him, as he ſtepp'd nearer the wall with *Joſephus*, and endeavour'd to perſuade thoſe to peace who ſtood upon the wall, as being perfectly known to them. *Cæſar*, perceiving by this plain inſtance, their diſpoſition and temper, which would not ſuffer them to ſpare even thoſe who came for their preſervation and ſafety, reſolved upon the ſiege; and, at the ſame time, permitted his ſoldiers to ravage the ſuburbs, and gave orders for the bringing of materials in order to raiſe their mounts. Whereupon his army ſeparating into three parts to perform the works, he poſted the ſlingers and archers in the middle of the mounts, and the ſcorpions, *catapultæ*, and *balliſtæ*, before them, in order to repulſe the excurſions of the enemy upon the works, and repel thoſe who from the wall endeavoured to diſturb them. All the trees being inſtantly cut down, the ſuburbs became a naked and deſart place; and the *Jews*, finding the *Romans* bearing wood to erect the mounts, nay, all the army lending an helping hand to promote the deſign the ſooner, were not remiſs on their ſide. For the people, who were in the very midſt of nothing but plunder and depredation, happen'd to aſſume courage at this juncture, ſuppoſing they ſhould find ſome reſpite to their ſufferings, while their enemies were every where buſied in repulſing a foreign army, and be in a condition, provided the *Romans* proved ſuperior, to be revenged on the authors of their misfortunes.

John, though his partizans long'd to make a ſally out upon the *Romans*, was reſtrained thro' fear of *Simon*; yet *Simon*, as he was at a nearer diſtance to the beſieg'd, ſhew'd himſelf not idle. He planted his warlike engines upon the walls, thoſe, too, which had been wreſted from *Ceſtius*, and thoſe which the *Jews* had obtain'd on defeating the garriſon of *Antonia*. However, a great many of theſe engines were of no ſervice or advantage to the *Jews*, which was owing to their ignorance in uſing them right: And though ſome deſerters were well acquainted with the management of theſe engines, yet the ſervice they put them to was wrongly applied: They made, indeed, a kind of rampart, and poured down from the walls whole ſhowers of ſtones and darts: They likewiſe ſallied out of their mines, and oftentimes came to cloſe engagements with one another. The workmen had coverings made of hurdles which were expanded over the vallies, and their martial engines were ſo poſted, as to defend them againſt the excurſions of the beſieged: For all the legions, eſpecially the tenth, had provided themſelves with ſcorpions and *balliſtæ* of extraordinary force, which not only made dreadful havock among the *Jews* who ſallied out, but, alſo, among thoſe who ſtood upon the walls. The ſtones flung from theſe engines weighed each a talent, and were thrown above two furlongs diſtance; and the force they went with was not only intolerable to the firſt they hit, but alſo to thoſe who ſtood at a far diſtance behind. This made the *Jews* provide againſt theſe ſtones in the firſt place; for being white, they both foreknew their coming by the whizzing noiſe they made, and could diſtinguiſh them before-hand by their fine colour. Hereupon thoſe ſpies who were poſted upon the walls, gave the ſignal before-hand in their mother-tongue, when the engine was going to ſtrike, and a ſtone ready to fly, *the ſtone is coming*. Preſently thoſe againſt whom the ſtone was directed, ſeparated, and threw themſelves proſtrate on the ground, by which means, the ſtones from time to time fell, without doing any execution. The *Romans* obſerving this, thought of an expedient, which was, to black the ſtones. By this artifice, the *Jews* being deprived of foreſeeing them before they came, tumbled in heaps, juſt as the *Romans* deſir'd; for the ſtroke of one ſtone ſlew ſeveral together. Notwithſtanding theſe diſadvantages, and the miſerable caſe the *Jews* were expoſed to, they would not ſuffer the *Romans* to erect their mounts without moleſtation, but repulſed them day and night by the numerous and bold ſtratagems they formed to countermine their deſigns.

The beſiegers having brought their works to perfection, threw plumb-lines down from the mounts to meaſure the diſtance between them and the walls, which could not have been done any other way, as they lay expoſed to the darts of the beſieged. When they found the ſpace ſo ſhort, that the helepoles could reach the walls, the engines were brought: Whereupon *Titus* gave orders for an aſſault, as ſoon as he had planted the engines at a nearer diſtance, that the beſieged might not beat off his rams from the walls. A prodigious noiſe reſounding immediately about the city from the aſſaults given at one time at three different places, the beſieged within were heard to give a vaſt ſhout, and the ſeditious were almoſt buried in their fears: When they ſaw that the danger equally threatened both their factions, they reſolv'd to unite their forces, and repulſe it. Both factions exclaiming againſt one another, how that all the enemy's advantages were owing to their diviſions, at a time when it behoved them (ſhould God refuſe them to make a final end of their diſputes) at that juncture, at leaſt, to baniſh their enmity to one another, and unite in common againſt the *Romans*: I ſay, both factions thus exclaiming, *Simon* ſent a herald to proclaim liberty to all, that would, to come out of the temple to defend the walls; which permiſſion, *John*, too, gave, though his views were oppoſite to *Simon's*. Thus burying the remembrance of their hatred and diſunion, they united into one body; and crowding upon the walls, pour'd down lighted torches, and abundance of fire, upon the enemy's engines, and inceſſantly ſhowered down their darts upon thoſe who loaded the helepoles. Neceſſity made them the forwarder, and, ſallying out in companies together, they tore away the hurdles that cover'd the enemy's engines, and then, falling upon thoſe who managed them, partly by their ſkill, but chiefly by their bravery and reſolution, beat and repulſed them. Notwithſtanding theſe inconveniences, *Titus* never ceaſed giving aſſiſtance to his labouring men: After he had poſted his cavalry and archers on both ſides of the engines, he beat back thoſe who offered to bring fire among his works, ſtopped the fury of the archers from the towers, and opened a clear paſſage for his helepoles to exerciſe all their force in. Yet the wall remained unſhaken, and defied all the batteries of the engines, except the corner of a tower, which was taken away by the ram belonging to the fifteenth legion: All the reſt of the wall ſtood firm: Neither did the removing part of the tower, which ſtood conſiderable higher than the wall, expoſe it to danger ſoon: Neither was it ſo eaſy to break any of the wall away with it.

The beſieged affording ſome reſpite to their excurſions, and obſerving the *Romans* diſpers'd among their works and tents (which they took to be owing to fatigue or fear) ſallied out all together through a bye gate near the tower of *Hippicos*, ſet fire to the enemy's works, and attacked the *Romans* in their fortifications. Hereupon, they made a terrible ſhout, upon which thoſe came up who were near, and thoſe ran to their aſſiſtance who were at a diſtance off. The *Roman* diſcipline was quite hinder'd from taking place in this encounter, becauſe of the matchleſs fierceneſs of the *Jews*; who, putting to flight thoſe they firſt fell upon, preſs'd violently after them, as they likewiſe did after thoſe who endeavoured to rally together. Terrible and fierce was the fight now about the engines; the beſiegers ſtriving with all the might they had to burn them, while the beſieged endeavoured as much on their part to ſave them. Uncertain were the ſhouts raiſed on both ſides, and many, who ſtood in the front, were ſlain. Deſpair, and the ſmall hopes the *Jews* had left of ſaving themſelves, puſh'd on the beſieged with unaccountable fury, and gained them the ſuperiority. The enemy's works catched fire, and every thing, together with the engines, had certainly been burnt, had not a choice party, of the *Alexandrian* forces, made head againſt the beſieged, who perform'd wonders which were not ſo much as thought of. For they behaved with ſuperior might in this engine, till *Cæſar* ruſhed upon his enemies with a brave party of horſe ſelected out for that purpoſe. *Titus*, on this occaſion, gave freſh inſtances of his vaſt courage, and laid dead at his feet twelve men of the enemy's body that oppoſed him: Fear, and the ſudden exit of theſe perſons, made the reſt run away; but *Titus* purſued cloſe, and obliged every man to take ſhelter in the city: And thus he ſaved his engines from being burnt. An accident happened during this engagement, which was, that one of the *Jews* was taken alive, whom *Titus* ordered to be faſtened to a croſs before the walls, with an intent that the ſpectacle might move the hearts of the beſieged to ſurrender. No ſooner was this *Jew* dead, but *John*, the general of the *Idumæans*, as he was converſing before the walls with a *Roman* ſoldier, his acquaintance, was ſhot by an *Arabian* into the breaſt with a dart, of which he died inſtantly, leaving the *Jews* and the ſeditions in a great concern and uneaſineſs on his account; for he was a very valiant and prudent commander.

CHAP. VII.

How one of thoſe Towers, which the Romans *had erected, fell down of itſelf. How the* Romans *ſtormed the firſt Wall with a great Deal of Bloodſhed. How* Titus *made his Aſſaults upon the ſecond Wall. Of* Longinus *the* Roman, *and* Caſtor *the* Jew.

THE *Romans* happened the next night to fall into a confuſion which was little imagined or thought of. For *Titus*, it ſeems, having given orders for three towers, of fifty cubits height, to be built, that each mount having one placed upon it, the enemy might the eaſier from thence be repulſed; an accident happened whereby one of them fell down of itſelf in the middle of the night. Vaſt was the noiſe the fall made; fear and confuſion ſeized the army, who, ſuſpecting the enemy were that moment going to fall upon them, ran every man to their arms. Nor was this all; the legions were in a commotion, and no one being able to ſay what it was that had happened, opinions and complaints were various. When they found that none of the enemy appeared, they began to turn their fears upon themſelves, and every one required the watch word of his neighbour, as though the *Jews* had actually got into their camp. Nay, they ſeemed to be ſeized with a panick fear, till *Titus* diſcovered what had happened, and commanded it to be proclaimed to the whole army: Notwithſtanding which, they could ſcarce baniſh the fright into which they had been put.

The *Jews*, who bore up againſt the other attacks of the enemy with great bravery, were terribly gauled from their towers, laying now expoſed to the ſhot of lighter engines, to ſlingers, archers, and dartſmen. And they had this further misfortune on their ſide, that they could not reach the enemy for the height of the towers, neither were they eaſy to be taken: And beſides, their heavy building made it next to an impoſſibility to overturn them; nor were they to be ſet on fire, by reaſon of the iron that covered them. Add to all theſe diſadvantages, the *Jews* keeping out of arrow ſhot, which made them forbear endeavouring any longer to diſappoint the attacks of the *Roman* rams, which continuing their batteries without intermiſſion, made ſome progreſs by degrees: For the wall gave way to nicon (ſo the *Jews* call the greateſt helepole the *Romans* have, from its ſubduing every thing;) and being quite wearied out with continual fighting and watching, they ſpent the night at a diſtance from the city. 'Twas certainly negligence, or the ill ſucceſs of their councils, that made 'em believe it was a thing unneceſſary to guard the wall, when they had ſtill left two other fortifications: But a great many indeed withdrew from the defence of it through fatigue, and an over-weariſomneſs. When the *Romans* began to mount the breach, which nicon had made, all the *Jews* immediately abandoned their poſt, and retired to the ſecond wall. Thoſe who paſſed over the wall, having opened the gates, let the whole army in. Thus the *Romans* became maſters of the firſt wall on the fifteenth day, which was the ſeventh of the month *Artemiſius*, and pulled down a great part of the wall, and all the north ſide of the city which *Ceſtius* had waſted.

Titus hereupon moved his camp to the inner part of the wall, to a place called the *Aſſyrian tents.* He took in all the ſpace to *Cedaon*, and immediately prepared to aſſault the ſecond wall, when he found himſelf out of the reach of the enemy's darts. The *Jews* ſeparated into two bodies, and bravely repulſed the attacks of the *Romans* from the walls. *John*, and his partizans, maintained the conflict out of *Antonia*, the northern portico, and the monument of *Alexander*. *Simon*'s men ſeized the paſſage near the monument of *John*, and kept garriſons in every place to the gate, where water is conveyed into the tower of *Hippicos*. The beſieged oft-times ſallied out of the gates and warmly diſputed it with the enemy, but were as often forced to withdraw back again within, with conſtant loſs on their ſide. This was owing to their want of knowledge in the *Roman* diſcipline; however, the ſuperiority ſtill was theirs at ſuch times as they fought from the walls. Prodigious ſtrength, joined to an exquiſite underſtanding in the military art, puſhed on the *Romans*; but an inconſiderate boldneſs, annexed to perpetual fears, and a natural patience in ſubmitting to, and ſuſtaining misfortunes, ſpurred on the *Jews*. Add to theſe, the *Jews*, at the bottom, relied on ſtill preſerving themſelves; the *Romans* longed for an immediate victory: Neither ſide ſhewed itſelf weary, every moment aſſaults or ſallies and battering of the walls, were going on: Every day was ſpent in continual excurſions of the beſieged, who had recourſe to every method of engagement. The oppoſite parties maintained the fight from ſun riſe to the evening, and ſcarcely would then allow themſelves time to reſt a while. The night was allowed to give neither ſide any reſpite, and the day was far more intolerable: One was afraid the enemy was going to ſtorm the wall; the other that the *Jews* were every minute about invading the camp. Both ſides ſpent the night in their arms, and were prepared, as ſoon as day appeared, to renew the engagement. The *Jews* ſtrove who could be the firſt to expoſe themſelves to danger, and obtain the commendations of their officers: For *Simon* kept them in a kind of reverence and awe of him, which, notwithſtanding, contributed not a little to encourage them: And ſo extreme was the duty of all thoſe under his command to him, that, had he ordered it, they were ready to ſuffer death voluntarily for his ſake. The *Romans*, on the other hand, were animated to brave actions and gallant atchievements, from their cuſtom of obtaining victory, from not knowing what it was to be defeated, from their conſtant exerciſes, and perpetual training up in martial feats, from the vaſt extent of their empire, but chiefly from *Titus*, who was perſonally preſent among all his men. They judged it a diſhonourable action, and even baſe, to ſeem to languiſh, when *Cæſar* himſelf was preſent in the war, and made a conſiderable part of it; when he was himſelf a witneſs and a rewarder of thoſe who behaved gallantly, and when it was for their advantage to be diſtinguiſhed by him for valiant and brave men. This very conſideration made many puſh on with more alacrity than ſtrength. It fell out, during thoſe days, wherein the *Jews* made a brave reſiſtance for the defence of their walls, and both ſides pour'd their darts at one another, that *Longinus*, a *Roman* horſeman, ſallying out of his rank, ruſhed into the midſt of a body of *Jews*, and, with a mighty force, diſcompoſed the whole company, and ſlew two of their ſtouteſt men; one, with a ſhot into the mouth as he met him, the other, as he fled, in his ſide, with the very ſame dart, which *Longinus* had pulled out of the other: After which, he forced his paſſage through the midſt of the enemy, and got off in ſafety to his companions. This made the bravery of *Longinus* appear in a fair point of light, which ſeveral, emulous of his great courage, ſtrove to imitate. This misfortune was no obſtruction to the *Jews*, who minded nothing more than how to diſturb and diſcompoſe the enemy: For death was looked upon as the meereſt trifle, if ſo be they ſuffered with any of the *Romans* in their company. Mean while, *Titus* ſhewed an equal conſideration for his ſoldier's lives and the victory: An inconſiderate and raſh attack he call'd an inſtance of deſpair, and that only was fortitude, in his opinion, when prudence and caution directed gallant attempts.

Titus took care to plant an helepole againſt the middle tower of the north wall, wherein a certain cunning and artful *Jew*, named *Caſtor*, invented an artifice, with ten of his companions, all the reſt being fled, on account of the archer's darts. This ſmall party remaining quiet for ſome time under their armour, roſe up at the tower's being ſhaken, and *Caſtor*, in the poſture of a ſuppliant, implored *Cæſar*, with ſtretch'd-out hands, and a pitiful voice, to ſpare him. *Titus*, confiding in *Caſtor*'s ſimplicity, and hoping the *Jews* were grown weary of the war, gave orders for the rams to ceaſe their batteries, and forbade the archers to ſhoot at thoſe who petition'd him: *Caſtor* being commanded to ſpeak whatever he pleaſed. He returned anſwer, that he was deſirous to come down and heal up all differences: Whereupon, *Titus* ſaid, he was very glad for ſuch a good propoſition, but ſhould be more ſo, provided all would come into the ſame way of thinking, adding, he was very ready to ſtrike a pacification with the city. Five of the ten pretended to ſupplicate for mercy, but the other ſaid they would never be ſlaves to the *Romans*, ſo long as they had liberty to die. The conference between them continuing ſome time, the ſiege was put off. *Caſtor*, in the interim, diſpatch'd away meſſengers to *Simon*, to adviſe him, while the ceſſation continued, to conſult ſome meaſures about the preſent poſture of affairs; for that he would work artfully, and impoſe upon the *Roman* emperor. While the meſſengers were gone, he thought it expedient for himſelf to endeavour at bringing the oppoſite party to pretended terms of peace. They making ſhew of vaſt unwillingneſs, brandiſhed their naked ſwords upon the roof of the tower, and pretending to ſmite themſelves, tumbled down as though they had been really killed. *Titus*, and thoſe about him, were aſtoniſhed at the ſurprizing bravery of the men: The lowneſs of the place they ſtood in giving them no opportunity to diſtinguiſh truly what was done, they were ſtruck with wonder at the bravery of their ſouls, and yet could not help but compaſſionate their diſtreſſed condition. Mean time, *Caſtor* received a wound from a dart near the noſe, whereupon, he inſtantly pulled it out, ſhewed it to *Cæſar*; and complained he had unjuſtly been ſhot at. *Cæſar*, having reprimanded the archer, ordered *Joſephus*, who ſtood by him, to give *Caſtor* his hand: But he anſwered, he cared not to go, as he knew very well that the petitioner's thoughts were deluſive, and kept his friends from the ſame errand, who ſhewed themſelves ready to go. Upon this, *Æneas*, a deſerter, ſaid he would go. *Caſtor* calling for ſome body to come and receive ſome money he had brought to confirm his word, *Æneas* was more eager to go, and conſequently ran with the skirt of his garment in his hands; which, when *Caſtor* ſaw, he took up a ſtone, and rolled it down upon him, but happening to miſs him, as he warded againſt it, it wounded another ſoldier who was by. *Cæſar*, having recollected a while upon this treachery and deceit, found, that pity and compaſſion were prejudicial in war, and that 'twas no eaſy matter to cure a barbarous diſpoſition of craftineſs and ſtratagem. The illuſion rouzing his reſentment, he cauſed the helepoles to proceed with greater force and violence. When *Caſtor* and his aſſociates found the tower give way to the batteries of the engines, they ſet fire to it, and then jumping down through the flames into the vaults, gave the *Romans* a ſecond occaſion to entertain high opinions of their bravery, as though they had thrown themſelves into the fire.

CHAP. VIII.

How the Romans *made themſelves twice Maſters of the ſecond Wall, and prepared to ſtorm the third.*

CÆSAR made himſelf maſter of the ſecond wall, at this quarter, five days after having taken the firſt: Having ſcaled the *Jews* from it, he made his entrance with a thouſand men at arms, and the other choice ſoldiers he had about him, at the place in the new city, where the woolſtaplers, copperſmiths, and clothiers, keep their markets, and where the narrow lanes lead to the walls. Had he given immediate orders for the greater part of the wall to be pulled down, or, after he had made his entrance by right of war, deſtroyed what he had taken, in ſuch caſe, I apprehend, and even believe, his victory would not have been attended with any prejudicial conſequences. He was in hopes now that ſhame would work upon the *Jews* minds, when they ſaw him far from entering into any cruel meaſures againſt them, when he had it in his power to do ſo: However, he block'd them up ſo as not to let them eaſily get out: And he could not be brought to think, that thoſe whom he was inclined to ſave, would prove traitors to him. In ſhort, he publiſhed a prohibition after he had made his entrance, enjoining all men, neither to put to death thoſe they took, nor to ſet fire to the houſes. He left the ſeditious at full liberty to fight it out, ſo it was done without detriment to the reſt of the people, and aſſur'd the inhabitants that he himſelf would ſee them reſtor'd to their proper effects; for he reckoned the ſaving of the city for himſelf, and the temple for the city, of no ſmall conſequence. He found his wiſhes compleated in the readineſs the people ſhewed to do as he adviſed them, who were prepared before hand to receive his inſtruction: But for the ſeditious, they accounted this piece of humanity the effect of weakneſs, and concluded, that, becauſe *Titus* had not been able to take the other city, he had propos'd theſe terms. They threaten'd the people with immediate death, if they ſo much as mention'd a ſyllable about ſurrendering; they ſtabb'd thoſe who but ſpoke of peace; they fell upon the *Romans* as they enter'd the city; ſome by facing them in the norrow lanes and allies, and others by pouring their darts upon them from the houſes. Others ſallied out from the walls thro' the higher gates, putting the *Roman* garriſon into diſorder, forcing them to jump out of the towers, and return to the enemy's camp. Every place within the city reſounded with the ſhouts of ſoldiers hemm'd in with the *Jews*, and all without the walls eccho'd with the ſhouts of thoſe who were fearful about their companions left in the city. The number of *Jews* every moment encreaſing, and their being us'd to, and knowing the many windings and turnings of the ſtreets, giving them a vaſt advantage over the enemy, many *Romans* were wounded, and the violent attacks the *Jews* made upon them, oblig'd the reſt to retire. The narrow circumſtances the enemy were reduc'd to, made them make a more than ordinary reſiſtance: For the ſtraitneſs of the wall hinder'd many from going through at a time, or making their retreat, and probably every man had loſt his life who thus endeavoured to force his way, had not *Titus* timely come up to their aſſiſtance. For poſting his archers at the corners of the alleys, and placing himſelf were he found the thickeſt crowd, by that means he repuls'd the enemy, part of which ſucceſs he ow'd to *Domitius Sabinus*, a valiant man, and one who ſhew'd himſelf ſuch in this encounter. Mean time, *Cæſar* never left pouring his darts upon the *Jews*, and hindering them from falling upon his men, till all his ſoldiers were got out of the city.

Thus were the *Romans* repuls'd after they had won the ſecond wall. All in the city who were warriors, reſum'd freſh courage from this unexpected ſucceſs, which mightily ſwell'd their ambition: They flatter'd themſelves with ſure hopes that the *Romans* would never attempt to break into the city again, and concluded on their ſide, that they ſhould prove invincible, provided they fought. God may be juſtly ſaid to throw a blindneſs over their minds for the many tranſgreſſions and impieties they had committed; for they neither conſider'd what a far more conſiderable force the *Romans* had ſtill left, than what had been repuls'd; neither had they any conſideration about the famine that was creeping upon them. Hitherto they had eaten out of the publick calamities, and drank of the city's blood. The good and juſt had a long time been expos'd to want, and the ſcarcity of proviſions and neceſſaries had worn many to their graves; the ſeditious, all the while, concluding, that their advantage and profit conſiſted in the abſolute ruin of the people: For they lik'd that none ſhould eſcape with their lives, but ſuch only as were ſworn enemies to the notions of peace; and wiſh'd that none might live, but ſuch only as would warmly maintain the war againſt the *Romans*. They were glad the people, who were not in the ſame way of thinking as themſelves, ſhould be rid out of the way, as a ſuperfluous crowd. This was their behaviour to thoſe within the city: They repuls'd the *Romans* once more, as they ſtrove to enter again, and fortified with their bodies the beach that had been made in the wall. For three days the diſpute was warmly and vigorouſly conteſted by both parties; but *Titus* making a furious attack upon them the fourth day, they were not able to withſtand the ſhock, but through main violence, were forc'd to withdraw to their former place of ſhelter. Thus he became, the ſecond time, maſter of the wall, and immediately broke down all of it facing the north, and, after he had put garriſons into the towers on the ſouth ſide, conſulted in what manner he ſhould attack the third wall.

CHAP. IX.

Titus, *finding the* Jews *far from remaining quiet in the ſiege, being ſtopped for a while, reſolves once more to inveſt the city, ſends* Joſephus *to treat of terms of peace with his countrymen.*

TITUS being minded to ſtop carrying on the ſiege for ſome ſhort time, and allow time for the ſeditious to deliberate, in order to ſee whether the demolition of the ſecond wall, or fear of a famine (for they could not hold out much longer their ſpoils and depredations), would be of any furtherance to make them ſurrender, made uſe of a ceſſation for that purpoſe. He gave orders to his officers, as ſoon as the day came when the ſoldiers had their proviſions diſtributed among them, to range his men in a place where the *Jews* might clearly view them, and give money to each man. Accordingly, as their cuſtom was, they drew their ſwords, and march'd regularly arm'd, the horſemen leading their horſes neatly equipped and dreſs'd. The places about the ſuburbs, for a conſiderable diſtance, ſhone every where with the reflected ſplendor from the gold and ſilver, than which, nothing could be a pleaſanter ſight to the *Romans*, or a ſcene of greater terror to the *Jews*. The old walls were crowded with ſpectators, as was the north ſide of the temple; nothing was to be ſeen more than houſes cramm'd full of people, and every part of the city cover'd with multitudes to view this ſight. The very ſtouteſt of the *Jews* were extreamly ſurprized, when they ſaw all the *Roman* forces muſter'd together in one place, the beauty of their armour, and the regular order of the ſoldiers. And 'tis probable to think, the ſight of this proſpect would have made the ſeditious alter'd their ſentiments, had not the heinous crimes they had committed againſt the people, made them deſpair of ever obtaining pardon at the hands of the *Romans*. As they ſaw nothing but death hover'd over their heads, ſhould they decline the fight, they judg'd it far more honourable, and better, to ſacrifice their lives in battle: But fate prevailed, which had before-hand decreed that the innocent with the guilty, and the city with the ſeditious, ſhould periſh together.

Four days were conſum'd by the *Romans* in having the neceſſary proviſions diſtributed amongſt all the legions. *Titus* finding that no peace was likely to be made, on the fifth day divided his legions into two parts, and began to erect his mounts near *Antonia* and the monument of *John*, were he ſuppoſed he ſhould beſt be able to make himſelf maſter of the higher city, and at *Antonia* to win the temple. For, ſhould he not take this poſt, he judged the taking the city would be a dangerous and difficult enterprize; wherefore mounts were erected in both places, by the aſſiſtance of all his men. The workmen before the monument of *John*, were hinder'd in the proſecution of their mounts by the *Idumæans* and *Simon*'s ſoldiers, who frequently ſallied out upon 'em; and thoſe who attempted at *Antonia*, found the ſame inconvenience, from *John*'s partizans and the crowds of zealots. This was owing to the ſuperior part they were in, on one ſide, and the knowledge they had acquir'd in the uſe of martial engines: For nothing is more certain than that conſtant practice procureth knowledge by degrees. They had three hundred ſcorpions, and forty *balliſtæ*, wherewith they gave the *Romans* no ſmall diſturbance while they were raiſing their mounts. *Titus*, knowing that the city would be taken and deſtroy'd, puſh'd on the ſiege with greater vigour, and ſtrove to get the *Jews* to alter their minds. He mix'd advice with his actions, and, knowing that words were many times of greater influence than arms, not only asked them if they had a mind to ſave their lives by ſurrendering to him the city, which, to outward appearance, was on the point of being taken, but, likewiſe ſent *Joſephus* to ſpeak to them in their mother-tongue, hoping the requeſt of one of their own nation would, in all likelihood, gain ſomething upon them.

Joſephus, going round the walls, and ſtriving, as much as he could, to ſtand out of arrow ſhot, and in a place from whence his words might be heard, begged them, very earneſtly, 'To be compaſſionate to themſelves and the people, and ſpare their country and the temple, and not to entertain a heavier reſentment for them than foreigners did. That the *Romans*, no way confederates with them, had a veneration for the ſolemn things of their enemies, and had hitherto put a reſtraint upon their hands: But that themſelves, who had been educated in them, and were the ſole perſons to inhabit them, provided they were preſerved, had roſe up to deſtroy them. That they ſhould conſider that walls, ſtronger than theirs, had fallen, and that others, far weaker than thoſe the *Romans* laid ſiege to, had withſtood all attacks. That they ſhould conſider the *Roman* forces were not to be withſtood, and that it was no new or unexperienced thing for the *Jews* to be ſlaves. That if it was honourable to fight in defence of liberty, the thing would have been ſo to have undertaken it formerly. That when once a nation has been curbed under, and its government loſt many times, in ſuch caſe, to ſhew a deſire of ſhaking off the yoke, argues the part of men deſperately bent to die, more than the action of lovers of liberty. That they ought to ſpurn at mean maſters, who have not the government of the whole world in their hands. What can we think has eſcaped the *Romans*, unleſs that land which either an extreme of heat or cold has made of no ſervice? But 'tis beyond queſtion that fortune hath turned to their ſide in every place, and that God, who holds an empire throughout all the nations of the world, is now in *Italy*. But this is not all: There is a predetermined and ſtrong law as well to wild beaſts as to mankind, which is, to give obedience to the more powerful; and certainly victory reſides in their hands, who have the higheſt force of arms. That, for that reaſon, their predeceſſors, who, in ſouls and bodies, and other aſſiſtances, were far ſuperior to them, ſubmitted to the *Romans*: Which, indeed, they had never ſuffered, had they not been aſſured that God was againſt them. But what was the thing they depended upon to make reſiſtance, when the moſt conſiderable part of their city was already taken, and thoſe ſhut within, though they had ſtill entire walls, were in a worſe condition than if they had ſuffered a downfall. That the *Romans* were no ſtrangers, how the city laboured under a famine, how the people were conſumed in heaps at that time, and how thoſe, who were warriors, would ſoon be expoſed to death. That though the *Romans* had deſiſted from the ſiege, and had not offered in the leaſt to break into the city ſword in hand, yet, if they could not take up arms and fight againſt the famine, and conquer the calamities that oppreſs'd them, they maintained an inſuperable war within their own walls, which augmented every hour.'

To theſe remonſtrances he added, 'That it would be good, before their diſtreſs was irremedial, to change their reſolutions, and when they had an opportunity to conſult better for themſelves. That the *Romans* would forget their paſt actions, and not make them a pretence for any cruelty or revenge, provided they did not perſiſt in their obſtinacy to the laſt extremity; for nature had made them generous and kind in their victories, and what was found for their intereſt and advantage they always preferred to their reſentment. Which, in effect, was, neither to gain a city ſpoiled of its inhabitants, nor to conquer a country made a deſart. Therefore that *Cæſar* was ready to give them his hand. For not a ſoul could have any hopes of ſaving himſelf, ſhould he make himſelf maſter of the city by compulſive means, and open violence, eſpecially when, in their laſt extremity of danger, they refuſed to hearken to him when he deſired it. That it would not be long before the third wall would be taken, the two others, already taken, ſufficiently corroborating his aſſertion; and that, ſhould the fortification prove ſuperior to all the *Roman* attacks, yet the famine, they were expoſed to, would fight againſt them in behalf of the *Romans*.'

While *Joſephus* thus endeavoured to perſuade his countrymen, many mock'd him from the wall, many caſt reproachful words, and ſome threw darts at him. When he found he could work no effect by a diſcourſe publickly laid open to them, he turned the ſubject, and began to ſpeak of the hiſtories of their progenitors. 'O wretched men, *ſaid he*, are you thus unmindful of thoſe who come to aſſiſt you, and do you thus with arms and hands maintain a war with the *Romans?* Have we ever obtained the victory over others in this manner? When did not God, the principal of every thing, ſhow himſelf the *Jews* revenger, when they unjuſtly were diſturbed? Will not you look back and conſider, the ground you build this war upon, and what a brave auxiliary you abuſe? Will not you recal to remembrance the ſacred buildings and works of your progenitors, and this holy place, and the numbers of enemies he has formerly removed out of the way for you? But I tremble to relate the actions of God to an unworthy audience. Notwithſtanding, hear me, that you may know, that you not only maintain a war againſt the *Romans*, but alſo againſt God. *Nechae*, who was then king over the *Ægyptians*, and the ſame who was called *Pharaoh*, made a deſcent with an infinite army, and took away queen *Sarta*, the mother of our nation. What was the conſequence upon this action, or what did our forefather *Abram* do upon it? Did he take up arms to revenge the affront upon the author of the injury, when he had three hundred and fourſcore officers under his command, and an infinite number of men under each of theſe? Or did he value the *Ægyptians* as nothing, when he found that God was againſt him, or, with ſtretched out arms to this place, which you have polluted, call the invincible aſſiſter to maintain his cauſe? Was not the queen ſent back to her huſband the ſecond night, untouch'd and undefil'd? And did not the *Ægyptian*, adoring the place which you have polluted with the nation's blood, and terrified with nocturnal apparitions in his dreams, fly away, after he had given preſents of gold and ſilver to the *Jews*, the beloved people of God? Shall I bury in ſilence, or tell the migration of our forefathers into *Ægypt*, were ſlaves for forty years together to tyrants and foreign kings, when they could both with arms and hands have vindicated their diſhonour, left themſelves to the protection of God, in order that he might puniſh the injuries they had ſuſtained? Who is there that is acquainted how *Ægypt* abounded with ſavage creatures, and was viſited with different diſtempers, even to death itſelf; how the land produced no fruits; how *Nile* wanted water, how there was a ſucceſſion of ten plagues, and how our anceſtors were conducted thence with a ſafeguard, without blood, and without danger, by the hand of God, for the future ſervice of his temple? Did no *Paleſtine*, and the image of *Dagon*, groan for our holy ark, which the *Aſſyrians* raviſh'd away by violence? Did not the whole nation of thoſe who took it away mourn thereupon? Did not their privy parts fall from them, and their bowels, and the meats they had eaten, ſlip through? and did not they bring it back with ſacrilegious hands, attended with the ſounds of cymbals and drums, and other expiatory means, to make ſatisfaction for the violated ark? 'Twas God, by whoſe providence theſe things were performed for the ſakes of our forefathers, who, therefore, without having recourſe to the force of arms, ſubmitted their injuries to his almighty determination. Did *Sennacherib*, king of the *Aſſyrians*, when he marched at the head of all *Aſia*, and inveſted this city with his numerous army, fall by the hands of man? Did not the *Jews* keep quiet from arms, and appear in God's ſacred houſe, and an angel of God in one night deſtroyed an infinite army, and, when the *Aſſyrians* roſe the next day, did not he find an hundred and eighty five thouſand dead, and did he not fly with the reſt of his troops from the *Hebrews*, who were not only unarmed, but alſo did not ſo much as offer to chaſe him? But this is not all: You are no ſtrangers to the *Babyloniſh* captivity, where the people remaining threeſcore and ten years in ſervitude, did not obtain their liberty, till *Cyrus* by edict granted it, in honour of the ſupreme God. 'Twas he that brought them out of their bondage, and they became again ſupplicants to their great reliever. In ſhort, nothing can be related which our forefathers have proſperouſly managed with their arms; nor is there any thing which they have not obtained from God without the force of weapons. When they ſtay'd at home, victory ſtood for them, as the arbiter of their cauſe thought fit, and when they went out to battle their hopes were fruſtrated perpetually. When the king of *Babylon* laid ſiege to this city, *Sedachias*, our king, in oppoſition to ſome part of *Hieremias's* prediction, would engage him, but happened to be taken priſoner himſelf; and to be a mournful ſpectator of the ſacking both the city and temple: Though he was a king much ſuperior to any of your generals, and his people much juſter and moderate than you are. Yet neither the king nor the people put *Hieremias* to death, tho' he propheſied aloud that God hated them for their tranſgreſſions againſt him, and that the city would be taken if they did not ſurrender it. But you (not to mention your deeds within this city, for I cannot with ſufficient juſtice expoſe your baſeneſs) abuſe and ſhoot at me, who only endeavour to perſuade you for your good and welfare, being enraged that I remind you of your errors and miſtaks, and out of humour to bear being told of thoſe things, which, in reality, you commit every day. When *Antiochus*, ſurnamed *Epiphanes*, who baſely diſhonour'd the majeſty and name of God, puſh'd on a vigorous ſiege againſt this city, our anceſtors marched out in arms, but were ſhamefully ſlain in battle, the city was taken by the enemy, and the ſacred houſe made deſolate for three years and ſix months. And to what purpoſe ſhould I recite more? Who excited the *Romans* to undertake a campaign againſt the nations of the *Jews*? Say, was it not owing to the impiety of the natives? Whence began we to be ſlaves? Was it not from the ſedition of our anceſtors, when the fury of *Ariſtobulas* and *Hyrcanus* and the diſpute between them, brought *Pompey* to our city, and made God ſubject thoſe unworthy of liberty to the *Roman* yoke. After having held out the ſiege ſix months, they ſurrendered, without having committed ſuch flagrant abuſes as you have done againſt the temple and the laws of your country; and they, moreover, had greater aids and ſucceſſors to maintain the war, than you have. Are we ſtrangers to the death of *Antigonus*, ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, upon whoſe acceſſion to the kingdom the People breaking out again into their vile courſes, brought down upon them the reſentment of God, who puniſhed them with a ſecond captivity? Add, to this, *Herod*, ſon of *Antipater*, brought down *Soſius*, and *Soſius* came with a *Roman* army; theſe inveſted the city, and for ſix months the *Jews* were beſieged; at laſt, as a puniſhment for their offences, the city was taken by the enemy. So that the nation never had the favour allowed them, of ſucceeding proſperouſly by force of arms. For it's out of queſtion that a ſtorm brings after it deſtruction. Wherefore, in my opinion, your buſineſs is, who are in poſſeſſion of the ſacred places, to leave the ultimate determination of all things to God, and only then to deſpiſe human force, when you flatter yourſelves with any certainty that God is on your ſide. Say, what have you done in obedience to any of thoſe duties which your legiſlator has approved, or what have you neglected to perform of thoſe things which he hath prohibited? How much greater is your impiety than theirs, who have been doomed to a ſudden ruin? You have not ſcrupled at the commiſſion of ſecret vices, ſuch as theft, treachery, and adultery; but you have ſet up among yourſelves a ſort of contention in the perpetration of murther, and ſpoil, and have invented new ways of wickedneſs. The holy temple is made a receptacle for all, without diſtinction, and the ſacred place has been polluted with the hands of the natives, which the *Romans* adored at a diſtance, who have derogated much through our law from their own inſtitutions. And can you expect to find him for your helper, againſt whom you have been ſo impious? Be it ſo with all my heart, and be you worthy ſupplicants, and pray to the helper with the ſame pure hands, as our king did againſt the *Aſſyrian*, when God ſubdued in one night his army. But do the *Romans* commit the ſame things as the *Aſſyrians* did, that you can pretend to hope for the like revenge? Did not he receive a ſum of money from our king to ſpare ſacking the city? Did he then, infringe his oath, and burn the temple? The *Romans*, on the other hand, demand a ſolemn tribute, which our anceſtors conſtantly paid to their progenitors. And if they obtain this, they have no thoughts of doing any further damage to the city, or touching any thing at all in the temple. They grant you, above other privileges, to have free families among you, every one to enjoy his own poſſeſſions, and ſuffer you to preſerve your laws ſacred and unviolated. 'Tis madneſs, certainly, to hope that God will be to the juſt what he has ſhewn himſelf to the unjuſt; eſpecially, who knows immediately how to revenge himſelf when a fit opportunity calls for it. Thus he puniſhed the *Aſſyrians* the very firſt night they encamped before the city; ſo that if he thought our ſons worthy of liberty, or the *Romans* deſerving of puniſhment, he would have fallen upon them, as he did upon the *Aſſyrians*, the moment *Pompey* began his hoſtilities, when *Soſius* made his deſcent after him, when *Veſpaſian* ravaged *Gallilee*, and now, when *Titus* inveſts the city. But neither the great *Pompey*, or *Soſius*, ſuffered in the leaſt; victory inclined on their ſides, and the city was twice taken; and *Veſpaſian* hath gained an empire from the war he maintained againſt us. Nor is this all; plentifuller fountains flow for the uſe of *Titus*, which before dried up againſt us: For you are not ignorant, that, before his coming, before *Siloa* and all the ſprings without the city, were ſo ſcarce of water, that it was ſold by the quart. But now they encreaſe ſo plentifully for the uſe of your enemies, that there is not only ſufficient for them, and their carriage-beaſts, but alſo for watering the gardens. This is a prodigy which your anceſtors experienced long ago in the deſtruction of the city, when the aforeſaid *Babylonian* made his expedition, took the city, and laid the temple in aſhes; though I am perſuaded, the tranſgreſſions of the *Aſſyrians* were not of ſo black a dye as thoſe you ſhew yourſelves guilty of at this day, which makes me think God hath entirely abandoned his ſacred houſe, and gone over to the *Romans*, againſt whom you preſume to fight. But a good man will avoid a bad houſe and the domeſticks in it: Do you therefore think that God eſpouſes your cauſe, or inhabits among men of ſuch impious principles, who ſees every thing though ſhaded over in the thickeſt darkneſs, and hears every thing though tranſacted with the deepeſt ſilence? What is there that you endeavour to hide, or what is that your enemies do not know? You make triumphs out of your wicked actions, and ſtrive every day who ſhall appear worſt, and ſet baſeneſs and vice to be gazed at in the room of virtue. Notwithſtanding, there is a way ſtill left for you to ſave yourſelves, if you will lay hold of the opportunity: And God will readily reconcile himſelf to thoſe who confeſs their errors, and repent of them. Oh! hard-hearted, throw away your arms, and let ſhame ſeize you for your country, on the point of utter deſtruction. Turn your eyes around and look upon the beauty and ſplendor of that place you are all this while betraying; what a city, what a temple, what rich donations, the ample gifts of many nations! Who proves the firſt to lay fire to them? Who wiſhes that they had never been? And what deſerves better to be preſerved than theſe? Oh! hard-hearted and more ſtupid than ſtones? If you do not diſcern clearly into theſe things, have pity at leaſt on your countrymen, and your ſons, wives and parents, ſtand in the ſight of each, who will ſoon be deſtroyed either by the war or the famine; I am perſuaded that my mother, wife, and family were of no mean deſcent, and which made a figure formerly, will be expoſed to one common danger with the reſt: And it may be thought very likely that I have preſumed to give this my advice on that account. Put them to death, take my blood as the ranſom for your ſafety and lives; For my part, I am ready to ſacrifice myſelf to death, provided my cataſtrophe will be any means to make you wiſe for the future.'

CHAP. X.

How ſeveral of the People were ready to fly over to the Romans. *The calamities they were expoſed to, who endured the Famine, and the Adverſities conſequent thereupon.*

JOSEPHUS delivering theſe words with a vaſt emotion of concern, and a flood of tears, the ſeditious neither gave any attention to them, nor could flatter themſelves that any change would be to their advantage: However, the people had ſentiments of flying over to the *Romans*. Some ſold their effects for trifles, while others ſwallow'd down their more valuable things, ſuch as were made of gold, to prevent there being taken from them. When they were got over to the *Romans*, they vomited the things up again, and ſo had ſufficient to provide them with ſuch neceſſaries as they wanted. *Titus* diſperſed them throughout the country to places every one fancied; and what incited them the more to this revolt, was, that they conſidered they ſhould be clear from any inteſtine calamities, and from being ſlaves to the *Romans*. *John*'s and *Simon*'s partizans were far more induſtrious to guard againſt the going out of theſe renegades, than the coming in of the *Romans*, and he was certainly to ſuffer death who but gave the ſlighteſt ſhadow of ſuſpicion.

But the wealthier ſort found it equally fatal for them to ſtay; for their riches were made a pretence to put them to death, as though their deſigns had really been to go over to the enemy. The madneſs and frantick diſpoſition of the ſeditious augmented as the famine increaſed, and both thoſe cruel ills enlarg'd more and more every day: There was no ſuch thing as any corn publickly to be ſeen in any place, the ſeditious broke open and ſearched the houſes for ſome, and if they happened to find any, they miſerably ſcourged thoſe in the houſes, as though they had denied they had any: On the other hand, if they found none, they put the people to the queſtion, pretending they induſtriouſly concealed it from them. But the bodies of the miſerable inhabitants were proof enough whether they had proviſions or no; if they found any that ſtill preſerved a good conſtitution, they concluded from thence that they had ſtore of proviſions ſtill left by them: But thoſe who were begun to wear away, had the fortune to be paſſed over: For they judg'd it irrational to offer to kill thoſe who were on the point of periſhing through want. Many for a ſingle meaſure of corn exchanged all the effects they had: This was done by the rich; but the poor bartered what they had for one of barley. Some concealed themſelves in the inmoſt apartments of their houſes, and forced, through extreme hunger, contentedly eat the corn without grinding it; while others made themſelves bread, as neceſſity and fear prompted them. There was no regular table ſeen ſpread, but exceſs of hunger compelled them to ſnatch the victuals, when raw, from the fire, and greedily devour it. The meats they fed upon deſerved compaſſion, and were a ſight that could well demand tears: The ſtronger having a more than equal dividend, and the weaker being left to ſooth their hard condition in the beſt manner they could. Every affection of the mind was triumphed over by the famine, but none ſo much as modeſty felt the weight of the victory: For what in other reſpects may be thought worthy of honour, famine, and the cruel hunger that raged, entirely diſregarded it; for, to inſtance ſome particulars, wives ſnatched the meat from their huſbands, ſons from their fathers, and, what was the moſt miſerable ſight of all, mothers pulled it out of the mouths of their children, and were not aſhamed to rob them, as they pined away in their arms, of thoſe drops of milk which were deſigned to preſerve them. While they fed themſelves in this manner, the methods they took to do it could not be carried on in ſecret: The ſeditious watched in every corner to pillage and rob them; for in what corner ſoever they ſaw a houſe ſhut, 'twas a ſufficient diſcovery to make them ſuſpect the people within were at victuals: They preſently broke open the doors, ruſh'd in, and pulled the chewed pieces of meat out of their mouths. They beat the old men who preſumed to hold their meat faſt, and dragged the women by the hair of the head, who hid what they had in their hands. There was no compaſſion for grey hairs, or pity for infants; but they took up the children aloft in their hands, and daſh'd them againſt the ground, as they hung eagerly over their meat. If any prevented their breaking in upon them, and had ſwallowed down what they judg'd they came to take from them, in ſuch caſe, they met with ſeverer treatment, under a pretence they had been injured by them. But this was not all; they invented ſeveral kinds of torments to find out where the meat was, by probing the paſſage of the privities with ſmall twigs, and thruſting ſharp ſtakes up the fundament. In order to make them diſcover one loaf of bread, or produce an handful of bran, that had been hid, they put them to ſuch exquiſite pains, which are extremely ſhocking to be heard. Mean while theſe tormentors were not in the leaſt expoſed to the famine, eſteeming it leſs cruel to commit theſe barbarities, when forced thereto by neceſſity; but their deſign was, to confirm their boldneſs by uſing themſelves to meaſures of this cruel kind, and get them victuals for ſeveral days ſubſiſtance. If any found an opportunity in the night time to creep privately to the *Roman* ſtations, for the ſake of gathering wild olives or graſs, they were certain to meet them, when they fancied themſelves out of the reach of their enemies, and rob them of every thing they had: And notwithſtanding

withſtanding the many intreaties they uſed, and the ſeveral times they begged by the tremendous name of God, to allow them a part of what they had obtained with imminent danger to their perſons, yet they would give them nothing. And they might think themſelves highly honoured, that they were not both robbed and killed too.

Theſe were the hardſhips the poorer ſort ſuſtained from thoſe who ſtiled themſelves warriors: The tyrants commanded the more honourable and wealthy to be brought before them, ſome of whom were put to death under falſe accuſations of conſpiring againſt them; and others, under pretence of having intentions to betray the city into the hands of the *Romans*. The readieſt handle for this, was to procure a ſuborned witneſs to ſay that they had reſolved to revolt. Whomſoever *Simon* ſtripped, he was remitted to *John*; and whomſoever *John* pillaged, *Simon* was ſure to have him: So that they drank the blood of their countrymen between them, and, by turns, divided the bodies of the miſerable *Jews*. The diſſention between them was owing to the inſatiable deſire of rule, which both ſtrenuouſly entertained. This was heighten'd by their agreement in wickedneſs; for he who claimed the whole ſpoil to himſelf, and did not allot a ſhare to the other of the plunder he made out of his neighbours, was eſteemed ſingularly baſe, and he, who did not receive his part, grieved as though he had deſired ſomething of good, and part of by his cruelty had been kept from him.

But 'tis impoſſible to recount all their iniquities particularly: I may aſſert compendiouſly, that there never was another city that ſuffered ſuch calamities, nor a race of men from the beginning of the world, that plunged itſelf into worſe crimes: It was reproached againſt the nation of the *Jews*, that the *Hebrews* were leſs cruel to foreigners than themſelves; and themſelves confeſs'd, as the truth really was, that they were ſlaves, ſtrangers, baſtards, and abortively produced. Themſelves were the ruin of their city, and compelled the *Romans*, againſt themſelves, to aſcribe ſo mournful a victory to their ſide; and were the cauſe of drawing the fire into the temple, which otherwiſe proceeded ſlowly of itſelf: For when they ſaw from the higher city the lower part in a blaze, they neither ſeemed concerned, or ſo much as ſhed a tear about it, both which the *Romans* are known to have done. But we ſhall take an opportunity in the ſequel to ſpeak of theſe things, when we come to deſcribe and treat of the facts themſelves.

CHAP. XI.

How the Jews *were crucified before the Walls. Of* Antiochus Epiphanes. *How the* Jews *threw down the* Roman *Engines.*

TITUS's mounts were carried on, in ſpite of all the oppoſition his ſoldiers met with from the walls. He ſent a party of horſe with orders to lie in ambuſcade in the vallies for thoſe who came out to get proviſions. There were ſome of the warriors among theſe, who could not content themſelves with the depredations they made in the city; but the more conſiderable part conſiſted of the poor people, who, fearing to loſe what they had, were deterr'd from going over to the *Romans*. They could not bring themſelves to hope that the ſeditious could get privately off with their wives and children; and to leave them behind to the power of the miſcreants, to have their throats cut, was a circumſtance they could not bear: The famine, indeed, made them the bolder to go out, and nothing remained but their privately going out and falling into the hands of their enemies. Being taken in the ambuſcade, neceſſity obliged them to make reſiſtance for fear of puniſhment: For they thought it no time to petition, after they had ſhewn themſelves in battle. Thus they were cruelly ſcourged, and before death doom'd to various and exquiſite torments, being faſtened up to croſſes before the walls. *Titus* judged this a miſerable way of procedure, when five hundred and more were every day taken of the *Jews*. However, he thought it not prudent or ſafe, to let thoſe go whom he had taken by forcible means, and conclude, that ſuch a numerous multitude would be a ſafeguard to his own men. He was no ways againſt having 'em crucified, as he hoped the ſight of them would in ſeeming likelihood make the others ſurrender, and think they ſhould ſuffer the ſame torments, did not they do ſo. The *Romans* faſtened the captives to croſſes to gratify either their reſentment or hatred; and, to jeer them, tormented them after ſeveral ways: And the multitude was ſo numerous, that there was not ſufficient room for the croſſes to ſtand on, or croſſes equal to the number of bodies.

But ſo far was this miſerable ſcene from affecting the minds of the ſeditious, in order to make them lay aſide their obſtinacy, that they openly pretended the contrary to the reſt of the multitude. Having dragged the relations of the deſerters to the walls, and thoſe of the people who were inclin'd to favour the *Romans*, they ſhewed them what ſufferings they were expoſed to who had fled over to the *Romans*, and told them, that they who had been taken were not captives, but only ſuppliants. This made ſeveral, who wanted to get away, keep cloſe within the walls, till they underſtood the truth of the matter; ſome hereupon ran out immediately, as though to a real puniſhment, eſteeming death, which the *Romans* inflicted, a kind of reſt, it compared to the famine. After *Titus* had commanded the hands of ſeveral of the fugitives to be cut off, to remove the ſuſpicion of their being deſerters, and make their misfortunes obtain credit to their words, he ſent them back to *John* and *Simon*, 'With admonitions that they would ceaſe from their obſtinacy, and not force him upon the deſtruction of their city, but change their minds, whereby they might ſave their lives, ſo fine a country, and a temple that was ſuperior to all others.' At the ſame inſtant he urged on his workmen, by marching round the mounts, as though his reſolution was to follow his words with deeds very quickly. But the return he had was reproaches caſt at himſelf and his father, from thoſe who ſtood upon the walls. 'They proclaimed aloud, that death was a circumſtance they deſpiſed (rather deſiring to ſuffer it than be made ſlaves,) and that while they had breath they would ſuſtain all the diſaſters the *Romans* could bring upon them, that they had little conſideration about their country, as they were ſoon to periſh, according to his words, and that the world was better to God than their temple. However, that he would preſerve it who reſided within it, whom they took for their helper, and therefore derided his menaces, and wanted proofs and real actions; for that God was the diſpoſer of the event of things.' Thus did they roar aloud, and caſt their malicious and opprobrious language at the *Romans*.

Mean time arrived *Antiochus Epiphanes*, at the head of a company of *Macedonians*, and a numerous body of other forces; the *Macedonians* were of equal age, tall, and a little paſt the degree of ſtripplings; they were armed after the *Macedonian* manner, and trained up in the military ſcience, whence they derived their name, but could not equal in all points the reputation of their nation. It happened, before fortune changed ſides, for the king of *Comagena* to be the happieſt prince under the *Roman* dominion. He gave proof in the decline of his life, that none ought to be ſtiled happy before death: However his ſon, who was now arrived, and in the vigour of his youth, ſaid, he was ſurprized what ſhould be the reaſon that made the *Romans* defer going up to the walls. The young gentleman was a ſoldier, and naturally formed for high atchievements, and of ſuch bodily ſtrength, as made his courage ſeldom miſcarry. *Titus* ſmiled at his words, and told him the labour was common; whereupon he ruſhed forward with his *Macedonians*, and made a vigorous attack upon the walls. He ſtrove to avoid the darts of the beſieged with all the force and ſkill he had, while himſelf ſhot at thoſe upon the walls: But the greateſt part of his young *Macedonians* were cut off, the extravagant promiſes they had made riſing up in their minds, made them fight it out gallantly; but ſeveral at length being wounded, drew off, with this reflection, that even real *Macedonians*, if they would gain a victory, ſtood in need of *Alexander*'s fortune.

The *Romans* began their mounts on the twelfth of the month *Artemiſius*, and finiſhed them on the twenty-ninth; ſo that ſeventeen days were conſumed about them, without any intermiſſion. Four very large ones were erected; one was laid by the fifth legion at *Antonia*, over-againſt the middle fiſh-pond, called *Struthia*; another was built by the twelfth legion, about twenty cubits diſtance from the other; but the tenth legion, which was at a conſiderable diſtance from theſe, was taken up on the eaſt ſide, and at the fiſh-pond called *Amygdalon*, in raiſing mounts there: The fifteenth legion was employ'd at the monument of *John* the prieſt, about thirty cubits from this laſt place. The engines were now placed; but *John*, by digging under all the ſpace lying between *Antonia* and the mounts, and propping up the earth with ſtakes, put the *Roman* works into a tottering condition. Having thrown in a great quantity of wood, daub'd over with bitumen and pith, he ſet fire thereto; upon which, the ſtakes burning in two, the mine ſuddenly gave way, and the mounts, with a prodigious crack, fell in upon it. A thick ſmoak preſently mixing with a cloud of duſt, flew upwards, for the fire was ſuffocated in the confuſed crack, but the flames immediately ſhewed themſelves, as ſoon as the matter, that preſs'd them down, was conſum'd. The unexpected ſight of this accident put the *Romans* in amaze, and the dexterity of the contrivance caſt their minds down. They had even made themſelves believe they were on the point of bearing away the victory; but this ſudden miſchance quite damp'd the hopes they had entertain'd: And they thought it a needleſs piece of work to ſtrive to put out the fire, when, after they had extinguiſh'd it, they ſaw their mounts ſwallowed up.

Two days after this, *Simon* and his party attacked the other works: The *Romans* had brought their helepoles to this quarter, and begun to ſhake the wall. One *Tiphthæus*, of the city *Garſis*, in *Galilee*, and *Megaſſarus*, one of the royal ſervants of *Mariamne*, accompanied with *Adiabenus*, ſon of *Nabatæus*, who was called *Chagrias* from his condition, which word ſignifies lame, ſnatched up torches, and ſallied out upon the engines. In all the courſe of the war, there were none who ſallied out of the city upon the enemy with greater boldneſs, or more terror, than theſe men; for they ruſh'd out as if they had been going to join their friends, and not encounter a body of their enemies, they never ſo much as trembled, or delayed, or offered to withdraw back; but forcing their paſſage with main violence through the midſt of the *Romans*, ſet fire to their engines. 'Tis true, they were expoſed to ſhowers of darts, and drawn ſwords all round 'em; but they did not make any attempts to get out of the danger that threaten'd them till the flames had catch'd hold of the engines. When the *Romans* ſaw the fire mounting upwards, they ran in throngs out of their camp, in order to aſſiſt their engines; but the *Jews* from the walls ſtrove to hinder them, and fought hand to hand with thoſe who went to put out the fire, all the time expoſing their bodies to all manner of dangers. The *Romans* ſtrove to draw away their rams from the fire, after their coverings were burnt: The *Jews*, on the other hand, endeavoured to retain them where they were; and though the iron about them was burning hot when they catch'd hold, they would not let them go. 'Twas from theſe that the fire got to the works, and deprived thoſe who came to lend their aſſiſtance, from quenching the fire. Now as the caſe ſtood, and nothing but flames blazed round the *Romans*, they deſpairing of ſaving their engines, withdrew to their camp; but the *Jews* ſhewed themſelves the more vehement, as their number every minute increaſed, by continual ſupplies running to them out of the city: Victory giving them hopes, they ſallied out in a vaſt body, and, reaching the very fortifications of the enemy's camp, attacked the centinels that guarded it. Theſe are a ſtation of armed men before the camp, who ſucceed one another by turns, and the orders of the *Romans* among them are very ſevere, which puniſh with death him who moves from his poſt on any pretence whatſoever. Theſe men, preferring a glorious death to a capital puniſhment, ſtood their ground, and many who were going to fly away, ſeeing their valour, faced about and join'd them. After they had diſpoſed their ſcorpions upon their rampart, they beat back the multitude that came out of the city, who were wholly unprovided with any thing either for the ſecurity or defence of their bodies. The *Jews*, indeed, fell upon all they met; and raſhly expoſing their bodies to their enemy's darts, engaged them; but the ſuperiority they gained was not ſo much owing to what they did, as to what they boldly attempted: And the *Romans* ſuffered more from this inconcerted preſumption of the *Jews*, than from any real damage they ſuſtained.

But *Titus* was now returned from *Antonia*, whither he had gone by himſelf, in order to find out a convenient place for other mounts: He reprimanded his ſoldiers warmly, for endangering themſelves on their own ramparts, after they had been in poſſeſſion of the enemy's walls, and for letting the *Jews*, as it were, out of priſon againſt them, and ſuffering themſelves to undergo the fortune of men beſieged: After which he fell on one ſide of them with a choice party of his men. The fury of the *Romans* being levelled directly in the faces of the *Jews*, they couragiouſly oppoſed *Titus*, and maintained the charge with bravery. When both ſides mixed, a thick duſt blinded their eyes, and prodigious ſhouts drown'd their hearing, inſomuch, that no one could tell who was his friend or enemy. When the *Romans* found that the reſiſtance made by the *Jews* was not ſo much to be attributed to force of ſtrength, as to the deſpair they entertained of their lives, they became more bold from an awful ſenſe of the victory, from the triumph of their arms, and from *Cæſar*'s expoſing himſelf to danger before their faces: So that I am apt to think, the prodigious courage of the *Romans* had diſpatched all the *Jews* entirely, had not declining the battle prevented them, and the beſieged withdrawn into the city. The *Romans* were extremely concerned for the ruin of their works, and could not help ſhewing their regret for loſing in one hour what they had been at ſo much pains about: And many could not flatter themſelves with any hopes that the engines they then had in uſe would prove ſufficient to take the city.

CHAP. XII.

Titus *reſolves to carry a Wall about the City; which makes the Famine rage extremely in every Houſe and Family.*

TITUS, upon this, called a council of war to deliberate on the poſture of his affairs, and what meaſures were expedient to be taken. The more violent were for drawing up all his forces, and making a general aſſault upon the walls, becauſe the *Jews* had only encountered as yet with a part of his army, and for that reaſon, if they were all to come up together, it would be impoſſible for the *Jews* to abide the ſhock; for the vaſt ſhowers of darts would quite over-power them. Of the more prudent number, ſome adviſed the raiſing of other mounts, while others were for ſitting ſtill without them, watching only the ſallying out of the beſieged, cutting off their proviſions, leaving the city to the conſequences of the famine, and not any way engaging with the enemy; for that it was meer infatuation to think of fighting with deſperate men, who were reſolved to ſacrifice their lives at any rate, and that a crueller death waited for them than by the point of the ſword. Notwithſtanding theſe plauſible remonſtrances, *Titus* could not be induced to believe it ſquared with his honour altogether, to ſit idle with ſo numerous an army about him: To engage them was thought needleſs, who were reſolved to deſtroy themſelves; and to go about erecting other mounts in the midſt of ſuch ſcarcity of materials, was an enterprize that would be attended with unforeſeen difficulties: And laſtly, to obſerve their ſallying out, preſented more inconveniences than all the reſt: Neither was it an affair of ſlight conſequence to inveſt the city, becauſe of its amplitude and impervious places, and to offer at aſſaults carried much danger in it. That if they poſted guards in all the open ways, neceſſity, and the knowledge the *Jews* had in the nature of the ground, would make the beſieg'd invent ſecret ways to countermine their deſigns. And if they went about ſecret meaſures, the ſiege would probably be deferred for ſome time longer, and it was to be feared that length of time would take from the honour of the victory. That every thing might be obtained this way, but 'twas diſpatch that heightened the glory of an action. That they ought, provided they had a mind to uſe diſpatch, and ſecure themſelves at the ſame time, to build a wall round the city, which would be an effectual way to hinder the beſieg'd from coming out, and ſtop up all paſſages; that the *Jews*, being reduced by ſuch a method to deſpair of every thing, would either ſurrender the city, or pinched with the famine, give them an eaſy opportunity to take them: That this way would afford him time to ſit ſtill, or raiſe new batteries, as he would have to deal with an enemy too weak to give him reſiſtance. That if any one thought it a vaſt undertaking, and attended with difficulties to carry it through, he ought to conſider, that it became the *Romans* to turn their hands from trifling attempts, and that the proſecution of great things, unleſs to God himſelf, was attended with much labour and difficulty to every one.

Titus gaining upon his officers by theſe words, commanded them to diſtribute the forces towards carrying on the work. A certain divine impulſe preſently warmed the ſoldiers; the circumference of the city was inſtantly divided into ſhares: Whereupon, not only the legions, but the ſeparate companies in them, contended who could perform the moſt: The common ſoldier ſtrove to pleaſe the decurion, the decurion the centurion, and he the tribune; the tribunes in their places endeavoured to outſtrip the higher officers, and the higher officers, by their mutual alacrity, gained the affection and kindneſs of *Cæſar*, who ſeveral times a-day would walk among the workmen, and ſee how matters went on. The wall began from the place called the *Aſſyrian* tents, where his camp was, and reached along to the lower *Cænopolis*, and from thence went by *Cedron* to the mount of olives, then bending ſouthward, it took in the mountain as far as the rock called *Periſtereons*, and the adjoining hill, hanging over the valley near *Siloa*; then turning weſtward, it ran as far as the valley of the *Fountain*, from which place riſing to the monument of *Ananus* the prieſt, and taking the mountain where *Pompey* formerly encamped, it returned northward, and, ſtretching on to the village named *Erebinthos*, and afterwards taking in *Herod*'s monument eaſtward, he joined it to his camp, where he had begun. This wall was nine and thirty furlongs in circumference, and thirteen fortreſſes were raiſed before it, taking up ten furlongs in circumference. 'Twas all finiſhed in three days time, but might ſeem to have been a month in building; and the diſpatch it was carried on with may be thought incredible. Thus was the city hemmed in with this wall, and guards thrown into the thirteen fortreſſes. *Titus* himſelf undertook to go about the firſt watch, and ſee how things were managed; the ſecond was committed to the care of *Alexander*, and the third to the officers of the legions. The watch had their appointments of reſt by turns, and all the night went their rounds over the ſpaces lying between the fortreſſes.

When the *Jews* found themſelves depriv'd of going out, all manner of hope of ſaving themſelves left them; beſides, the famine now raged in a terrible manner in every houſe and family, and miſerably deſtroyed the people. Houſes were full of women, and children periſhed with hunger, and the narrow places crammed with the dead bodies of antient men. Children and youth, ſwollen with the famine, walked like ghoſts through the ſtreets, and fell down whereſoever the contagion ſeized them. This was not all: The ſick had not ſtrength to bury the bodies of their relations; and they who had ſtrength enough to continue firm and hale, were deterred from giving them funeral honours, both on account of the vaſt number of dead, and the uncertain hopes they had of their own lives. Several in the very act of interring others, fell down dead themſelves: Many, before the fatal hour came, haſtened to their graves, and there died. Yet for all theſe miſerable ſcenes of diſtreſs, no complaints or lamentations were heard, but theſe motives of the mind were baniſhed by the famine. They who yet continued with difficulty to draw their breath, looked with dry eyes upon thoſe who were dead, and enjoyed reſt. A melancholy and deep ſilence, and innumerable ſcenes of death, preſented themſelves in every corner of the city, yet the violent proceedings of the ſeditious and miſcreant robber, were more terrible than all theſe: After they had dug open the houſes which had been converted into burying places, they rifled the dead bodies, and having ſtripped them of their coverings, came out laughing. To give full ſcope to their malice, they tried the points of their ſwords upon the very carcaſſes, and, if they ſaw any lying on the ground, ready to expire, they ran them through, to experience what metal the blades were made of. If any begged them to lend them an hand or a ſword, they arrogantly refuſed them, and left them to be worn to death by the famine. All, as they were giving up the ghoſt, looked upon the temple with fixed eyes, when they found they muſt leave the ſeditious behind them. Theſe at firſt ordered the dead to be buried at the publick expence, when they could no longer bear the ſtench that iſſued from the carcaſſes; but afterwards, when the money proved inſufficient to defray the expence, they threw them from the walls into the deep vallies underneath.

Titus, by chance, was walking round the walls, and came to ſee the vallies filled with the dead bodies, and a deep flood of gore, with innumerable carcaſſes floating in it: He fetched a vaſt ſigh at the miſerable ſpectacle, and, with up-lifted hands, called the moſt high God to witneſs that the deed did not belong to him. This was the melancholy caſe of the city at this time. The *Romans*, when none of the ſeditious offered to ſtir out (for now their ſouls were touched both with ſorrow and the famine) appeared chearful and glad, having abundance of corn and other neceſſaries brought them out of *Syria* and the neighbouring provinces: Many of them ſtood before the walls, and making boaſt of their plenty, but the more increaſed the hunger of the beſieged thereby, theſe miſfortunes having no effect upon the ſeditious. *Titus* began to take compaſſion upon thoſe that remained of the people, and being deſirous to ſave out of the common danger ſomething at leaſt of what ſtill remained, began to rebuild freſh mounts, though ſurrounded with difficulties in getting materials for them. For all the wood near the city had been cut down for the former mounts, and the ſoldiers were obliged now to fetch their ſtuff a matter of fourſcore and ten furlongs off, who raiſed before *Antonia*, and there only, four of larger dimenſions than the former. *Cæſar* all the time walked among and viewed the workmen, as they went on, haſtening them to forward and diſpatch the buſineſs in hand; and ſhewed the ſeditious too plainly, that they could not then eſcape him. But all this would not do: They were the only perſons that entertained no concern for their paſt actions; and, as tho' they had torn their ſouls from their bodies, made uſe of both as if they did not belong to them: For no ſhame or conſcientious reflection touched their ſouls, or grief their bodies, but, with an undiſtinguiſhed fury, they tore the bodies of the lower claſs of people like ſo many dogs, and filled the priſons with invalids.

CHAP. XIII.

A vaſt Slaughter and Sacrilege at Hieroſolyma.

At length *Matthias*, who had been the main inſtrument in introducing *Simon* into the city, was put to death with extreme torments, by the perſon he had thus befriended. This perſon was the ſon of *Boethus*, one of the prieſts, and in great credit and eſteem with the people, who, on the tyrannick behaviour of the zealots to the people, whoſe party *John* had already eſpouſed, perſuaded them to receive *Simon*, in order to aſſiſt them, without having entered into any previous engagement with him about it, or diſtruſting in the leaſt any future ill conſequences. After he was got in, and had made ſure of the city, he looked upon *Matthias* and others as his enemies, who but adviſed him how to proceed, as though a piece of ſimplicity of mind had only prompted him to it. In fine, he was brought before him, and charged with favouring the *Romans*, for which he condemned him to die, without allowing him any liberty to defend himſelf, and pronounced death at the ſame time over his three ſons; the fourth having got away before to *Titus*. *Matthias* finding himſelf in this unhappy exigence, begged he might die before his ſons, and required this favour for having opened the gates of the city to let him in; but *Simon*, to augment his misfortunes, commanded him to be put to death the laſt. Accordingly, he was carried to a place that faced the *Romans* (according to the orders *Simon* had given *Ananus*, the ſon of *Banadus*, who was the cruelleſt of all his guards), and there put to death upon his ſons, who had been ſlain before in his ſight, with this injunction, to obſerve whether any of thoſe he wanted to go over, offered to aſſiſt him. His body was denied interment. After theſe were removed out of the way, *Ananias* the prieſt, ſon of *Maſambalus*, a man of dignity, and *Ariſteus* of *Ammaus*, ſcribe of the court, and fifteen other eminent perſons of the people, were put to death. They kept the father of *Joſephus* cloſe confined in priſon, and made proclamation by an herald, for none within the city to converſe with, or go to him there, for fear of betraying the city: And every one who made any complaints in company with their fellow ſufferers, were, without any previous enquiry into the matter, put to death.

Judas, ſon of *Judas*, one of the captains of *Simon*'s appointment, and who was entruſted with the defence of a certain tower, ſeeing how things were carried on, probably through ſome compaſſion to his countrymen, periſhing ſo miſerably, but likelier to provide for himſelf, having got together ten perſons under his command, whom he could confide in, ſaid to them, 'How long muſt we ſuffer theſe calamities? 'Or what hopes of life have we in continuing 'dutiful and faithful to this monſter? Is not 'a cruel famine all this while deſtroying us, 'and the *Romans* almoſt within the city? Are 'the good deeds of *Simon* ſo clear as to be 'depended upon? Do not we every moment 'fear to be puniſhed by him? And are not the '*Romans* to be entruſted? Come, let us ſurrender the wall, and ſo ſave both ourſelves 'and the city. *Simon* will ſuffer nothing by 'it, if, when he finds his caſe deſparate, he 'antedates his own puniſhment.' The ten readily embracing his words, he took care in the morning to ſend the reſt, under his command, ſome to one place, and ſome to another, to hinder what they had been adviſing together about from taking wind; when about the third hour, he called to the *Romans*, ſome of whom did not mind him, and others diſtruſted the ſincerity of his deſign: But the general part did not care to enter into any action, concluding the city would ſoon be taken, without any hazard or danger. *Titus* was thinking of going up to the wall attended with a guard of arm'd men about him; but *Simon* found the ſcheme out firſt, and immediately ſeizing upon the tower, took the men, and put them to death before the faces of the *Romans*, and then toſſed their mangled bodies over the walls.

Mean time, as *Joſephus* was walking about the walls (for he ceaſed not to adviſe his countrymen to ſurrender), he received a blow of a ſtone upon his head, and fell down immediately with the ſtun it gave him. The *Jews* ſeeing this, preſently ſallied out, and had certainly dragged him into the city, had not *Cæſar* timely ſent a party of his men, and reſcued him. A diſpute upon this ariſing, *Joſephus* was carried off, without being ſenſible of the leaſt that was done. The ſeditious raiſed a vaſt ſhout, as though he had been killed, whoſe life they ſo eagerly deſired. The report ran through the city ſo, and the multitude that ſtill remained were extremely concern'd, as believing he had been really killed, under whoſe protection they laid the ſcheme of their flight. When the mother of *Joſephus*, who was in priſon, came to hear that her ſon had been killed, ſhe told the *Jotapatenes*, who were her guards, that ſhe was very well aſſured it was ſo, and that ſhe ſhould never ſee him alive. She mourned privately among her maids, and ſaid, that was the fruit of her having borne a ſon, in being deprived from giving funeral honours to him, from whom ſhe was in hopes of having been buried herſelf. But this falſe report did not give her long uneaſineſs, or prove any ſatisfaction to the robbers; for 'twas not long before *Joſephus* recovered of his wound, went out, and told them aloud, that they might certainly expect ſhortly to pay dear for the wound they had given him, after which he exhorted the people to put confidence in him. The ſight of *Joſephus* gave the people confidence, but ſtruck the ſeditious with conſternation and amazement.

Mean while, ſome of the deſerters, forced by the miſerable neceſſity they were in, caſt themſelves down directly from the walls, while others, under a pretence of going to engage the *Romans* with ſtones, fled to them. But their caſe became now more bitter than what they had been expoſed to within the city, and the *Romans* proviſions proved a quicker death to them than the famine which they had left at home: For their long faſting ſwelled them up, and they ſeemed like ſo many dropſical perſons, which being followed by an exceſs of eating, quite burſt them aſunder, unleſs ſome put a reſtraint upon their appetites, who knew the conſequences of over-gorging themſelves, and uſed their bodies, which had been unuſed to victuals, to moderate quantities at a time. But they who had the good fortune to preſerve themſelves this way, met with as great an inconvenience another. It happened that the *Syrians* took a certain *Jew* picking up gold out of his ordure; for, as we have obſerved above, they went out of the city, having firſt ſwallowed down their moſt valuable things, becauſe the ſeditious narrowly ſearched every one, and there was abundance of gold in the town, which made that ſell for twelve atticks which before was worth five and twenty. One man thus giving a diſcovery to the artifice, all the camp came preſently to hear that the deſerters were full of gold; upon which the *Arabians* and *Syrians* cut up their bellies, and ſearch'd for the money; which terrible barbarity I take to be worſe than any the *Jews* felt. For a matter of two thouſand were in one night ripped open.

But when this cruel procedure came to the ears of *Titus*, he was wroth, and had certainly given orders for his horſe to hem in the authors of the barbarity, and ſhoot them to death, had not a vaſt crowd of his men interceded for them, and ſtopped him from his purpoſe, by remonſtrating how that there muſt more perſons be puniſhed than had been ſlain. However, he ſummoned the officers of the auxiliaries, and of his legions (for ſome of his own ſoldiers had been charged with the barbarity) and angrily ſaid to both, What, did any of their men commit ſuch things for the ſake of an uncertain gain, and were they not aſhamed of their arms being made of gold and ſilver? Then turning to the *Arabians* and *Syrians*, What, did they firſt give a looſe to their affections in a foreign war without reſtraint, and would they afterwards aſcribe their cruelty, blood-thirſtineſs, and hatred to the *Jews*, to the *Romans?* For ſome of his own ſoldiers were diſtinguiſhed with the marks of the ſame infamy. He threatened theſe with death, if he found any of them for the time to come in the commiſſion of ſo heinous a cruelty, and commanded his legions to ſearch out the ſuſpected perſons, and bring them to him. But covetouſneſs ſcorns every puniſhment, and the curſed love of gain is inborn with man; nor is there any affection of the mind ſo prevalent, and which runs ſo precipitately into dangers, as the deſire of poſſeſſing a great deal. It ſometimes happens, indeed, that fear puts a reſtraint upon perſons of this make; but it was God who had given over all the people, and made every ſeeming way of ſafety the very road leading to their deſtruction: For what *Cæſar* had taken care by ſevere menaces not to have done, was privately exerciſed upon the deſerters; for before they all appeared, the *Barbarians* met and killed 'em; and then looking about if any of the *Romans* did not ſee 'em, ripped them open, and took their abominable ſpoil out of their bowels. This was found in but few; and abundance ſuffered from an hope only that ſomething was concealed within them: But certainly this vile method of procedure reduced a great number of the deſerters.

When *John* found he could purſue his rapacious meaſures no longer upon the people, he turned upon ſacrilegious ſteps, and took away out of the temple ſeveral of the fine preſents that had been repoſited there, ſeveral veſſels uſed in the performance of divine worſhip, cups, plates, and tables; not even ſparing the *Acratophora* ſent by *Auguſtus* and his wife: For the *Roman* kings always honoured and adorned the temple at *Hieroſolyma*. Thus a *Jew* at this time rifled the houſe of God of the donations which foreigners had made to it, and told his accomplices that they who fought in vindication of God's honour, might, without any ſcruples, uſe the things dedicated to his divine ſervice, and provide for themſelves, who were inliſted under his banners, out of the riches of his temple. In conſequence of this, he went and drew the ſacred wine and oil, which was in the interior part of the temple, and which the prieſts preſerved for mixing in their oblations, and gave them among his confederates, who, without the leaſt regard to the horror of the action, anointed themſelves, and drank a great quantity thereof. This is an action which I ſhall not ſcruple to lay open, as grief and concern jointly command me to it; and, indeed, I cannot but think, had the *Romans* drawn off their arms, and forbore to deſtroy theſe execrable monſters, the city would have been ſwallowed up, or laid under water, or have felt the thunder and lightning which deſtroyed the land of *Sodom*: For a more impious race was now exiſting in *Judæa*, than thoſe who ſuffered theſe calamities. Wherefore all the people were doomed to deſtruction for the fury and madneſs of theſe men.

But what occaſion have I to recount every particular calamity? *Mannæus*, the ſon of *Lazarus*, having fled over to *Titus* about this time, told him, that from the day he had encamped near the walls, namely, from the fourteenth day of the month *Xanthicus*, to the firſt of *Panæmus*, there had been carried out at one gate which he had been poſted at, one hundred and fifteen thouſand, eight hundred and eighty dead perſons. This was an immenſe multitude. But *Mannæus* was not only ſet to guard this gate, he was entruſted to diſtribute the public money, and therefore could not help taking an account. The reſt were buried by their relations, and their interment was to be carried up to the walls and thrown over. Several deſerters of figure and rank coming before *Titus* after *Mannæus*, acquainted him that the poor that had died amounted to threeſcore thouſand, and had been carried out of the gates; but the number of the others was not to be found. That when the poor died ſo faſt that they could not be carried out, they told him the bodies were put into large houſes, and ſhut up there; and that a meaſure of corn was ſold for a talent. That afterwards when the wall he had built about the city, deprived them of going out and gathering graſs, ſome were reduced to that neceſſity as to ſearch in the ſewers and the old dung of cattle, and to eat that which before was looked upon with horror. When this was told the *Romans*, they could not but pity them, but the ſeditious, though they were eye-witneſſes of theſe miſeries, ſtill perſiſted in their obſtinacy.

The End of the FIFTH BOOK.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

JEWISH WAR;

OR THE

JEWISH HISTORY of the FALL.

BOOK VI.

CHAP. I.

The Jewiſh *calamities increaſe for the worſe. The* Romans *make an aſſault upon* Antonia.

MEAN time, the calamities of the *Hieroſolymites* grew every day for the worſe, the ſeditious were vaſtly enraged at the difficulties that hemm'd them in, and the famine, with an inſupportable fury, made terrible deſtruction among the people. Nor was this all: The vaſt multitude of dead bodies, which were piled up in the city in heaps, ſent out an abominable and peſtiferous ſmell, which greatly incommoded the fighting *Jews* in making their excurſions: For being trained up by this time to the proſpect of innumerable ſcenes of blood-ſhed, they could not march along without treading upon dead bodies; yet they, who thus walked upon them, neither trembled at the action, or entertained a grain of pity for what they did: Neither would they be induced to believe that the contumely they put upon their dead countrymen would be any way ominous to themſelves. With hands dipped in the blood of perſons of the ſame nation with them, they ſallied out to war with ſtrangers, which looks to me as though they reproach'd God for his ſlowneſs in puniſhing 'em. For 'twas no longer now any hope of victory, but deſpair of their own lives, that puſh'd 'em thus with rage to maintain the war. Though the *Romans* had been expos'd to great hardſhips and difficulties in collecting materials for their works, they rais'd them in one and twenty days, for which end, they cut down, as I have obſerv'd above, all the wood growing for 90 furlongs quite round the city. This made the ground have a miſerable proſpect: For having a great number of fine trees and gardens before upon it, which made it look vaſtly agreeable, all, now, being cut down made it look like a lengthen'd deſart: And, I am certain, that no foreigner who had ſeen *Judæa* before, and the beautiful ſuburbs of *Hieroſolyma*, after ſeeing the deſolation that was made, could reſtrain from ſhedding tears, or ſigh at the prodigious alteration, I mean, ſo great a change as was now to be ſeen. For every thing that was beautiful, was quite eras'd by the war. Neither could any one, who came ſuddenly, and had known the place before, have diſtinguiſh'd it, but would have enquired where the city had been.

When the *Romans* had brought their works to perfection, both the beſiegers and the beſieged began to have apprehenſions of fear thence: For the latter concluded the city would certainly be taken, unleſs they could ſet fire to them, while the *Romans* imagin'd themſelves in an impoſſibility to win the city, if they were deſtroy'd. But the beſiegers were in great want of wood, and the ſoldiers were almoſt worn out with perpetual fatiguing themſelves; and the many diſappointments, and other ill accidents, obſtructing their deſigns, dejected their minds. Nor was this all: The very calamities which the city endur'd made the *Romans* deſpond in mind more than the beſieg'd themſelves: For they found they had to deal with warriors not the leaſt diſhearten'd, or made indolent, by their calamities; while they, on the other hand, were ruin'd both in hope and mind, when they ſaw their mounts over-turn'd by the *Jews* ſtratagems, their engines

gines gave way to the firmneſs of the wall, and their engagements over-power'd by a ſuperior boldneſs of the beſieg'd. But the principal cauſe of their dejection was, when they found that neither the ſedition or famine had any effect to allay the great courage of their minds, which they ſtill preſerv'd ſuperior; that their ſallies were inſuperable, and that their ſouls were too great to ſtoop to terror or adverſities of fortune. For what, concluded they, would they not ſuſtain in proſperity, when numberleſs misfortunes but excite their valour? Theſe were the reaſons that made them poſt a ſtrong-guard to defend their works.

John and his partizans poſted themſelves at *Antonia*, and conſider'd within their breaſts what would be the conſequences, if the wall was thrown down before the rams were plac'd. They ſallied out upon the enemy's works; but their deſign diſappointed them: They went out with lighted torches, but, before they approach'd the works return'd fruſtrated of their hopes. It was plain, at firſt view, they were not unanimous in their reſolution: For they proceeded by little and little, indolently, and went through the vallies, not without great ſigns of fear, and not at all after the cuſtom of *Jews*, to ſpeak my mind at once. They wanted, too, what were particular to the nation, namely, boldneſs, force, a juſt-tim'd ſally together, and a retreating in good order. But now they betray'd greater languidneſs than uſual, and found the *Roman* cloſer united to meet them than they had experienc'd before; who cover'd their works on every ſide ſo cloſe with their bodies and arms, that there was no getting at them with fire: And every one was ſo firmly reſolved in mind to defend their poſt, that they were determined to fall dead upon the ſpot rather than looſe their ground: For, ſetting aſide the abſolute ruin of all their hopes, if their works were laid in aſhes, the ſoldiers eſteemed it would be diſhonourable, if they ſhould ſuffer their courage to be foiled in every thing by ſtratagem; their arms by temerity; military ſkill by a multitude; or the *Romans* by the *Jews*. Their engines were of ſome advantage to them, as they reached with their darts thoſe who endeavour'd to ſally from the wall: For when any one was ſeen to fall, the next perſon was immediately at a ſtand, and the danger of venturing any farther made him keep where he was. Some, who came within arrow-ſhot, and others, before they fell into an engagement, drew back extreamly terrified at the excellent diſcipline and thick ranks of the enemy, while others, expoſed to the darts of the beſiegers, and wounded, did the ſame; ſo that, in ſhort, every one betraying a prejudical fear, drew off, without accompliſhing any thing of their deſign. In a word, the ſiege was renewed on the firſt day of the month *Panemus*. As ſoon as the *Jews* were withdrawn, the *Romans* planted their helepoles, notwithſtanding they were expoſed all the time to ſhowers of ſtones, fire, and darts, thrown at them from *Antonia*, and to all other ſorts of miſſive weapons which neceſſity prompted the beſieged to: For though they put abundance of confidence in their wall, and ſeemed to deſpiſe the enemy's engines, yet they ſtrove all they could to hinder the *Romans* from placing them: And the beſiegers concluding that the main intent of the *Jews* was to take care that *Antonia* ſhould receive no harm through the weakneſs of its walls, and ſuppoſing the foundations were in a tottering condition, bent all their ſtrength againſt it. But, in ſpite of all theſe efforts, the wall ſtood ſuperior to all the batteries of the enemy, who, being expoſed to abundance of darts, but receiving no conſiderable damage from the beſieged above, drew their helepoles ſo near, as to give them a more conſiderable force. But their ſituation being lower, and ſtones perpetually tumbling upon them, ſome of them covered their bodies with their ſhields, and began to dig under the foundations, inſomuch, that four large ſtones were remov'd away with indefatigable pains. Night, however, put an end to the conteſts on both ſides for the preſent, and the wall, expos'd to the batteries of the *Roman* rams, where *John* had undermined it, when he executed his ſtratagem upon the firſt mounts, ſuddenly tumbled down by the falling in of the mine.

This was an accident which neither ſide ſo much as thought of; and both the beſiegers and the beſieged were differently affected with it: For the *Jews*, whom 'twas reaſonable to ſuppoſe ſhould have been dejected at the ſuddenneſs of the falling of the wall, and at their having provided nothing againſt it, were ſo far from entertaining any uneaſy ſentiments upon it, that they expreſs'd as much courage and confidence, as if it had fallen, and *Antonia* had ſtood all the time. As for the *Romans*, the ſudden gladneſs, they had conceived hereupon, was ſoon extinguiſhed when they ſaw the other wall which *John* and his partizans had built behind it. However, it appeared ſomething eaſier to be won, and the ruins, lately made, made the way to it conſiderably more open; beſides, it was not of ſuch ſtrength as *Antonia*, and the *Romans* concluded, as it was a more temporary building, it would the ſooner be deſtroyed. Yet no one had the courage to mount it, becauſe they ſaw preſent and immediate death hover over the firſt that ſhould venture upon the undertaking.

Titus, ſuppoſing that hope and words were of the greateſt ſervice, contributing to rouze up the ſpirit of his men, and that exhortations and promiſes very often made them forget the dangers they had undergone, and that death itſelf was ſometimes deſpiſed, aſſembled the ſtouteſt of his men, and ſtrove to dive into their inclinations by the following words: 'Fellow ſoldiers, *ſaid he*, to exhort men to the performance of thoſe things, which may be tranſacted without danger, is not only an inglorious thing to thoſe who are exhorted, but likewiſe argues cowardice in him who is the exhorter. For I cannot be brought to think there is need for exhortation, unleſs where dangers preſent themſelves, which yet it behoves every man to take his ſhare of. Yet on one ſide I profeſs to you there is difficulty in mounting the wall; but, on the other, that it becomes men, deſirous of glory, to encounter with difficulties, and that there is renown in laying down one's life with glory;

neither ſhall the firſt bold enterprize go unrewarded. But let this be the firſt thing to exhort you, which gives ſo much concern to others, namely, the extraordinary patience and conſtancy of the *Jews* in adverſity: For 'tis a ſhame to think that you, who are *Romans*, and my ſoldiers, trained up to martial exerciſes in times of peace, and accuſtomed to bear away the victory in the day of battle, ſhould ſtoop to the *Jews* either in the feats of arms, or in the reſolution of the ſoul, and that in the end of a conqueſt, wherein we have God to aſſiſt us. 'Tis owing to the deſperate procedure of the *Jews* that we have been expoſed to ſo many misfortunes, and 'tis to your extraordinary virtue and magnanimity, which God hath from time to time vouchſafed to aſſiſt, that their frequent deſtructions have happened. For what otherwiſe can mean ſedition, famine, a ſiege, and the tumbling down of their walls without the force of martial engines, than an exemplary reſentment of God againſt them, in order to ſide with us? Wherefore, to ſhew yourſelves inferior to thoſe who are not your match by a great deal, and to betray God's evident aſſiſtance, are circumſtances that ſuit not with *Roman* ſouls. How then will you eſcape the diſhonour, to let the *Jews*, whoſe ſhame will not be much in being conquer'd, as they have already learn'd to be ſlaves, ſet death at nothing, and ſally into the midſt of you, not with any hope of victory, but to give you an inſignificant boaſt of their courage: While we, who are conquerors almoſt of the whole earth and ſea, and who are diſhonoured at the loſs of a battle, ſit idle and indolent, and not ſo much as once ſtrive valiantly to attack the enemy; but wait here in arms till famine and fortune, both againſt them, deliver them into our hands, when 'tis in your power to put a finiſhing ſtroke to all? Let us then take poſſeſſion of *Antonia*, and the city is then conſequently ours; for though we ſhould be obliged to fight with thoſe in the inſide, which I cannot think, yet, methinks, the being placed over the heads of our enemies, promiſes us with an entire victory. For the preſent, I wave the commendations of thoſe who loſt their lives in the field of battle, and forbear to enlarge on the immortality of thoſe whom martial warmth excited to magnanimous deeds: 'tis enough to obſerve, that my wiſhes are, that thoſe whoſe ſouls imbibe not ſuch heroic qualifications, and whoſe lot it is to be doomed to death with body and ſoul together, may die of ſome diſtemper in the time of peace. For what valiant man is ſo much a ſtranger as not to know that thoſe ſouls, which the ſword has looſed from their bodies in battle, are conveyed to the pureſt element of air, and ſeated among the ſtars, and afterwards have liberty to appear to their poſterity as good genius's and propitious heroes; while thoſe, on the other hand, who have been taken away by diſeaſes, though never ſo pure in themſelves, go under earth into darkneſs, and are immerged in profound oblivion, having no longer memory put to their actions, than was the term of their life? Now if mankind are doomed to die by an unalterable neceſſity of fate, yet the ſervice of the ſword in diſpatching us, is eaſier to be borne with than any diſeaſes; and who would not then appear faint hearted to deny that for the advantage of others, which we muſt return as a debt due to fate? Thus far I have proceeded, as though there was no way of eſcaping for thoſe who dare venture upon this enterprize. Yet men of magnanimous ſpirits, and valourous ſouls, always find a retreat out of the worſt of dangers. For, in the firſt place, the breach lately made affords an eaſy opportunity to mount; and, in the next, the difficulty is not great in pulling down all that the enemy has built. Beſides, you, who are conſiderable in your number, ſhould aſſume courage in going about this enterprize, and be you, at my requeſt, aiding and ſpurring on one another in it, for the bravery of your ſouls will ſoon break the courage of your enemies; and 'tis ten to one but the enterprize may ſucceed without bloodſhed, if you only puſh at it. 'Tis probable, indeed, they will endeavour to repulſe you as you ſtrive to mount up: But if you uſe private means, or make but a vigorous puſh, fortune is then yours, and they cannot withſtand you, if you were only few in making the aſſault. For my own part, I ſhould think I acted a very diſhonourable thing, if I did not make that man, who ſhould firſt mount the wall, an ample recompence for his labours, nay, even envied: For he that ſurvives the danger, ſhall have dominion over thoſe who now are his equals. And may the happieſt rewards follow thoſe who ſhall loſe their lives in the action.'

When *Titus* had ſpoke thus, all the army had apprehenſions of the greatneſs of the danger, but, among the cohortian ſoldiers, one *Sabinus* preſented himſelf, who was a *Syrian* by nation, and of extraordinary courage and ſtrength. A perſon happening to look upon him, would have meaſur'd his valour by the appearance of his body, and have thought he was not a fit man for martial atchievements; for he was black of colour, weak bodied, and covered with hair; yet a brave ſoul, and undaunted courage, reſided in this ſmall body. Standing up the firſt, he ſaid, *Cæſar*, 'I am at your ſervice, with a chearful mind, and proteſt myſelf ready to mount the wall the firſt. But my wiſhes are, that my ſtrength and inclination, which I have to undertake this matter, may meet with your fortune and ſucceſs. And if there is any one, that, through hatred to this bold atchievement of mine, cannot but envy me, know, that if ill ſucceſs attends me, death is no more than I expect, but yet conſider, that I am reſolved to lay down my life for you.' Having thus ſaid, he ſhaked his head with his ſhield in his left hand, and, with his drawn ſword in his right, went to the wall about the ſixth hour of the day; being followed by eleven others, of ſingular bravery, and who emulated his valour. But *Sabinus* out-ſtripp'd all of them by a vaſt deal, making ſhew of ſome divine impulſe. Mean time, the centinels plied their darts upon them from the walls, and ſhot innumerable arrows at them, tumbling down vaſt ſtones upon them at the ſame time, which forced ſome of the eleven down. But this no way deterring *Sabinus*, he met the darts with ſurprizing bravery, till he was almoſt quite ſpent with them, yet, for all this, he never left the attack till he had gained the top of the wall, and forced his enemies to withdraw. Hereupon, the *Jews* began to entertain terrible apprehenſions of his extraordinary might, and bravery of ſoul, and, concluding more were mounting up after him, turned their backs. Now a perſon would here be apt to blame fortune, and not undeſervedly, as being againſt brave actions, and a perpetual obſtacle to famous atchievements: For after this man had made himſelf maſter of the wall he had attempted to mount, he had the miſchance to be ſtruck with a ſtone, and immediately tumbled headlong down, with a vaſt noiſe of his armour. Whereupon, the *Jews* returning, and ſeeing him alone, and fallen by himſelf, poured their darts on every ſide upon him: But *Sabinus* got upon his knees, and covering himſelf, with his ſhield, made the beſt defence he could at firſt, and then wounded ſeveral who offered to come near him. But the great number of wounds he had received abated the vigour of his arm, and he was cover'd over with darts before he render'd up the ghoſt: A man, certainly, who might have claim'd a better fortune, on account of his bravery, but who died agreeably to the difficult enterprize he had undertaken. Three of the others, who were got upon the top, were ſlain by ſtones, and the other eight wounded, and carried off to the camp. Theſe occurrences fell out on the third day of the month *Panemas*.

About two days after this, twenty of the guards who were planted among the mounts, aſſembled together, and called in, to their aſſiſtance, the enſign of the fifth legion, two horſemen, and a ſingle trumpeter. Theſe, about the ninth hour of the night, went ſilently through the ruins to *Antonia*, and, having killed the firſt guards, who were a-ſleep, ſeized upon the wall, and then commanded a trumpet to be ſounded to give notice of it. The ſound immediately rouzing up the other guards, precipitantly fled before they could ſo much as diſcern the number that had got up: For fear, and the ſounding of the trumpet, made them believe the number was conſiderable that had mounted the wall. When *Cæſar* heard the ſignal, he gave immediate orders for his men to arm themſelves, and marched up himſelf with his officers, attended with a choice body of men. The *Jews*, upon this, fled to the temple, and great numbers of the beſiegers ruſh'd thro' the mine that *John* had dug under the *Roman* mounts. Both factions, as well *John*'s as *Simon*'s, being now ſeparated from one another, ſtrove to repel the *Romans* with main force, and, indeed, fought manfully; for they concluded, if the *Romans* got into their temple, their deſtruction was at an end, which, in effect, was looked upon as the only main thing left to ſecure them the victory. A warm conflict aroſe at the very entrance; for the *Romans* endeavoured by main violence to poſſeſs themſelves of the temple, and the *Jews* as much to repulſe them back to *Antonia*. Neither ſide could do any good, either with their darts or ſpears; they fell to action ſword in hand: And 'twas impoſſible to find out, in the engagement, for which ſide every man fought, ſo much were the men blended together, and changed, on account of the narrowneſs of the place; and ſo great was the noiſe that on every ſide aſſailed the ear. This was occaſioned by the great number on both ſides. Both parties ſuffered a great ſlaughter, and the bodies and armour of thoſe that fell were miſerably trod under foot, and broke, by the ſurviving warriors. Always where the battle inclined to either ſide, there was ſure to be hot work; the conquerors exhorting one another, and the vanquiſhed lamenting their fate. There was no room for flying away, or for a purſuit; but both parties, mix'd together, were obliged to puſh forward, and then reel back, in the greateſt confuſion imaginable. Thoſe who ſtood in the front were under an unavoidable neceſſity either to kill or be killed; for they had no way to get back: For the ſoldiers in the rear puſh'd up the front on both ſides, and left no intermediate ſpace between. In ſhort, the deſperate boldneſs of the *Jews* proved ſuperior to the *Roman* ſkill; for the battle on the latter ſide began now to preſent it ſelf in no kind light. The engagement continued with much obſtinacy from the ninth hour of the night to the ſeventh hour of the day; the *Jews*, all that while, ſetting before them the danger of their deſtruction, as the only invective to promote martial ardor in their ſouls, while the *Romans* were content for the preſent in having gained *Antonia* with part of their army; for the legions, in whom the reſt placed their hopes of victory, were not yet come up.

Julianus, the centurion of *Bythinia*, a man of noble extraction, whom my ſelf had the opportunity to be acquainted with during the war, carried the ſuperiority, by a great deal, over all the reſt, both in military ſkill, ſtrength of body, and courage of ſoul. When he ſaw the *Romans* give their ground, and make but a ſorry defence (for he ſtood by *Titus* at *Antonia*), he ſallied out, and, by the proweſs of his ſingle arm, turned the *Jews* into flight, when they had the victory in their hands, and chaced them to the corner of the interior temple. The whole multitude of the *Jews* were put to flight, who could not help thinking that the force and great courage he fought with were more than human. For ruſhing through the midſt of his enemies with an impetuous might, whom he threw down before him, ſome here, ſome there, he put to death every one he laid hands on: Which was the wonderfuleſt ſight to *Cæſar*, and the moſt dreadful to the reſt. But fate purſues him at the heels, which, with regard to his mortality, he cannot ſhun. For having his ſhoes full of ſharp nails, as was cuſtomary with the other ſoldiers, and running on the ground which lay full of ſtones, he had the mirfortune to fall down, and his armour giving a claſhing ſound as he tumbled, brought the retreated *Jews* back upon him. Suddenly the

Roman ſoldiers at *Antonia* gave a ſhout, who where ſollicitous for his life: But the *Jews*, ſallying upon him in large numbers, ſmote him every where with their ſpears and ſwords: For ſome time he received the blows of the enemy's ſwords on his ſhield, and ſtrove ſeveral times to get up; but the numbers of the *Jews* who aſſaulted, bearing him down ſtill, he, as he lay on the ground, ſmote ſeveral with his ſword; yet, for all this, 'twas ſome time before he was ſlain; for his helmet and breaſt-plate covering every part where he might receive his death's wound, he contracted his neck ſo long, till the other parts of his body being cut off, and no one offering or preſuming to give him aſſiſtance, he was forced at laſt to ſubmit to a cruel deſtiny. *Cæſar* was extremely troubled to ſee ſo brave a man expoſed to ſuch a death, and ſlain in ſuch a manner before the ſight of ſo many ſpectators; but the place he was in deprived him from aſſiſting him, though willing to have done it, and fear ſeized thoſe he might. *Julianus* had a long ſtruggle with death, and being obliged to leave a few of his murtherers unpuniſhed, had much a-do to give up his breath; leaving to the *Romans*, and *Cæſar*, not only, but to the *Jews* themſelves, a grand teſtimony of the glory he deſerved. The *Jews* having gained the body, put the *Romans* again to flight, and ſhut them up in *Antonia*, and they who behaved gallantly in this engagement, were *Alexas* and *Gyphthæus*, two of *John*'s partizans; of *Simon*'s were *Malachias*, *Judas*, the ſon of *Merton*, *James*, general of the *Idumæans*, and ſon of *Soſias*, and two zealots, brothers, ſons of *Jair*, and called *Simon* and *Judas*.

CHAP. II.

How Titus *having given Orders for* Antonia *to be pulled down, excited* Joſephus *to exhort the* Jews *again to ſurrender.*

TITUS now gave orders for the ſoldiers he had with him to demoliſh the foundations of *Antonia*, and to make the aſcent eaſy for all his army: After he had called *Joſephus* to him (for he had heard that that day, which was the ſeventeenth of the month *Panemus*, the ſacrifice, called *Eudelechiſmos*, was to be celebrated, but the people were too few to perform it, which put them in great uneaſineſs) he commanded him to ſpeak to *John* in the terms he had uſed before: *That if any one was puſh'd on by a baſe deſire to fight, let him come with what forces he pleaſed, and try the conteſt ſo, that he ruined not himſelf, the city, and the temple too, ſo that he polluted not the ſacred place with blood, or committed any impiety againſt God. And that he left him at liberty to ſolemnize the ſacrifice, which had been intermitted by* Jews *of his own appointment and chuſing out.* Accordingly, *Joſephus* (when he had found out a place to ſtand in where he might conveniently be heard) addreſſed himſelf to *John*, and a great number more, in the *Hebrew* tongue, and ſignified to them *Titus*'s commands, begging them earneſtly at the ſame time, *To ſpare their country, and endeavour to drive away the fire which was juſt going to ſeize on the temple, and give to God the ſacrifices that were accuſtomed.* Hereupon the *Jews* ſeemed extremely ſorrowful, and had not a word to ſay. But *John* having thrown ſeveral abuſive and ſcurrilous reflections at *Joſephus*, at laſt broke out, and thus ſaid: *That he had never entertained any thoughts of the city being deſtroyed as it was God's.* In return to theſe words, *Joſephus* ſpoke aloud: *You have, indeed, preſerved it unviolable for God, and the ſacred place yet remains unpolluted with blood. Neither have you committed any wickedneſs againſt him whom you expect to aſſiſt you: He ſtill has his ſacred rites duly performed to his honour. But ſuppoſe that any one impious man! ſhould offer to deprive you of your daily bread, you would account him your enemy, and do you then think to find God, whom you have deprived of his eternal worſhip, your helper in this war? Nor is this all; do you charge the* Romans *with miſtakes and omiſſions, who have hitherto been watchful over our laws, and ſtriven with force of arms to have thoſe ſolemnities reſtored to God which you have interdicted? But what perſon can forbear to groan or weep at the unexpected alteration of the city, when foreigners and enemies endeavour to rectify your impiety, while you, who are a* Jew, *and trained up in the* Jewiſh *laws, ſhew yourſelf more unmerciful than they? But* John, *that you may not think there is any diſhonour in time of adverſity to recant of one's miſtakes, be pleaſed to recal* Jechonias, *the* Jewiſh *king, to mind, who is a good example to one that deſires the preſervation of his city: For, when the* Babylonian *king came, on his account, at the head of a numerous army againſt the city, ſooner than it ſhould be taken by his means, he voluntarily went out of it, and ſubmitted himſelf and family to a ſpontaneous captivity, that he might not incur the baſe character of having betrayed it into the hands of his enemies, or be an eye-witneſs of the houſe of God being put in flames. This action hath procured him the ſacred veneration of all the* Jews, *and the memory of it hath been tranſmitted down to ſucceeding ages, always new, and rendered his name immortal to poſterity. This is a good example,* John, *though attended with danger. But I promiſe you pardon at the hands of the* Romans. *Yet remember that I, as a countryman of yours, admoniſh you, and as a* Jew, *promiſe you, and you ought to conſider, who is the author, and whence the advice comes. Let me never live in ſuch captivity, as to blot my nation out of my remembrance, or baniſh out of my thoughts thoſe who are my countrymen. You again ſeem angry, ſtorm and reproach me: 'Tis true, I deſerve worſe uſage, who adviſe and per-*

ſuade you againſt the fates, and ſtrive to ſave thoſe whom God by his decree hath condemned. But whom is a ſtranger to the writings of the antient prophets, or to the oracle which now threatens this miſerable city? Its deſtruction was predicted to happen when one of our countrymen began to dip his hands in blood. Say, is not the city and all the temple filled with your carcaſſes? 'Tis God, indeed, God himſelf, who, together with thee, pours upon you this fire of purification, and roots up, from the foundations, your city, overwhelmed in ſo many abominable vices and iniquities.

Joſephus ſpoke thus with tears and ſighs, but his concern would not let his tongue proceed any further. The *Romans* were full of pity, and ſeemed uneaſy for the ſtruggles he had in his breaſt, and were ſurprized at his reſolution; but *John* and his aſſociates were but the more enraged, if poſſible, againſt the *Romans*, and extremely deſired to get *Joſephus* into their hands. However, ſeveral of the nobility favoured his ſpeech, and ſeemed to be moved by it, though ſome, who ſtood in awe of the guards the ſeditious had poſted, remained with their companions, though they were too ſure of their own and the city's deſtruction. There were ſome, who, having laid hold of an opportunity which favour'd their departure, fled over to the *Romans*, among whom were *Joſeph* and *Jeſus*, two prieſts, and the ſons of prieſts, the three ſons of *Iſhmael*, whoſe head was taken off at *Cyrene*, and four ſons of *Matthias*, and one of the other *Matthias*, who made his eſcape after his father's death, and who, with his three ſons, as we have obſerved above, was put to death by *Simon*, the ſon of *Gioras*. Beſides theſe, ſeveral other nobles went over to the *Romans* in company with the prieſts, whom *Cæſar* received with extraordinary humanity. As he knew that they did not care to live after the cuſtom of foreigners, which was their averſion, he removed them to *Gophna*, with an exhortation, before they went, to abide there, as he would reſtore every man to his poſſeſſions as ſoon as the war was determined, and he had any leiſure time upon his hands. In conſequence hereof, they departed with extraordinary gladneſs, to a ſmall city which he had aſſigned them, without any fears or apprehenſions. When they were miſs'd at *Hieroſolyma*, the ſeditious got it once again rumoured about the city, that the *Romans* had put the deſerters to death, in order to ſtrike the reſt with fear, and deter them from flying away. And, indeed, this artifice had ſome advantage in it, as well as the former one; for fear conſiderably hindered the reſt from making their eſcape.

But when *Titus* had recalled the renegade *Jews* from *Gophna*, and commanded them to go with *Joſephus*, and ſhew themſelves to the people, a great many other *Jews* preſently came over to the *Romans*. Having drawn together in large companies, and ſtanding before the *Romans*, they begged the ſeditious, with a flood of tears and ſighs, in the firſt place to admit the *Romans* into all the city, and ſave again their country; but, if this diſpleaſed, at leaſt to come out of the temple, and pull it down: For the *Romans* would never preſume, even in the greateſt neceſſity, to have the holy places conſumed with fire. Theſe kind advices met with but more oppoſition; the ſeditious were the more averſe to reaſon ſtill, and after they had thrown abundance of abuſive language at the deſerters, they placed their ſcorpions, *catapultæ* and *balliſtæ*, upon the ſacred gates; ſo that all the ſpace round about the temple, looked, with regard to the multitude of dead bodies, like a burying-ground, and the temple reſembled a caſtle. They ſallied into the holy and inacceſſible places with arms and hands yet reeking in the blood of their countrymen, and proceeded to ſuch a length of impiety, that that indignation, which the *Jews* probably would have conceived, had the *Romans* committed the injury againſt them, fired now the breaſts of the *Romans* againſt the *Jews*, who violated their own ſolemn places: For there was not a *Roman* ſoldier who did not look upon the temple with awe, and adore it, and wiſh that the robbers would return to a ſenſe of their failings, before the evil became paſt remedy.

Titus being extremely concerned for their condition, reprimanded *John* and his aſſociates in theſe words: 'Baſe and cruel wretches! have you not circumſcribed the holy places belonging to you? Have you not ſet up ſeveral columns at certain ſpaces in the temple, with *Greek* and *Latin* inſcriptions, forbidding any one from entering beyond the encloſures? Did not we give you liberty to puniſh thoſe with death who ſhould preſume to paſs beyond them, though the tranſgreſſor happened to be a *Roman?* Why, then, abominable guilty men, do you trample upon the dead there? Why do you contaminate the temple with the blood both of foreigners and of your natives? I take the Gods of my country to witneſs, and whoever formerly looked upon this place (for I ſuppoſe that none does now), I call my army, the *Jews* who are with me, and yourſelves, to witneſs that I do not force you to theſe violations: If you will but change the ſeat of your army, not a *Roman* ſhall enter your ſacred places, nor commit any diſhonour upon them. But I will preſerve your temple againſt your inclinations.'

Joſephus, by command of *Cæſar*, delivered theſe words to the *Jews* in *Hebrew*; but *John* and the robbers being of opinion that theſe fine ſpeeches were the reſult of fear, and not of any kindneſs, ſhewed themſelves intolerably inſolent. When *Titus* ſaw they would neither have any compaſſion for their own diſtreſſed condition, nor keep their hands from the temple, he renewed the war againſt his inclination. Accordingly, finding the place too narrow to draw up all his forces, he ſelected out of each company thirty of the ſtouteſt, putting a tribune over every thouſand, and making *Cerealis* general over them, to whom he gave orders to attack the enemy's guards at the ninth hour of the night. When *Cæſar*'s friends ſaw their emperor in arms, and ready to make the deſcent

ſcent in company with the others, the greatneſs of the danger made them reſtrain him, and the officers reminded him, 'That he would be of more ſervice if he continued at *Antonia*, and aſſign'd out the war to his men, than if he made one in the deſcent, and expoſed himſelf to dangers for them, becauſe all would behave gallantly when they had *Cæſar* before them.' This remonſtrance had the deſir'd effect upon *Titus*, who told his ſoldiers, 'That for that only reaſon he would ſtay behind, to be a judge of their virtue; that no one who fought valiantly ſhould go unrewarded, neither ſhould he that ſhew'd himſelf indolent and inactive, eſcape puniſhment, but himſelf would be both a ſpectator and a witneſs of every thing all of them did, who had the power of puniſhing and rewarding them as he pleaſed.' Accordingly, he diſmiſſed them at the above-mentioned hour, to go upon their enterprize, and himſelf went up *Antonia* to a convenient proſpect, in order to ſee and wait the iſſue.

But they who were ſent upon this expedition, did not, as they hoped, find the guards overwhelmed in ſleep, but a battle immediately began with a great noiſe: The reſt of the watch were ſoon awaken'd with the ſhouts, who ruſhed out of the houſes in large companies. The *Romans* received the firſt ſhock bravely, but thoſe who came up after them fell upon their own men, and uſed many of them as real enemies: For both ſides making a confuſed noiſe, there was no diſtinguiſhing of voices, and the darkneſs of the night entirely hindered them from diſcerning who they were: Beſides, ſome became furious, while others were fearful and timorous, on account of the darkneſs. And this was the reaſon that every one was ſtruck at, without any difference. As for the *Romans*, they covered themſelves with their ſhields, and ſallied upon the enemy in companies together, ſo that they received leſs detriment from miſtakes, for every one remembered the watch word: But the *Jews* were continually tumbled and thrown down, always raſhly and violently making their attacks and retreats. They were more of enemies to themſelves than any thing elſe; for they fell upon each of their own party as they met them in the dark, as though they had all the while been encountering with *Romans*: Whence it came to paſs, that they wounded more of their own body than the *Romans* did. But as ſoon as day-light appeared, the battle then was diſcerned, and both ſides ranging themſelves in order of battle, fell to their darts. Neither party gave ground, nor ſeemed to yield to the fatigues of fighting: The *Romans*, indeed, man by man, and many together, fought gallantly in the ſight of *Cæſar*, every one expecting that day to be the commencement of his promotion, provided he maintained the charge with bravery and valour. The *Jews* were animated with boldneſs, from the danger every one had of themſelves, from the fear they entertained of the temple, and from the preſſing endeavours of the tyrant *John*, who intreated ſome, beat ſome, and incited others, to maintain the fight, with menaces and threatenings. But this engagement happened moſtly to be performed by handy blows; the room they fought in being little, and the fortune of the day often changing ſides; for neither party had much ground either to fight or purſue in. And always as ſucceſs inclined to either ſide, a kind of tumult was in *Antonia* among the men there, who, upon every turn of fortune on their countrymen's ſide, call'd out and bid them be of good courage, but, whenever they offered to retreat back, exhorted them to ſtand their ground; ſo that *Antonia* reſembled a kind of theatre of this battle. Neither did *Titus*, or thoſe about him, ſtand in need of learning any thing that paſſed in the engagement. In ſhort, this encounter began at the ninth hour of the night, and was not determined till after the fifth hour of the day, when neither could be ſaid to yield the ground they firſt began to fight in, nor to carry off the victory. Of the *Roman* ſide ſeveral gave proofs of extraordinary courage and magnanimity; of the *Jews*, belonging to *Simon*, *Judas*, the ſon of *Merton*, and *Simon*, the ſon of *Joſias*; of the *Idumæans*, *James* and *Simon*, the former being the ſon of *Cathlus*, the latter of *Soſas*; of *John*'s faction, *Gyphthæus* and *Alexas*; and, of the zealots, *Simon*, the ſon of *Jair*.

Mean time, the reſt of the *Roman* forces, having thrown down the foundations of *Antonia* in ſeven days, fortified the broad paſſage they had made up to the temple. When the legions had made their approaches to the firſt wall, they began to make their mounts, one againſt the corner of the interior temple, which looked ſouth-eaſt, another at the northern gallery, which was between the two gates; a third againſt the weſtern portico of the exterior temple, and a fourth to the north. Notwithſtanding theſe works were obliged to be carried on with extreme difficulty and labour, for the *Romans* fetched the wood and materials a matter of an hundred furlongs off: Nor was this all; they ſuffered conſiderably from the artifices and ſtratagems of the enemy, as they neglected to guard themſelves, and fancied they could eaſily maſter the *Jews*, whom, deſpair of ſaving themſelves had made more bold and daring. Some of the horſemen, at ſuch times as they went out to gather wood and hay, took the bridles from their horſes, and let them feed during the while, when the *Jews* were ſure to ſally through their mines, and carry them off. This happening pretty often, *Cæſar* ſuppoſed, as in reality it was, that theſe depredations were more owing to the negligence of his men, than any virtue of the *Jews*; wherefore he reſolved, by a terrible example, to make his men take care of their horſes for the future, and conſequently puniſhed one man with death who had loſt his horſe, whereby he put a ſtop to theſe miſcarriages for the time to come. The ſoldiers afterwards never put their horſes to feed, but went in company with them, as though they had been naturally linked to them. Mean while, they laid ſiege to the temple, and erected their mounts.

The day after the *Romans* aſcent, many of the ſeditious, finding their depredations to leave them, and hunger to preſent itſelf in frightful colours, aſſembled together, and about the eleventh hour of the day, made a puſh at the *Roman* guards near the mount of olives, hoping to catch them unprepared, and as they were quiet, in order to refreſh themſelves, to break eaſily through them. But the *Romans* coming to the knowledge of their deſign before-hand, and muſtering up into a body from the adjoining guards, hindered them from paſſing over the wall, which they endeavoured to do by compulſive means. A warm diſpute began, wherein both ſides diſcovered great courage and bravery: The *Romans* preſerved exact diſcipline and order, the *Jews* diſplayed an unbridled fury, and an uncontroulable rage. Shame urged on the former, and neceſſity the latter. The *Romans* thought it baſe to let the *Jews* now eſcape out of their hands, whom they had caught, as it were, in a net, and whoſe only dependance of ſaving their lives conſiſted in breaking down the wall. It happened for one *Pedannis*, belonging to a troop of horſe, after the *Jews* took to their heels, and were forced into the valley, to ride in purſuit, and take one of the enemy as he endeavoured to get away. He was a youth exceeding ſtrong in body, and compleatly dreſſed in armour, and was caught by the heel. *Pedannis* laid hold upon him in a full gallop, and forcibly dragg'd him to him, thereby giving proof of his extraordinary ſtrength, and ſurprizing skill in horſemanſhip. He, as though he had made ſome valuable conqueſt, went and carried the captive to *Cæſar*, who admiring the ſtrength of him who had taken him, afterwards puniſhed with death the youth for attempting the wall, and then proceeded to the beſieging of the temple, and the erecting of the mounts.

Mean while the *Jews* loſt conſiderably in the conflicts they had with the *Romans*, that the war proceeded higher on, by little and little, and crept into the temple; as we ſee in a decayed body, when ſome putrifying ailment has ſeized it, thoſe members that are become corrupt, are cut off, before it get farther head. For after they had ſet fire to part of the portico which joined to *Antonia* from the north and weſt, they afterwards broke a matter of twenty cubits, and attempted with their own hands to put the adyt and ſacred places in a blaze. The *Romans* two days after, which happened to be the twenty-fourth day of the aforeſaid month, ſet fire to the adjoining portico, and the flame breaking onwards fifteen cubits, the *Jews* followed their examples, and pulled down the roof, and, without ever endeavouring to ſtop the flames, threw down every thing that was between them and *Antonia*, when they eaſily might have prevented the fire from taking hold. At the firſt ſetting fire to the building, they were entirely idle, and conſidered the courſe it took to be for their advantage. Hence it came, that they had frequent diſputes about the temple, and ſeveral skirmiſhes one againſt another.

At this time a *Jew*, named *Jonathan*, of a dwarf ſize, and mean appearance, and of low extraction, and pitiful in other reſpects, ſtepp'd out to the monument of *John* the prieſt, where (having made ſeveral arrogant boaſts to the *Romans*) he gave the ſtouteſt man they had among them a challenge to fight him in ſingle combat. Several of the *Romans*, who ſtood rank'd in martial order over againſt him, ſeemed to diſdain this challenge: But 'tis probable there were many among them that feared it. Some reflected on it with deliberation and judgment, and that it was no ſeaſonable time to fight, when a deſire of death prompted the way. They conſidered that men in a deſparate view of their ſafety, were hurried away to their ruin by a furious impetuoſity, without any reſpect to God, and that it would look more like brutality than fortitude, to expoſe a man's ſelf to danger with ſuch perſons, the conqueſt over whom was inſignificant; and, to be ſtiled by them dangerous and diſhonourable. No body, in ſhort, offering to ſtep out for a conſiderable time, and the *Jews* caſting abundance of raillery at their timidity, it arrogating much to himſelf, and deſpiſing the *Romans*; one *Budæus*, a horſeman, reſenting *Jonathan*'s words and inſolence, and probably ſwelled up with the notion of his enemy's little body, ſtarted out, and went to encounter him. He had the beſt of the engagement in all reſpects, but fortune, which betrayed him: For happening to fall, *Jonathan* ran and ſlew him; then ſtanding upon the dead body, he brandiſhed his bloody ſword in his right, and his ſhield in his left hand, making ſeveral acclamations to the army, inſulting over his ſlain adverſary, and degrading the *Romans*, who continued looking upon him all the while, till *Priſcus*, one of the centurions, ſhot an arrow through him, as he was boaſting and making his brags. Whereupon both *Jews* and *Romans* were variouſly affected, which they diſcovered in the ſhouts they made. *Jonathan* was ſeized with a dizzineſs, and tumbled down upon the body of his adverſary; wherein he diſcovered that the fortunate themſelves are often in war expoſed to the quickeſt revenge.

CHAP. III.

Of the Stratagem invented by the Jews, *whereby they burnt a great many* Romans. *Another Deſcription of the Famine which raged now in the moſt cruel Manner.*

THE ſeditious, who were in the temple, never ceaſed daily to repulſe, and that in an open manner, the ſoldiers employed in carrying on the mounts; and on the twentieth day of the aforeſaid month, they invented this ſtratagem: They filled that ſpace of the weſtern portico, which lay empty between the roof and the beams, with dry wood, ſulphur, and bitumen; and then pretending to be wearied out with over fatigue, they gave ground. This device impoſing upon ſome who were not ſo wary as they ought to have been, and who long'd to fall upon them, they chaſed the flying *Jews*, and endeavoured to get up into the portico by their ladder, which they had placed againſt the wall. However, ſome of the more conſiderate, thinking the *Jews* had no occaſion to fly, kept themſelves in the places where they were. Nevertheleſs, the portico was ſoon filled with the *Romans* that mounted up: Whereupon the *Jews* immediately ſet all the building in a blaze. The flame catching hold on every part in a moment, thoſe *Romans*, who ſtood out of the danger, were vaſtly amazed, and thoſe who were ſurrounded with the fire, deſpaired. Some of thoſe who were thus beſet with the flame, ſtrove to ſally back into the city, ſome among their enemies, many deſpairing of ſaving themſelves, jumped down to their companions, and broke their limbs; a great many, in ſtriving to get away, were prevented by the fire, and ſome threw themſelves on the points of their ſwords, to hinder the fire raging upon them alive. There was no ſuch thing as avoiding the fire, which, diffuſing itſelf far and near, ſeized on thoſe who had laid violent hands upon themſelves. *Cæſar*, though angry at the perſons thus dying, for having mounted the portico againſt his orders, could not but pity them, as they were out of the reach of any human aſſiſtance; 'twas ſome comfort, even in their periſhing moments, to ſee him compaſſionating their miſerable caſe, for whom they had ſo laviſhly thrown away their lives; for 'twas too demonſtrable, that *Titus* himſelf often called aloud to them, went himſelf, and begged their companions to aſſiſt their brethren with all the might they had, which kind and exhilarating words ſo warmed the ſouls of the poor ſufferers, that they took them for a ſplendid funeral, and chearfully ſubmitted to death. Some had the fortune to get into the broader part of the portico, out of the flames, but being hemmed in with *Jews*, and wounded, they made as long a reſiſtance as they could, but at length every ſoul periſhed.

In the end, a young man, named *Longus*, ſhewed himſelf an ornament to all this miſerable hardſhip of the *Romans*; 'tis true, every one who periſhed, deſerve to be tranſmitted down to poſterity by themſelves, yet *Longus* certainly ſignalized himſelf the moſt valiant of all the reſt, for the *Jews*, ſeeing his extraordinary fortitude, and longing to ſlay him, adviſed him to come down, on promiſe of their honour. His brother *Cornelius*, who ſtood over-againſt him, begged him not to debaſe his own character, or the *Roman* arms. When he heard *Cornelius* ſpeak thus, he lifted up his ſword aloft, in order that both parties might ſee him, and ſtabbed himſelf. But of thoſe who were ſurrounded with the fire, one *Attorius* preſerved himſelf by ſtratagem: For having called, with a clear voice, to one *Lucilius*, a fellow ſoldier, and meſs-mate of his, he ſaid to him thus: 'I leave you heir of all my patrimony, if 'you'll but come and take me away. *Lucilius* chearfully accepting the offer, ran to receive him, and *Attorius*, who caſt himſelf upon him, by that means ſaved his life: But *Lucilius* was unfortunately daſhed upon the ground by the weight of the fall, and inſtantly gave up the ghoſt. This accident, which befel *Lucilius*, gave the *Romans* ſome little concern and uneaſineſs, but made them more circumſpect and wary for the future. 'Twas of ſome advantage againſt the contrivances of the *Jews*, who gave the *Romans* generally the greateſt diſappointments, as they were unacquainted with the ſituation of the places, and the genius of the people they had to deal with; however, the portico was laid in aſhes to the tower of *John*, which he, when he maintained a war againſt *Simon*, had built upon the gates leading beyond the *Xyſthus*. The reſt was pulled down by the *Jews*, after the *Romans* were conſumed who mounted up into it. And the *Romans*, the next day, ſet fire to all the northern portico, as far as the eaſt one, the corner whereof, which joined both together, was built over the valley called *Cedron*, where the vaſt depth of it gave it a very aſtoniſhing proſpect. In this ſituation ſtood the things about the temple.

They who were expoſed to the famine in the city, and died thereof, were an infinite number, and the miſeries they ſuffered are not to be told. A war was immediately proclaimed throughout every family, whereſoever but the ſhadow of meat appeared; and thoſe, who were the greateſt friends, fought bitterly againſt one another, each ſtriving to ſnatch from his neighbour the miſerable ſcantling, to ſubſiſt life a day longer. Neither could death itſelf, all this while, be of ſufficient proof to perſuade the ſeditious of the real hunger that raged, but they narrowly ſearched thoſe who gave up their laſt breath, under pretence that they had proviſions in their boſoms, and made a ſham dying of it. As for the robbers who gaped for want, they run about in a wild and diſtracted manner, like ſo many ravenous dogs; and, joſtling againſt the people's doors, as though they had been drunk, broke, without any deliberation, two or three times an hour into the ſame houſes. But their miſerable and neceſſitous condition forced them to commit every thing without any diſtinction, and they had ſtomachs to gather and eat thoſe things which were refuſed by the filthieſt of animals, that wanted reaſon. Nay, their very girdles, and leather of their ſhoes, became an hearty meal; and the hides that covered their ſhields were pulled away, and made a ſacrifice to their ſharpened teeth. Some, indeed, were ſo craving, as to eat the old litter of hay, and ſome to gather *feſtucæ*, and ſell the lighteſt of them for four *Attic* drachms each. But why ſhould I produce examples from things that have no life, to diſcover the rage and fury of this famine? For I am about going to tell a fact, ſuch an one as was never heard of, either amongſt the *Greeks* or *Barbarians*, dreadful and ſhocking in its relation, and what may ſeem incredible to be told. I ſhould, indeed, willingly have omitted mentioning it, in order to ſcreen myſelf from having fables and portents impoſed upon me; but, as I have almoſt innumerable perſons, of my time, to verify my words. Beſides, I might hope but for a cool return of thanks from my country, ſhould I pretend to diſſemble with thoſe calamities which in reality it ſuffered.

A woman, who belonged to thoſe living beyond *Jordan*, named *Mary*, whoſe father's name was *Eleazar*, and place of birth the village of *Bethezob*, which, if interpreted, ſignifies the houſe of *Hyſop*: This woman, I ſay, being well deſcended, and rich, on her taking refuge in *Hieroſolyma* with the reſt of her countrymen, was detained in the city, by reaſon of the ſiege. The tyrants had already rifled her of her other effects, which ſhe had brought along with her out of the country beyond the river: The reſt of her more valuable goods, and whatſoever proviſions could be found in her houſe, were every day carried off by the centinels, who broke her chambers open. In the concluſion, theſe proceedings extremely diſguſted the woman; who by her ill language, and opprobrious words, ſeveral times brought the robbers upon herſelf, but none, though never ſo full of reſentment or pity, offering to take away her life; and ſhe herſelf being tired out in providing for other mouths, and having no way left of getting any more proviſions, but hunger raging throughout her entrails, and a violent diſguſt burning her ſoul more cruelly than the famine, ſhe applied her reſentment and neceſſitous condition to her aid, and entered into a deſign againſt nature itſelf: For ſnatching up her ſon in her arms (which ſucked at her breaſt) ſhe thus expreſſed herſelf to it: 'My child, for whom ſhould I preſerve thee, when war and famine, and ſedition, ſurround us? Slavery preſents itſelf among the *Romans*, though we may yet live. But the famine prevents bondage, and the factions are more dreadful than both thoſe ills. Come, let thou be meat for me, and a fury to the ſeditious, and a tale to the living, which is the only thing wanting amongſt the calamities of the *Jews*.' And as ſoon as ſhe had ſpoke theſe words, ſhe ſlew the infant, boiled, and eat half of him, and hid the reſt. But the ſeditious immediately came, and, catching the abominable ſmell in their noſtrils, threatened to put her to inſtant death if ſhe did not let them ſee what ſhe had been doing. Upon this ſhe told them ſhe had reſerved a good part of her infant for them, and then ſhewed them what was remaining. But horror and confuſion ſeized them the very moment they caſt their eyes upon it, and the ſight made them as men bereaved of their ſenſes. Whereupon, ſhe thus ſaid: 'This is my child, indeed, and 'tis my own action; eat you, for I have eaten of it. Let not a woman be hardier than you, neither let a mother have leſs compaſſion. But if you are conſcientious and ſcrupulous, and cannot bear to eat of my victim, know that I have already conſumed one half of it, and the other ſtill is here.' After ſhe had thus ſpoke, they went away trembling, though loath to leave her this ſort of proviſion, which was the only thing that had diſheartened them, or cooled their courage. But the city was ſoon in an uproar with the news of this barbarity, every one ſetting the action before his eyes, and looking upon it with horror, as though himſelf had been the real perpetrator of it. From this moment, thoſe whom the famine tormented, made haſte to meet death, and ſtiled thoſe perſons happy who had died before ſuch dreadful calamites either came before their eyes, or aſſailed their ears.

The *Romans*, too, came preſently to hear of this monſtrous action, but ſome could not gain belief to the things they told: Some, indeed, had compaſſion for the beſieged, but many more were now induced to harbour a worſe hatred than ever to the nation. However, *Cæſar* proteſted his innocence as to this matter, before God, by remonſtrating, That he had offered terms of peace to the *Jews*, liberty to live after their own laws, and an oblivion of every thing they had committed: But that they deſerved the adverſities they were expoſed to, and ſuch kind of proviſion, who, in the room of concord choſe ſedition, of peace, war, and hunger in the place of abundance and plenty, and who had begun to burn down with their own hands the temple which we have endeavoured to ſave. However, that the eating of children ſhould attone for their country with its entire ruin, and the ſun ſhould never be ſuffered to dart his beams upon any city on the face of the globe, where mothers made ſuch a deteſtable feaſt. And that ſuch a collation rather ſuited better with the fathers than the mothers, who would not ſuffer themſelves to throw down their arms after the perpetration of ſuch horrid guilt. Having ſo ſaid, he reflected a while on the deſperate condition of the men, neither could he bring himſelf to think they would ever return to a ſenſe of their miſeries, who had already felt every misfortune, which had they not ſuſtained, 'twas probable they might ſtill be brought to alter their ſentiments.

CHAP. IV.

After the Mounts are brought to Perfection, the Rams are endeavoured, in vain, to be placed: Whereupon Titus *orders the Gates to be ſet on Fire; and, not long after the Temple itſelf is burnt, though againſt his Deſire.*

THE two legions having put a finiſhing hand to their mounts on the eighth day of the month *Loüs*, *Titus* commanded the rams to be planted againſt the north gallery of the exterior temple. He had continued ſix days without intermiſſion, beating the walls with his helepoles, the ſtrongeſt of all the *Roman* engines, but no progreſs at all was made: For the magnitude and ſtructure of the ſtones the wall was built with, defied all the force of theſe engines. Some, indeed, went to undermining the foundations of the northern gate, but the toilſomeneſs of the work made them get no further than only pulling out the ſtones that faced them: for the gates were ſupported by the interior ſtones, and ſtood ſo long unſhaken againſt the united ſtrength of the *Roman* engines and crows, that the beſiegers, deſpairing of ſucceſs that way, applied their ſcaling-ladders to the gates. The *Jews* made no ſigns of hindering them, but preſently drew together, and fought with thoſe who ſtrove to mount up. Some they tumbled backwards, and ſo fell headlong down; others were ſlain as they endeavoured to meet them; many, in ſtriving to get down the ladders again, were killed by the enemy's ſwords, before they had time to ſcreen themſelves with their ſhields, whilſt ſome of the ladders, which were full of armed men, were turned ſide-ways, and all the perſons ſhook off. In ſhort, a conſiderable ſlaughter was made on this occaſion, but, beſides all this, the enſign-bearer fought for their colours, who thought the loſs of them both a diſhonour to them, and what was not to be borne with. But the *Jews*, at laſt, made themſelves maſters of the *Roman* colours, and ſlew thoſe who endeavoured to mount up, while the reſt withdrew, terrified at the miſerable havock made among their countrymen. However, none of the *Roman* ſide fell without giving proof of ſome notable act before he died; and, beſides thoſe ſeditious who had ſignalized themſelves in the former engagements, *Eleazor*, and the ſon of *Simon* the tyrant's brother, behaved valiantly. In a word, when *Titus* found that his compaſſion for the temple of ſtrangers was attended with ſo many inconveniencies, and even death to his ſoldiers, he gave orders for the gates to be ſet on fire.

While theſe contentions were on foot, *Ananus*, the *Ammanutine*, the moſt blood-thirſty of all the guards *Simon* had, and *Archelaus*, the ſon of *Magadarus*, fled over to *Titus*, making this the ground of their hopes of obtaining pardon, as they had abandoned the *Jews*, when in poſſeſſion of a victory. But *Titus* charged them with this very artifice of theirs, and having had news of their cruelty to the *Jews*, was induced to put them both to death. He told them, 'That neceſſity, and not a voluntary mind, had forced them to their flight; and that thoſe were unworthy of being ſaved who had thrown themſelves out of their city, which had been put in flames by their means.' However, his reſentment giving way to the aſſurances of fidelity they made him, he ſent them away, but not to the place he had aſſigned for the others. 'Tis now the ſoldiers ſet fire to the gates, which quickly making its way through the ſilver, got to the wood, and thence diffuſing itſelf faſter and faſter, preſently catched hold of the portico's. When the *Jews* ſaw the flames blazing all round them, their minds and bodies equally were dejected, and the confuſion every one were in, made all afraid either to defend themſelves, or extinguiſh the fire, every one ſtupidly ſtanding round, and indolently gazing: Yet for all this, they never offered to guard the reſt, though what had been burnt down gave them much concern, but ſharpened their reſentment againſt the *Romans*, as though the temple had actually been then on fire. That day and the night following, the fire exerciſed its fury without intermiſſion: for the *Romans* were obliged to put fire to parts, and not to all the portico's at once.

Titus the next day having commanded part of his forces to put out the fire, and make a road up to the gates, for the eaſier coming up of his legions, took care himſelf to ſummon the officers. When ſix of the principal were come, namely, *Tiberius*, *Alexander*, generaliſſimo of the whole army, *Sextus Cerealis*, who commanded the fifth legion; *Largius Decimus*, the tenth; *Titus*, the ſon of *Frugus*, who headed the fifteenth; *Æternius Fronto*, general of the two *Alexandrian* legions; and *Marcus Antonianus Julianus*, the governor of *Judea*, beſides the other procurators and tribunes: I ſay, when all theſe were met together, he held a council with them about the temple. Whereupon, 'twas the opinion of ſome, to put the right of war in force; for that the *Jews*, ſo long as the temple ſtood, whither all of them fled, would never leave giving freſh diſturbances.

But others had different ſentiments, and adviſed, 'To preſerve the temple if the *Jews* would leave it, and none endeavour to keep it by force of arms, but to lay it in aſhes, if they continued to fight after they had got up into it; for it would become from that moment a fortreſs and not a temple, and afterwards themſelves would not make the burnt ſacrifice, but they who had obliged them to take ſuch violent meaſures.' *Titus* returned anſwer, and ſaid, 'That ſuppoſing they ſhould fight after they had mounted and got up into it, yet he would never revenge himſelf on inanimate things in the room of men; neither could he ever be brought to put fire to ſo vaſt and ſtupendous a building: For the *Romans* would be diſgraced if it was burnt; and, on the other hand, if it ſtood, 'twould be an ornment to the *Roman* empire.' This declaration fully convincing *Fronto*, *Alexander*, and *Cerealis*, of *Cæſar*'s intentions, they came immediately into his opinion. In fine, the council broke up, and the officers had orders to make the other forces be quiet, to the end he might make uſe of the more ſtout, leaving at the ſame time a command for his cohorts to make a road through the ruins, and put out the fire.

Labour and aſtoniſhment kept the *Jews* from making any attempt that day; the next day they re-aſſumed ſtrength and courage, and, about the ſecond hour, ſallied out at the northern, upon the guards of the exterior temple. They received the attack with great bravery, and defended their front with joining their ſhields together, as though it had been a wall: But 'twas plain they could not endure the ſtruggle long, becauſe both the multitude and boldneſs of the ſalliers overcame them. Before the *Romans* gave ground, *Cæſar*, who ſaw the battle from *Antonia*, came up to their aſſiſtance with a choice body of horſe. The

Jews were not able to ſuſtain the charge, and the foremoſt of them being ſlain on the ſpot, made moſt part of the reſt take to their heels, and fly. As ſoon as the *Jews* ſaw the *Romans* withdraw, they rallied about, and purſued 'em, but the enemy turning ſuddenly back upon 'em, they took to their heels again, till quite maſtered with ſuperior force, they threw themſelves about the fifth hour into the interior temple, and ſhut themſelves up in it.

Titus went back to *Antonia*, with a reſolution to attack them the next day with his whole army, and inveſt the temple. But, indeed, God, by his unalterable ſentence, had long ago doom'd it to the flames, and now the fatal day was come, after a revolution of ſeveral ages, which was the fifteenth of the month *Loiis*, when the *Babylonian* king firſt ſet fire to it. The *Jews* themſelves were both the beginning and cauſe of its being laid in aſhes: for as ſoon as *Titus* was returned to *Antonia*, the ſeditious, who had been quiet for ſome time, fell upon the *Romans* again; whereupon a battle enſued between them and the guards of the exterior temple, who were endeavouring to put out the fire; but the latter forcing the *Jews* to flight, penetrated to the very temple, when a ſoldier ſnatching up a fire-brand, without waiting for any order, or fearing ſo bold an attempt, but haſtily taking up a piece of burning wood, as though he had depended on ſome divine aſſiſtance, and being aſſiſted by another fellow ſoldier, he threw the flaming faggot through a golden caſement, which opened to the cells built about the north ſide of the temple. When the *Jews* ſaw the flames riſing upwards, they ſhouted aloud, reſembling the greatneſs of their diſtreſs, and immediately ran to the defence of the temple; neither did they think that their lives were to be ſpared, or their ſtrength remitted, when that was periſhing, which they had been ſo intent before on ſaving.

Mean time, a perſon ran and acquainted *Titus* with the news, who chanced to be now returned from the fight, and was reſting himſelf in his tent. When he had heard the news, he roſe up immediately, and made what haſte he could to the temple, in order to extinguiſh the flames. Behind him followed all his officers, and after them their companies, in the greateſt ſurprize imaginable. *Cæſar* made all the ſigns he could, either with his voice or hands, to make his men extinguiſh the fire, but there was no ſuch thing as hearing his voice, a prodigious noiſe aſſailing the ears of the men on every ſide; neither did his ſoldiers take any notice of the motions he made with his hands, through their deſire to fight on the one hand, and their diſtracted reſentment on the other. Neither admonitions nor menaces could have any influence on the legions who ruſhed in between, to make them ſtop their career; but whereſoever fury led them, there they were all hurried; and being ſqueezed up together into the paſſages, many were trod under foot by their own countrymen, and ſeveral others falling upon the ruins of the portico's which were yet burning and ſmoaking, ſuffered the ſame hardſhips as the vanquiſh'd themſelves. On their coming near the temple, they made a pretence not to hear the commands of *Titus*, and each exhorted the perſon who went before him, to throw fire into the temple. All hopes of giving any aſſiſtance were now taken away from the ſeditious, but in their room flights and ſcenes of death filled every place. Great numbers of the low, defenceleſs, and unarm'd people, were put to death, whereſoever they were apprehended; and the altar was ſurrounded with a mighty heap of dead bodies, and the ſtairs leading up to the temple, ſwam in blood, ſo that the bodies of thoſe who were ſlain upon them, ſlided down.

When *Cæſar* found that all his commands and remonſtrances were to no purpoſe to reſtrain his ſoldiers, who ruſhed on as though ſome fury had ſeized them, and that the fire increaſed, he entered the holy place with his captains, and viewed every thing that was in it, ſo much ſpoken of by foreigners, and no leſs exalted and heighten'd by the encomiums and praiſes of the natives. When he obſerved that the fire had penetrated from no part into the interior temple, but that only the building was expoſed to the flames which was erected round it, he thought, as he juſtly did, that ſo much might ſtill be preſerved: Whereupon, he jumped among his men, and exhorted them to ſtrive all they could to put out the fire, giving orders at the ſame time to *Cerealis* the centurion, to beat off thoſe with his ſtick who diſobeyed. But all ſignified nothing; for reſentment, an implacable hatred to the *Jews*, and a vehement deſire to fight, quite effaced all the reverence they ſhould have had for *Titus*, and all the fears which his prohibition had ſtruck them with. The hope of plunder was a great incentive to many, who thought all within was full of money, when they had every thing about them made in gold. One of the ſoldiers that had got in, when *Cæſar* ran to hinder the fire from ſpreading, privately ſet fire to the poſts of the gate; whereupon the flame breaking ſuddenly within, *Cæſar* and his officers preſently came out, and not ſo much as a ſingle perſon offered to ſtop the progreſs of the fire, but ſuffered every thing to be laid in aſhes. And thus was the temple burnt againſt the intention and deſire of *Cæſar*.

Now though every man may think a great deal of ſorrow is due for this temple, as it was the greateſt building we have ever ſeen or heard, both for its admirable ſtructure, largeneſs, and the magnificence that reigned thro' all its parts, and the grand eſteem it always bore in relation to its holy things, yet we may take the greateſt ſatisfaction from this conſideration, that fate will exerciſe its ſway as well over mankind, as over buildings and places. There is, indeed, ſufficient room to raiſe one's wonder at the exact revolution of time: For, as had been before obſerved, this calamity fell out on the ſame month and day, wherein the temple was firſt burnt by the *Babylonians*. Now the calculation, from the firſt ſtructure of this temple, which king *Solomon* began, to its deſtruction, which happened in the ſecond year

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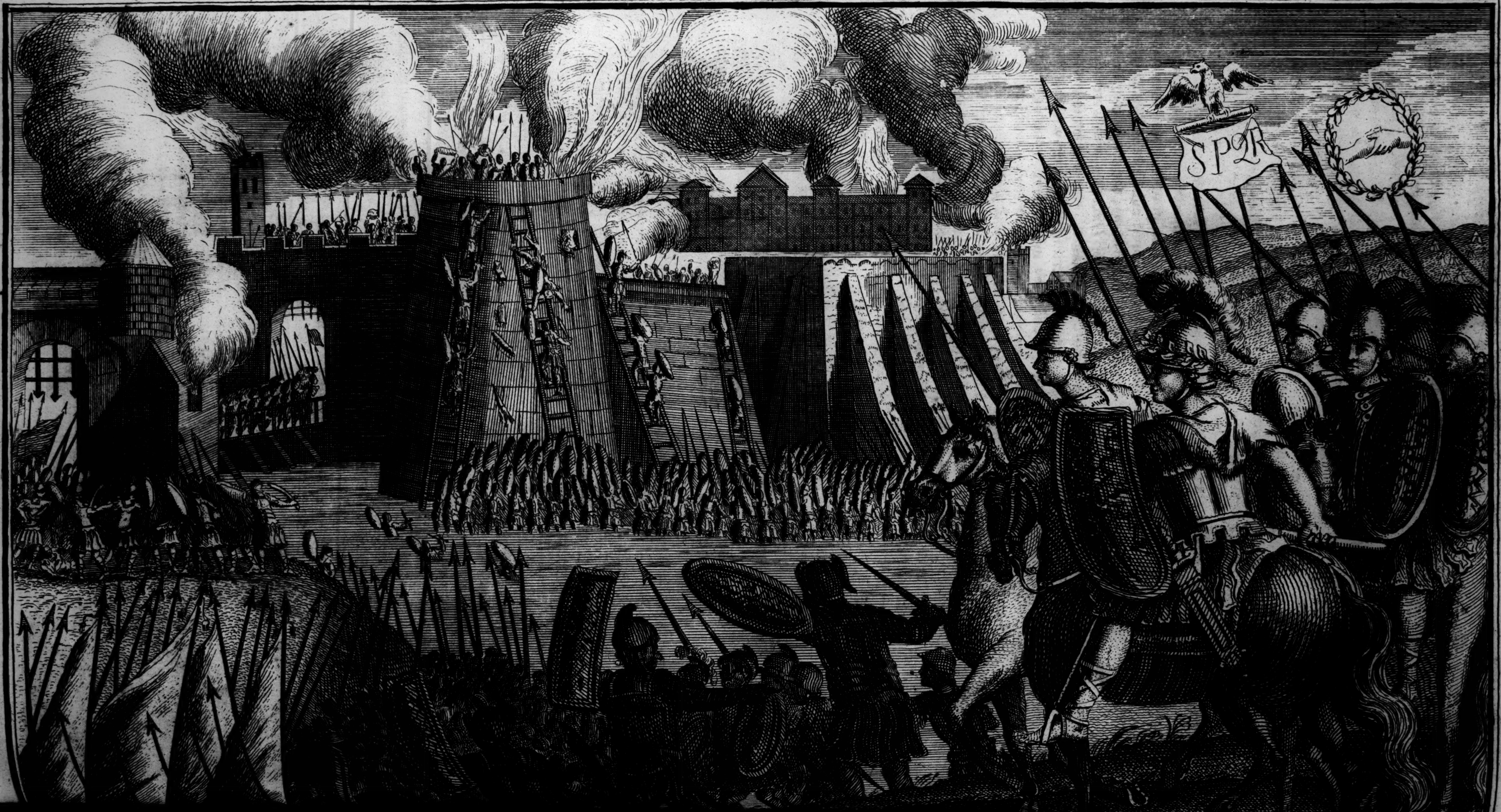

of *Veſpaſians*'s empire, make eleven hundred thirty years, ſeven months, and fifteen days. But from the ſecond building, which *Aggæus* performed in the ſecond year of king *Cyrus*, to the deſtruction under *Veſpaſian*, are numbered ſix hundred thirty-nine years, and forty-five days.

CHAP. V.

The miſeries the Jews *were expos'd to on the burning of the temple. Of the falſe prophet, and the omens that went before the deſtruction.*

THE temple being now on fire, every thing that fell in the way was made a prize, and infinite was the ſlaughter of thoſe who were taken: There was no compaſſion for any age or ſex, no reverence for grey hairs; but old and young, prophane and holy, were ſlain without diſtinction, together. All kind of perſons were involv'd in the miſeries of the war, ſuppliants as well as thoſe who endeavour'd to defend themſelves. The flames diffuſed their raging heat all over, and the groans of dying *Jews* heightened the crackling of the fire; and a man would have conjectur'd, from the altitude of the hill, and the greatneſs of the blazing building, that all the city had been on fire. Certainly there can be nothing conceiv'd more dreadful or ſhocking than the noiſe at this conjecture; for the ſhouts of the *Roman* legions, who puſh'd forward together, carried an air of extreme gladneſs, while the ſeditious, hemm'd in with fire and ſword, were loſt in diſmal yells and groanings. Theſe people who were left in the higher places, fell upon their enemies in the greateſt fright and conſternation imaginable; and the adverſities they were in, were attended with nothing but loud cries and lamentations: And the multitude in the city eccho'd with their ſhouts to thoſe who were on the hill. Abundance who were terribly worn and enfeebled with the famine, had recourſe again to complaints and ſorrow, when they ſaw the temple in flames. Their cries reſounded back from *Peræa*, and the mountains round about; and the aſſaults of thoſe who fought were conſiderably increas'd hence: Yet the moſt melancholy ſlaughter made at this time, was more dreadful than all this tumult; for a man would have concluded that the hill, on which the temple was built, was going to be burnt up by the roots; nothing but fire being to be ſeen upon it: But there was a greater effuſion of blood than fire, and the ſlain were far more in number than the ſlayers. No part of the ground could any where be diſcover'd for the multitude of dead bodies that cover'd it, and the ſoldiers were oblig'd to trample over the bodies of the ſlain to purſue the *Jews* who fled from them. The confederate robbers, having broke through the *Roman* forces, with much difficulty got into the exterior temple, and thence into the city; while the reſt of the people fled into the exterior portico. Notwithſtanding ſome of the prieſts at firſt bore away the ſpoils belonging to the temple, and, after having pull'd up their ſeats, which were made of lead, uſed them againſt the *Romans* inſtead of darts: But when they found their aims and intentions to no manner of purpoſe, and that the fire was breaking in upon them, they withdrew to the wall eight cubits broad, and there remained. But *Meirus*, the ſon of *Belgas*, and *Joſeph*, the ſon of *Dalæus*, who were two of the more remarkable, threw themſelves into the fire, and periſhed together with the temple, when they might have gone over to the *Romans* and ſav'd their lives, or ſtay'd where they were, in company with others, partakers of the ſame fortune with them.

The *Romans* thinking 'twas to no purpoſe now to ſpare the other buildings round about, when the temple was on fire, ſet fire to every thing, to what remain'd of the portico's, and to all the gates, except two, one to the eaſt, the other to the ſouth, which they pull'd down afterwards. Beſides all theſe, they burnt down the *gazophylacia*, or treaſure-houſes, wherein was an infinite ſum of money, an infinite number of robes and other ornaments; and, to ſpeak ſhort, wherein the *Jews* had repoſited all their wealth. Theſe kind of houſes were raiſed at the expence of the rich. But now they came to the portico of the exterior temple, which ſtill was ſtanding, were women, children, and a promiſcuous multitude of other perſons, to the number of ſix thouſand, had taken refuge; but before *Cæſar* had time to determine any thing about thoſe perſons, or give any commands to his officers, his ſoldiers, puſh'd on by reſentment, ſet fire to the portico. Hence it came to paſs, that ſeveral, endeavouring haſtily to get out of the flames, periſh'd, while others loſt their lives in the fire. Yet not a ſoul, out of ſo great a number, was ſav'd. Now the cauſe of theſe people's deſtruction was owing to the inſinuations of a falſe prophet, who foretold the people at that time in the city, 'That God had expreſly commanded they 'ſhould go up into the temple, where they 'were to receive a token of their preſervation.' This was no other than a contrivance of the tyrant's, who had ſuborn'd ſeveral of theſe prophets at this time to ſeduce the people, under a pretence that they were to wait the aſſiſtance of God, in order to keep them from flying over to the enemy, and retain thoſe with hopes who ſeem'd above fear, or the guards that watch'd them. Now 'tis certain that man is readily impos'd on in his adverſities; and if he, whoſe aim is only to deceive, promiſes deliverance from imminent dangers; 'tis as certain, that he who ſuffers, ſuffers himſelf to let the bait go down with him.

Thus was a miſerable people gull'd by the perſuaſive words of impoſtors, who falſely affirm'd firm'd their miſſion from God: But neither would they give any attention to, or put any faith in thoſe manifeſt and evident prodigies which foretold their laſt ruin and deſtruction. But, like men overwhelm'd with amazement, having neither eyes, nor underſtanding, they ridicul'd and deſpis'd the prefigurations and predictions of God. The firſt thing forewarning them of their deſtruction, was a ſtar, which hover'd over the city in the reſemblance of a ſword; and a comet was ſeen,for a whole year's ſpace, darting its fires, and illuminating the ſkies. And the next omen happen'd before the revolt, and the firſt breaking out of the war, when the people were aſſembled to celebrate the feaſt of *Azymuth*, on the eighth day of the month *Xanthicus*, when, about the ninth hour of the night, ſo radiant and bright a light ſhone round the altar and the temple, that it ſeem'd to be clear day, and continued full half an hour; which the ignorant took for a good and friendly omen: But the ſacred ſcribes rightly judged what were the portentous conſequences that were to enſue. And while the aforeſaid ſolemnity was celebrating a cow, on being brought by the prieſt to be made a ſacrifice, let fall a lamb in the middle of the temple. Beſides, the gate of the interior *ſacrarium* facing the eaſt, which was all made of braſs, and of an immenſe weight, and which twenty men could ſcarce ſhut, about the evening, being ſupported by vaſt poſts, fortified all round with iron, whoſe ends ſunk into deep mortice holes in the ſtone entrance, which was of one entire ſtone: I ſay, this gate was ſeen, about the ſixth hour of the night, to open of itſelf; which the guards of the temple having obſerv'd, ran to the prætor, and acquainted him with it; who, on coming up, had much difficulty to get it ſhut again. This omen, too, the ignorant and illiterate took for the beſt; namely, that God had open'd the gate of good things for them: Whereas the learned and judicious were of opinion, that the ſecurity of the temple was voluntarily departed with them; that the gate open'd to gratify their enemies, every one being of belief that their deſtruction was prefigur'd under the prodigy. And a few days after, the ſolemnity was over, on the twenty-firſt day of the month *Artemiſius*, a prodigious ſight appear'd, far exceeding all manner of credit. For what I am going to recite, would (I am perſuaded) appear monſtrous and fabulous, was it not well atteſted by perſons who were eye-witneſſes, and the calamities ſubſequent thereupon prefigured by probable ſigns: For there were ſeen, before ſun-ſet, chariots wheeling a-loft in the air, all over the country, and arm'd companies ruſhing through the clouds, and throwing up trenches round cities. And, on the feſtival day, which is call'd penticoſt, the prieſts going into the temple in the night, to perform their ſervices, according to cuſtom, ſaid, they heard at firſt a kind of motion and noiſe, and then the voice as of a thick multitude, pronouncing aloud, *let us remove hence*. But what ſeems more dreadful than all theſe, is couch'd in the following: One *Jeſus*, the ſon of *Ananus*, a *Plebeian*, and a countryman, four years before the war broke out, while the city enjoy'd a profound peace, and plenty of proviſions was in every place, on coming to the ſolemnity, whereat 'tis cuſtomary for all the *Jews* to pitch tents in honour of God, broke out ſuddenly, as he ſtood by the temple, into the following rapture: *A voice from the eaſt, a voice from the weſt; a voice from the four winds, a voice againſt the city and againſt the temple, a voice againſt bridegrooms and againſt brides, and a voice againſt all the people.* Which words, he utter'd day and night, proclaiming them loudly throughout all the ſtreets of the city.

Some of the principal *Jews*, who were offended at theſe words, took the fellow, and ſeverely whipp'd him; who made no manner of defence for himſelf, neither offer'd to ſpeak againſt thoſe who ſcourg'd him; but perſiſted in proclaiming the words he had firſt devulg'd. This procedure making the *Jewiſh* magiſtrates imagine that the fellow's emotion was ſomewhat divine, carried him before the *Roman* governor, and was laſh'd to the very bones, before him; yet never offer'd to make any interceſſion, or to ſhed tears; but, in the moſt miſerable and mournful manner he could, diſmally changed his voice, and made bitter exclamation at every ſtroke he receiv'd, in theſe words: *Woe, woe, to* Hieroſolyma. *Albinus*, who was then governor of *Judæa*, put the queſtion, and ask'd him who he was, and whence he came, and what made him ſpeak ſuch words? To all which he return'd no manner of anſwer. Neither did he ceaſe lamenting the city in this manner, till *Albinus*, thinking him a mad man, diſcharg'd him. He was never obſerv'd all the time, till the breaking out of the war, to go to any of the citizens, nor to ſpeak any thing elſe, but continue to lament in the words, *Woe, woe, to* Hieroſolyma; as if he had meditated ſome kind of prayer: Neither offer'd he to wiſh ill againſt any one, though affronts and buffetings were daily given him; neither would he ſpeak well to thoſe who relieved or gave him victuals: But his anſwer was, always, one and the ſame thing to all, a ſorrowful preſage. But at times of the celebration of ſolemn days, he was more loud in his exclamations: And tho', he had continued doing thus for ſeven years, and five months, yet, in all that time, his voice did not once become hoarſe, neither ſeem'd he tir'd, till, being an eye-witneſs himſelf of the omens foretelling the deſtruction, during the ſiege, he ceaſed from ſpeaking any more. For, happening to be walking on the walls, he broke out again, with a loud voice, into *Woe, woe, to this city, and to the temple, and to the people:* And, on coming to ſpeak theſe laſt words, *Woe to myſelf, alſo*; he was ſtruck with a ſtone from one of the *Roman balliſtæ*, and inſtantly died, giving up the ghoſt with the ominous words in his mouth.

Would any one, now, conſider a while on this, he will find, that mankind are in the protection of God, who ſtrives, by all manner of ways, to foreſhew them thoſe things that are conducive to their welfare, and that 'tis to their own madneſs, and voluntary misfortunes, they owe their deſtruction. For the *Jews* made a ſquare temple, after *Antonia* was pull'd down, though 'twas thus written in their oracles; *Then ſhall the city and temple be taken, when the temple appears in the figure of a ſquare.* But what was the main thing to puſh them on to the maintenance of the war, was, an ambiguous prophecy found in their ſacred books, *That about thoſe Times one ſhall ariſe out of their own borders, and put the whole world under his obedience.* Which they, indeed, applied as peculiar to themſelves, and ſeveral wiſe men were deceiv'd in the gloſs they put upon the paſſage. For the prophecy meant no more than *Veſpaſians*'s empire, who was declared emperor in *Judæa*. But 'tis a thing impoſſible for mankind to ſhun the decrees of fate, though they ſee them before hand. Some of them put conſtructions on ſome of theſe ominous ſigns, juſt as their fancies led them; while others entirely diſregarded them, till the deſtruction of their city, and the ruin of themſelves, laid open their madneſs and folly.

CHAP. VI.

How the Romans *repeated their acclamations on* Titus, *after they had ſet their ſtandard in the temple. The words* Titus *made uſe of to the* Jews, *to have the ſuppliants ſpared. Their anſwer to him, which moved up his reſentment.*

AFTER the ſeditious were fled for refuge into the city, the *Romans* ſet fire to the temple, and every place about it; and after they had carried their ſtandards into the ſacred place, and ſet them up againſt the eaſtern gate, they ſacrificed to them, and proclaimed *Titus* emperor with vaſt acclamations of gladneſs. All the *Roman* ſoldiers were ſo enrich'd with the plunder they made, that a pound of gold was ſold for half the price, in *Syria*, it before went at. Mean time, thoſe prieſts happening to remain on the wall where they had taken refuge, a boy, who was almoſt parch'd to death with thirſt, begged the *Roman* guards to give him their hand, confeſſing to them the vaſt thirſt he had upon him. The guards, out of compaſſion to his age and neceſſitous condition, gave him the hand; whereupon, he came down, drank what he would himſelf, and then, after he had fill'd a pitcher with water, which he brought with him, ſlipped away, and got up to his confederates. None of the guards could purſue him; but they taxed him with his perfidy: Whereupon, he made them anſwer, *That he had acted nothing contrary to his promiſe; and that they had given him the hand, not that he ſhould ſtay with them, but only that he ſhould come down, and draw water, both which he had faithfully executed; and therefore he apprehended he had no way infringed his faith.* This artifice, and the fine addreſs the boy delivered himſelf with, was matter of the utmoſt ſurprize to thoſe he had thus impoſed upon. But when the fifth day came, the prieſts, who were quite reduced with hunger, came down, and, being carried by the guards before *Titus*, begged him to take compaſſion upon them. But he told them, *That the time was paſt wherein they might expect pardon, and the only thing was loſt that might have entitled them to his favour, and therefore that the prieſts ought to expiate their crimes in the ſame flames as had burnt the temple.* And having ſo ſaid, he commanded due puniſhment to be inflicted upon them.

When the tyrants and their partizans found the war hot on every ſide about them, and that there was no way to make their eſcape in their then ſituation, they intimated to *Titus* that they wanted a parly with him. He, according to his uſual complacency, and natural humanity, and being ſtill deſirous of ſaving the city, beſides his friends perſuading him, who concluded the ſeditious would entertain more moderate ſentiments, placed himſelf in the weſt part of the exterior temple. For the gates ſtood here above the *Xyſtus*, and the bridge which join'd the higher city to the temple, which ſeparated the tyrants and *Cæſar*. Several companies of men in arms ſtood thick together on both ſides; the *Jews* about *Simon* and *John* being in a dubious hope of obtaining pardon, and the *Romans*, who were about *Cæſar*, waiting to ſee what ſort of reception *Titus* would give him. After *Titus* had given orders for his ſoldiers to reſtrain their reſentment, and keep their darts within their quivers, he, as the ſign of being victor, firſt open'd the diſcourſe. ‘What? O men! are you not yet ſatiated with the misfortunes your country has already ſuſtained; nor do you bring to mind our courage, and your weakneſs? But do you go on to deſtroy, by an impetuous fury, and inconſiderate madneſs, your own people, city, and temple, together? You yourſelves being on the point of juſt deſtruction; who, after *Pompey* had ſubdued you, were the firſt to attempt freſh diſturbances, and now have maintained on open war with the *Romans*? Say, is it the multitude of your inhabitants you place ſuch confidence in; Let me tell you, a very inconſiderable portion of the *Roman* forces have made reſiſtance againſt you. Is it upon your auxiliaries, then, that you truſt? But what nation, out of the limits of our empire, would chuſe to aſſiſt the *Jews* before the *Romans*? Is your dependance placed on your bodily ſtrength? But, let me tell you again, that the *Germans* pay obedience to us. Is it the ſtrength of your walls that makes you thus preſumptive? But ſay, what walls can reſiſt more than the ocean? And yet the *Britains*, encloſed with this bulwark, honour and pay reverence to the *Roman* arms. Say, is it to the patience of your ſouls, and the craftineſs of your generals? You are not ignorant that the *Carthaginians* were made captives; wherefore 'tis our humanity that has made you enemies to the *Romans*, who were the firſt that gave you a country to poſſeſs, and granted you kings of your own nation; who, afterwards, preſerved your accuſtomed laws, and left you at liberty not only to live ſeparate, but jointly with others, as yourſelves ſhall think fit: And who, (which is the greateſt thing of all) permitted you to exact tribute in the name of God, and receive donations, without ever hindering or giving any leſſons to thoſe who made their offerings: And all this to make you powerful enemies againſt us, and with our money to create freſh hoſtilities againſt our repoſe and quiet. And, at laſt, after you were thus ſwelled up with ſo many fine advantages, you have emptied your full ſtomachs againſt thoſe who crammed you; and, like ſerpents, have vomited your poiſon upon thoſe who indulged you. Be it ſo; you ſcorned the indolence of *Nero*, and, like broken and diſtorted limbs, kept quiet againſt yourſelves at another time; but, when the diſtemper broke out, you ſhewed yourſelves ready, and gave perfect ſigns of your immoderate deſires to entertain ambitious hopes. My father came into your country, not to exact puniſhment for the crimes committed by *Ceſtius*, but only to give you his advice, and warn you to a good behaviour. 'Tis true, indeed, he ought, had he come purely to ſubdue you, to have ſtruck at the root, and immediately have demoliſh'd this city, but he choſe rather to ravage the places about *Galilee*, and the region itſelf, in order to afford you an opportunity of ſeeing into your miſcarriages. But this humanity of his you looked upon as an infirmity, and a piece of great weakneſs; and the lenity of the *Romans* has proved the cauſe of your preſumption. When *Nero* died, you acted the part of baſe men, making the civil broils that diſtracted our empire at that time an handle for you to aſſume courage; and when my father and I were abſent in *Ægypt*, you laid hold of the opportunity to make warlike preparations; neither were you aſhamed to give diſturbance to princes declared ſo, whoſe extraordinary humanity, in point of being generals, you have remarkably experienced. Yet when the empire devolved upon us, when a profound tranquility reigned throughout our dominions, and foreign nations ſent their ambaſſadors to congratulate us on our acceſſion to our new dignity, yet the *Jews* then ſhewed themſelves our enemies. The ambaſſadors, you ſent to the people beyond the *Euphrates*, had no other errand then to foment commotions; you erected new walls, ſeditions broke out among you; the tyrants among you fell out into unjuſtifiable quarrels, and an inteſtine war took birth, which ſeveral enormities are alone what become the character of ſo wicked a people. I came, indeed, before your city with mournful orders from my father, who himſelf was againſt them; but my ſatisfaction was great, when I found that the minds of the people were inclined to peace. Before the war broke out, I begg'd you to lay down your arms; I ſpared thoſe who had committed their hoſtilities a long time; I gave my honour to thoſe who deſerted, and inviolably maintained my faith with them after they came over to my party: I ſhewed my compaſſion to abundance of priſoners; I put the queſtion to thoſe who ſtrove to puſh on the war; I planted my enemies againſt your walls, againſt my own inclination; I ſhewed myſelf on all opportunities ready to reſtrain thoſe who thirſted after ſlaughter, and, as often as victory inclined to my ſide, ſo often did I admoniſh you to peace, as though I had been the vanquiſhed party. When I made my approaches to the temple, I voluntarily put my mind again the law of war; I intreated you to be merciful to your own ſolemn things, and preſerve your temple, leaving you at liberty to depart quietly with your lives; and, if you ſo thought fit, granting you a power to maintain the war in any other place. But you ridiculed me, and ſet all theſe condeſcentions at nothing; you have laid your temple in aſhes by your own hands; and now laſt, vile, faithleſs men, you urge me to a parley. How can you conſerve ſo famous a thing, as that which you have loſt? Or what mercy, think you, are you worthy of enjoying, after the deſtruction of your temple? But, in oppoſition to this, you ſtand clad in arms now; neither do you give the leaſt ſigns of repentance even in the laſt extremity of your enemies. O miſerable *Jews!* on what confidence do you build your hopes? Is not your people extinguiſh'd? Is not your temple deſtroy'd? Is not your city reduc'd to my obedience? Are not you yourſelves within my power? And yet, for all theſe, you take it for a glorious act of bravery and fortitude merely to ſhew an inclination to die? But I won't diſpute with ſuch obſtinate and perverſe minds: Only throw down your arms, and ſurrender voluntarily, and your lives are your own. Theſe I give you on theſe conditions, in order, that, like a merciful maſter in a family, after I have puniſh'd the incorrigible and incurable, I may at laſt preſerve the remainder.’

The anſwer they retnrn'd to this remonſtrance, was this: That they could not on no terms receive his conditions, having mutually taken an oath from one another never to do ſo. That they begged liberty to depart through the fortifications, where he had made this wall, their deſign being to retire into the deſart, and leave him in poſſeſſion of the city. This anſwer, rouz'd up *Titus*'s reſentment to a violent height, to find them, who were in the condition of ſlaves, impoſe articles like ſo many conquerors. Whereupon, he gave orders for an herald to make proclamation, That not a ſoul of them ſhould then for the future fly over to him, or expect any indulgence (for he would give no quarter to any;) that they were left to make the beſt uſe of their might and ſtrength, and conſult the propereſt means to ſave themſelves. For now he was reſolved to put the law of arms in execution. And ſo ſaying, he commanded his ſoldiers to burn and plunder the city. But nothing was done that day. On the day following, they put fire to the regiſter-houſe, to *Acra*, to *Curia*, and the plac'd nam'd *Ophla*. The flames diffus'd their rage to *Helen*'s palace, which ſtood in the middle of *Acra*; and the allies, and houſes cramm'd with the bodies of thoſe who periſh'd by the famine, were burnt down.

About the ſame time, the ſons and brothers of king *Izalas*, with many other foreign nobility, who were aſſembled there, implored *Cæſar*'s protection; who, notwithſtanding the great paſſion he was in at all thoſe who remained, preſerved his uſual humanity, and received them, but confined them under ſtrict guards; and as for the king's ſons and relations, thoſe he ſent priſoners to *Rome*, ſome time afterwards, as hoſtages.

CHAP. VIII.

The things that afterwards befel the ſeditious, who committed and ſuffered ſeveral ills and hardſhips. How Cæſar *got poſſeſſion of the higher city.*

MEAN time, the ſeditious made an attack upon the palace, whoſe great ſtrength had drawn abundance of perſons to repoſit their effects in it, and drove the *Romans* thereout; after which, they put to the ſword a matter of eight thouſand and four hundred of the people that were aſſembled together there, and took away all the money. Two *Roman* ſoldiers happened to be taken alive, one a horſeman, the other a footman. This latter was immediately ſlain, and dragged through all the city, as though they had a mind to revenge themſelves on the *Romans* in the body of one man. The horſeman ſaying he had ſomething to communicate which would be to their advantage, they carried him to *Simon*, but having nothing to ſay when he came before him, one *Ardelas*, belonging to his guards, had the charge to puniſh him; who having faſtened his hands behind his back, and thrown a veil before his eyes, brought him in ſight of the *Romans*, as though he had been going to cut off his head; but he had the fortune to eſcape to the *Romans*, while the *Jew* was drawing his ſword. However, *Titus* thought it unreaſonable to put the man to death now he was got out of the clutches of his enemies; but being of opinion he was a ſoldier unworthy of the *Romans*, for ſuffering himſelf to be taken alive, he took away his arms, and drove him out of his troop: A circumſtance far heavier than death, to a generous man.

The *Romans*, the next day, ſcoured the lower city of the robbers, and ſet fire to every thing as far as *Siloa*. They were glad to ſee the city in flames, but came ſhort of the plunder, the ſeditious having drained every place before them, before they withdrew into the higher city. Theſe misfortunes gave them no manner of uneaſineſs; but they carried off every thing with a polite air, as if things had ſucceeded according to their deſires. In ſhort, when they ſaw the city in a blaze, they ſaid they muſt wait death with a briſk countenance, as nothing would be left for the enemy to make prize of, now the people were ſlain, the temple burnt, and the city on fire. Yet in theſe laſt extremities *Joſephus* ſtill ſhewed himſelf willing to intercede for what remained of the city. He enlarged a great deal on their cruelty and impiety; he gave them abundance of exhortation to ſave themſelves; but gain'd nothing for all his pains and concern for them than mocks and jeers in return. And becauſe they would not now ſurrender to the *Romans*, for their oath's ſake, and were not able to fight the *Romans* on equal terms, as the ſiege cloſely hemmed them in, and as they were accuſtomed to dip their hands in blood, they poſted themſelves in ſeveral parties before the city, and laid in wait for thoſe who endeavoured to eſcape through the ruins. Several had the miſfortune to fall into their hands; they ſlew all (for hunger prevented them from retreating faſt,) and afterwards threw their carcaſſes to the dogs. In ſhort, any ſort of death was eſteemed more tolerable than hunger; ſo that although they had no reaſon to expect mercy at the hands of the *Romans*, yet they ventur'd to go over to them, and voluntarily fell in among the ſeditious, who were exerciſing their bloody purpoſes: And there was not a place to be found throughout the city, but was filled with dead, the victims either of famine, or the ſedition: For ſlain and macerated carcaſſes lay every where in heaps, which either hunger, or the factious *Jews*, had deſtroyed.

The laſt ſhift the tyrants, and the faction of robbers, who were confederates with them, had to ſave themſelves, was in the common ſewers and places under ground in the city: Their hopes were all built upon theſe. They thought if they took refuge in theſe ſubterraneous holes there would be no finding them out; and concluded, as ſoon as the war ended, and the *Romans* drawn off, they would find an eaſy opportunity to get out, and make their eſcape. But they never conſidered they were dreaming all this time, and that they were not to find ſuch favour as either to hide themſelves from God, or the *Romans*. In ſhort, the dependance they put on theſe dark places, made them burn more places than the *Romans* had done, which was not all: For they mercileſsly put to death thoſe, who, to avoid the flames, reſorted into theſe ſubterraneous caves, and ſtripped them. If they found any proviſion about any, though it was ſtiffened with blood, they eagerly ſnatched it away, and devoured it. In fine, a real war broke out among them about the ſpoil and plunder they made: And I ſhould be apt to imagine, had not deſtruction prevented them, their extravagant cruelty would have drove them to have fed upon the bodies of the ſlain.

CHAP. VIII.

How Cæſar *erected his Mounts againſt the higher City; after which he gave Orders for his Engines to be planted, and thereupon made himſelf abſolute Maſter of the whole City.*

WHEN *Cæſar* found the higher city, which was placed on a ſteep deſcent, was not to be taken without erecting mounts, he diſtributed the work among his men on the twentieth day of the month *Lous* ; but almoſt inſurmountable difficulties lay in the way, of getting wood, all, as we have obſerved above, having been cut up for a matter of an hundred furlongs round the city, to build the former mounts. Four of the legions had their portion aſſigned them in the weſt part of the city, over-againſt the royal court: The auxiliaries, and others, were employed againſt the *Xyſtus*, who ſeized upon the bridge, and *Simon*'s tower, who had built it for a fortreſs of his own during the diſpute between him and *John*.

The *Idumæan* generals aſſembling privately together about this time, enter'd into a conſultation about the means of ſurrendering themſelves: They hit upon the expedient of ſending five perſons to *Tunes*, to implore his protection, which was accordingly done. *Titus* ſuppoſing the tyrants would conſiderably leſſen their obſtinate meaſures, were the *Idumæans* drawn away, who made a large ſhare of the battle, was ſome time in hearing them; but at length promiſed them ſafety, and ſo ſent the men back. While they were making ready for their departure, *Simon* got intelligence of the ſecret, and immediately put to death the five perſons who had been ſent to *Titus:* He ſeized upon the generals, the nobleſt of whom was *James*, the ſon of *Soſas*, and ſecured them in priſon. He gave orders to obſerve the motions of the *Idumæans*, who were now depriv'd of their officers, and in an unſettled ſituation, and commanded ſtricter guards to protect the walls. Yet all this precaution was not ſufficient to hinder deſerters; for though a great many were ſlain, yet the number that eſcaped was abundantly ſuperior. The *Romans* ſuſpected every one, and, becauſe *Titus* had ſuffered his moderation to out-weigh his former orders, his men kept their hands from ſhedding blood, through hopes of making advantages to themſelves from the plunder; for none but the lower ſort being left, the reſt of the multitude with their wives and children, were ſold for trifles, as there was a large number of ſlaves, but very few purchaſers. Notwithſtanding *Cæſar* had commanded proclamation to be made, by the mouth of an herald, for none to deſert ſingly, but bring their families along with 'em, yet for all this he received ſuch as came ſingly, having before-hand appointed ſet perſons to ſeparate ſuch as were thought worthy of puniſhment. And, indeed, an infinite number was of thoſe who were ſold; but a matter of forty thouſand of the *Plebeian* ſort were preſerved, and ſent by *Cæſar* to different places, as every one liked beſt.

Much about this time, one of the prieſts, the ſon of *Thebuthus*, named *Jeſus*, having obtained from *Cæſar* an oath of indemnity, provided he deliver'd him ſome of the ſacred inſtruments, came out and gave him, from the wall of the temple, two candleſticks, reſembling thoſe that had been repoſited in the ſacred houſe, beſides tables, goblets, and phials, all of ſolid gold, and very ponderous; and hangings, and prieſt's robes, with ſtones, and ſeveral other veſſels uſed in the holy worſhip and office. Add to this, *Phineas*, the keeper of the ſacred treaſures, happening to be apprehended, diſcover'd the tunicks, and ſacerdotal girdles, a vaſt quantity of purple and violet, which were preſerv'd for uſing in the hangings, among which was a large quantity of cinnamon, caſſia, and other aromatick ſpices, which were mixed together daily, and made a ſweet ſavour to God. And, more than all theſe, he gave him ſeveral other things of great value, and abundance of ſacred ornaments, which gain'd him, though taken by compulſive means, the ſame pardon as the other deſerters had given them.

At laſt the *Romans* having finiſhed their mounts in eighteen days time, on the ſeventh of the month *Gorpicens*, planted their engines, the ſight ſo terrifying ſome of the ſeditious, who now began to deſpair of holding out the city, they abandoned the walls, and withdrew into *Acra:* Some, indeed, concealed themſelves in the places under ground; while others, putting themſelves into ſome appearance of order and diſcipline, repulſed thoſe who ſtrove to approach with their helepoles. But the numbers aud force of the *Romans* were too much for the beſieged to ſuſtain, and, what was particular, men joyfully overcame the *Jews*, now drooping, and faint. As ſoon as the beſieged ſaw a part of the wall broke down, and ſome of the towers give way to the ſhocks which the rams gave, they fled immediately, and the tyrants were ſeized with a more violent pannic than ſuited with their condition: For before the enemy offered to ſally in, they were like perſons in a maze, and ready to take to their heels. A moment or two before they were to be ſeen arrogant, haughty, and boaſting of their impious deeds; but now ſo dejected and fearful, that the change, though in ſuch baſe wretches as they certainly were, deſerved pity. They made, indeed, ſome ſtruggles, by attacking the fortifications to repulſe the enemy, break through the guards, and ſo eſcape. But when they no where ſaw thoſe whoſe faithful aſſiſtance they had before experienced (for every one were got away whither neceſſity prompted them), and that ſome of their ſpies told them of all the wall weſtward being broken down, others, that the *Romans* were got in, ſome, that bands of enemies were at their heels to find them out, and others, that they had ſeen the *Romans* in the towers (the miſtake of their ſight being owing to their fear,) they threw themſelves proſtrate on the ground, and mournfully deplored their indolence, and, as though there nerves had been cut, were not able to make their eſcape. And, from hence, may the ſurprizing power of God be known by any one, and the fortune of the *Romans*: For the tyrants were the only cauſe of diveſting themſelves of their ſecurity, having voluntarily abandoned the towers, which no human force in the world, and only famine, could have ſubdued. The *Romans*, who had ſuſtained ſo many hardſhips and difficulties in gaining walls much weaker than thoſe towers, had the fortune to win them, againſt which, all their engines were no proof: For the three towers, which we have took an opportunity to deſcribe above, were too firm to yield to the united force of all the enemy's engines.

In ſhort, having abandon'd theſe towers, or rather the will of God bringing a terrible dejection upon their ſpirits, they fled immediately into the valleys beneath *Siloa*: But their fears ſoon making them think of their miſtakes, they endeavour'd to ſeize on a fortreſs that was built there; but applying too little courage to the nature of the enterprize (for fear and hardſhip, and the joint calamity of the famine, had impair'd their ſtrength,) they were repuls'd by the guards, oblig'd to ſeparate, and ſeek refuge in the places under ground. The *Romans* thus having gain'd the walls, ſet up their ſtandards in the towers, and celebrated their victory wirh joyful ſhouts and acclamations, becauſe they had found the period of the war attended with leſs inconveniences than the beginning. Having mounted the laſt wall without ſpilling of blood, they could not believe their own conqueſt; and ſeeing no body offering to withſtand them, they were at a ſtand whither to turn themſelves. In the concluſion, they ſallied ſword in hand into the narrow ſtreets, and ſatisfied their deſires by putting to death all they apprehended, and laying in aſhes all the houſes, with thoſe who had taken refuge in them. As they were waſting ſeveral, which they enter'd for the ſake of making plunder, they found entire families of dead perſons, and houſes full of thoſe who had periſh'd by the famine. This ſight ſtruck them with horror, and made them come out again empty handed. The ſlain and dead were not only thoſe who moved their pity, but the living too gave 'em the ſame concern: However, reſentment baniſhing compaſſion, they put to the ſword every one they met, and ſtopp'd up the ſtreets with dead bodies: All the city ſtream'd with blood, and ſeveral places that were on fire were extinguiſh'd with the blood of the ſlain. Till night, the *Romans* continued the ſlaughter, when they ſheath'd their ſwords, but then the fire prevailed. *Hieroſolyma* was in a blaze on the eighth day of the month *Gorpicens*, and the ſiege expos'd it to ſo many cruel calamities as the good things it had received from its firſt foundations, wherewith, had it continued to flouriſh, it would moſt certainly have been envied; yet its vaſt unhappineſs was what it did not deſerve, only for the wretched offſpring it produced, who were the entire ruin of it.

CHAP. IX.

The commands Cæſar *gave when he made his entrance. The number of thoſe who were taken and ſlain. Of thoſe who took refuge in the places under ground, among whom were the tyrants* Simon *and* John.

WHEN *Titus* made his entrance into the city, among other things his ſurprize was increaſed at the ſtrong towers and fortifications of the place which the tyrants had ſtupidly abandoned. Then reflecting in his mind the ſolid height of each, the prodigious ſtones they were built with, and their exacteſt joinings together, both as to length and breadth, he broke out in theſe words: We have carried on this war, ſaid he, under the auſpicious protection of God; 'tis God alone who has taken away the *Jews* from thoſe ſtrong-holds; for of what ſervice and aſſiſtance are human means, and martial engines, againſt ſuch towers? And much more to the ſame purpoſe did *Titus* ſpeak then to his friends: He diſcharged thoſe from their confinement who had been thrown into priſon by order of the tyrants. Now he gave the ſad command to eradicate this other city, and pull down its walls, but left the towers as a ſtanding monument of his fortune, through whoſe proſperous aid he had made himſelf maſter of thoſe places which were not to be won by human force.

But though ſlaughter and ſpilling of blood had tired out the *Roman* ſoldiers, a vaſt multitude of inhabitants and others ſeemed ſtill to remain; upon which, *Cæſar* gave orders to put to the ſword thoſe only who appeared in arms, or offered to make reſiſtance; and to take the reſt priſoners alive. According to theſe orders, they went to put their ſwords in execution; but, beſides thoſe who were commanded to be ſlain, a great many old and weak perſons ſuffered at the ſame time: Thoſe of gayer and younger years, who were fit for ſervice, were forced into the temple, into the women's apartment, and there had one of *Cæſar's* freedmen ſet over to watch them, while *Fronto*, one of the emperor's friends, was commiſſioned to determine what he ſhould judge each ſeverally deſerved. In conſequence hereof, he put to death all the ſeditious and robbers who condemned one another by their own diſcoveries againſt one another; but reſerved, for a triumph, the beſt of the youth, and who were remarkable above the reſt for tallneſs and beauty. Thoſe who were above ſeventeen years of age, were ſent bound into *Ægypt*, to work in the mines there: But *Titus* diſtributed great numbers throughout the provinces, and many others to engage wild beaſts, and fight in the theaters. Thoſe who were under ſeventeen years of age, were ſold. And during the time *Fronto* was engaged in making the ſeparation among them, a matter of twelve thouſand periſhed through hunger, occaſioned by the hatred of the perſons ſet over to guard them, on one ſide, as having nothing to eat, and by their refuſing to take what was given them, on the other.

The number of all the captives made priſoners during the whole courſe of the war, amounted to fourſcore and ſeventeen thouſand: And thoſe that periſhed during the ſiege, were reckon'd at eleven hundred thouſand. The greater part whereof were of the ſame nation, but none of the ſame country. For thoſe who had aſſembled from all parts of the country to celebrate the feaſt of *Azymuth*, were, on the breaking out of the war, ſuddenly block'd up in the city; ſo that the narrowneſs of the place to contain ſuch a vaſt multitude, was firſt the cauſe of a peſtilence, and afterwards of a famine. And that the city was able to contain ſuch an infinite number, may be evinc'd from thoſe, an account of whom was taken under *Ceſtius*; who, deſiring to remit to *Nero*, who ever hated the *Jews*, an account of the perſons of full age within the city, ask'd the favour of the prieſt to number the people, if they could by any method. Accordingly, when the feaſt, call'd the paſſover, came, when they generally continue ſacrificing from the ninth to the eleventh hour, each victim having a number, never leſs than ten perſons aſſign'd to it, it being unlawful to feaſt alone, and ſometimes twenty are ſeen together at one victim; I ſay, at this feſtival there were reckon'd two hundred fifty-ſix thouſand, and five hundred ſacrifices. So that this computation, by taking in ten perſons to every victim, will amount to two millions, and ſeven hundred thouſand men, all ſound and whole: For neither could lepers, or thoſe who had a flux of ſeed, or women having their *menſes* upon them, nor perſons any other way polluted, partake of theſe ſacrifices, but even foreigners were prohibited, who came on account of religion.

This vaſt multitude flock'd hither from other places; but the whole nation ſeem'd at this time as though ſhut up in priſon by ſome unaccountable fatality; and the war inveſted the city quite cramm'd with people. In ſhort all the hardſhips brought upon the *Jews* by human force, nay, the peſtilence which God ſent among them, came far ſhort of the vaſt and almoſt incredible number of thoſe who periſh'd. Some of thoſe who ſhew'd themſelves were put to the ſword, others the *Romans* made priſoners; others, who conceal'd themſelves under ground, were narrowly ſearched after, and every one that firſt appear'd, were ſlain. Above two thouſand were found dead in theſe ſubterraneous places, ſome having put a period to their lives with their own hands; others by the wounds they gave one another, but more having periſh'd by famine. As the perſons enter'd theſe places, the dead carcaſſes threw a nauſeous ſmell into their noſtrils, which made ſeveral immediately retire back; but others, through coveteouſneſs, were hardy enough to go in and trample over the heaps of the dead; for ſeveral things of great value were found in theſe caverns, and every method of making advantage and ſpoil was thought honeſt and juſtifiable. Many, indeed, were brought out and ſet at liberty, who had been kept priſoners there by the tyrants; for even in their extremeſt difficulties, no part of their uſual cruelty and barbarity was lain aſide. But God inflicted a puniſhment on both, as each deſerved: For *John*, expoſed to the raging famine in company with his brothers in the caverns, ſuppliantly implored that protection from the *Romans* which he had ſo often deſpiſed. As for *Simon*, preſs'd hard with his enemies and hunger at the ſame time, as we ſhall have an opportunity to mention in the ſequel, he ſurrendered himſelf, and was reſerved for a triumph to his own deſtruction, while *John* was condemned to perpetual impriſonment. Mean time, the *Romans* ſet fire to corners of the city, and levell'd the walls with the ground.

CHAP. X.

How the city of Hieroſolyma, *after having been five times taken, was again ſack'd. A ſhort recapitulation of the hiſtory.*

THUS was the city of *Hieroſolyma* taken in the ſecond year of *Veſpaſian's* reign, on the eighth of the month *Gorpiens*. It had five times before been won, and happened now again to ſuffer the like, nay, a worſe fate. *Aſochæus*, king of the *Ægyptians*, *Antiochus*, after him, then *Pompey*, and, after all theſe, *Soſſius* and *Herod*, took and poſſeſs'd it: But, prior to theſe, was the conqueſt the *Babylonian* king made of it: He beſieged and waſted it thirteen hundred ſixty eight years, and ſix months, from its firſt foundation. The firſt founder was a prince of *Chanonæans*, who was ſtilled, in the language of the country, The *Juſt King*. This appellation well ſuit with his character: For this reaſon he was the firſt who officiated in the office of prieſt of God: And being the firſt that built the temple, he gave the name of *Hieroſolyma* to the city, which was called *Solyma* before. *David*, king of the *Jews*, after he had driven the *Chanameans* out of it, gave it to his own people to inhabit; and the *Babylonians* ſack'd it four hundred ſixty ſeven years, and ſix months, after his days. Now from the time of king *David*, who was the firſt of the *Jews* that reigned in it, to the deſtruction of it accompliſhed under *Titus*, are eleven hundred ſeventy nine years. And from the firſt foundation to the final deſtruction of it, are two thouſand one hundred and ſeventy ſeven years. But neither its antiquity, nor its vaſt riches, neither the character of the nation which was ſpread over all the world, nor the grand fame of its religious worſhip, were ſufficient to avert in the leaſt its deſtruction.

And this is the end of the ſiege of *Hieroſolyma*.

The End of the SIXTH BOOK.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
OF THE
JEWISH WAR;
OR THE
JEWISH HISTORY of the FALL.

BOOK VII.

CHAP. I.

All the city of Hieroſolyma *is laid in ruins, except three towers. How* Titus *gave great commendations to his men in an harangue directed to them. How he diſtributed rewards to them, and diſbanded many.*

AFTER that the army had neither enemies left to kill, or things remaining to make plunder of, every thing being taken away from their enraged minds (for they ſtill would have exerciſed the right of war, had there been materials for it,) *Cæſar* commanded them to level with the ground both all the city and the temple, preſerving only the towers of *Phaſael*, *Heppicus*, and *Mariamne*, which carried the pre-eminence above the reſt, and that part of the wall which ſurrounded the city to the weſt; the latter for the benefit of encamping thoſe men which he deſign'd to leave in garriſon there, and the towers, to acquaint poſterity what kind of city, and how defenced, the *Roman* valour had conquered. They who were ſet about levelling the city, made all the reſt ſo flat with the ground, that perſons coming thither would hardly have believed it had ever been inhabited. Now this was the ſad period of *Hieroſolyma*, a city of vaſt ſplendor, and of the greateſt reputation among mankind, wholly owing its fatal deſtruction to the frenzy and madneſs of thoſe who put things into confuſion.

Cæſar was determined to leave the tenth legion ſome troops of horſe, and companies of foot, in garriſon there. And having thus brought to a concluſion all the part of this war, he was deſirous to commend all his army for their fine actions and performances, and reward the valiant with gifts and preſents, according to their merit. Accordingly, having order'd a large tribunal to be erected in the middle of the place where his firſt camp ſtood, he mounted it, with his generals, and officers, of greateſt note, about him, and then deliver'd himſelf, when he found he could be heard by his whole army, in the following words: *That he returned them infinite thanks, for continuing in their duty and loyalty to him. He praiſed them for faithfully executing his orders during the whole courſe of the war, and that with the greateſt valour in the worſt and extremeſt dangers; which had extended the empire of their country, and given all mankind full demonſtration that neither the multitude of an enemy, neither the ſtrong-holds and fortifications of countries, neither the magnitude of cities, neither the raſh and impetuous boldneſs of adverſaries, neither their barbarous cruelty, were able to break the force of the ſuperior* Romans, *though ſome had the indulgence of fortune aſſiſting them in many particulars. He told them, it was glorious and honourable to put a period to a war which had been of ſo long continuance. Neither could he wiſh them any better ſucceſs, when they made their entry. But that this one article was more glorious and honourable than the reſt, that they had joyfully ſubmitted themſelves to thoſe generals and adminiſtrators of the* Roman *empire which themſelves had made, and diſpatched before into their country; and that* *peaceably received their orders and commands, accounting it their duty to pleaſe thoſe who had been elected to rule over them.*

That he admired and loved them all, as being fully convinced every one had ſhewed themſelves ready for the attack as ſoon as it could be done. And that he would immediately confer preſents and honours upon thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by ſuperior might in battle, or honoured their lives by the atchievement of valiant deeds; for none, who had beſtowed extraordinary pains in the engagement, ſhould go without a reward due to his valour and merit. And that it was his chiefeſt care and ambition, to ſhew himſelf always more ready to reward the courage of his fellow ſoldiers with gifts and honours, than to inflict puniſhment upon the tardy and guilty.

So ſaid, he ordered thoſe who were commiſſion'd to that purpoſe, to give him the names of ſuch as had behaved gallantly in the war. And, accordingly, calling them by their ſeveral names, he commended them extremely when they came before him, protesting the gladneſs and ſatisfaction their native courage, and valiant actions, gave him: After which, he placed crowns of gold upon their heads, preſented them with gold chains, and long gold ſpears, and ſtandards made of ſilver, and changed the poſts they enjoyed in the army, to higher and better. Nor was this all: He diſtributed to them large preſents out of the ſpoils, as gold, ſilver, garments, and other things gained in plundering. And thus he rewarded every one, according as each deſerv'd, and merit claim'd: After which, he came down from the tribunal, having firſt wiſh'd all bleſſings on the whole army, amidſt the united and unanimous ſhouts and acclamations of his ſoldiers, and went to offer ſacrifice for the victory; and after he had procur'd a great number of bullocks, he ſlew them all afterwards upon altars appointed for that purpoſe, and gave them among his army to feaſt themſelves. And during three days he himſelf continu'd feaſting with them, after which he diſcharg'd the reſt of his men to go whereſoever they pleas'd: But the tenth legion was order'd into garriſon at *Hieroſolyma*, and not to go back to *Euphrates*, where it had been quartered before. As for the twelfth legion, which he ſtill remember'd to have been foil'd by the *Jews* under the command of *Ceſtius*, he ſent every man in it out of *Syria* (for *Raphaneæ* was the place of its former quarters,) to a place called *Melitene*, ſtanding on the *Euphrates* in the confines of *Armenia* and *Cappadocia*. While he was pleaſed to keep the fifth and fifteenth about his own perſon, till he arrived in *Ægypt*. And after he was marched down with his army to *Cæſarea*, he laid up there the reſt of the ſpoil taken at *Hieroſolyma*, and gave orders to have a ſtrict guard and watch over the captives. For the winter ſeaſon hindered him from ſailing into *Italy*.

CHAP II.

Titus *exhibits various ſhows at* Cæſarea Philippi. *Of* Simon *the tyrant; how he was taken and kept for a triumph.*

WHILE *Titus Cæſar* was buſied in carrying on the ſiege of *Hieroſolyma*, *Veſpaſian* embark'd on board a ſhip of burthen, and croſs'd over to *Rhodes* from *Alexandria*; from whence ſailing in a trireme, after he had made a viſit to all the cities in his voyage, which received him with congratulation and honour, he paſs'd out of *Ionia* into *Greece*, and from thence weighing anchor at *Corcyra*, he ſtruck upon the promontory of *Japygia*, from whence he took his journey by land. *Titus*, in the mean while, marched from *Cæſaria* on the ſea-coaſt, and came to the other *Cæſaria*, which is called *Philippi*, where he took up his ſtay ſome time in the repreſentation of all kinds of ſports and ſhows: During which, abundance of priſoners were expoſed in them, and loſt their lives; others forced to encounter wild beaſts, and others to combat in companies between themſelves. And it was here that *Titus* catch'd *Simon*, the ſon of *Gioras*, who was taken in the following manner: During the ſiege of *Hieroſolyma*, this *Simon* reſided in the higher city, but when once the *Roman* army was got within the walls, and had laid waſte all the city, he took thoſe of his friends he could moſt confide in, ſeveral ſtone-cutters, materials neceſſary for their buſineſs, and a ſufficient ſtock of proviſions to hold out many days, and then let himſelf, friends and all together, down into a dark cavern, through which, ſo far as the old paſſage under ground would let them, they paſs'd. But chancing to come againſt firm and ſolid ground, they digged through it, hoping if they got any farther, they ſhould arrive to a place of ſafety, and ſo preſerve themſelves. But the trial of the undertaking proved the hopes, they had formed, groundleſs: For the perſons employed in making the paſſage had proceeded but a little way, before their ſtock of proviſions, which they uſed ſparingly, began to fail them. Upon this, *Simon*, as though he could deceive the *Romans* by terrifying them, dreſſed himſelf in a white tunic and purple ſurcoat, and in that guiſe popp'd out of the ground in the very place where the temple had long ſtood. They who ſaw him, were, at firſt, in ſome ſurprize, and kept ſtill in their poſts, but ſoon afterwards drawing nearer, they ask'd who he was. *Simon* made no anſwer to this queſtion but bade them call him captain. Upon which, they preſently ran to him, and, among the reſt, *Terentius Rufus*, who had been left commander of the garriſon; who, after he had received a true and faithful account of ſuch queſtions as he put to him, put him in chains, and kept him confined, and then ſent word to *Cæſar* of the manner of his being apprehended.

prehended. Thus was *Simon* given up by God into the hands of his bittereſt enemies, to attone for all the cruelties he had committed on the citizens, over whom he had ſhewn himſelf a mercileſs tyrant. 'Tis true, he was not taken by compulſive means, but he voluntarily threw himſelf upon his puniſhment, for having put ſo many cruelly to death, through a falſe charge of revolting to the *Romans*. Now 'tis indiſputable that wickedneſs and villainy can ever pretend to avoid an incens'd God; and 'tis ſure, that his juſtice can never be baffled: On the other hand, the Almighty, one time or other, revenges his diſhonour on thoſe who tranſgreſs in theſe articles, and terribly enforces his puniſhments on wicked men, who believe themſelves out of the reach of his avenging arm, becauſe their crimes are not rewarded with an immediate puniſhment. This was what *Simon* fatally experienc'd after he fell among the incens'd *Romans:* For his ſudden coming from under ground, was made the cauſe of finding a vaſt number of the reſt of the ſeditious in their lurking holes. Mean time, *Simon* was carried bound in chains to *Cæſar*, who was now return'd to *Cæſarea* on the ſea-coaſt, being order'd by him to be kept for his triumph, which he was preparing to make at *Rome*.

CHAP. III.

Titus *takes a great number of* Jews *off as he celebrates the birth-days of his father and brother. The* Jews *at* Antioch *are expoſed to danger from* Antiochus Judæus, *who baſely infringed the laws.*

WHILE he reſided here, he ſolemniz'd the birth day of his brother in a very ſplendid manner, attributing, as part of the honour he ſhew'd him, a great number of *Jews* to be made ſacrifices of. Now the number amounted to upwards of two thouſand and five hundred of thoſe who were forc'd to encounter with wild beaſts, or expos'd to the flames, or who periſh'd by fighting with one another; yet theſe cruelties, though inflicted after a thouſand different ways, were look'd on by the *Romans* as too ſmall a puniſhment to that which they juſtly deſerv'd. When *Cæſar* was come to *Barylus* (which is a city of *Phœnicia*, and a *Roman* colony,) he ſtay'd there ſome time, and celebrated his father's birth-day with more than ordinary pomp, both with reſpect to the magnificence of the ſights, and the ſurprizing expence laid out in new entertainments. And during this ſolemnity abundance of *Jews* were conſum'd, as had been done before.

Much about this time, the *Jews*, who remain'd at *Antioch*, happen'd to be involv'd in ſeveral accuſations laid againſt them, and even expos'd to the hazard of their ruin, by means of the citizens of *Antioch*, who ſhew'd themſelves now their profeſs'd enemies on two accounts: The firſt, for ſeveral falſhoods ſet on foot againſt them at this conjuncture; and the other for what had been ſome little time before tranſacted. Concerning which, I think my ſelf under a neceſſity to premiſe ſomething, in order to let my reader into an eaſier underſtanding of ſuch points as were afterwards manag'd.

Now a great part of the *Jewiſh* nation was diſpers'd among the natives of the different countries of the world; but *Syria*, by reaſon of its near neighbourhood, had the greateſt ſhare, eſpecially *Antioch*, whither the largeneſs of the city, and chiefly the liberty of dwelling therein granted by the ſucceſſors of *Antiochus*, had drawn vaſt numbers: For *Antiochus*, ſurnamed *Epiphanes*, rifled the temple, after he had ſack'd *Hieroſolyma*, but thoſe who enjoy'd the kingdom after him, gave back to the *Jews*, living at *Antioch*, all the braſs donations which had been taking out of the temple, to be laid up in their ſynagogue, and allow'd them at the ſame time an equal ſhare of the city in conjunction with the *Greeks*. The ſame favour they found from the kings who reign'd afterwards over them; by which indulgence their number vaſtly increas'd, and the temple was enrich'd with all manner of ſplendid gifts and ornaments. But this was not all: They drew abundance of *Greeks* to embrace their religion, whom, in ſome ſort, they made the abettors of their party: But when the war was proclaim'd, and *Veſpaſian* juſt arriv'd in *Syria*, and all the *Jews* involv'd in an univerſal hatred, then one among them nam'd *Antiochus*, who was in great repute for his father's ſake (for he was the chief of the *Jews* within the city,) having ſummon'd together the people, ſtepp'd into the theater, and there accus'd his father and others, pretending they had determin'd one night to ſet all the city on fire: And having ſo ſaid, he ſurrender'd up to them ſome foreign *Jews*, as being privy to the conſpiracy. When the people were acquainted with this horrid news, they were not able to reſtrain their anger, but order'd thoſe, who had been delivered up to 'em, to be burnt, and immediately all in the theater were laid in aſhes. But this did not ſuffice: They haſtened to fall upon the reſt of the *Jews*, concluding, the preſervation of their city depended upon putting them quickly to death. But all this while *Antiochus* was endeavouring to raiſe up their reſentment to a greater pitch; believing he ſhould give a clear proof of the alteration of his religion, and his hatred to the *Jewiſh* cuſtoms, provided he ſacrificed after the *Grecian* manner. Conſequent to which, he ordered the people to oblige the reſt to the ſame things, inſinuating, that thoſe who refuſed would appear enemies and traitors in the ſtrongeſt light. On the citizens of *Antioch* endeavouring to put this ſtratagem to the trial, a few indeed, came into it, and thoſe were put to death who refuſed or rejected the offer. But when *Antiochus* had obtained a body of forces from the *Roman* governor, he harraſſed thoſe citizens who were under his command in a barbarous and villainous manner, not only depriving them of the ſolemn right of deſiſting from their labours on the ſeventh day, but compelling them to do all thoſe things which they generally tranſacted on other days; nay, by his immoderate power he brought them to ſo cruel a neceſſity, that the ſolemnization of the ſabbath at *Antioch* was not only ſet aſide, but other cities were neceſſitated to do the like for a ſhort time.

While the *Jews* at *Antioch* were expoſed to theſe cruel hardſhips, another calamity fell upon them, which, as we have made it our deſign to treat of, we have given an Account in the ſequel. Now it happened that the market-place of the city, which was a ſquare, the court, halls, regiſters and palaces were burnt; nay, it ſeems, the fire had likely to have over-run the whole city, and laid it in aſhes; ſo powerful was it, and ſo difficult to extinguiſh it. *Antiochus* charged the *Jews* with the thing; whereupon, the men of *Antioch*, who were ſufficiently enraged againſt the *Jews* already, were eaſily ſet againſt them now, from the late fire by means of *Antiochus*, who ſuppoſed his words would obtain greater credit from what had been already done, as though they had only wanted eyes to have ſeen the *Jews* raiſe ſo dreadful a fire. In ſhort, as if puſhed on by ſome fury, they, with one accord, and with a terrible violence, fell upon the accuſed *Jews*. Their force was ſuch, that *Cæus Collega*, an ambaſſador, had much a-do to put a ſtop to their meaſures, by deſiring to have the affair referred to *Cæſar*. It ſeems *Veſpaſian* had ſent *Cæſennnius Pætus*, governor of *Syria*, to him; but it happened that he was not arrived. *Collega*, indeed, having made diligent enquiry into the affair, came to the bottom of it, and found that none of the *Jews*, accuſed by *Antiochus*, had had any hand in it, but that the authors of the villainy were a pack of neceſſitous men in debt, who ſuppoſed to ſcreen themſelves from being arreſted, provided they burnt courts and places where the public records were kept. All this while the *Jews* were in the greateſt fear imaginable, ſtill expecting ſome fatal conſequence or other from the accuſations that threatened them.

CHAP. IV.

Of the manner Rome *received* Veſpaſian. *How the* Germans *were again reduced to the* Roman *obedience after they had revolted, and the* Samaritans, *after their incurſion into* Myſia, *forced to return home.*

MEAN while, *Titus Cæſar* received a meſſenger from his father, who brought him very agreeable news, that all the cities in *Italy* had gratefully and willingly entertained him, but chiefly *Rome*, which had ſhewn him extraordinary honour and reſpect. This meſſage filled the emperor's ſoul with a tide of gladneſs and pleaſure, and agreeably relieved him from the concern he had had about him. All people throughout *Italy*, had *Veſpaſian* in their thoughts, as though he had been coming when he was at a great diſtance from them; and their extraordinary deſire to ſee his perſon, made them take the expectation of him for his arrival: Nay, they ſhewed ſignal marks of reſpect to him, when they laid under no manner of neceſſity for it. For the ſenate keeping ſtill freſh in remembrance the trouble and ills they had ſuſtained from the reſtleſs temper of their princes, long'd to receive an emperor, advanced in years, and crowned with immortal honour for the glorious deeds he had performed, which they knew was the only thing to ſecure the welfare of the *Roman* ſubjects. But, beſides this, the people, who had been ſufficiently harraſſed with inteſtine broils, were by ſo much the more eager for his coming, as they concluded they ſhould obtain a ſure deliverance from their misfortunes, and perſuaded themſelves their ſecurity would be attended by an opulence of other things. But chiefly, the army had their eyes turn'd upon him, as they were the perſons who knew tho greatneſs of the campaigns which had been glorioſly finiſh'd under his conduct. They had experienced the ignorance, incapacity, and indolence of other officers, and wanted extremely to be rid of the ſhame: But *Veſpaſian* was look'd upon as the only man able both to ſave and honour them, and all their wiſhes were to have him among them. When thoſe, who were more dignified, perceived this univerſal eſteem for the emperor, they concluded it was no longer time for them to wait expecting his arrival, but went a conſiderable way out of *Rome* to meet him. Yet this did not hinder others from doing the like, who could not endure thinking to ſtay behind; but all flock'd out together, and every one made it plainly appear, that their deſires were vaſtly more to go than remain at home: So that this may be juſtly ſaid to be the firſt time that the city ſaw ſo pleaſing an unreſort in it. For they who went to meet the emperor were conſiderably more than thoſe who remained behind. When news was told them that he was but at a ſmall diſtance, and thoſe who went before had acquainted them with his civil and courteous deportment to all he met, then all the company, with their wives and children, rank'd themſelves on either ſide of the road to receive him, and every party, as he paſs'd by, glad and well pleas'd with getting a ſight of him, ſpoke evety thing in his commendation, calling him their benefactor, and preſerver, and the only man who deſerv'd the *Roman* empire. All the city, on this occaſion, might be compar'd par'd to a temple, being full of garlands and perfumes. But after he was got to the palace, which was done with exceeding difficulty, by reaſon of the throngs of people round him, he offer'd up to his houſhold gods gratulatory ſacrifices for his ſafe arrival. The people immediately, by their tribes, families, and neighbourhoods, fell to feaſting, pouring out libations to God, with hearty wiſhes that *Veſpaſian* might enjoy length of years, and preſerve the empire, and that his ſons, and their poſterity, might live to enjoy the empire on ſo firm a foundation, as that no force might be able to over-turn it. And this was the feſtivity and alacrity the *Roman* city receiv'd *Veſpaſian* with, after which, it ſoon began to feel a tide of extraordinary felicity roll upon it.

While *Titus* was carrying on the ſiege at *Hieroſolyma*, before the time that *Veſpaſian* went to *Alexandria* a great part of the *Germans* revolted, being follow'd at the ſame time by the *Gauls*, their neighbours in the confederacy, who hop'd by ſuch a powerful union to ſhake off their obedience to the *Romans*. It ſeems the *Germans* had two reaſons to make this defection, and proclaim war againſt their maſters; the firſt being grounded on nature itſelf, deſtitute of ſound advice, and hurrying on, with a ſmall glimpſe of hope to make trial; the other was built on their hatred to thoſe who governed them, becauſe they knew themſelves and their nation were made ſlaves to the *Romans* only by compulſive means. But what gave them the greateſt confidence, was, the ſeaſonableneſs of the time they had revolted in. For ſeeing the *Roman* empire diſtracted and torn in pieces by ſeditious and civil troubles, occaſion'd by the frequent changes of their emperors, and hearing that all the countries under their dominions were in a tottering and precarious ſtate, they judg'd the ſeaſon the beſt in the world, as theſe troubles concurr'd at this time to favour their deſign. Now they who were the main promoters of this rebellion, and had led them on with hopes of liberty, were one *Claſſicus* and *Vitellius*, two of their commanders, who had but too fully prov'd their deſire ſome time before of doing this, which was now confirm'd by the opportunity they had taken to put their views in execution, and make trial of their ſcheme with the multitude, who ſeem'd fond to embrace it. But while great part of the *Germans* were daily revolting, and the others inclin'd to the ſame end, *Veſpaſian*, as though mov'd to it by ſome divine providence, wrote a letter to *Petilius Cerealis*, who had been governor of *Germany* before, wherein he declared him conſul, with orders to paſs over into *Britain*, and take upon him the government of that Iſland. But as he was preparing to go to the place appointed him, he received news of the *German* revolt; whereupon, he fell vigourouſly with his army upon them, as they were then aſſembled together, and ſlew a conſiderable number in the battle, thereby forcing them to throw down their arms and acknowledge a better ſenſe of their duty. But now ſuppoſing that *Cerealis* had not arrived time enough in the *German* quarters, this would not have ſecured them, for they were doomed to be chaſtis'd in a little ſpace afterwards: For as ſoon as the firſt news of the defection came to be told at *Rome*, *Domitian Cæſar*, on the report, did not like the other *Domitian* (for he was very young), raiſe ſcruples about proceeding on ſo weighty an undertaking: But ſharing the inborn courage of his father, and being, more than became his years, trained up to the exerciſe of arms, he march'd directly againſt the *Barbarians*; who, terrified at the report of the *Roman* incurſion, ſubmitted themſelves through fear: By which act, they procured this advantage, which was the greateſt, namely, that they were reduced to their former obedience without ſpilling of blood, or any other hardſhip. In fine, *Domitian* having put all things about *Gaul* into ſuch a ſtate of quiet as became him, and which ſeemingly were not eaſily to be put again into confuſion, return'd to *Rome* with ſplendor and renown, having atchieved a glorious train of actions ſuperior to his years, but what ſquared finely with the glory of his father.

Juſt at the ſame time as the *German* revolt, above-mention'd, happen'd to fall out, news was brought to *Rome* of a *Scythian* invaſion. For thoſe *Scythians* who had the appellation of *Samaritans*, to a great number, privately paſs'd over the *Iſther* into *Myſia*; after which, with a prodigious force, (their coming being not ſo much as dreamt of) they fell upon the *Romans*, and ſlew a great number of thoſe they found in the garriſons; and *Fontejus Agrippa*, who went out to give them battle, loſt his life in bravely defending himſelf: After which, they made inroads into all the ſubject country, ravaging and waſting every thing they fell upon. *Veſpaſian* coming to hear of theſe proceedings, and the havock made in *Myſia*, ſent *Rubrius Gallus* to puniſh the rebellious *Samaritans*, who, in ſeveral encounters, put many of them to the ſword: But thoſe who had the fortune to eſcape his arms, were ſtruck with fear, and return'd home. When *Rubrius* had put a period to this war, he took meaſures to ſecure the quiet of the country for the time to come. For he put ſtronger and more garriſons into the places about the *Iſther*, ſo that the *Barbarians* were effectually ſtopp'd from paſſing over. And thus was the *Myſian* war ſoon determin'd.

CHAP. IX.

Of the river Sabbaticus, *which* Titus *ſaw as he march'd into* Syria. *How the people of* Antioch *preferr'd a petition to* Titus *againſt the* Jews, *were rejected. Of the triumph of* Titus *and* Veſpaſian.

TITUS CÆSAR took up his abode at *Berylus* for ſome time, as we have obſerved above, but he went from hence, and, thro' all the cities of *Syria* which he paſs'd, exhibited ſhows of vaſt magnificence, and made uſe of the captive *Jews* in theſe ſpectacles, to diſcover their own deſtruction. Now in his journey he chanc'd to eſpy a river, the nature of which deſerves a place in our hiſtory. It runs in the midſt between *Arnea*, a city belonging to king *Agrippa*, and the *Raphanæ*, and has a wonderful property; for when it flows it has a full channel, and its ſtream is pretty briſk and rapid, but afterwards its ſprings dry up, and for ſix days it appears without any water at all; and then, as if it had ſuffer'd no mutation at all, flows on the ſeventh day as it did before: Which order it is obſerv'd to purſue exactly at all times. From whence it derives its name of *Sabbaticus*, being ſo called from the ſolemn feſtival celebrated by the *Jews* on the ſeventh day.

Now as ſoon as the people of *Antioch* heard that *Titus* was near this city, they were not able, through exceſs of Joy, to confine themſelves within the walls of the town, but haſtened to get out and meet him; and ſo eager was their deſire to ſee him, that they went a matter of thirty furlongs, and more, out of the city accompanied all the way with their wives and children. When they drew near and ſaw him they poſted themſelves on both ſides of the road, and ſaluted him with ſtretch'd-out arms, at the ſame time pronouncing all manner of kind wiſhes upon him; after which, they return'd with him. Nothing now was to be heard but prayers and acclamations, of wiſhes for driving away the *Jews* out of the city. But *Titus* gave little regard to their ſollicitations, and heard their petitions with a cool and quiet temper. However, the *Jews* were at a loſs to know his ſentiments, or how he intended to deal with them, and conſequently were in the greateſt fear and doubt imaginable. But *Titus* did not ſtay at *Antioch*; he preſently march'd to *Zenguia*, a city ſtanding on the *Euphrates*, where he was receiv'd by the ambaſſadors of *Vologeſus*, king of the *Parthians*, who preſented him with a crown of gold, and were come to congratulate him on his *Jewiſh* victory. After he had receiv'd the preſent, he entertain'd them in a magnificent manner, and then returned back to *Antioch*, where the ſenate and inhabitants of the town begg'd him in an extreme manner to come and viſit their theatre, where a vaſt multitude of perſons were aſſembled to ſee him. And, accordingly, he generouſly complied with their deſires. Here they began again to be exceedingly importunate and ſollicitous about having the *Jews* expell'd their city; whereupon, he made them this notable anſwer, *That the city, whither the* Jews *ought to go back to, was overthrown, and conſequently they had no place to receive them.* When the men of *Antioch* found themſelves diſappointed of their firſt petition, they had recourſe then to another. They begg'd he would be pleas'd to take away the tables of braſs, whereon the *Jewiſh* laws were inſcrib'd. But *Titus* refus'd to comply with this requeſt: On the contrary, leaving them at full liberty to enjoy all they had before in the country, he departed for *Ægypt*. When he was come to *Hieroſolyma* in his journey, and had made a compariſon between the miſerable havock made in the place, and the antient ſplendor it bore, when he had pauſed a while on the exceeding greatneſs of the works that had been thrown down, and the beauty of the city, he could not refrain from ſhewing compaſſion to the melancholy downfal of ſo renowned a city: He ſhew'd himſelf not like another who probably would have expreſs'd his joy, for having ſubdu'd ſo famous and ſo great a city: On the contrary, he ſeveral times denounc'd curſes on the authors of the revolt, and on thoſe who had been the cauſe of bringing ſo heavy a puniſhment upon the city, making it clearly appear to the world, that his intentions were far from purchaſing honour at the expence of hardſhips and calamities inflicted on the *Jews*. A great part of the riches of this vaſt city was found in the ruins: For the *Romans* dug out a great deal, but more, namely, of gold and ſilver, and other valuable things, which the owners had conceal'd in the ground through the uncertainty of the war, were taken away by the diſcoveries the captive *Jews* made.

In the mean while *Titus* purſu'd his propoſed journey to *Ægypt*, and, having travelled over the deſart with wonderful expedition, arriv'd at *Alexandria*; and having determin'd to take ſhipping for *Italy*, he ſent back the two legions, that accompanied him, to their old quarters, the fifty into *Myſia*, and the fifteenth into *Pannonia*. As for *Simon* and *John*, the leaders of the captives, and about ſeven hundred others, whom he had pick'd out for their fine perſons and tallneſs, theſe he order'd immediately to be tranſported into *Italy*, to grace and adorn his triumph. Having perform'd his voyage to his own wiſhes, the city of *Rome* was equally deſirous of receiving him, and, accordingly, went out in proceſſion to meet him, as it had done for his father. What gave *Titus* an extreme advantage in point of honour and greatneſs, was his father's meeting and receiving him. And the vaſt crowds of citizens had a kind of divine joy diffus'd over their minds, when they ſaw the three met together in one place. A few days after, they determin'd to perform a triumph, in common to all three, for the famous actions each had atchieved, although the ſenate had decreed one to each. And when the day was fix'd for celebrating the magnificent pomp of this victory, not one, ſcarce, out of ſuch an infinite number of citizens, ſtay'd at home; but all, without diſtinction, went out, and ſeiz'd upon ſo much ground as they could well ſtand on, to ſee the ſight, leaving only a ſufficent ſpace for the emperors to walk in.

All the ſoldiers the night before were diſpoſed into their troops and companies under their ſeveral officers: They march'd, and were poſted about the gates, not of the higher palace, but of the temple of *Iſis* (for there the emperors lodg'd that night). As ſoon as it was day, *Veſpaſian* and *Titus* came out, having crowns of laurel on their head, and were clad in purple robes. They proceeded to the walks of *Octavia*, where the ſenate, chief magiſtrates, and equites, waited for them. There was a tribunal erected before the portico's, and ſeats of ivory plac'd therein, which they mounted, and then ſat down in them. All the ſoldiers, upon this, immediately rais'd a ſhout, lifting to the skies their heroick actions, and valiant deeds. They were without their arms, had the ſeric garment on, and were crown'd with laurel. *Veſpaſian* joyſully receiv'd their fond acclamations, and when he found them ſtill deſirous of expreſſing their gladneſs, he made a ſignal for them to be ſtill. Upon which, every one preſerving a profound ſilence, he roſe up, and, throwing his garment over the greater part of his head, he made a ſolemn prayer, which *Titus* follow'd. As ſoon as this ceremony was over, *Veſpaſian* accoſted every one in a few words, and then diſmiſs'd the army to a banquet cuſtomarily done, and prepared by the emperors; while himſelf return'd to the gate, which has its name from that, namely, becauſe the pompous ſcene of triumphs is always conducted through it. There the emperors feaſted, clad in their triumphal robes; after which, ſacrifices were offer'd to the gods plac'd at the gate; and then, paſſing through the theatres, they perform'd the triumph, to give the concourſe of people aſſembled an eaſier opportunity of beholding the ſight.

The dignity of this triumph was ſuch, that it it next to impoſſible to give a juſt account of the vaſt number of ſights exhibited in it, and the ſplendor and magnificence of each, whether the curious workmanſhip, the parts of the riches about them, or the rarities of their nature, be conſider'd. For all thoſe things, in a manner, which men think themſelves happy in, one after another, and every one wonderful and magnificent, were this day exhibited to ſhew the magnitude of the *Roman* empire. There was gold, ſilver, and ivory faſhion'd into all ſhapes, and in all manner of workmanſhip; nor were they produc'd or ſeen, as in other triumphs, but a prodigious plenty was obſerv'd of them in every thing; if I may be allow'd the expreſſion. Beſides theſe, there were ſeen rich garments made of the fineſt purple, and ſome diſtinguiſh'd with the moſt delicate flowers, after the *Babylonian* art: Gems, too, were in abundance, ſome ſet in crowns of gold, others fix'd in other curious pieces of workmanſhip, the number whereof that was produc'd, was ſo large, that it might be very well ſaid it was to no purpoſe to call any of them rare. Moreover, the ſtatues of the Gods were borne in proceſſion, of ſurprizing bigneſs, and excellent workmanſhip, every one being made of the beſt and choiceſt matter. Add to theſe, animals of a ſtrange kind were exhibited, and every one adorned in its proper habiliments. Beſides, ſeveral men were hired to carry each of theſe particulars, all dreſs'd in purple garments and lac'd with gold; but thoſe who were decreed to make up the pomp were ſignaliz'd in a wonderful manner, and adorn'd in all the magnificence imaginable: Neither were any of the captives ſeen undiſtinguiſh'd; but the variety of their cloaths and their beauty, quite took away the deformity which their weary bodies might give them. But what was the moſt ſurprizing was the vaſt preparation of pageants that were borne along: For their exceeding greatneſs, with regard to thoſe who carried them, made every one who ſaw them tremble through fear of their falling: For ſome were rais'd to three ſtories high, nay, four; and the magnificence of the workmanſhip created at one and the ſame time, both wonder and terror. Many of them were adorn'd with coſtly cloths richly embroider'd with gold, and abundance of ſilver and ivory work as wrought on each. Several gave the perfect reſemblance of wars and battles, ſeparated in beautiful diviſions, finely imitated. On ſome was to be ſeen the happieſt country made waſte, and whole armies of enemies put to the ſword, ſome flying, others made priſoners; walls, famous for their greatneſs, overturn'd; the fortifications of caſtles tumbled down, the walls of populous cities on high mountains overcome, armies let within the walls, every place full of ſlaughter and bloodſhed, enemies unable to make reſiſtance pitifully imploring for their lives, temples ſet on fire, houſes tumbling upon the heads of their owners, and rivers, after a great and mournful deſolation, let into uncultivated grounds, fit for neither man nor beaſt to drink, but diffuſing through a land all on a blaze. Theſe particulars are what the *Jews* had ſuſtain'd in war, and the art and magnificence of the pageants repreſented the actions that had been perform'd to thoſe who knew nothing of them, as if they had been really preſent: For every pageant exhibited the governor of the taken city, in the poſture he was apprehended. Beſides, the appearance of a fleet of ſhips follow'd after. Then was exhibited the ſpoil and plunder. But what made a larger appearance than all the reſt, were the things taken out of the temple at *Hieroſolyma*: The golden table, which weigh'd ſeveral talents, and the candleſtick, which was likewiſe made of gold, but differently faſhion'd to that which we us'd: For the middle of the ſtem had a baſe fix'd to it, from whence roſe out ſmall branches, plac'd in the ſhape of a three-fork'd ſpear, at the top of each of which was a candleſtick made. Now the number of theſe were ſeven; for the number ſeven denotes honour among the *Jews*; and after theſe came up the *Jewiſh* law, which was borne, being the laſt of the ſpoils: And then appeared ſeveral bearing the repreſentations of battles and victories, all finely wrought in gold and ivory; next to which, *Veſpaſian* appeared on horſeback, followed by his ſon *Titus*; and *Domitian* rode in company with them gorgeouſly apparell'd, and plac'd on a beautiful horſe.

The end of the triumphal pomp was at the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, where, when they arrived, they halted; for it was an old cuſtom of the country to ſtay there a while, till ſome body came and told the death of the general of the enemy. This was *Simon*, the ſon of *Gioras*, who was led into pomp hence among the captives, and dragged by a rope into the place that over-look'd the forum, being ſcourged all the way by thoſe who led him. It ſeems the *Romans* have a law to put thoſe to death there who have been condemned for their crimes. Now as ſoon as news of his death was brought, every one, with an unanimous voice, made loud acclamations, and immediately began to offer ſacrifice; after the performance whereof, and having made their ſupplications, they returned back to the palace, where a grand entertainment was prepared for ſome, while all the reſt feaſted themſelves at their own houſes magnificently. And this day was thus celebrated by the *Roman* city, for the victory they had obtained in the expedition againſt their enemies, and for a period put to their civil diſtractions, and for the beginning of their future happineſs and peace.

After *Veſpaſian* had finiſhed his triumphs, and put the *Roman* empire on a firm foundation, he determined to build a temple to *Peace*, which he did in a ſhort time, and much handſomer and better than was generally thought: For abundance of coſt and riches were plentifully laid out for this end, all manner of ancient rarities, and a great many beautiful pictures and ſtatues being procured to ſet it off. Beſides, this temple contained all thoſe extraordinary things in their kinds which men, thro' a deſire of ſeeing, had travelled all over the known world to behold, being ſet on fire to ſee how other people placed them to advantage. For *Veſpaſian* had ſet up here the veſſels and inſtruments of gold taken out of the temple of the *Jews*, wherein he took vaſt pride and delight, but commanded the ſacred law, and the purple veils of the tabernacle, to be repoſited in the palace.

CHAP VI.

Of Machæro, *and how* Lucilius Baſſus *took it, and other places.*

MEAN while, *Lucilius Baſſus* was ſent general into *Judæa*, with an army which he had received from *Cerealis Vitellianus*. He took the caſtle *Herodion*, and forced the garriſon to ſurrender; and having collected together all his forces (for they were ſeparated into ſeveral parts,) among which was the tenth legion, he determined to lead his army againſt *Machæro*, which he ſaw was abſolutely neceſſary to be deſtroyed, leſt its ſtrong fortifications might induce a great many to revolt. For the nature of its ſituation was ſufficiently able to give thoſe, who poſſeſſed it, ſure hope of ſaving themſelves, and a great deal of trouble and delay to thoſe who ſhould attack it. For, beſides that, a ſtrong wall ſurrounds it, the hill, whereon it ſtands, is an entire rock, and of great height, which makes it therefore of great difficulty to be taken. Add, to all theſe, it is naturally found to be exceeding hard to be come at, becauſe of the vallies, like ſo many ditches, which ſurround it, and which the height of the place effectually hides. Neither are they eaſily to be paſs'd, nor is there any ſuch thing as filling them up with earth; for the valley, to the weſt ſide, ſtretches along a matter of threeſcore furlongs, and is bounded by the lake *Aſphaltitis*. Now *Machæro*, on this ſide, has a vaſt high mount, which over-looks all beneath: But the vallies, on the north and ſouth ſides, come ſhort of that aforeſaid, and are, in like manner, not to be taken. And that which is on the eaſt is full one hundred cubits deep, and is bounded by a mountain directly over againſt *Machæro*.

Alexander, the king of the *Jews*, when he had taken a ſurvey of the nature of the place, was the firſt who built and fortified a caſtle in it, which *Gabucius* afterwards demoliſhed, in the war he waged againſt *Ariſtobulus*. When *Herod* was king, he looked upon the ſituation, above all other places, fit to be built on, and ſtrongly fortified, chiefly with regard to its neighbourhood with the *Arabians*; for the ſituation was vaſtly commodious, affording a proſpect into their country. Accordingly, after he had ſurrounded the place with a ſtrong wall, and ſeveral towers, he built a city there, from whence an aſcent opened to the top of the mount: Yet, for all this, he carried a wall about the mount itſelf, and raiſed towers at the corners, of ſix hundred cubits. In the middle of the encloſure, he built a palace, of a towering height, and vaſtly beautiful in its different rooms. Moreover, he ſet up ſeveral ciſterns, in places moſt commodious, to receive rain water, and plentifully ſupply the houſes about; beginning, as it were, in this action, a kind of ſtruggle with nature itſelf, that, as the ſituation of the place made it inexpugnible, he might o'er-top all by his vaſt and ſtrong works. But this was not all; for he put there a great number of archers and martial engines, and applied his mind to prepare all thoſe things that might make the inhabitants deſpiſe a long ſiege.

Formerly there was in this place, the *Ruta* (a kind of tree), of ſurprizing bigneſs; for no fig-tree could come up to it, either in height or thickneſs. It is ſaid, that it remained till the days of *Herod*, and probably would have continued a great while longer, had not the *Jews*, who ſeized upon the place, cut it down. Now the valley which hems in the city to the north, is called *Bocaras*, and produces a root of the ſame name, which reſembles fire in colour, and about the evening ſeems to dart out beams of fire. Thoſe, who go near and deſire to pull it up, find abundance of labour and difficulty to get it; for it avoids the touch; neither will it be pulled away, till ſome body pours woman's water, or her menſtrual blood upon it: And, even then, it is certain death to thoſe who happen to touch it, unleſs the perſon who takes it away bear it hanging on his hand. But there is another way to take this root, and that without any hazard or danger, which is this: They dig all round it, in order to let as little of the root as poſſible be covered with earth; after which, they faſten a dog to it, who, endeavouring to follow the perſon that bound him, it is pulled away with eaſe, but the dog immediately dies, as though he had been put in the room of him who took away the root. However, thoſe who handle it after this, need be in no manner of fear. And it is ſought after with ſo much danger, only for one virtue which it poſſeſſes: For what we call *Dæmonia*, or devils (which are the ſpirits of bad men), enter the living, and kill thoſe who have no aſſiſtance at hand. Now if this root is applied to perſons in ſuch diſtreſs, it drives them away. Moreover, there are fountains of hot water, that ſpring out of this very place, that are extremely different in their taſte; for ſome are bitter, and others want ſomething of being ſweet: Beſides, there are ſeveral eruptions of cold ſprings in the lower places, at a ſmall diſtance from one another: But, what is more ſurprizing to a man, there is a certain cave, not of any large depth, to be ſeen near this place, which is ſhaded over with a vaſt rock that nods over it; above which, two breaſts, as it were, jet out at a ſmall diſtance from one another, out of one of which an exceeding cold ſpring bubbles out, and out of the other an exceeding hot one, which being blended together, make a moſt pleaſant and ſweet bath, good in the cure of diſeaſes, but whoſe chiefeſt virtue is in corroborating and ſtrengthening the nerves. The place, alſo, affords plenty of ſulphur and allom.

Mean time, *Baſſus*, having taken a thorough view of the caſtle all round, determin'd to make his approaches. Accordingly, he fill'd up the eaſtern valley with earth, and ſet vigorouſly about his deſign: He began to build his mounts with the quickeſt expedition, in order to make his way to the beſieging of the place the more eaſy. Mean while, thoſe *Jews*, who were block'd up within, ſeparated themſelves from the foreigners, whom they look'd upon as an uſeleſs company, and conſequently forc'd them into the lower city, to be the firſt expos'd to danger. The higher fortreſs themſelves ſeized upon, and kept, in regard both to the ſtrength of the caſtle, and to ſave themſelves: And they were of opinion, the *Romans* would pardon them, provided they ſurrender'd the caſtle to them. Yet, for all this, they had a mind to make an experiment firſt, to try the hope they had of declining the ſiege. And, in conſequence of this, they chearfully and valiantly made eruptions every day; and when they came to engage the enemy, ſeveral periſh'd on the ſpot, but not without conſiderable loſs on the *Roman* ſide. It was obſerv'd, that the victory was more to be attributed to the ſeaſonable time each ſide took to fight; for the *Jews* conſtantly prov'd victorious when they fell upon the *Romans* at unawares, and unprepar'd: And the *Romans* gain'd on their ſide, by the advantage of their ramparts, and at ſuch times as they defended themſelves with their arms, and provided againſt their ſallying out. But all this time the ſiege was no way determin'd. However, the *Jews* happen'd to have a circumſtance befal them, which, contrary to their thoughts, oblig'd them to give up the caſtle. There was, it ſeems, among the beſig'd, a young man, nam'd *Eleazar*, of extraordinary boldneſs and ſtrength of arm. He render'd himſelf very conſpicuous in the ſallies the *Jews* made, and was continually exhorting a great many of his partizans to break out, and hinder the enemy from carrying on their works; and beſides gave, in the ſeveral ſkirmiſhes the *Jews* had with the beſiegers, a vaſt deal of trouble to the *Romans*, nay, ſlew abundance of them; and, more than theſe, he made thoſe, who had courage enough to ſally out with him, find an eaſy opportunity of falling upon the *Romans*, a ſafe way of retiring back, and was himſelf always the laſt perſon that withdrew. Now both parties having ceaſed hoſtilities on a time, and both ſides being withdrawn, he, as though every one had been below him, and ſuppoſing that none of the enemy would offer to give him a challenge, ſtay'd without the gate, and ſpoke to thoſe who were ſtanding on the wall, ſeemingly fix'd in a ſtrong attention to them. But one *Rufus*, a *Roman* ſoldier, and an *Ægyptian* by birth, laid hold of this opportunity, and when no body ſo much as expected the thing, ſuddenly ran upon him, and taking him in the unarm'd condition he was in, carried him immediately off to the *Roman* camp, while thoſe on the walls ſtood gazing all the time in the profoundeſt amazement. The general having given orders for his being ſtripp'd, and commanded him to be carried to a place where he might be fully expos'd to the view of the *Jews*, and there ſcourg'd. The beſieg'd were extremely concern'd for the hard condition of the young man; nay, the whole city was in mourning, and more tears were ſhed than were uſual at the miſfortunes of one man. Which *Baſſus* obſerving, he improv'd the opportunity, and put a ſtratagem in force againſt the *Jews*, which was ſo far to heighten their pity for *Eleazar*, as to make his ranſom the price of ſurrendering the caſtle, wherein he ſucceeded: For he order'd a croſs to be fix'd up, as though his intentions had been to hang *Eleazar* immediately upon it.

When thoſe in the caſtle ſaw this, they could not help declaring their ſorrow in a more ſenſible manner, giving vaſt ſighs, and crying aloud they were not able to bear it. Mean while, *Eleazar*, with abundance of pity, intreated them not to let him ſuffer the moſt miſerable of deaths, but looking ſeriouſly to their own ſelves, and their lives, ſubmit to the *Roman* power, and ſuperior fortune, now they had loſt all. They, entirely melted to compaſſion with theſe words of *Eleazar*, and a great many perſons in the caſtle ſtrongly interceeding for him at the ſame time (for he was of a great and populous family), they conſider'd his brave temper, entirely gave way to pity, and conſequently immediately diſpatch'd away certain perſons to negociate with the *Romans*, namely, that they were ready to give up the caſtle, provided they return'd *Eleazar*, and let them depart in ſafety. Theſe conditions being receiv'd by the *Romans* and their general, thoſe who had poſſeſſion of the lower city, who were a conſiderable number, having heard of this private agreement of the *Jews*, determin'd to fly privately away in the night-time. As ſoon as they had open'd the gates, *Baſſus* came to a diſcovery of the whole affair from thoſe who had made the agreement with him; and it was ſuggeſted, that either envy or fear, leſt they ſhould eſcape and leave them expoſed to danger, had moved them to this piece of villainy. Indeed, thoſe of the ſtouteſt forced their way valiantly through, and eſcap'd: But as for the others, who were left within, a matter of ſeventeen hundred of them were ſlain, while the women and children were made ſlaves. Mean while, *Baſſus* concluded his honour was at ſtake if he did not religiouſly obſerve the articles agreed upon with thoſe who had promiſed to give up the caſtle, not only diſmiſs'd them, but reſtor'd *Eleazar*.

After *Baſſus* had gone thus far, he made ready to lead his army into the foreſt call'd *Jardes*, having been inform'd a great many were aſſembled there, who, during the ſieges, had fled from *Hieroſolyma* and *Machæro*. In conſequence hereof, when he came to the foreſt, he found the news true that had been told him; and the firſt thing he did, was, hemming in the place on his ſides with his cavalry, in order to hinder the *Jews* with his horſe from retreating, if any ſhould offer to do it: After which, he commanded his infantry to cut down the woods, wherein they had taken refuge. This proceeding reduc'd the *Jews* to an abſolute neceſſity of performing ſomething valiantly, to try if (probably) through a valourous attempt, they could obtain the means of a fight. Conſequent hereupon, they thronged together, and with a ſhout furiouſly ruſhed upon thoſe who had ſurrounded them. The *Romans* received the charge with great intrepidity, ſome giving proofs of extraordinary boldneſs, while others had abundance of fatigue, and ſtruggling on their hands; and the battle was prolonged for ſome time: However, the event did not equally anſwer the expectations of the adverſe party; for only twelve on the *Roman* ſide happened to be ſlain, and not many were wounded: But not one of the *Jews* eſcap'd in this engagement. They were to the number of full three thouſand men, and all periſhed, and, together with them was ſlain their general *Judas*, the ſon of *Jair*, of whom we have made mention in the foregoing, namely, that he beheaded one of the parties at the ſiege of *Hieroſolyma*, and, after having withdrawn into a place under ground, privately made his eſcape.

About this time *Baſſus* and *Liberius Maximus* (who was procurator) received a Letter from *Cæſar*, with orders to make a ſale of all the land of *Judæa*; for he built no city in it, and appropriated the land to himſelf, only he had given a place, called *Ammaus*, about threeſcore furlongs diſtant from *Hieroſolyma*, to eight hundred of his ſoldiers to inhabit in. Beſides which, he laid a tax on all *Jews* whereſoever reſiding, and commanded them to bring into the capitol a tribute of two drachma's annually, as they had uſually done before into the temple at *Hieroſolyma*. Thus were the *Jewiſh* affairs at this conjuncture.

CHAP. VII.

Of the misfortunes of Antiochus, *king of* Commagena. *Of the* Alanes, *and the many miſchiefs and outrages they committed on the* Medes *and* Armenians.

NOW was *Veſpaſian* entered into the fourth year of his reign, wherein *Antiochus*, king of *Commagena*, happened to be involved in the moſt terrible and greateſt misfortunes, together with his family, on the following account: *Cæſennius Pætus*, at this time conſtituted governor of *Syria*, whither through a true motive, or for ſome grudge ſubſiſting between him and *Antiochus* (for the matter did not appear in its full light), wrote and ſent a letter to *Cæſar*, therein repreſenting, *That* Antiochus, *with his ſon* Epiphanes, *had determined to make a defection from the* Romans, *and for that purpoſe had entered into an alliance with the king of the* Parthians; *and that upon that account it was their intereſt to ſeize upon him before-hand, for fear, if they ſhould get the ſtart in putting their deſigns in practice, the whole* Roman *ſhould be kindled up into a war. That it was not* Cæſar's *buſineſs to neglect the meſſenger that came to him with this news. For the neighbourhood of the two kings made it abſolutely expedient to uſe the greater precaution and diligence in the affair. For that* Samoſa, *the metropolis of* Commagena, *ſtood on the* Euphrates, *ſo that the* Parthians (*if they ſhould have any ſuch views*) *might paſs over to it with a world of eaſe, and make it a ſafe place of retreat.* In ſhort, the letter of *Pætus* gained credit, who, beſides, had power given him of purſuing ſuch meaſures as the exigency of affairs required, or his own ſentiments ſuggeſted: Whereupon, without making any delay, he ſuddenly, when *Antiochus* and thoſe about him expected no ſuch thing, enter'd *Commagena* at the head of the ſixth legion, ſome companies of foot, and troops of horſe. But, more than theſe forces, he had the auxiliaries of two kings, namely, of *Ariſtobulus*, king of *Chalcidicus*, ſo called, and of *Soemus*, king of *Emeſa*. This confederate army made their entrance without any diſpute; for not one of the natives would lift up their arms againſt them. When *Antiochus* had received the news, which was the fartheſt thing from his hopes, he would not ſuffer himſelf ſo much as to entertain a thought of proclaiming war againſt the *Romans*, but reſolved to leave all his kingdom in the condition it was then in, and depart away with his wife and children, thereby to give the *Romans* a plain proof that he was entirely innocent of what he was ſuſpected of, and no ways privy to the crime charged againſt him. Accordingly, he marched out of the city, a matter of an hundred and thirty furlongs into, and there ſet up his tent.

Mean while, *Pætus* diſpatched ſome of his forces before to ſeize on *Samoſata*, who took the city; while he, with the reſt of his army, marched againſt *Antiochus*: Yet the king, for all this neceſſity, could not induce himſelf to act in the leaſt in oppoſition to the *Romans*, but rather ſubmit himſelf to bemoan his hard fortune, and patiently ſuffer what ſhould befal him. But there was little reaſon to think that his ſons, who were young men, verſed in war, and famous in hardy atchievements, would tamely bend their necks to ſuch ſlavery, without endeavouring to vindicate themſelves. In conſequence hereof, *Epiphanes* and *Callinicus* made preparations to give the enemy battle. For a whole day the fight was maintained with great vehemence, yet, for all this, they ſtood the charge all along with uncommon intrepidity, without ſuffering any loſs or diminution of their forces; but night drawing on, the battle was drawn away. Though the engagement was put an end to in this manner, yet *Antiochus* judg'd himſelf not ſafe where he was; whereupon, taking his wife and daughters, who bore him company in his baniſhment, he fled into *Cilicia*, which action entirely diſhearten'd his ſoldiers, and broke their courage: For all, as though he had loſt all hopes of regaining his kingdom, abandoned him, and went over to the *Romans*, which plainly proved that every one deſpaired of doing any good. In fine, before all was gone, and no aſſiſtance left, *Epiphanes*, and thoſe about him, judged it unavoidably neceſſary to ſave themſelves out of the hands of their enemies. And, accordingly, all, to the number of ten horſemen, who were with him, paſs'd over the *Euphrates*, and from thence, without any apprehenſions, went to *Vologeſes*, king of the *Parthians*, who received them not in the ignominious character of deſerters, but ſhew'd them as much honourable treatment and reſpect as though they had ſtill retain'd their ancient grandeur and felicity.

As ſoon as *Antiochus* was come to *Tarſius* of *Cilicia*, *Pætus* ſent a centurion for him, who brought him bound, and in that condition he ſent him to *Rome*. But *Veſpaſian* had much ado to refrain himſelf, when he ſaw the king brought before him in ſo ignominous a manner; he eſteem'd it far more judicious to conſider the old friendſhip that had been between them, than make the occaſion of the war the ground of keeping up an irreconcileable reſentment. In conſequence of this, he gave orders for his chains to be taken off, as he was purſuing his journey, and, for a while, to ſtay his journey to *Rome*, and take up his quarters at *Lacedæmon* for the preſent, where he allow'd him a large revenue of money, not only to ſupply him with a liberal allowance of neceſſary proviſions, but ſufficient to maintain his grandeur and regal dignity. When theſe indulgences came to be told *Epiphanes*, and thoſe who accompanied his misfortunes, who were in the utmoſt concern for his father, they were in a great meaſure freed from the load of trouble and uneaſineſs that had oppreſs'd their minds; and, beſides, began to entertain hopes of making up their peace with *Cæſar*, on *Vologeſes*'s writing to him in their behalf: That, notwithſtanding their lives were very happy where they were, yet that they could never endure living out of the pale of the *Roman* empire. Conſequent hereupon, *Cæſar*, with his uſual humanity, granted them ſecurity; upon which, they went to *Rome*, their father being ſhortly after conducted to them from *Lacedæmon*, when they were all received with extraordinary diſtinction, and took up their abode in the imperial city.

We have taken notice elſewhere, of the nation of the *Alanes*, a part of the *Scythians*, inhabiting about the river *Tanais*, and the lake *Mæotis*. Theſe people, at this time, endeavouring to break into *Media*, and the countries farther off, for the ſake of plunder, enter'd into an alliance with the king of *Hyrcania*, who had poſſeſſion of this paſſage, which *Alexander* had fortified with gates of iron. After he had open'd them a way over, they fell upon the *Medes* in vaſt companies, who little ſuſpected any ſuch matter, ravaging the country all over, that was full of people, and ſtock'd with all ſorts of cattle, without any one offering to reſiſt them. For *Pacorus*, who was then king of the country, fled, through fear, into the places of difficult acceſs, and conſequently left all to the mercy of the ravagers, who ſeized upon his wife and concubines, whom he redeem'd with an hundred talents, and that with extreme difficulty. The enemy carried on their depredations with ſurprizing eaſe, and without meeting with any oppoſition; ſo that they proceeded as far as *Armenia*, ravaging all as they went along. *Tiridates*, who was king of the country, went out to meet them, and gave them battle, but was little wanting from being taken priſoner alive in the engagement; for a man, at ſome diſtance, caſt a rope over him, and was going to drag him to him, had not he cut the rope immediately in two with his ſword, and took to his heels. Mean time, this battle made the *Alanes* far more barbarous than ever, who waſted all the ground: Beſides, taking a vaſt multitude of people priſoners, and driving away a prodigious booty out of both kingdoms; after which they return'd to their own country.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Maſſada, *and the murtherers in poſſeſſion of it. How* Siloa *began the ſiege of the fortreſs. The ſpeech made by* Eleazar.

BASSUS happening to die in *Judea*, *Flavius Silvia* receiv'd the government; who ſeeing all the country ſubdued by the war, except one caſtle, which ſtill perſiſted in a diſobedience, he collected all the forces which were in the ſeveral places, and led them againſt it. The caſtle had the name of *Maſſada*, and a man of great power among the *Sicarii*, or murtherers, who had ſeiz'd on it, was governor. His name was *Eleazar*, of the poſterity of *Judas*, the ſame perſon as we have obſerved in the foregoing, who perſuaded abundance of *Jews* not to ſuffer a poll to be made, when *Quirinus* the cenſe-maſter was ſent into *Judæa* to that end. At this time, theſe *Sicarii* conſpired againſt all who were any way inclined to eſpouſe the *Roman* intereſt, looking upon them every way as declared enemies; for they plundered and took away their effects, and ſet fire to their houſes. They proclaim'd that thoſe were in no reſpects different from foreigners, who ſo baſely betray'd that jewel of liberty which the *Jews* ought ſo much to prize, and proved that their inclinations were to be ſlaves to the *Romans*. But this was no other than an artificial pretence, and done with no other view but to caſt a ſhade over their own cruelty and avarice. Which plainly diſcovered itſelf in what was done afterwards. For themſelves were not only accomplices of the revolt with theſe very perſons, but had a hand in the war proclaimed againſt the *Romans*; yet for all this they preſumed to commit worſe inſults and hoſtilities againſt them than any of the reſt. And when they were convicted of falſhood in thoſe very points they themſelves had ſo much inſiſted on, they villainouſly abuſed thoſe with unkinder treatment than before, who but expoſed their baſeneſs in their juſt defence. Indeed, all manner of wickedneſs abounded plentifully among the *Jews* at this time; ſo that no ungenerous or baſe action was left unattempted; neither had any one been minded to form ſome novel deceit or treachery in his thoughts, could he, methinks, have found any: For the vicious diſtemper was become epidemick both in private as well as publick bodies, every one ſtriving to outvie his neighbour in impiety to God, and in iniquity to his fellow-creature; the powerful tyrannically lording it over the multitude, and the populace labouring to find out ways to cruſh the inſupportable ſway of the great. Theſe latter were puſh'd on by an inſatiable deſire of rule and government; the former of committing violence, and plundering the goods of the rich. 'Twas beyond queſtion that the *Sicarii* were the original inſtruments of committing ſo much cruelty and wickedneſs againſt their neighbours; for they did not let ſlip a word they ſpoke, which they did not conſtrue to their prejudice, nor an action, which they did not turn to the ruin of thoſe whoſe lives they aim'd at. Yet, for all this, *John* plainly prov'd that even theſe had more moderation than himſelf. For he not only put every one to death, who were for adviſing for the beſt, as though they had been the worſt of enemies; but loaded his country with an innumerable train of calamities, ſuch as a man would do, who ſhould have the daring preſumption to offend God with his impieties. For he eat at an abominable table, and trod out of the uſual path walk'd in by his country, the purity of whoſe rites he villainouſly forſook; ſo that we may well ceaſe our wonder that he did not preſerve the duties of a more civiliz'd life, who could offer ſuch flagrant indignities to the majeſty of the ſupreme being. But ſay, what were the cruelties and miſchiefs committed by *Simon*, the ſon of *Gioras?* Or when did he refrain from injuriouſly treating thoſe freemen's bodies who had made him a tyrant? What friendſhip, or what relationſhip, did not puſh them on to the perpetrating far worſe villainies and murthers? They were of opinion, that it was the buſineſs of wicked cowards to injure foreigners, but a glorious characteriſtick to exerciſe their barbarities on thoſe of their neareſt acquaintance. The *Idumæans* imitated, after a barbarous manner, the cruel diſpoſition of theſe blood-hounds; for, with an unparallell'd impiety, having ſlain the prieſts, to eradicate all piety from God, they then demoliſh'd all that remain'd of the city, carrying through all things their monſtrous impiety; wherein that race of men, call'd zealots, ſeem'd to have the preeminence, who made their name exactly ſquare with their actions. They trac'd all manner of wickedneſs, and left nothing unturn'd that might expreſs their malicious aims, or what had been recorded to have been committed in paſt times: Though they founded their name from an imitation and rivalſhip of good deeds, and made the tyrannick temper of others a cauſe of falling out with them in order to injure them, or outwardly approving the worſt of ways as the greateſt virtues. For which every one met with a cataſtrophe ſuitable to his deſerts from the hand of God, who puniſh'd them as their abominable and flagitious courſe of living had merited. For whatſoever ills or calamities man's nature is able to ſuſtain, all thoſe they ſuffer'd till their laſt breath, which they gave up in the greateſt torments imaginable. Yet ſome will ſay, in all likelihood, that what they ſuffered was conſiderably inferior to what they did: For that it was impoſſible to puniſh them as their crimes deſerv'd. Be it ſo; but it is not now a fit ſeaſon worthily to lament thoſe who were made ſenſible of their cruel and barbarous ways. On the other hand, I return back again to that part of my hiſtory from whence I have made this digreſſion.

Mean time, the *Roman* general came up to *Maſſada* with his army, where *Eleazar*, and the other *Sicarii*, had fortified themſelves; and having made himſelf maſter of all the country in a ſhort time, he threw garriſons into the moſt convenient places. He carried a wall quite round the caſtle, to give the beſieged ſome difficulty in getting out, and diſtributed guards to watch the avenues; while himſelf pitch'd his tents in a place he had choſen vaſtly commodious towards carrying on the ſiege: For there the rocks of the caſtle adjoin'd to the next mountain, had cut off, in a manner, all communication, with regard to throwing proviſions into the town; which were not only brought from a great way off, and that with exceeding toil and labour of the *Jews* who were appointed to that end; but, alſo, the *Romans* were forc'd to fetch water to ſupply their camp from other places, there being no ſprings near them where they were. In ſhort, as ſoon as *Siloa* had put things into this order, he ſet about the ſiege, which, with regard to the ſtrength of the caſtle, requir'd abundance of ſkill and difficult labour, the nature of the place being as follows:

The vaſt rock that goes quite round it, which is exceeding high, is ſurrounded by vallies ſo deep, that there is no caſting the eye to the bottom; being prodigiouſly craggy and inacceſſible to the feet of all manner of animals, unleſs in two places where the rock affords a paſſage up, but of ſome difficulty. One of theſe ways runs from the lake *Aſphaltitis* to the eaſt; but the other from the weſt, where there is the leſs difficulty of going. Now the firſt of theſe is call'd *The Snake*, the ſimilitude being taken from the narrowneſs of its paſſage, and its frequent windings and turnings: For there is a fracture, or brokenneſs, about the tops of the precipices, which ſeveral times leads back into itſelf, and then again ſtretches along till it juſt touches that which is farther off. Now 'tis abſolutely neceſſary for him that goes this way to take care that he fix both feet well; for, otherwiſe, certain deſtruction follows, if he happen to ſlip: For deep precipices open dreadfully on either ſide, which are enough to ſtrike any one, though the ſtouteſt man living, with horror. After a perſon has mounted about thirty furlongs through this way, the reſt is eaſy to the top, which does not terminate in a ſharp point, but the ſummity has a plain upon it; upon which *Jonathan* the prieſt was the firſt who built a caſtle, and call'd it *Maſſada*. Afterwards, king *Herod* took extraordinary pains to adorn it with other ſtructures; for he carried a wall quite round the circumference of the ſummit, including a matter of ſeven furlongs, built of beautiful white ſtone, twelve cubits high, and eight thick, with thirty-ſeven towers upon it, of five hundred cubits; out of which were paſſages into the houſes that were built within all round the wall. It ſeems that the ſurmit was of a fruitful ſoil, and ſofter than any other plain, which made king *Herod* ſet it apart for tillage, that, in caſe it ſhould happen at any time that proviſions from without were wanting or ſcarce, thoſe might not labour with that difficulty here, who put the ſafety of their lives in the caſtle. *Herod*, beſides, built a palace there, from the aſcent of the weſtern ſide within the walls of the caſtle looking to the north. The wall of this palace was exceeding ſtrong and high, having at the corners four towers of ſix hundred cubits. Beautiful apartments were within, as alſo portico's, and ſeveral fine baths; every one ſupported by pillars of ſolid ſtones. The walls and roofs were richly garniſh'd with coſtly ſtones; beſides, every houſe, both on the ſummit, about the palace, and before the wall, had ſeveral and large reſervoirs cut out of the rocks to keep water in, and ſo contriv'd, that as great plenty was from time to time had, as thoſe who had wells to go to. Now there was a way dug from the palace, which led up to the top of the ſummit, but was not to be ſeen without; neither could the enemy get through thoſe ways that were to be ſeen, without extraordinary difficulty; for the nature of that on the eaſt, as we have before obſerv'd, was inacceſſible; and the other on the weſt, is exceeding narrow, and block'd up with a tower built in it, at a matter of a thouſand cubits diſtant from the caſtle, impoſſible to be paſs'd by, and as difficult to be taken. Beſides thoſe who dauntleſly venture to go, find exceeding difficulty in the performance. Thus was this caſtle both by nature and art fortified to repel the attacks of its enemies.

But vaſt plenty of ſtores, of great value and continuance, was ſtill the more ſurprizing: For abundance of corn was laid up, and that to ſuffice for a long time; wine too, and oil, and all kinds of pulſe and palms. All theſe particulars were found by *Eleazar*, who got poſſeſſion of the caſtle by ſtratagem, by means of the *Sicarii*; and every thing was mature, and freſh, as though newly laid up, though near an hundred years were elapſed from their firſt being ſtored here, to the deſtruction which the *Romans* brought: For the *Romans* found the remains of the fruits not ſo much as the leaſt tainted. Now ſhould any one impute the cauſe of their long continuance to the air, he would not err in his opinion, becauſe the extraordinary height of the caſtle is at too great a diſtance to mix with the groſs humours and fogs of the earth below. And, beſides all theſe, there was found a vaſt ſtore of all kind of arms, which the king had laid up here, ſufficient for an army of ten thouſand men; alſo, unwrought iron, and braſs, and lead; ſo much, that a man would have believ'd the preparation had been made for an undertaking of the greateſt conſequence. Now 'tis reported, that *Herod* fortified this caſtle thus, for his own refuge and ſecurity, being apprehenſive of two dangers: One from the people of the *Jews*, for fear, after they had dethron'd him, they ſhould reinſtate thoſe who had been kings before in the government. The other was of a more cruel and greater nature, and cauſed by *Cleopatra*, then queen of *Ægypt*, who had ſeveral times made no ſcruple to diſcover her intentions, often getting *Anthony* to a private diſcourſe, wherein ſhe ask'd for *Herod*'s death, and follow'd her requeſt with wiſhes that the kingdom of *Judæa* might be annex'd to her dominions. But 'tis ſomewhat ſurprizing to a perſon, that *Anthony*, who was ſuch a ſlave to her love, never once condeſcended to her deſires in this reſpect. And through theſe two fears was it that *Herod* thus fortified and built *Maſſada*, which was the laſt work the *Romans* found in the war they had againſt the *Jews*.

When *Silva*, the *Roman* general, had hemmed in with a wall every place without, as we have taken notice in the foregoing, and uſed all the diligence and care he was maſter of to hinder the *Jews* from eſcaping, he ſet about carrying on the ſiege, but could find only one place that would ſuffer him to raiſe his mounts. For behind the tower, which block'd up the way from the weſt, leading to the palace and the top of the ſummit, there was an high rock exceeding broad, and jetting out. They called it the rock *Lence*, which *Silva* having got up and ſeiz'd, he commanded his men to raiſe a rampart of earth upon it. In conſequence of theſe orders, the men ſet chearfully about the work, and in a little time had rais'd a mount of two hundred cubits high, yet the meaſure or dimenſions of the ſpace did not ſeem either firm enough, or of a ſufficient height for the playing of the engines: But they made a kind of tribunal upon it, raiſed of vaſt ſtones, fifty cubits high and thick. Now the model of their other engines reſembled thoſe which *Veſpaſian* firſt, and *Titus* after him, had invented to beſiege towns: Beſides which, they raiſed a tower of threeſcore cubits high, fortified all round with iron, from whence the *Romans* plied their ſcorpions and *balliſtæ* upon thoſe who maintain'd the walls; repuls'd and forc'd them to hide their heads. At the ſame time, *Silva*, having made a ram of immenſe bigneſs, order'd the walls to be continually batter'd with it, which, though it had broke down part of it, had extreme work to beat it down effectually. Upon this, the *Sicarii* ſeiz'd upon another wall, within which they had built up, with wonderful expedition; but this did not ſuffer the like fate from the beating of the engines: For it was ſoft, and therefore fit to looſen the fierce ſtrokes made upon it; being built after the following manner: They faſten'd up planks of great length, and join'd others to them where they were cut. There were two rows, at ſuch an equal diſtance from one another, as the breadth of the wall was, and the ſpace between they filled up with earth. Now that the earth might not break out, they fortified the firſt planks by nailing others over them; ſo that this work ſomewhat reſembled the ſide of an houſe. The ſtrokes of the engines were by this means weaken'd, as the earth gave way, and this very breaking the force of the batteries made the building conſiderably firmer and ſtronger. When *Silva* ſaw this, he conſidered that fire would do abundantly more execution upon the wall, and conſequently commanded his ſoldiers to throw a great many lighted torches at it. Upon this, the wall, as it was moſtly of wood, preſently took fire, and burning, by reaſon of its laxneſs, to the very bottom, a great fire iſſued from it. When the fire firſt broke out, a briſk north wind blew, which put the *Romans* into a great dread; for the flame turn'd full upon them from above, ſo that they were almoſt in a deſpair of their own works, as though their engines had been going every moment to be burnt. But, ſoon afterwards, the blaſt changed, as it were, by ſome divine providence, and a ſoutherly wind aroſe, which drove the flames furiouſly back upon the wall, which ſuddenly put all in a blaze, from top to bottom. This very much rejoic'd the *Romans*, who, depending on the Aſſiſtance of God, gladly returned back to their camp, with a reſolution to attack the enemy the next day. Mean while, they plac'd guards in the night with greater diligence, to hinder any from eſcaping away privately.

Notwithſtanding, neither *Eleazar* himſelf had any thoughts of making his eſcape, nor would he ſuffer any other to do ſo: For ſeeing all the wall on a blaze, and conſidering of no other method to ſave the beſieged, or to repel the enemy, he ſet before his eyes all the future hardſhips the *Romans* would inflict upon them, their children and wives, if they conquered them; and therefore deliberated how to put all to death. In conſequence hereof, thinking the preſent conjuncture the moſt favourable to put his deſign in execution, he call'd together thoſe of the ſtouteſt of his companions, and ſtrove to animate them to the action with the following word: 'Brave men, *ſaid he*, we have reſolv'd a long time ago neither to ſerve the *Romans*, nor any other, except God; for he is the only true and juſt Lord of mankind; and the time now is thrown into our hands, that bids us prove the greatneſs of our ſouls by ſome famous action; in which, let us not diſhonour ourſelves, having before been ſlaves, to our coſt: But now we ſhall certainly ſuffer bondage, with the worſt of puniſhments annexed to it, if we ſuffer ourſelves to be taken alive by the *Romans*: For we were the firſt that began the revolt, and are the laſt in holding out againſt them. And 'tis my opinion that God grants us this favour to be in a power of dying like brave and free-born men, which others, untimely cut off, have not had the fortune to receive. For our parts, we may certainly depend upon it, that, as ſoon as the dawn appears, our deſtruction comes; yet the deſire of dying bravely, in company with the deareſt perſons we have in the world, is ſtill in our power. Neither can our enemies deny us this, whoſe utmoſt wiſhes are to take us alive; neither are we in a capacity any longer to conquer them by force of arms: For we ought, probably, from the very beginning (when, deſirous to preſerve our liberty, we ſuffer'd bitter ills from ourſelves, but far worſe from our enemies), have conſider'd the pleaſure of God, and known that the nation of the *Jews*, once dear to him, was doom'd to deſtruction. For while he remained propitious, or, at leaſt, but ſlightly offended at our ways, he would never have diſregarded the deſtruction of ſo many men, and ſuffered a city, his moſt holy one, to be conſum'd with fire, and levell'd with the ground. Yet have we, of all *Jews* that ſurvive their late calamities, hoped to gain our liberty, as though God had not, in the leaſt, been diſhonour'd by us, and we accomplices in no crime, whoſe endeavours have been to perſuade others to bad ways? Wherefore, you ſee how God has argued our expectations vain, who has reduc'd us to a neceſſity of ſuſtaining, and patiently bearing calamities, worſe far than our hopes. Neither is the nature of this caſtle, though inexpugnable, of any ſervice to us towards ſaving ourſelves; for, notwithſtanding we are maſters of ſuch a plentiful ſtore of proviſions, ſuch a multitude of arms, and ſuch an abundance of other preparations, yet it is as plain as the ſun, that God deprives us of the hopes of living here: becauſe the fire, which bore upon our enemies, return'd, not of its own accord, againſt the wall which we built; but was ſent in that manner by God in his reſentment for our numberleſs injuries, which in our frantic fits we have dared to commit againſt our countrymen: For which, let me intreat you all not to attone for them to the *Romans*, our worſt of enemies, but to God by our own hands: For this will be ſome alleviation of the hardſhip. Let our wives firſt die, who are entirely innocent, and our children, who do not know yet the conſequences of ſlavery: But let us, after them, confer mutually the generous kindneſs upon one another, whereby we ſhall preſerve our liberty, and thence gain an honourable death. Yet let us firſt ſet fire to the caſtle, and the money within it: For I am very well perſuaded, that the *Romans* will be extremely concerned if they miſs of their aim of ſeizing on our bodies, and their hopes of plunder be cut off. Let us leave them only the ſtores of corn; for theſe will bear us witneſs, when we are dead, that it was not want that conquer'd us; but that, as we had determin'd from the firſt, we preferr'd death to a life of ſlavery.'

Theſe were the words of *Eleazar:* However, all who were preſent did not agree in their minds upon the affair. Some, indeed, ſeem'd very ready to embrace it, and were in a flood of joy, eſteeming the death a very glorious one. They who were more tender-hearted, were full of compaſſion for their wives and children: And when every one had ſet the proſpect of his own death before his eyes, 'twas plain to be ſeen, from the tears which flow'd from the eyes of one another, that they were unwilling to join in ſo deſperate a council. When *Eleazar* perceiv'd the trembling and confuſion they were in, and that the momentous conſequence of the thing had broken their minds, he was in extreme anguiſh for fear their tears and intreaties ſhould ſoften and effeminate thoſe who had heard his words with great reſolution. To prevent which, he began his exhortations again, and having erected himſelf, and fill'd his thoughts with a greater plenty of words, he began a fine ſpeech about the immortality of the ſoul, during which, he made loud exclamations, and fix'd his eyes attentively on thoſe that wept. 'Certainly, *ſaid he*, I was very much deceived, who thought to help valiant men in contending for liberty, who are determined to live well, or die honourably. But as for your parts, truly, you excel not any other ſingle man, either in boldneſs or courage, who, when a way is open'd for you to ſhun the worſt of ills, yet boggle at the apprehenſions of death, when the neceſſity of the thing requires you neither to dally, or wait for a perſon to adviſe you. The hiſtories of our forefathers, and our ſacred writings, have, from ages paſt, and the firſt acquaintance with, and knowledge of things, confirmed, by the actions of our progenitors, and by their ſhedding their blood, conſtantly taught us, that to live, not to die, is a calamity to mankind: For death, ſetting the immortal ſouls at liberty, lets them depart into a place peculiar to them, where they are to remain exempted from all ills. But ſo long as they are chained to the mortal body, and at the ſame time obnoxious to its crimes, they may moſt truly be ſaid to be dead, becauſe it is far from being proportionate that a divine ſhould be aſſociated with a mortal being. It is true, indeed, that the ſoul, as it is joined to the body, has a great efficacy, becauſe it makes it its inſtrument endued with ſenſe, while itſelf, all the time, inviſible, produces motion with it, and by its actions makes its nature more than mortal. Nevertheleſs, when it has once got free from the weight that bears it down to the ground, it then receives the place appropriated to it, then enjoys a beatifick qualification, and a free power all round it, far from the view of mortal eyes, as God himſelf does. Neither, all the while it remains joined to the body, is it ſeen, as coming near no one ſo as to be beheld; neither, again, when it retires out of the fleſh, is it to be ſeen by any one, having an immutable nature, void of alteration and change; yet is the cauſe that all thoſe mutations, which vex the body, are made. For whatſoever the ſoul touches, the ſame lives, and has vigour; but out of whatſoever it departs, the ſame falls ſick, and dies. So much immortality it enjoys within itſelf. Let ſleep, now, be the moſt manifeſt diſcovery of thoſe things which I now ſay, wherein the ſoul being collected, without any uneaſineſs given to it by the body, it enjoys a moſt pleaſing reſt, and converſing with God from the knowledge of nature, traverſes over every place and thing, and foretels abundance of events to come. Wherefore then ſhould we tremble at the thought of death, when we love reſt in our ſleep? How, will it not argue a piece of madneſs in thoſe who affect the liberty of living, to deſpiſe that which is perpetual to them? We, who have been brought up in the inſtitutions of our country, ought to ſhew others an example by a ready deſire to die. But if we want inſtances to be produced from the actions of foreigners, let us turn ourſelves to the profeſſors of wiſdom among the *Indians*; for theſe good men, againſt their inclinations, meaſure out their time of living, as though it was ſome ſervice which nature required as neceſſary; they haſten to free the ſoul from the chains of the body, and, when no misfortune or ill urges or prompts them, through a deſire of immortality acquaint their friends before-hand, that they are going to depart home: Neither does any one offer to hinder them from purſuing their purpoſe, but all calling them happy, every one ends ſome meſſage to their deceaſed acquaintance; ſo firmly and truly do they believe there is an intercourſe and communication between ſouls. Having received their commands, they ſurrender their bodies to the fire, that their ſouls may be purely ſeparated from all the filthineſs of their bodies, and from all mortal concretion: And thus they die with great honour. Beſides, their deareſt friends follow them more chearfully to their death, than other men do their fellow citizens when they are about to go a long journey. They mourn only for themſelves, but ſtile them bleſs'd as already received up into the rank of the immortals. Shall we not then throw a ſcandal and blemiſh upon our characters, to ſhew ourſelves inferior to the wiſdom of the *Indians*, and baſely, by our own indolence and lazineſs, diſhonour the laws of our country, which all mankind have ſtrove to emulate? But taking it for allowed that, we were trained up in other inſtitutions than we really were, that we believed life was the chiefeſt good, and death a terrible thing, yet time adviſes us to hear it with a chearful mind, as the pleaſure of God and neceſſity both require it of us. Formerly, as may be, all the race of the *Jews* were brought under this decree by God; namely, that we ſhould deſire death, who had not made that uſe of life as was expedient, and required. It is not lawful for you to aſcribe cauſes, nor ſubmit to the *Romans*, becauſe the war we have maintained againſt them has almoſt taken all of us off. For theſe things have not been owing to their ſtrength, but are aſcribable to a ſtronger cauſe that intervened, in order to make them ſeem to have overcome. For with what arms of the *Romans* were thoſe *Jews* ſlain, that dwelt at *Cæſarea*; who, without harbouring any intentions of a revolt, were ſet upon by the men of the city as they were celebrating the ſeventh day, and their wives and children inhumanly butcher'd, without the *Jews* offering any reſiſtance, who were in no fear of the *Romans*, who only look'd, as we ourſelves do, upon thoſe as enemies, who had truly revolted? But ſome one would probably object, and ſay, that the *Cæſareans* and *Jews* had a continual animoſity ſubſiſting between them, againſt each other; and that the former, having laid hold of a fit oportunity, had ſatisfied its old grudge. But what ſhall we ſay of the citizens of *Scythopolis*? Theſe people could take on the *Greeks* ſide and maintain a war againſt us, and not in conjunction with the kindred and relations ſeek to revenge themſelves on the *Romans*. Indeed their benevolence and fidelity to them was of extraordinary ſervice to their own intereſt: For theſe very perſons miſerably ſlew them, with their whole families, being thus repaid in kindneſs for the aſſiſtance they had given them: For the very miſchiefs which they hinder'd them to ſuffer from your hands, the very ſame have you ſuſtained; as if themſelves had been only deſirous to commit them. But it would be too tedious for me to give a ſeparate account of every article; you are not to be made to underſtand how that there is not a city in *Syria* which has not poured out the blood of the *Jews* who reſided in it, and that the inhabitants were always worſe enemies to us than the *Romans*. For inſtance, the citizens of *Damaſcus*, when they were not able to aſſign or forge a probable cauſe, filled their city with the moſt inhuman and villainous ſlaughter that could be, by putting to death eighteen thouſand *Jews* with their wives and families. And we have been told, that the number of thoſe ſlain up and in *Ægypt*, exceeded threeſcore thouſand; and 'tis a thouſand to one but that theſe very wretches, being in a foreign country, where they could find nothing to aſſiſt them in defence againſt their enemies, thus miſerably periſhed. On the other hand, had not all thoſe, who maintained in their own country the war againſt the *Romans*, ſufficient forces to make hope for a ſure victory? For they had arms and walls, and caſtles that were inexpugnable, and undaunted ſouls in the ſuſtaining dangers for liberty; and, beſides, they valiantly animated all the reſt to the revolt. But having held out for a ſhort time, and raiſed our hopes, then appeared the beginning of worſe misfortunes: For all things were now made prize of, and taken, and all things gave way to the enemy, as though to make their victory the more famous: They had not been prepared for their ſafety who had erected them; and certainly we ought to proclaim thoſe who died in battle happy and bleſt, becauſe they gave up their laſt breath in the defence of liberty, and not betrayed it. But ſay, what man entertains no compaſſion for the multitude of thoſe made ſacrifices by the *Roman* arms? Or who would not ſooner die than be expoſed to the ſame hardſhips as they were? Some of whom were miſerably conſumed with fire, or periſhed with the weight of inhuman ſtripes; while others, half eaten by beaſts of prey, were ſaved to be only expoſed to their ravenous jaws again, and make their enemies paſtime and laughing ſport. And indeed, thoſe ought to be thought the moſt miſerable of all others, who yet continue to live, who have not had the fortune to die, which they have wiſhed for ſo many times. Say, where is now that great city, the metropolis of the whole nation of the *Jews*, fortified with the encloſures of ſo great walls, having ſo many caſtles and towers for barriers upon its walls, ſcarce ſufficient to contain its vaſt preparations of war, and including in it ſo many myriads of men fighting for it? What is become of that which we believed God to have inhabited? It is torn up to the very roots, and its very foundations are over-turned; and nothing is left to keep it in remembrance, but the camp of thoſe by whom it was ſhattered thus, which is fix'd upon its remains. Unhappy old men ſit upon the aſhes of the temple, and a few women are kept by the ſoldiers to a ſhameful injury of their modeſty. Who of us, that conſiders theſe things in his mind, can ſuffer his eyes to gaze at the ſunſhine, though he may live without danger? Who is ſuch an enemy of his country, who ſo effeminate and weak, or poor of ſoul, as not to repent that he has prolonged his life thus far? But I wiſh that we had all been dead, before we had ſeen that ſacred city laid in ruins by the hands of our enemies, before that temple had been ſo impiouſly levelled with the ground. But becauſe a brave hope amuſed us, that we ſhould likely one time or other be in a condition to revenge ourſelves on our enemies for it, which now is vaniſhed and left only us to a miſerable neceſſity, let us without delay die honourably; let us take compaſſion on our own ſelves, on our wives and children, while the opportunity is in our hands to adminiſter pity to them. For we ourſelves, and thoſe we have begotten, were born to die, and even the fortunate themſelves cannot eſcape death. Indeed, injuries and ſervitude, and to ſee one's wives and children baſely and diſhonourably dragged away from us, is not a misfortune falling upon men through any neceſſity of nature, but 'tis their own timidity that makes thoſe ſuffer theſe things, who refuſe, when they may, to die before them. We, extreamly ſwelled up with the ſenſe of our fortitude and courageous ſouls, revolted from the *Romans*: And now at laſt, when they beg us to ſave ourſelves, we reject their intreaties. Who is there, then, that cannot ſee plainly into their reſentment, if they take us alive? Thoſe that are young will be to be pitied, the ſtrength of whoſe bodies will hold out againſt a great many torments: Thoſe who are older will alſo to be pitied, whoſe age cannot ſuſtain ſuch cruel uſage. One man will ſee his wife dragged away before his eyes, and raviſh'd; another with his hands tied faſt behind him, will hear the voice of his wife pitifully imploring in his behalf. But while they are yet free, and have ſwords, let them afford us a brave piece of ſervice. Let us die without being ſenſible of the ſlavery of our enemies: Let us depart in company with our wives and children, with liberty. Theſe are what the laws command us; theſe are what our wives and children pray from us. God himſelf obliges us neceſſarily to perform them; the *Romans* wiſh us the contrary, and are fearful leſt any of us ſhould periſh before themſelves have deſtroy'd us. Let us then baniſh delay, and, as they have a pleaſing hope of taking us, ſtrike them with amazement by our death, and through our extraordinary boldneſs leave them to wonder at our courage.'

CHAP. IX.

How thoſe who were in the caſtle being perſuaded by the words of Eleazar, *all, except two women, and five boys, put an end to their own lives.*

ELEAZAR would ſtill have gone on with his diſcourſe, but all cut him off ſhort, and, hurried away with an irreſiſtleſs fury, ſeem'd reſolv'd to execute their bloody purpoſe: And, as though ſome ill genius had moved them to it, they went away, ſtriving to out-vie one another, every one eſteeming this an open teſtimony of their courage and juſt ſenſe of themſelves, not to be ſeen among the laſt: So fond were they, and ſo much love poſſeſs'd them for their wives and children, and for killing themſelves. But neither that which a man would have thought, did they ſeem to leſſen their violent aims when they came to put the melancholy and dreadful deed in execution, but, with an unſhaken conſtancy, ſtill preſerv'd their ſentiments rooted in their minds, which, on hearing *Eleazar*'s words, they had entertain'd; ſtill retaining their natural affection and love to all, and an opinion prevailing over them, that they had adviſ'd in the beſt manner for their wives and children: For at the very ſame time they affectionately embrac'd their wives and took their children into their arms, ſtifling them, and weeping over them in the tendereſt manner, and, at the ſame time, as though executing the dreadful commands by other hands, they willingly ſlew them, relieving the thought of their misfortunes, which they would certainly undergo if conquer'd by their enemies; by reflecting on the neceſſity that compell'd them to kill themſelves. In the concluſion, not one among them was found that had not courage enough to perpetrate the inhuman deed: For all ſlew their neareſt of kin. Miſerable men! who were oblig'd to this; and who thought it the ſlighteſt of all their misfortunes to put an end to the lives of their wives and children with their own hands. But they were not able to bear up againſt the grief which the perpetration of ſuch cruelty ſuggeſted to their minds, eſteeming thoſe they had ſlain extremely wrong'd, if ſo be they but remain'd behind them the ſmalleſt time imaginable: Whereupon, having gather'd immediately together all their effects, they ſet fire thereto, and then ſelecting out ten men by lot, who were to ſlay all the reſt, after every one had proſtrated themſelves near their wives and children, that lay on the ground, and had tenderly embrac'd them, they dauntleſly offer'd them their throats, who perform'd the moſt diſmal office. They having reſolutely ſlain 'em, others underwent the ſame way of lot, that, on whomſoever the caſt fell, after he had put the nine to death, he ſhould kill himſelf upon them. In ſhort, they were ſo much embolden'd that neither in attempting or ſuffering the deed was one ſeen to be ſuperior to the other. Thus the reſt offer'd their throats to the fatal point to the very laſt; but one, and he the laſt of all, having caſt his eyes about the multitude of dead that lay about him, leſt ſome one or other in ſo great a ſlaughter ſhould ſtill be remaining, and want the aſſiſtance of his hand, after he found that all were ſlain, ſet fire to the palace, and then driving his ſword forcibly through his body, fell down dead beſide his companions. And thus all periſh'd, believing that not a ſoul of their number was left to be made a ſlave to the *Romans*. But one woman, big with child, had conceal'd her ſelf, and another, who was a relation of *Eleazar*, a very learned and wiſe perſon, and much above a great many of her ſex, and five boys, in places underground, who had carried water with them to drink, and had hid themſelves, when the reſt were buſied about killing one another; who, including their wives and children, were a matter of nine hundred and threeſcore ſouls. And this miſerable calamity happened on the fifteenth day of the month *Xanthicus*.

The *Romans* all this while were in expectation of coming to an engagement, and, in the morning, being in their arms, and having join'd bridges of ladders from their mounts, they began to aſſault the caſtle: But when they could ſee none of the enemy, but on every ſide about a great ſolitude was obſerv'd, flames within, and a profound ſilence, they were at a loſs to conjecture what could be the reaſon, or what had been done: But, at laſt, they rais'd a terrible outcry, as if it had been at the beating of the ram; to try if they, by that means, could make any body appear or ſpeak. The women preſently heard the noiſe, and, coming out of their ſubterraneous holes, acquainted the *Romans* with the nature of the caſe; but one amply laid open every word that had been ſpoke, and every thing that had been done. The *Romans* were hard to believe her, little confiding in the vaſtneſs of the attempt: They ſtrove to extinguiſh the fire, and after they had cut a paſſage through, they preſently enter'd the palace: But as ſoon as they fell upon the multitude of the ſlain, their joy was not over them as enemies, but they could not help being fir'd with admiration at the generous and brave counſel of the men, and that in ſo large a number, who had deſpis'd death, and perpetrated ſuch an intrepid and fearleſs an action.

CHAP. X.

How many of the Sicarii *at* Alexandria, *who had taken refuge there, were expoſed to danger; and how, on that account, the temple, which had been built there by* Onias *the prieſt was deſtroyed.*

THIS miſerable deſtruction having been made in this manner, the general left a garriſon in the caſtle, and march'd with his army to *Cæſarea*. Neither was there an enemy remaining in that part of the country, for the length of the war had ſubdu'd every place throughout it, which was the reaſon that many who liv'd in places at a great diſtance, were put into extream confuſion and danger. For ſome time after this, it fell out at *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*, for a great number of *Jews* to be ſlain. It ſeems that thoſe of the faction of the *Sacarii*, who had found means to take refuge there, not content with living in ſafety, but wanting to put things into confuſion again, adviſ'd ſeveral of their friends to aſſert there liberty, and think the *Romans* no better than themſelves, and only eſteem God to be their lord. But, ſome of the more principal *Jews* oppoſing their meaſures, they ſlew them, and urg'd others to a revolt. When the elders of the ſenate perceived the mad and inconſiderable ſteps they were driving at, they concluded it was no longer ſafe to neglect the affair: But, having ſummoned all the *Jews* to a council, they repreſented the raſhneſs of the *Sicarii* in lively colours, proving them to have been the cauſe of all their misfortunes. *And now, ſaid they, (becauſe had they fled they could not flatter themſelves with ſure hopes of their lives; for the* Romans *knowing them, would put them to death) they ſtrive to involve us in a calamity, only due to themſelves, who have been no way acceſſory to any tranſgreſſion.* Wherefore they exhorted the people to beware of the deſtruction that hung over their heads, and to excuſe themſelves by ſurrendering them up to the *Romans*. The ſenſe of the greatneſs of the danger made them readily agree; and, accordingly, falling upon the *Sicarii* with a mighty force, they ſeized their perſons. A matter of ſix hundred were preſently apprehended, and as many as had taken refuge in *Ægypt*, and *Thebes*, a province of that country, were, not long after, taken, and reduc'd, whoſe extraordinary obſtinacy of mind is vaſtly ſurprizing, whether it may be called deſperation, or a pertinaciouſneſs of the will. For all kinds of torments, and every way invented to rack their bodies, with no other deſign than but for them to acknowledge the power of *Cæſar*, were not able to bend the reſolutions of their minds: Neither would any ſo much as ſeem to ſpeak it; but all preſerved a ſoul vaſtly ſuperior to their cruel treatment, and diſdainfully ſubmitted to the rack and flames, as though their bodies had been bereft of all ſenſation, and their ſouls had only been in a trance. But the age of their children raiſed in the ſpectators the greateſt aſtoniſhment imaginable; for not one of them could be compelled to declare that they acknowledged *Cæſar* for their maſter. So much did the force of the undaunted ſpirits prevail over the infirmity of their bodies.

Lupus governed *Alexandria* at this time, who wrote a letter immediately to *Cæſar*, to whom he ſignified an account of this commotion. The emperor ſuſpecting that the *Jews* would never ceaſe ſtirring up freſh troubles, and fearing they would aſſemble together again into one body, and get others to join them, he ſent orders to *Lupus*, to demoliſh the temple of the *Jews*, which was built in that country, called *The country of Onias*. This is in *Ægypt*, and its building, and having this name, was on the following account: *Onias*, the ſon of *Simon*, one of the prieſts of *Hieroſolyma*, flying from *Antiochus*, king of *Syria*, who then was at war with the *Jews*, came to *Alexandria*, and meeting with a kind and generous reception from *Ptolyma*, *Onias* told him, that becauſe of the animoſity and enmity between him and *Antiochus*, he would bring the nation into his alliance, if ſo be he would give ear to ſomething which he had to communicate to him. The king profeſſing that he would oblige him with every thing within his power, he aſk'd for leave to build a temple in ſome part of *Ægypt*, and to worſhip God after the cuſtom of his country. For then he would move the *Jews* to carry on the war more vigourouſly againſt *Antiochus*, who had waſted the temple of *Hieroſolyma*, and make them more ready to obey him; and the liberty of their religion would bring over great numbers to him.

Ptolomy being induced by theſe words, granted him a part of the country about an hundred and fourſcore furlongs diſtant from *Memphis*. This belonged to the præfecture which is call'd *Heliopolis*, where *Onias*, beſides a caſtle which he built, erected a temple different from that at *Hieroſolyma*; but coming near to the tower, and built of prodigious great ſtones of threeſcore cubits, he made the ſtructure of the altar to reſemble that at *Hieroſolyma*, and adorned it, in like manner, with preſents, except the candleſtick which he made after another model: For, indeed, he made no candleſtick, but only a lamp of gold, of exceeding radiance and brightneſs, which he hung to a gold chain. All the ſpace round the temple he ſurrounded with a brick wall, with ſtone gates; beſides which, the king allowed conſiderable lands for a revenue, that the prieſts might not want, and that the worſhip of God might have all things neceſſary for its celebration. Yet *Onias*, in doing thus, did not follow the dictates of right reaſon; but he kept up with the *Jews* dwelling at *Hieroſolyma* a fierce diſpute, for the memorable reſentment of his flight: And, after he had built the temple, thought to have drawn a great party over to him. Add, to this, a certain prediction above ſix hundred years before this happen'd, which a prophet, nam'd *Eſais*, gave out; namely, that a man of *Judæa* ſhould build this temple in *Ægypt*. And, indeed, the temple thus erected.

Lupus, the governor of *Alexandria*, on receiving the emperor's letter, and coming to the temple, ſhut it up, after he had taken away ſome of the preſents. But, *Lupus* happening to die ſoon after, *Paulinus*, who ſucceeded him in the government, neither left any of the preſents (for he threaten'd the prieſts extreamly if they did not produce every thing they had), neither would he ſuffer thoſe who were deſirous to worſhip God, to come near the temple, but ſhut up the doors, and made the place inacceſſible: So that he intirely rooted away every appearance of the divine worſhip. Now from the building to the ſhutting up of this temple, elapſed three hundred and forty-three years.

CHAP. XI.

Of Jonathan, *one of the* Sicarii, *ſtriving to raiſe a ſedition at* Cyrene, *and his acting the part of a moſt notorious ſycophant.*

MEAN while, the madneſs and fury of the *Sicarii*, like the contagion of a diſeaſe, had ſpread into *Cyrene*, and the cities round about it: For *Jonathan*, a man of the worſt principles, and by trade a weaver, coming thither, perſuaded a great many of the poor and needy to join him, and led them into the deſart, promiſing to ſhew them ſeveral ſigns and apparitions. Abundance indeed, were ſeduced by his artifice and cunning addreſs; but the better ſort of *Jews* in *Cyrene* acquainted *Catullus*, who was then governor of *Pentapolis*, of *Lybia*, with his journey and preparations. The governor immediately diſpatched away after him ſome horſe and foot, who, as they were unarmed, eaſily defeated them. A conſiderable part periſh'd on the ſpot, but ſome were taken priſoners alive, and brought before *Catullus*. *Jonathan*, who had been the author of this commotion, made his eſcape, but diligent ſearch being made after him throughout the country, he was taken, at laſt, and brought to *Catullus*, but he ſo managed his cards with the governor, that he eſcaped puniſhment, and afforded to him an handle for committing ſeveral unjuſt meaſures: For preferring ſeveral falſe charges againſt the richeſt of the *Jews*, he told him, that they had been the original cauſe of adviſing him to what he had done. *Catullus* embrac'd theſe charges with a wonderful deal of pleaſure, and, on his part exaggerated and heighten'd them extremely, loading every circumſtance with abundance of tragical language, in order that he might be thought to have finiſh'd the *Jewiſh* war. But what was more abominable than all the reſt, beyond this credulity, he inſtructed the *Sicarii* to form accuſations of the ſame ſtamp. In ſhort, after he had commanded him to nominate one *Alexander*, a *Jew* (with whom he had long been at odds, and proſecuted an open hatred), and his wife *Bernice*, both of whom he involved in ſeveral ſevere charges, he firſt of all put theſe two perſons to death, and then ſlew a matter of three thouſand others who had great ſtore of money, herein fancying he acted ſecurely, becauſe he annexed their eſtates to *Cæſar*'s revenues.

But for fear any of the *Jews*, who reſided in any other place, ſhould expoſe his villainy, he propagated his falſhoods at greater diſtances, and adviſed *Jonathan*, and ſome others that had been apprehended with him, to involve, in a formal accuſation of raiſing new diſturbances, the loyaleſt of the *Jews* reſiding at *Alexandria* and at *Rome*. Now *Joſephus*, the writer of this hiſtory, happened to be one of thoſe who were thus villainouſly traduced. However, *Catullus*'s ſcheme fell out contrary to the hopes he had form'd; for he came to *Rome*, bringing *Jonathan*, and the reſt, in chains with him, and ſuppoſed that the accuſations he had ſet on foot by his own means, would be enquired no further into. But *Veſpaſian* had other thoughts of the proceedings; he was full of ſuſpicions, and made diligent enquiry thereinto: And having found the crimes charged againſt the ſeveral perſons entirely groundleſs; he, at the interceſſion of *Titus*, diſcharged them from what had been objected againſt them, but reſolv'd to puniſh *Jonathan* as his merits deſerv'd. And accordingly, he was firſt ſeverely whipp'd, and then burnt alive.

The lenity and mild temper of the emperor, was the cauſe that *Catullus* found no further rebuke at this time; but, not long after, he was ſeiz'd with a compound and incurable diſtemper, of which he died in very great torment; his body being not only expoſed to vaſt conflicts of pain, but his mind too, labouring with an exceſs of melancholy and grief. He was rack'd with terrors, and would oft-times give dreadful ſhrieks, and ſhout aloud, that he ſaw the ghoſts of thoſe, ſtanding before him, whom he had ſlain. And when he could contain himſelf no longer, he jump'd out of his bed, as though the rack, or ſome fire, had been prepared againſt him. But his diſtemper continually increaſing for the worſe, and his entrails rotting, and burſting through him, he died, in ſuch a manner, as gave ample ſigns he was made the mark of a divine providence, in puniſhing wicked men, if ever man was.

Here our hiſtory ends, which we promiſed to deliver, with the utmoſt diligence, to thoſe who were deſirous to know in what manner this war was carried on by the *Romans* with the *Jews*. And now what kind of ſtile I have us'd, my readers are left to be judges. However, I can ſpeak this with a good grace of the truth, that through every article which I have committed here to writing, I have ſet that as the only rule to ſteer my courſe by.

The End of the JEWISH *WAR*.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

ANTQIUTIES of the *JEWS*,

AGAINST

APION.

In TWO BOOKS.

BOOK I.

I HAVE ſufficient reaſon to ſuppoſe, my *Eupaphroditus*, the very beſt of men, that I have proved, beyond diſpute, thro' my ſeveral books of antiquities, to thoſe who may happen to peruſe them, that our nation of the *Jews* is of the longeſt ſtanding and antiquity, and had the firſt original appropriated to it, and that it poſſeſſed that country which we now inhabit, taking in an hiſtory of five thouſand years, which I have tranſcribed out of the ſacred writings in the *Greek* language. But becauſe I am ſenſible abundance of perſons, who give ear to a great many malicious and detracting ſtories, which ſome have invented after a baſe manner, will not give faith to the circumſtances which I have wrote about our antiquity, and conclude from this article, namely, becauſe the *Grecian* writers have omitted taking any notice of our nation, that it muſt conſequently be of younger date than it is pretended to be: Theſe ſeveral points are what have induced me to give a compendious account of, both that I might expoſe the ill nature and wilful falſities of detractors; and, alſo, ſet the ignorance and miſtake of ſome in a fair light, and acquaint all thoſe who were deſirous to know the truth, with an account of our antiquity. And to prove every circumſtance which I ſhall offer to advance, I will make uſe of ſuch witneſſes as the *Grecians* themſelves have, in all ages, thought fit to confide in: But as for thoſe who have tranſmitted ſome ſcandalous and falſe accounts of us, them I ſhall confute with their own words. Beſides which, I ſhall endeavour to lay open the reaſon why ſo few of the *Grecians* have thought fit to ſay not a word about our nation in their hiſtories; and, over and above all, I ſhall produce thoſe who have not omitted to mention us in their works, to the very perſons who either do not know, or pretend to be ignorant of them.

In the firſt place, therefore, it makes me extremely wonder that thoſe perſons ſhould ſuppoſe,

poſe, that, in matters of the longeſt antiquity, no others but the *Grecians* ought to be believed, that from no others truth can be expected, and conſequently that neither we nor any body elſe are to be confided in. But, truly, in this caſe, I preſume, and even take it, the buſineſs is to be managed another way, if ſo be we had rather take the truth from the facts themſelves, than be any way prejudiced, or adhere to vain opinions: For you will find that all what the *Grecians* make ſuch boaſting of, are but new; and, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, 'tis but a day or two ſince the building of their cities, inventing of their arts, and preſcription of their laws, happened: For they began writing their hiſtories the very laſt of all. But the *Ægyptians*, and *Chaldæans*, and *Phœnicians* (not to bring our writers in the number with them in this paſſage), are acknowledg'd by the *Grecians* themſelves to have hiſtories of their own affairs of the greateſt antiquity, and of the greateſt truth. For they inhabit not only a country the leaſt of all others expoſed to an inclement ſky, but alſo are remarked to uſe a ſingular diligence in it, that none of their affairs or tranſactions lie buried in the ruins of oblivion; but men among them of the profoundeſt ſenſe and experience, chooſe rather to keep an account of their performances inſcrib'd always on publick tables. On the contrary, all the land of *Greece*, being over-run with an infinite number of diſtempers, effectually ſuppreſſed this method of tranſmitting things to memory, and conſequently, putting on foot ſome freſh ſcheme of living, every one thought themſelves the principal and head of all the reſt. And the ſame people, very late, indeed, and with abundance of difficulty, at laſt came to the knowledge of letters: For they who are pleaſed to mention the longeſt uſe of them, are the very perſons that boaſt of their having received 'em from the *Phœnicians*, and from *Cadmus*. Neither has any one among them, either in their ſacred or in their publick monuments, ſhewn us any traces of that time; but there has been long ſcruples of, and ſearches made about thoſe who undertook the *Trojan* expedition ſo long afterwards, whether or no letters were in uſe among them. Upon which account, it is more reaſonable and true to ſuppoſe, that the modern uſe of them was entirely a thing unknown to them. Neither, indeed, have the *Greeks* any writings at all, that can pretend to ſome truth of any longer ſtanding than the poetry of *Homer*, which you can find; and yet none will preſume to ſay that this writer was born before the tranſactions that happen'd at *Troy*; nay, if what fame ſays is true, he himſelf was not the perſon that committed that poetry to writing, but poſterity preſerved the memory of his pieces ſome time, afterwards collected them from various ſongs, and put them together in the form we have them, which, therefore, is the reaſon we commonly find ſo much difference throughout them. Wherefore, thoſe among the *Grecians* who applied their minds to the writing hiſtory, I ſay, were *Cadmus*, the *Mileſian*, and *Amſilaus*, the *Argive*; and if any more are mentioned, they are ſuch as preceded the *Perſian* expedition but a ſmall time. Beſides thoſe who were the firſt that began to treat of celeſtial and divine things among them, as *Pherecydes*, *Syrus*, and *Pythagoras*, and *Thales*, are, by an unanimous and general conſent of all of them, acknowledged to have been ſcholars of the *Ægyptians* and *Chaldeans*, and that their writings were but few: Which the *Greeks* themſelves not only think are the oldeſt writings, but, alſo, have many ſcruples in believing they were the real Authors of them.

What man, then, does not ſee how vain and fooliſh theſe boaſt of the *Grecians* are, to make themſelves appear the only people that preſerve accounts of antiquity, and the only people that tranſmits a genuine and faithful narrative of remote actions? Nay, what man cannot eaſily perceive from their own writers, that nothing of undoubted veracity, nothing that has been fully explor'd, is any where tranſmitted down by them, but only ſo much as they were able to trace by conjecture? This is the reaſon we find up and down in their writings frequent cavallings at one another; neither do they bluſh to make accounts widely different, of one and the ſame thing. I preſume I ſhould be reckon'd very forward and buſy, if, to thoſe who know circumſtances much better than I do, I ſhould offer to teach them how many paſſages there are in their accounts of their genealogy, wherein *Hellanicus* differs from *Acuſilaus*: How many errors *Acuſilaus* points at in *Heſiod*, how often *Hellanicus* is tax'd by *Ephorus* of diſingenuity and falſhood; *Ephorus* laſh'd by *Timæus*; and *Timæus* by later writers; and, laſt of all, *Herodotus* by all? Neither is *Timæus* pleaſed to expreſs the ſame ſentiments of the *Silician* affairs which *Antiochus* and *Philiſtus*, and *Callias*, have done; nor are the *Athenians* conſonant to one another, who wrote the *Atthidæ*; nor the *Argolics*, who publiſh'd accounts of the *Argo*: Some intirely copying both the ſenſe and thoughts of other hiſtorians. But it ſignifies to little purpoſe to mention thoſe things which were tranſacted up and down in the ſeveral cities, and in countries of ſmall extent, when even their beſt and moſt famous writers are frequently ſo different to one another in what they relate of the *Perſian* expedition, and the actions performed in it. So much, that even *Thucydides* himſelf, though look'd upon to have given a very accurate hiſtory of his time, by ſome is charg'd with error and vanity.

Of which indolence and neglect, beſides the very many other omiſſions that perſons enquiring into this affair may probably meet with, I take theſe two cauſes, of the greateſt conſequence, to be the chief. Now I ſhall begin with that which has more weight than the other, in my opinion, which is, that the *Grecians*, from the very beginning, have neglected to inſcribe on publick tables accounts of thoſe actions which were perform'd every where about them, not only open'd the fulleſt paſſage that could be for error, but every one, alſo, who were minded to write antiquities, receiv'd an handle hence of forging what lies and ſtories they pleaſed. Neither were the reſt of the *Grecian* nations the only perſons that ſuffered the

the care of making theſe tables to lie dormant, bnt, you will find, that among the *Athenians*, who are ſaid to be very great lovers of learning, the ſame thing was practiſed, even when they gave out that their moſt antient laws were taken from thoſe publick tables, which *Draco* procur'd them, through abundance of blood; a perſon who flouriſh'd but a ſmall time before *Piſiſtratus* the tyrant. For what ſignifies it to mention the *Arcadians*, who, notwithſtanding their boaſting ſo vaſtly of their antiquity, ſcarcely began to have any knowledge of learning after theſe times?

Thus, indeed, as no commentary of longer antiquity is extant, which either can prove 'em deſirous of learning to teach, or tax them as falſe authors, there is the greateſt difference among them; to which cauſe, give me leave to add the other. Now they who ſet themſelves about writing a work, were not led away with any deſire of diſcovering the truth, though this is a pretence all writers ſolemnly lay claim to, but the force of diction and language was the ſole mark of their aim: So that, in whatſoever kind any one believed himſelf to have the ſuperiority over the others, there he was ſure to exert all the power and force he had. In conſequence hereof, ſome ſet about compoſing fables; others began to praiſe the benevolent affection and love of cities and kings with heighten'd panegyricks: Some on the other hand, choſe rather to cavil at, or diſhonour their own writers in finding faults, becauſe they had hopes of finding no hard task in exceeding them. But this claſs of worthies is that which makes terrible work with the laws of hiſtory; for the truth of an hiſtory carries the faireſt face along with it, when all ſpeak and write of the ſame things in the ſame ſtrain. So that they are of opinion, they ſhall carry the day, in point of truth, abundantly over all the reſt, provided they kept at the greateſt diſtant from the accounts of others. I muſt confeſs, we ought to yield to the *Grecian* writers in the method of diction, and in the force of eloquence; but not in giving an hiſtory of antiquity with regard to truth, and principally of a country properly our own, and regions belonging to all nations beſides.

I think it but needleſs, ſince all agree in it, to mention the extraordinary care which both the *Babilonians* and *Egyptians* us'd in writing down their tranſactions perform'd in ages vaſtly remote, when their prieſts were appointed to this office, and inſtructed them about them, the *Chaldæans* among the *Babylonians*, and the *Phœnicians* who were mix'd among the *Grecians*, and us'd their letters, both to preſcribe them a method of living, and learn them a way to preſerve their publick acts in remembrance. But I'll paſs by making any compariſon of our progenitors, becauſe they too had the ſame care in writing their hiſtory as the above-mentioned, whether the method was the more eligible, which their prieſts and prophets were enjoined to take upon them, and which, to this very day, they have preſerved with wonderful diligence, and, if I may venture to expreſs my ſelf a little freer than ordinary, will ſtill be kept with the ſame exactneſs, which I ſhall endeavour to evince in a few words.

Our nation, from their very foundation, not only ſet perſons to preſide over theſe things who were of excellent character, and aſſiduous in the worſhip of God, but took extraordinary precaution to keep the race of the prieſts always pure and unmix'd. For whoſoever enjoy'd the prieſthood, was, above all things, requir'd to get children of a wife of his own country, and not to turn his eyes on money or other honours, but trace out his family agreeably to the ancient ſucceſſion, which had abundance of witneſſes on its ſide to confirm it. Which method we have obſerv'd, not in *Judea* only, but in every place beſides, where any part of the *Jews* reſides, where this rule, with reſpect to the marriage of the prieſts, hath always been ſtrictly put in force: For example, in *Ægypt* and in *Babylon*, and all places of the world beſides, where our prieſts were diſpers'd. Over and above which, they took care to ſend to *Hieroſolyma* the names, in writing, of the parents and anceſtors, adding thereto, the witneſſes, to the end, that, if a war ſhould ariſe, as has been very often the caſe, witneſs *Antiochus Epiphanes* invading our country, the expedition of *Pompey the Great*, and the campaign of *Quintilius Varus*, which happen'd in our days, then thoſe prieſts who remain, make new out of the old tables, and ſearch into the women that are ſurviving: For they never take back thoſe who have been made priſoners of war, ſuſpecting, they may have commerce with ſtrangers, not at all improbable to perſons in that condition. This therefore, is one of the ſtrongeſt arguments in the world, in ſavour of the care and diligence us'd about theſe things, becauſe our high prieſts are enroll'd in our records with theirs and the names of their parents, for a matter of two thouſand years. Beſides, if any one prieſt was found to tranſgreſs in theſe points, he was abſolutely depriv'd from officiating at the altar, or to aſſociate in any of the other ceremonies. A juſt reward, indeed; but what he was neceſſarily obliged to bear, ſince the power of writing was not allow'd to every one in general, and a conſtant harmony always was preſerved throughout the writings, but only to the prophets who received their knowledge of antiquity, and of actions performed in ages, long ſince elapſed, by divine inſpiration, but themſelves tranſmitted to writing the events that occurr'd during their days.

Wherefore the number of our books are eaſily to be reckoned, which differ from and oppoſe one another: They are but two and twenty, containing the hiſtory of all preceeding time, and, not without cauſe, are eſteem'd and believ'd to be divine. Of this number five are of *Moyſes*, which contain the laws, and a ſeries of actions performed from the formation of mankind till its deſtruction: And the ſpace of time includes very near three thouſand years. From the death of *Moyſes*, till the empire of *Artaxerxes*, who, after *Xerxes*, reigned over the *Perſians*, thoſe prophets, who ſucceeded *Moyſes*, compriz'd in thirteen books the occurrences that fell out in their times: The four others contain hymns in praiſe of God, and diſplay very uſeful precepts of life. But every thing happening from the reign of *Artaxerxes* to our days, were committed to writing, but are not ſo authentic, or carry ſo much authority with them, as the former books, becauſe the ſucceſſion of the prieſts was not ſo well aſcertain'd. Beſides, how much the veneration is we have for theſe books, is plain, from the thing itſelf; for, notwithſtanding the ſliding away of ſo many ages, yet none has preſum'd to add to, diminiſh, or change any thing from them in all that time. But all the *Jews* in general, from their very childhood, have it implanted and ſown in their minds, to believe that theſe are the precepts of God, to ſtand by them at all times, and for their ſake, if occaſion requires, to ſuſtain death with a willing diſpoſition. Upon which account, many of our nation who have been made captives have been ſeen expoſed in theatres frequently to torments, and to ſuſtain all kinds of death, rather than ſpeak a word againſt our laws, or obviate the written traditions about them. Then tell me who of the *Grecians* would ſuffer ſuch uſage, nay, expoſe himſelf to the leaſt hardſhip, though all the things their hiſtorians had wrote, were at ſtake, and on the point of deſtruction; becauſe they take them for narratives, diſplay'd according to the humour and pleaſure of the authors. And thus are their ſentiments, and not without reaſon, about their older writers, becauſe they ſee ſome, even at this time, attempting to write hiſtories of facts which neither themſelves were preſent at, nor ever troubled themſelves about getting particulars from thoſe who were acquainted with them. For example, about the very war which we maintain'd ſo lately, ſome have publiſh'd hiſtories which they had wrote, when they had neither been at the places of action, nor even in the neighbourhood of thoſe places where the whole ſcenes were performed; but raſhly packing up together a few circumſtances from fame and common report, have, with abundance of impudence and inſolence, given them to the world under the name of an hiſtory.

On the other hand, I have wrote every particular action and occurence during the courſe of the whole war, agreeable to the ſacred character of truth, having been my ſelf immediately preſent to all that paſs'd. Beſides which, I was general among thoſe who are call'd *Galileans*, ſo long as we ſtood in oppoſition to the *Roman* arms; but, being taken by them, I was made a captive, and, at the ſame time that *Veſpaſian* and *Titus* had me in cuſtody, they conſtantly oblig'd me to ſit down with them, tho' at firſt in chains. After this, I was ſet at liberty, and ſent with *Titus* from *Alexandria* to the ſiege of *Hieroſolyma*; at which Time, ſince all the memorable tranſactions that occurr'd then, happen'd, I had a fine opportunity to remember every particular. For I took exact notice of every circumſtance any way happening in the *Roman* camp, and mark'd them with extraordinary diligence; and whatſoever the deſerters communicated, I was the only one made privy to their diſcoveries. After which, having procur'd a retirement at *Rome*, where I got ſome to aſſiſt me who were ſkill'd in the *Greek* tongue, having prepar'd all my materials before-hand, I committed to writing every tranſaction as it was ſucceſſively perform'd. And ſuch confidence had I in the truth I deliver'd my ſelf with, that *Veſpaſian* and *Titus*, before all others, who were generals in that war, were generouſly pleas'd to offer me their teſtimonies of what I had wrote: For to them I firſt made a dedication of my books; and, next to them, to ſeveral of the *Romans* who were immediately preſent in the war. I ſold them to a great many of our countrymen, who were perſons well vers'd in the *Grecian* learning, among whom was *Julius Archelaus*, *Herod*, one of the fineſt accompliſh'd gentlemen, and king *Agrippa*, no leſs worthy of admiration. All theſe perſonages witneſs'd that I had accurately follow'd truth, being men who would never have diſſembled with me, or held their tongues, had I chang'd or ſlipp'd over any one fact either thro' ignorance or favour.

But there was ſome perſons of ſuch malicious tempers, as to endeavour to caſt a reproach on my hiſtory, as though it had been of ſuch ſort, as to merit a place in the ſchools for boys to read. What monſtrous and baſe treatment is here! when they ought to be acquainted, that 'tis the buſineſs of him who promiſes to deliver the truth of things to others, that he is exactly privy before-hand to the ſeveral occurrences he his going to treat of, or that he was preſent when they were perform'd, or that he had them from the hands of perſons who knew the facts; which, I flatter my ſelf, I have perform'd in both my works. As for the books of my *Antiquities*, as I have obſerv'd before, I tranſlated them from the ſacred volumes, when I was in the prieſthood of my country, and no ſtranger to the philoſophy comprehended in thoſe writings. As for the hiſtory of the war, I wrote it, as having been my ſelf an actor of ſeveral things therein, an eye-witneſs of a great many more, and perfectly inſtructed in every thing that was either ſaid or done. By what means, then, can thoſe perſons eſcape the imputation of peeviſhneſs, who will not fail to diſpute with me of having given an untrue hiſtory? who though they are ſaid to have perſued the commentaries or annals of the emperors, yet were not preſent at our tranſactions, which are different to them.

I have made this digreſſion about theſe particulars which I thought neceſſary, being willing to ſhew the faculty of thoſe perſons who promiſe to write an hiſtory: And I take it, that I have abundantly left it diſcover'd, that it is much more in uſe among the *Barbarians* than *Greeks*, to tranſmit down to their writings the memory of things of antiquity. Wherefore I am determined, in the firſt place, to obviate the aſſertions of thoſe, in a few words, who endeavour to make our ſettlement in the world of a new ſtanding; becauſe, as they ſay, the writers among the *Greeks* have made no mention of us: After this, I will produce vouchers out of other writers, to prove our antiquity, and ſhew that thoſe who ſpeak ill of our nation,

nation have no foundation of reaſon at all to raiſe their aſperſions upon.

Now, with regard to our nation, we inhabit a country neither adjoining to the ſea, nor are we any way fond of traffick; nor, on that ſcore, keep we up any correſpondence with other people: On the contrary, we have cities at conſiderable diſtances from the ſea; as we inhabit a fruitful ſoil, we ſtrive to cultivate it, with wonderful labour: But our chiefeſt care of all is, to train up our children, and guard our laws, as being thoſe people who make piety, and a performance of them, the moſt neceſſary work of our whole lives. But, beſides what I have advanced, we have a method of living only peculiar to our ſelves; ſo that we had no need of entering into commerce with the *Grecians* formerly, as the *Ægyptians* had, from the things which they imported or exported to other nations: And as the *Phœnicians*, who dwell by the ſea-ſide, from a love of money, and a deſire of buying and ſelling. But our anceſtors never turned their thoughts and hands on making depredations, as ſome others have done, or wanting to poſſeſs more than they enjoyed, entertained hoſtile ſentiments, tho' the country abounded in many thouſands of valiant men. Whence it came to paſs, that the *Phœnicians*, to extend their commerce, immediately ſailing among the *Grecians*, came to be acquainted with them, and the *Ægyptians* by them, and afterwards all who ſtem'd the wide ſeas, from thoſe that carried their mercandizes to the *Grecians*. Afterwards, the *Medes* and *Perſians*, then in poſſeſſion of *Aſia*, came to have acquaintance with them, and chiefly the *Perſians*, when they extended their arms almoſt to the next continent; the *Thracians* diſcover'd themſelves by reaſon of their vicinity, or neighbourhood; and the *Scythians* divulged themſelves among them, by means of thoſe who ſail'd into *Pontus*: And all in general, dwelling to the eaſtern or the weſtern ocean, found no difficulty in being known by them, who had intenſions of compoſing ſomething of an hiſtory. But thoſe, indeed, who liv'd in remoter places, and, for the greateſt part, at ſome diſtance from the ſea, had none of theſe opportunities to get themſelves diſcovered. This was no more than what became the caſe of thoſe who inhabited *Europe*; for neither *Herodotus*, nor *Thucydides*, nor any other writer cotemporary with them, have in the leaſt mentioned any thing of the city of the *Romans*, which was already, and even long before, arrived to a great height, and ſpreading its victories with a glorious run of ſucceſs: For theſe occurrences were but lately carried into *Greece*. And as for the *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, the affairs of theſe nations were ſo far from the knowledge of thoſe who were thought the moſt accurate writers among them, among whom was *Ephorus*, that he thought the *Spaniards* were cloſed up in one city; when their frontier reach ſuch a breadth weſtward, and acquainted the world in his writings with rites and cuſtoms this nation uſed, which never had been, nor ever had been alledged to have been. What may be aſſign'd as a reaſon of this groſs ignorance in theſe particulars, is, that the *Grecians* of his time, refuſed having commerce with other nations: but it may be imputed more to the diſingenuity and fables of the ſeveral writers, who were ever fond to be thought to have ſtretched a point in their works beyond others of the ſame function. Methinks, then, there is ſmall room for wonder why our nation lay ſo much concealed from a great part of mankind, or that it affords ſo little opportunity of having an hiſtory wrote of it, when the long diſtance it ſtands from the ſea, and the peculiar inſtitutions of living to which its inhabitanty are accommodated, are conſidered.

For the ſake of argument, ſuppoſe, then, that the race of the *Grecians* is of no antiquity, becauſe nothing is to be traced in our books that mention it. Would not they laugh heartily at us, and produce, as I have reaſon to think, the very ſame cauſes which I have brought, and confirm their ancient deſcent by borrowing vouchers and witneſſes from the countries that border round them. Wherefore I will endeavour to do the ſame thing, and, to that end, I will owe my chief aſſiſtance to the *Ægyptians* and *Phœnicians*; for their teſtimony in ſo confirming, that none of them can pretend to invalidate the evidence. And, indeed, the *Ægyptians*, take them altogether, ſeem to have been our greateſt enemies, as were the *Tyrians* of the *Phœnicians*. But I cannot affirm the ſame thing of the *Chaldæans*, becauſe they were the princes of our nation, and, on account of kindredſhip, have taken notice of the *Jews* in their hiſtories. When I come to produce my proofs about theſe, I will mention, at the ſame time, thoſe *Greek* hiſtorians who have any ways treated of the *Jews*; that no body thro' envy or detraction may get an handle of contradicting us.

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The next thing I ſhall go about, ſhall be to produce the *Ægyptians* themſelves for witneſſes of this antiquity of ours. Therefore I ſhall make bold to ſubjoin, once more, the words of *Manetho*, which refer to the time. For thus he ſays: ‘After that the people of the ſhepherds were departed out of *Ægypt* to *Hieroſolyma*, the king named *Tethmoſis*, who drove them out of *Egypt*, reigned afterwards five and twenty years, and four months, and then died. Whereupon, the kingdom devolved upon his ſon *Chebron*, who kept it there thirteen years; after whom, *Amenophis* held it twenty years, and ſeven months; his ſiſter *Ameſſes*, one and twenty years, and nine months; after her, *Mephres*, twelve years, and nine months; after him, *Mephramuthoſis*, five and twenty years, and ten months; after him *Thmoſis*, nine years, and eight months; after him, *Amenophis*, thirty years, and five months; after him, *Orus*, thirty ſix years, and five months; his daughter, *Acenchres*, twelve years, and one month; after her, her brother *Rathotis*, nine years; after him, *Acenceres*, twelve years, and five months; after him, *Acencheres* the ſecond, twenty years, and three months; after him, *Armais*, four years, and one month; after him, *Rameſſes*, one year, and four months; after him, *Armeſſes* of *Miamnus*, threeſcore and ſix years, and two months; after him, *Amenophis*, nineteen years, and ſix months; after him, *Sethoſis* and *Rameſſes*, who had a prodigious army of horſe, and naval forces; this prince conſtituted his brother *Armais* governor of *Egypt*, and inveſted with all the power belonging to a king, except his enjoining him not to wear a crown, nor diſhonour the queen and the mother of his children, nor converſe with the nation have no foundation of reaſon at all to raiſe their aſperſions upon.

Now, with regard to our nation, we inhabit a country neither adjoining to the ſea, nor are we any way fond of traffick; nor, on that ſcore, keep we up any correſpondence with other people: On the contrary, we have cities at conſiderable diſtances from the ſea; as we inhabit a fruitful ſoil, we ſtrive to cultivate it, with wonderful labour: But our chiefeſt care of all is, to train up our children, and guard our laws, as being thoſe people who make piety, and a performance of them, the moſt neceſſary work of our whole lives. But, beſides what I have advanced, we have a method of living only peculiar to our ſelves; ſo that we had no need of entering into commerce with the *Grecians* formerly, as the *Ægyptians* had, from the things which they imported or exported to other nations: And as the *Phœnicians*, who dwell by the ſea-ſide, from a love of money, and a deſire of buying and ſelling. But our anceſtors never turned their thoughts and hands on making depredations, as ſome others have done, or wanting to poſſeſs more than they enjoyed, entertained hoſtile ſentiments, tho' the country abounded in many thouſands of valiant men. Whence it came to paſs, that the *Pheœnicians*, to extend their commerce, immediately ſailing among the *Grecians*, came to be acquainted with them, and the *Ægyptians* by them, and afterwards all who ſtem'd the wide ſeas, from thoſe that carried their mercandizes to the *Grecians*. Afterwards, the *Medes* and *Perſians*, then in poſſeſſion of *Aſia*, came to have acquaintance with them, and chiefly the *Perſians*, when they extended their arms almoſt to the next continent; the *Thracians* diſcover'd themſelves by reaſon of their vicinity, or neighbourhood; and the *Scythians* divulged themſelves among them, by means of thoſe who ſail'd into *Pontus*: And all in general, dwelling to the eaſtern or the weſtern ocean, found no difficulty in being known by them, who had intenſions of compoſing ſomething of an hiſtory. But thoſe, indeed, who liv'd in remoter places, and, for the greateſt part, at ſome diſtance from the ſea, had none of theſe opportunities to get themſelves diſcovered. This was no more than what became the caſe of thoſe who inhabited *Europe*; for neither *Herodotus*, nor *Thucydides*, nor any other writer cotemporary with them, have in the leaſt mentioned any thing of the city of the *Romans*, which was already, and even long before, arrived to a great height, and ſpreading its victories with a glorious run of ſucceſs: For theſe occurrences were but lately carried into *Greece*. And as for the *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, the affairs of theſe nations were ſo far from the knowledge of thoſe who were thought the moſt accurate writers among them, among whom was *Ephorus*, that he thought the *Spaniards* were cloſed up in one city; when their frontier reach ſuch a breadth weſtward, and acquainted the world in his writings with rites and cuſtoms this nation uſed, which never had been, nor ever had been alledged to have been. What may be aſſign'd as a reaſon of this groſs ignorance in theſe particulars, is, that the *Grecians* of his time, refuſed having commerce with other nations: but it may be imputed more to the diſingenuity and fables of the ſeveral writers, who were ever fond to be thought to have ſtretched a point in their works beyond others of the ſame function. Methinks, then, there is ſmall room for wonder why our nation lay ſo much concealed from a great part of mankind, or that it affords ſo little opportunity of having an hiſtory wrote of it, when the long diſtance it ſtands from the ſea, and the peculiar inſtitutions of living to which its inhabitanty are accommodated, are conſidered.

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The place was called *Avaris*. *Manetho* ſays, that the ſhepherds enclos'd and fortified all this ſpot of ground quite round, with a vaſt and ſtrong wall, to keep and ſecure what effects and plunder they had among them. But that *Thummoſis*, the ſon of *Alisfragmuthoſis*, went with an army of four hundred and fourſcore thouſand men, and beſieged the wall they had built, and ſtrove to take the place, but that, deſpairing at length of bringing the ſiege to an iſſue, the king enter'd into theſe conditions with them; namely, that, provided they left *Ægypt*, every one was at liberty to depart where he thought beſt, without any danger to his perſon. That, in conſequence of this capitulation, they took up all their families and effects, and, to the number of two hundred and forty thouſand, left *Ægypt*, and took their root through the deſart into *Syria*. But becauſe they were apprehenſive of the government of the *Aſſyrians* (for *Aſia* then was under their dominions), they built a city in that country, which we now call *Judæa*, ſufficient to contain ſo vaſt a number of people, and called the ſame *Hieroſolyma*.' But in another book the ſame *Manetho* thus expreſſes himſelf with regard to rhe *Ægyptian* affairs, *That this very nation was called* Shepherds, *and that they were named captives in their ſacred writings*. Which is agreeable to truth. For our anceſtors of old were accuſtom'd to feed flocks; and their leading a paſtoral life, gave them the name of ſhepherds. And, again, they are call'd captives in the books of the *Ægyptians*, which reaſon, becauſe *Joſeph*, our progenitor, ſaid to the king of *Ægypt*, that he was a captive, and afterwards he invited his brothers into *Ægypt* by the king's permiſſion. But we ſhall elſewhere make a further, and more accurate enquiry, into theſe points.

The next thing I ſhall go about, ſhall be to produce the *Ægyptians* themſelves for witneſſes of this antiquity of ours. Therefore I ſhall make bold to ſubjoin, once more, the words of *Manetho*, which refer to the time. For thus he ſays: 'After that the people of the ſhepherds were departed out of *Ægypt* to *Hieroſolyma*, the king named *Tethmoſis*, who drove them out of *Egypt*, reigned afterwards five and twenty years, and four months, and then died. Whereupon, the kingdom devolved upon his ſon *Chebron*, who kept it there thirteen years; after whom, *Amenophis* held it twenty years, and ſeven months; his ſiſter *Ameſſes*, one and twenty years, and nine months; after her, *Mephres*, twelve years, and nine months; after him, *Mephramuthoſis*, five and twenty years, and ten months; after him *Thmoſis*, nine years, and eight months; after him, *Amenophis*, thirty years, and five months; after him, *Orus*, thirty ſix years, and five months; his daughter, *Acenchres*, twelve years, and one month; after her, her brother *Rathotis*, nine years; after him, *Açenceres*, twelve years, and five months; after him, *Acencheres* the ſecond, twenty years, and three months; after him, *Armais*, four years, and one month; after him, *Rameſſes*, one year, and four months; after him, *Armeſſes* of *Miamnus*, threeſcore and ſix years, and two months; after him, *Amenophis*, nineteen years, and ſix months; after him, *Sethoſis* and *Rameſſes*, who had a prodigious army of horſe, and naval forces; this prince conſtituted his brother *Armais* governor of *Egypt*, and inveſted with all the power belonging to a king, except his enjoining him not to wear a crown, nor diſhonour the queen and the mother of his children, nor converſe with the reſt of the royal concubines. He made expeditions into *Cyprus* and *Pœnicia*, againſt the *Medes* and *Aſſyrians*, all whom, ſome by the ſword, others without battle, he reduced entirely to his obedience. His proſperity, and the great ſucceſs his arms had, heighten'd his ambition, and made him puſh at things with a more inſolent air; for he carried his forces up into the eaſt, and conquer'd ſeveral cities and provinces there. Some time after this, *Armais*, who had been left in *Ægypt*, acted without any fear or dread againſt every command which his brother had enjoy'd to follow; for he not only raviſh'd the queen, but had communication juſt as he pleas'd with the other concubines; and, more than this, by the perſuaſion of his friends, he wore the crown, and roſe up againſt his brother. The perſon appointed over the *Ægyptian* rites and ſacred things ſent a book to *Sethoſis*, acquainting him therein how all things ſtood, and that his brother had proclaim'd war againſt him. Upon this, he returned immediately to *Peluſium*, and took his own kingdom into his hands. The province took the name of *Ægypt* from his name. For ſays he, that *Sethoſis* was called *Ægyptus*, and his brother *Armais*, *Danaus*.

This is the account of *Manetho*. Therefore if we fix the time to the account when theſe years begin, it will appear plainly that the perſons call'd *Shepherds* were our anceſtors, and that they ſettled in that country when they removed out of *Ægypt*, three hundred and ninety three years before *Danaus* came to *Argos*, whom the *Grecians* celebrate for their moſt antient prince. Thus two circumſtances, and thoſe of great weight, are produc'd by *Manetho* in confirmation of our antiquity, who faithfully follow'd the *Ægyptian* hiſtory, or account; the one is, that they came into *Ægypt* from another place; the other, that they removed thence, and went to another place: Which circumſtance is of ſo long antiquity, that it preceeds the actions at *Troy* a matter of a thouſand years. But as for thoſe paſſages of *Manetho* which he has added, not out of the *Ægyptian* writings, but (according to his own confeſſion) from accounts given by uncertain authors, I will diſcuſs them by themſelves in the ſequel, and prove them meer forgeries, without any manner of truth, or appearance of probability at all.

Wherefore I will paſs over from them to ſuch things as the *Phœnicians* have recorded of our nation; and, to this purpoſe, I will produce their teſtimonies of us. 'Tis true, that among the *Tyrians* are writings inſcrib'd in publick monuments for many years, and preſerv'd with great care, which regard thoſe actions done by them worthy of notice and remembrance. It is thus written in them, that king *Solomon* built a temple at *Hieroſolyma* one hundred and forty-three years, and eight months, before *Carthage* was built by the *Thyrians*; and beſides a deſcription may be read in them of the furniture of our temple. *Hiromus*, king of the *Thyrians*, was a friend of our king *Solomon*, who was ſucceſſor of his father in the league of amity between them. This prince to exhibit his liberality towards erecting the famous building of the temple, made him a preſent of one hundred and twenty talents of gold; beſides which, he ſent him the fineſt wood which he cut down out of the mount *Libanus*, to make the roof. *Soloman* in return for the grand civility, preſented him with ſeveral rich gifts, and with the country of *Chubulon* in *Galilee*. But the deſire of knowledge was the main link that ty'd theſe two great perſonages together; for they ſent problems to one another to be ſolv'd, wherein *Solomon* gave, commonly, proof of a ſuperior underſtanding, and in other matters, excell'd in wiſdom. From hence, ſeveral letters were mutually written to one another, which the *Tyrians* have preſerv'd. But that I may not be tax'd with falſhood in alledging theſe writings of the *Tyrians*, I will make *Dius* my witneſs, whom mankind look upon to have given a faithful and accurate hiſtory of the *Tyrians*. The following is the account which he writes about the *Phœnicians*. 'After the death of *Abibabus*, his ſon *Hiromus* reigned; this prince fortified the eaſt parts of the city with a rampart, and amplified it; the temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, ſtanding a-part from the neighbouring houſes, and ſituate in an iſland, after he had filled up the place between with earth, he annexed to the city and enriched it with preſents of gold, and then aſcending mount *Libanus*, he cut down trees for the building of temples. It is ſaid, that *Solomon*, king of *Hieroſolyma*, ſent riddles to him, and demanded back others from him, on a condition that he that would not ſolve them, would pay a fine of money to him that did. That *Hiromus*, having agreed to the propoſals, was not able to unfold the riddles, and therefore paid a very large ſum of money. That afterwards a *Tyrian* man appeared, named *Abdemonus*, who not only gave the true interpretation of the propoſed riddles, but produced ſome others in his turn, which *Solomon* being unable to unfold, he too repaid back to *Hiromus* a great ſum of money." Thus witneſſes *Dius* about the things which were already ſaid.

But I will add the teſtimony of *Menander*, the *Epheſian*, to this. This perſon tranſmitted to memory an account of all the actions, as they ſucceſſively fell out in time, of the ſeveral kings among the *Grecians* and *Barbarians*, collected from the records of every province or nation, being deſirous that this hiſtory ſhould want every thing but truth. Writing of thoſe who reign in *Tyre*, and then coming to king *Hiromus*, he has theſe words: 'After the death of *Abibabus*, his ſon *Hiromus* received the kingdom, who reigned thirty four years, and lived fifty three. This prince filled up with earth the place called *Vaſtus*, and ſet up a pillar of gold in the temple of *Jupiter*. He went to the *wood of woods*, and hewed down from the mountain called *Labinus*, cedar-trees, for the roofs of temples. He demoliſhed ancient temples, and erected new ones, and conſecrated the temples of *Hercules* and *Aſtarte*, and was the firſt who built one to *Hercules*, and then to *Aſtarte*, in the month *Peritius*, when he was at war againſt the *Tyrians*, for refuſing to pay the tribute 'imposed on them; and having ſubdued them the ſecond time to his arms, he return'd back. In his time flouriſh'd the younger ſon of *Abdemouns*, who, being order'd by *Solomon*, king of *Hieroſolyma*, to unfold the myſterious queſtions ſent him, always came off with honour.' Now the time from this king to the building of *Carthage*, is reckon'd in this manner: 'After the death of *Hiromus*, *Baleazar*, his ſon, ſucceeded to the kingdom, who reigned ſeven years, and lived, in all, forty-three. After the throne was poſſeſſed by his ſon *Abdaſtartus*, who liv'd thirty-nine, and reign'd nine years. But this prince was treacherouſly ſlain by the four ſons of his nurſe, the eldeſt whereof reign'd twelve years. After whom, *Aſtartus*, the ſon of *Delæaſtartus*, reign'd, who liv'd fifty-four, and held the government twelve years. After him his brother *Aſerymus* was king, who liv'd fifty-four, and rul'd nine years. This prince was ſlain by his brother *Pheletes*, who having procur'd the kingdom, reign'd eight months, and liv'd fifty years. He was ſlain by *Ithobalus*, the prieſt of *Aſtarte*, who liv'd threeſcore and eight years, and reign'd thirty-two. His ſon *Badezorus* ſucceeded him, who reign'd ſix years, and lived forty-five. *Malgenus*, his ſon, was his ſucceſſor, who held the reins of government nine years, and lived thirty-two. The ſucceſſor to him was *Pygmalion*, who held the crown forty-ſeven, and liv'd fifty-ſix years; and in the ſeventh year of his reign his ſiſter *Dido* fled, and built the city of *Carthage* in *Africa*. Therefore the whole time, from the reign of *Hiromus* to the building of *Carthage*, amounts to one hundred fifty-five years, and eight months. Since, then, the temple at *Hieroſolyma* was built in the twelfth year of king *Hiromus*, it muſt needs follow, that one hundred forty-three years, and eight months, elaps'd from the building of the temple to the foundation of *Carthage*; and now, methinks, there is no further need to produce more teſtimonies of the *Phœnicians* in favour of our nation: For the plain matter of fact ſtands clearly evinced from what has been cited; and the arrival of our progenitors in that country precedes, a long time, the building of the temple. For after they had brought it under their juriſdiction, then they began the building of the temple; all which things I took plainly from the ſacred writings, and they are mention'd in my books of *Antiquities*.'

But I now will have recourſe to the teſtimonies of the *Chaldæans* concerning us, as they are to be found in their books of record, which generally agree in other articles with thoſe of ours. *Beroſus* is my witneſs of theſe things, a *Chaldæan* by nation, and a perſon perfectly acquainted with learning and learned men, becauſe he publiſh'd books of aſtronomy of the *Chaldæan* philoſophy, for the uſe of the *Grecians*. This ſame *Beroſus*, a tracer of the remoteſt hiſtories, gives account of the deluge, and mankind that periſh'd in it, the very ſame way that *Moyſes* has done. He mentions, likewiſe, the ark wherein *Noah*, the prince of our nation, was ſav'd, which was borne to the top of the *Armenian* mountains: After which, he proceeds on, and ſhews the deſcendants of *Noah*, and aſſigns to every one the reſpective times they liv'd in, till coming to *Nabopollaſſar*, king of *Babylon* and *Chaldæa*, and, reciting the actions of that prince, he ſpeaks thus: *That having ſent his ſon* Nabuchodonoſor *into* Egypt *and our country, after he had receiv'd intelligence of their revolt, he conquered all, and burnt the temple at* Hieroſolyma, *and, removing all the people of our nation from their habitations, carried them to* Babylon; *whence it fell out, that the city remained deſolate threeſcore and ten years, till the days of* Cyrus, *king of the* Perſians. He ſays, beſides, *That the* Babylonian *king held* Egypt, Syria, Phœnicia, Arabia; *and that he vaſtly excelled in famous exploits all the* Chaldæan *and* Babylonian *kings that had gone before him.* And a little afterwards *Beroſus*, in his *Antiquities*, mentions theſe things again. I will produce his own words, which run in this manner: 'As ſoon as his father *Nabopollaſſar* receiv'd news that the governor, whom he had conſtituted over *Egypt*, *Cœlo-Syria*, and *Phœnicia*, had revolted from him, he, by reaſon of his age, unfit to endure labour, gave his ſon *Nabuchadonoſor*, who was hale and ſtrong, part of his army, and ſent him to give him battle. In conſequence hereof, *Nabuchadonoſor* attack'd the deſerter governor in a pitch'd battle, defeated him, and reſtor'd the countries again to his father's dominions. But about this time it fell out, that his father *Nabopollaſſar*, having contracted a diſtemper, paid his laſt debt to nature in *Babylon*, after he had reign'd twenty-nine years. *Nabuchodonoſor*, having not long after receiv'd news of his father's death, and put the affairs of *Egypt*, and of the other countries, into a tolerable poſture, at the ſame time recommending to the care of ſome of his friends the captive *Jews*, *Phœnecians*, *Syrians*, and *Egyptian* nations, to conduct 'em along with his heavy-arm'd ſoldiers and baggage to *Babylon*, he, with a few in his retinue, took his rout through the deſart to *Babylon*. Having got into his hands all that the *Chaldæans* had govern'd, and the kingdom which one of their powerfulleſt men had kept for him, he was inveſted in his father's dominions, and he order'd colonies to be aſſign'd for the captives, when they came thither, in the moſt convenient places of *Babylonia*. After he had enrich'd the temple of *Belus* with the ſpoils of the war, and other generous preſents, and had repair'd the city of *Babylon*, which then was, adding a new one to it, to hinder thoſe, who ſhould afterwards come and lay ſiege to the ſame, from cutting off the river, whereby their deſigns might be eaſier put in execution, he built three walls round the interior city, and three, likewiſe, round the exterior, which were partly of brick and bitumen, and partly of brick alone. And after he had thus fortified the city, and adorn'd it with magnificent gates, he built another palace near that of his father's, which far out-ſtripp'd it, both in magnitude,

'nitude, height, and other workmanſhip. It may be thought, perhaps, needleſs, and even tireſome, to give a deſcription of it. Let it ſuffice to ſay, that this work, vaſtly rich and magnificent, both with reſpect to its greatneſs and coſtly furniture, was compleated within the ſpace of fifteen days. In this palace he erected high walks made of ſtones, and form'd them with all manner of trees upon them, to give a perfect reſemblance of mountains; beſides which, he made a paradiſe, which was call'd *the hanging-garden*, to pleaſe his wife, who had been brought up in *Media*, and extremely lov'd a mountainous ſituation.'

This is the account which *Beroſus* gives of the aboveſaid king; and, beſides, he has ſeveral paſſages in the third book of his *Chaldaic* hiſtory, wherein he reprehends the *Greek* hiſtorians for vainly ſuppoſing *Semiramis* the *Aſſyrian*, to have built *Babylon*, and falſely writing, that the ſurprizing buildings there were erected by her. Now the *Chaldaic* hiſtory in theſe particulars deſerves credit, chiefly becauſe the *Phœnician* records are found to contain facts which ſquare with thoſe mention'd by *Beroſus* concerning the *Babylonian* king, namely, that he ſubdu'd *Syria* and all *Phœnicia*. And conſonant to this writer is *Philoſtratus* in his hiſtory, when, in a certain paſſage, he takes notice of the ſiege of *Tyre*. And *Megaſthenes*, in his fourth volume of his *Indian* hiſtory, where he endeavours to prove that the aboveſaid *Babylonian* king was a meer *Hercules*, both in ſtrength and magnitude: For he tells us, that he brought a good part of *Lybia* and *Iberia* under his yoke. But the facts, namely, what we have ſaid already about the temple at *Hieroſolyma*, how it was burnt by the *Babylonian* army, and afterwards begun to be built, when *Cyrus* came to the government of *Aſia*, we ſhall clearly evince from thoſe paſſages which *Beroſus* mentions afterwards: For in his third book he ſpeaks thus: 'And *Nabuchodonoſor*, being taken ill after he had begun the aforeſaid wall, preſently died, after he had reigned forty-three years. He was ſucceeded in his kingdom by his ſon *Evilmaradouch*. This prince, becauſe he ill abuſed the great place of authority he was in, was, juſt as he began to enter upon the ſecond year of his reign, treacherouſly murthered by *Nerigliſſoor*, his ſiſter's huſband. After his death the ſame *Nerigliſſoor*, who had thus treacherouſly uſed him, took upon him the government, and reigned four years. His ſon, *Laboroſoarchod*, as yet an infant, enjoyed the throne nine months; but giving too plain ſigns of the depravity of his diſpoſition and temper, his domeſticks villainouſly tormented him to death. After his death, the conſpirators having met together, conferred the kingdom with a general vote upon one *Nabonnidus*, a *Babylonian*, who himſelf had been one of the plotters. During his reign the walls of *Babylon*, which ſtood next the river, were rebuilt of brick and bitumen, far more magnificently than before; but being in the ſeventeenth year of his reign, *Cyrus* marched out of *Perſia* with a vaſt army, and, having ravaged the reſt of his dominions, invaded him in *Babylon*. As ſoon as *Nabonnidus* came to hear of his expedition, he marched out with an army to meet him, gave him battle, but was defeated, and, being forced to fly with a few about him, threw himſelf and followers into the town of the *Borſippeni*, where he ſhut himſelf up. *Cyrus*, having thus made himſelf maſter of *Babylon*, gave orders for the exterior fortifications to be diſmantled, becauſe he found the city ready to catch at any opportunity to foment troubles, and to be extremely difficult to be won, marched thence to *Borſippus*, with a deſign to lay ſiege to him. But *Nabonnidus* proving unable to ſuſtain the ſiege, voluntarily ſurrendered, and met with extraordinary humanity from the hands of *Cyrus*; who gave him *Carmania* to reſide in, but refuſed him *Babylonia*. After this, *Nabonnidus* remained the reſt of his days in that country, where he died.'

This account is no other than what agrees with the truth found in our own writings. It is to be read therein, that *Nabuchodonoſor* ſack'd our temple in the eighteenth year of his reign, and that its deſtruction continued full fifty years. That in the ſecond year of the reign of king *Cyrus* its foundations began to be laid, and that again in the ſecond year of *Darius* every part of it was finiſh'd. But to theſe particulars I will add the *Phœnician* accounts; for I take it there is no reaſon to omit citing a ſufficient, nay, an overplus number of proofs. The calculation of time found recorded in them, is as follows: *While* Ithobalus *reigned at* Tyre, Nabuchodonoſor *laid ſiege to his capital for the ſpace of thirteen years. After this prince, one* Baal *held the kingdom ten years. After him, judges were appointed, and they governed, namely,* Ecnibalus, *the ſon of* Baſlacus, *two months;* Chelbes, *the ſon of* Abdæus, *ten months;* Abdarus, *the high-prieſt, three months;* Mylgonus *and* Geraſtratus, *the ſon of* Abdelemus, *judged ſix years; after whom,* Balolorus *exerciſed regal authority over* Tyre *for the ſpace of one year. As ſoon as he died, the* Tyrians *ſent ambaſſadors to invite* Merbalus *out of* Babylonia, *who held the government four years; after his death they gave the ſame invitation to his brother* Hiromus, *who poſſeſs'd the throne twenty Years. In his days* Cyrus *was in great authority among the* Perſians. Whence all the time of their reſpective reigns takes in fifty-four years, and three months; for *Nabuchadonoſor* began the ſiege of *Tyre* in the ſeventh year of his reign: And *Cyrus* came to the crown of *Perſia* in the fourteenth year of the reign of king *Hiromus*. Beſides all which, that the *Chaldæans* and *Tyrians* relate of the temple, agree exactly with our writings; wherefore our antiquity is moſt manifeſtly prov'd from the paſſages cited above, and cannot be invalidated by any one. And I take it that the premiſes already cited are ſufficiently able to remove the ſcruples of ſuch perſons who are not too much prejudiced, and deſirous to wrangle.

Thoſe perſons who cannot pin their faith on *Barbarian* writers, but ſay that the *Grecian* accounts are alone to be truſted, ought to ſatisfy their own curioſity, by ſeeking out and producing many vouchers out of thoſe authors who had any knowledge of our nation, and to add thoſe who had taken any notice of us in their writings, juſt as fancy or whim ſuggeſted the thoughts to them. That *Pythagoras* the *Samian*, of remote ages paſt, the moſt of excellent philoſophers accounted, and one of extraordinary wiſdom and piety to the Deity, knew not all our inſtitutions, but, in ſeveral particulars, copied after, and ſtrove to emulate them, is a fact beyond queſtion. And that this great perſonage left no writings behind him, is the general conſent of all; yet ſeveral have mention'd him in their works, and of theſe the celebrated *Hermippus*, a curious ſearcher into all hiſtory. In his firſt book he ſpeaks thus of *Pythagoras: That he* (Pythagoras) *upon one of his acquaintance, named* Calliphon, *being dead, who was a* Crotoniate *by birth, ſaid, that his ſoul dwelt always with him; and that he commanded not to paſs over the place where an aſs fell, to turn from muddy water, and to abſtain from all manner of ill expreſſions.* And, at laſt, after theſe particulars, he ſubjoins the following: *Thus he acted and ſpoke, where he copied after the cuſtoms of the* Jews *and the* Thracians. For it's very truly ſaid, that this perſon mix'd his philoſophy with a great many of the *Jewiſh* inſtitutions. Beſides, our nation formerly was not unknown throughout the cities, many whereof had already left their own conſtitutions, and were come over to ſome of ours, ſeveral thinking them worthy of imitation. Which *Theophraſtus* diſcovers in his book of laws. For he ſays, *That the* Tyrian *laws prohibit any one from exhibiting a foreign oath.* Wherein, with ſome others, he recites the oath, call'd *Corban*. Now this oath is to be found among none, but only the *Jews*. The ſignification of it is, as though one ſhould ſay, tranſlating the word from the *Hebrew* tongue, *Gift of God*. But neither was *Herodotus* of *Halicarnaſſus* unacquainted with our nation, but in one place he ſeems evidently to point at us. Speaking of the *Colchians*, he has theſe words in his ſecond book: *The* Colchians, *and* Ægyptians, *and* Æthiopians, *are the only nations who firſt uſed circumciſion of the foreskin. The* Phœnicians *and* Syrians, *who inhabit* Paleſtine, *do themſelves acknowledge that they learned it from the* Ægyptians. *The* Syrians, *about the river* Thermodon *and* Parthenius, *and the* Macrones *their borderers, ſay, they lately received the cuſtom from the* Colchians. *Theſe are the only nations of mankind that practiſe circumciſion, and appears, they follow the* Ægyptians *in the method of performing it. As for the* Ægyptians *and* Æthiopians, *I cannot pretend to ſay who learned the cuſtom firſt.* He ſaid, therefore, that the *Syrians*, who inhabited *Paleſtine*, circumcis'd themſelves. Now the *Jews* are the only perſons, of all that dwelt in *Paleſtine*, who circumciſe. As he was acquainted with this article, ſo, accordingly, he thus delivers himſelf. Beſides, *Cherilus*, one of the poets of antiquity, takes notice of our nation, and alledges, *That it aſſociated with* Xerxes, *king of the* Perſians, *when he undertook his expedition againſt the* Grecians. And having enumerated all the nations under his banner, he places ours the very laſt, thus expreſſing himſelf:

Behind their march an awful nation took,
Grim were their looks, the Tyrian *tongue they ſpoke;*
Dwelling were Solyma'*s high hills ariſe,*
Next where the lake of vaſt Aſphalt'tes *lies.*
Shav'd were their heads, and ſquallid was their crown,
And o'er them skins of horſes heads were thrown,
Dry'd in the ſmoke, which hung depending down.

It is plain then, as I imagine, to all perſons, that he has hinted at us in theſe lines, becauſe the mountains of *Solyma* are in our country, wherein we inhabit, and the lake which is called *Aſphaltites*. For thoſe that are in *Syria* are the broadeſt and largeſt in the world. And this is the account of *Cherilus* concerning us. And that they knew the *Jews*, and wonder'd at them whereſoever they ſaw them, may be eaſily evinc'd not only from the common *Greeks*, but from men of conſummate learning among them. *Clearchus*, who was *Ariſtotle*'s ſcholar, and one of the beſt of the *Peripateticks*, ſays, that *Ariſtotle* his maſter has theſe words of a certain *Jew* (for he brings in his præceptor ſpeaking in the following manner). The account is thus: ‘But it would be tedious to inſiſt on very many particulars; for every thing about this man, or within him, ſeems to carry ſomething of admiration in it, and to beſpeak him a philoſopher: And I perceive it will be no unprofitable labour to touch a little about him. But 'tis ten to one but you, *Hyperochides*, if I was to acquaint you with an impartial account of the whole affair, would think I was telling you monſtrous fiction, or incredible dream. Hereupon, *Hyperochides* made an handſome reply, and ſaid, Why, that's the very thing that makes us all ſo fond of hearing it. If it be ſo, replied *Ariſtotle*, I will, in the firſt place, after the rules preſcrib'd by rhetoricians, diſcover the original of this man, that we may not be thought to be ignorant when circumſtances are laid before us. Do according to your own pleaſure, replied *Hyperochides*. Then *Ariſtotle* began and ſaid, The perſon is a *Jew* of *Cœlo-Syria*; the nation derives its original from the philoſophers among the *Indians*; and, as they report, theſe philoſophers the *Indians* call *Calans*, but by the *Syrians* are term'd *Jews*, taking their denomination from the place they inhabit; for the country they dwelt in is commonly call'd *Judæa*. The name of their city is exceeding rough, and difficult to be pronounc'd, being call'd *Hieruſalem*. When he came from the higher countries down to the places on the ſea-coaſt, and perſons entain'd him, who were a great number, he not only us'd the *Grecian* language, but their modes to. When we liv'd in *Aſia*, he happen'd to come in the ſame place where we reſided, and converſ'd ſome time with us, and ſome other philoſophers, to make trial of their wiſdom. And has he had lived freely among a great many learned men, he communicated to us abundantly more than he received back from us.' Theſe are the words of *Ariſtotle* out of *Clearchus*, who, beſides them, ſpeaks of the great and wonderful continency of this *Jew* man in his victuals. But thoſe who are deſirous to know more about him, may ſatisfy their curioſities out of the ſame book. For my part, I am cautious not to add more than is decent and requiſite. Thus *Clearchus*, by way of digreſſion (for his deſign was quite another thing (ſpeaks of *Hicatæus* the *Abderite*, who was not only a philoſopher, but excellently formed for the adminiſtration of affairs, coequal with *Alexander* the king, and who flouriſhed with him, and afterwards had the converſation of *Ptolomy Lagus*: This *Hecateus* (I ſay) did not give a curſory account, but wrote an intire book concerning the *Jews*, from which my deſign is to quote the chief heads of what he has advanced therein; and firſt of all, I will lay open the time, he takes notice of the battle which *Ptolomy* maintained againſt *Demetrius* near *Gaza*. Now this happened eleven years after the death of *Alexander*, and in the one hundredth and ſeventeenth *Olympiad*, according to the account *Caſtor* gives us of it. For perfixing this *Olympiad*, ſays he, *Under this*, Ptolomy *the ſon of* Lagus, *defeated* Demetrius *the ſon of* Antigonus, *who was ſirnamed* Pelioretes, *in a battle near* Gaza. And that *Alexander* died in the one hundredth and fourteenth *Olympiad*, is the general conſent of all writers. Upon which account 'tis very plain, that in his time, and under *Alexander*, our nation flouriſhed. Beſides which, the aforeſaid *Hecatus*, ſays thus, *That* Ptolomy, *after the battle at* Gaza, *made himſelf maſter of the other places in* Syria; *and that a vaſt multitude of people, knowing his extraordinary humanity and clemency, went with him into* Egypt, *with a reſolution to gain employments in the government there; one of whom, ſays he, was* Ezechias *the prieſt of the* Jews, *a perſon about ſixty years of age, in great eſteem among his countrymen, of an extenſive underſtanding, prodigious elocution, and excellently verſed in affairs if any other man was, though, as he ſays, all the prieſts of the* Jews, *who were receivers of the tenths, and held the adminiſtration in common, amounted to a thouſand and five hundred perſons.* And making mention of the aforeſaid perſons again, thus praiſed, he thus ſays. 'This man enjoying this honour, and having made himſelf our familiar, after he had received ſome of his own countrymen, laid before them all the difference, their way and method of living which he explained out of a written book.' After which, *Hecateus* makes ample and plain mention of the behaviour we entertain towards our laws, and that we had rather ſuſtain the worſt of hardſhips, than act repugnant to them, being perſuaded that in ſo doing we act an honourable and glorious thing. 'Wherefore (ſays he) though they are generally uſed to ſcandalous and bitter treatment from their neighbours and foreigners, and meet with injurious uſage frequently from the *Perſian* kings and governors; yet all this cannot make them alter their opinions, for the maintaining of which they ſubmit with the greateſt bravery to the worſt of torments and pains, nay, the cruelleſt deaths, and will not be induced to violate the inſtitutions of their country.' Beſides which, he produces no inconſiderable proofs of their inalterable minds and unchangeable reſolutions, with reſpect to a ſtrict obſervation of their laws; for he tells us, 'That on a time when *Alexander* was at *Babylon*, and was minded to rebuild the temple of *Belus*, which had fallen down, having given orders to all his army to raiſe the ground, that the *Jews* were the only perſons who ſtood out, nay, and who were cruelly whipt and had heavy fines impoſed upon them; but that the king at laſt pardoned them, and ſeemed ſorry for what he had done; and that when they returned into their country, they pulled down all the temples and alters that had been built; for ſome whereof the *Satrape* or governors laid heavy fines on them, and for others they obtained pardon.' And more than all this he adds, 'that this proceeding of theirs, juſtly procured them to be admired.' And again he takes notice, that our nation was exceedingly populous, 'for the *Perſians* firſt of all carried away ſeveral thouſands of our countrymen from their native habitations, and that after *Alexander*'s death a conſiderable number removed into *Ægypt* and *Phœnicia* by reaſon of a rebellion that broke out in *Syria* at that time.' And the ſame hiſtorian diſcovers the largeneſs and beauty of the country which we inhabit, for ſays he, *they poſſeſs thirty hundred thouſand acres of the moſt fruitful and rich ſoil; for* Judea *is of this dimenſion.* Beſides, he mentions the city of *Hieroſolyma*, and its having been inhabited ſeveral ages paſt, the multitude of its inhabitants, and the building of the temple, all which he thus ſpeaks of. *The* Jews *have ſeveral caſtles and towns throughout their country, but one fortified city, a matter of fifty furlongs in circumference, and inhabited by an hundred and twenty thouſand ſouls, which they call* Hieroſolyma. *In the very heart of the city there is a ſtone wall, near five acres in length, and a hundred cubits in breadth, with two gates, where a four ſquare altar ſtands, whoſe reſpective ſides are twenty cubits, and the height twelve: But beſides this altar, there is a large tabernacle, wherein are an altar and a candleſtick both of gold, and weighing two talents, and beſides, the light continually is kept burning day and night, there is no repreſentation of any thing there, no donation at all, no plant or grove, nor any thing of that kind. The prieſts aſſiduouſly day and night herein employ themſelves about certain expiations, and are abſolutely denied the uſe of wine in the temple.* But the ſame Author witneſſes further, that we fought with *Alexander*, and afterwards with his ſucceſſors. I will take the liberty to ſubjoin what he himſelf ſays he was an eye-witneſs of, the circumſtance being tranſacted by a *Jew* in the expedition; the manner he gives us the account in is thus. *As I travelled to the*

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read ſea in company with ſome other Jewiſh *horſemen, who conducted me in my journey, there was one of the company, named* Moſollomus, *a perſon of extraordinary courage, and admirable ſtrength, and allow'd by the confeſſion of all, to be the beſt archer either among the* Greeks *or* Barbarians. *This perſon, upon all the company's moving on forward in their journey, and a ſouthſayer demanded them to halt, aſked them what made them ſtop? Hereupon the augur ſhowed him a bird, and at the ſame time telling him, if ſo be the bird reſted where they were, that every one then ought to ſtay in that place; but, provided he preſently took to his wings, then they were to proceed directly onwards in their journey; but if the bird turned back, they were to turn back alſo. The* Jew *made no manner of reply to what the augur had ſaid, but immediately bending his bow, ſhot an arrow thro' the bird. The augur and ſome others took the thing very ill, and curſed him for what he had done; upon which (ſaid he) How comes this infatuation into your heads to take an unlucky bird into your hands? How could you think it poſſible that a bird, who could not guard over his own life, ſhould prognoſticate any good about this journey of ours? Had he had an inherent virtue to have foreknown what would come, he would never have appeared in this place, through fear that* Moſollomus *the* Jew *ſhould have killed him with an arrow.* But enough of producing teſtimonies out of *Hecatæus*; for they who want to be further inform'd, may eaſily have recourſe to the book itſelf. I ſhall not blame my ſelf in naming *Agatharchides*, who thro' a mock ſimplicity, as beſt ſeemed to him, makes mention of our nation. He ſpeaking of *Stratonice*, ſays, 'That ſhe came into *Syria* out of *Macedonia*, having left her huſband *Demetrius*; but that *Seleucus*, contrary to expectations, refuſed to marry her. Upon which, while he was gathering together an army at *Babylon*, ſhe was managing her affairs about *Antioch*. That *Antioch*, being taken at the king's return, we fled into *Seleucia*; and when ſhe might have preſently embarked on board, and got off by water, ſhe followed a dream which forewarned her to the contrary, was apprehended, and loſt her life.' *Agatharchides* making this preface, and humourouſly expoſing the ſuperſtition of *Stratonice*, produces in the next place, as an example, what is reported of our nation; and writes in this manner: 'They, who are called *Jews*, have a very well fortified city, which the natives call by the name of *Hieroſolyma*, who generally reſt on the ſeventh days, ſo that at ſuch times they neither bear arms, nor till the ground, nor have any regard for any other employment, but abide in their temple, where, with up-lifted hands, they make prayers till the evening. When *Ptolomy*, the ſon of *Lagus*, enter'd that city, the inhabitants, who ought to have defended the gates, where employ'd in the ſame folly; they not only received a cruel maſter, but their very law convinc'd them that the cuſtom they ſo much obſerved was fooliſh and detrimental. The event of that expedition taught every one but them to throw away the obſervation of dreams, and reject the opinion they had conceived of their law, when human councils were two ſhort in intricate affairs.' This account was thought ridiculous in the opinion of *Agatharchides*, tho' others, who have examined the thing fairly and candidly, think otherwiſe, and eſteem it a noble circumſtance, and what deſerves commendation; provided there are ſome who conſtantly ſet the obſervation of the laws, and God's holy worſhip, before their lives or the defence of their country.

I fancy that I can produce inconteſtable proofs that ſome writers, not through ignorance of our nation, but through a certain envy, or for other cauſes wholly unjuſt, have omitted taking any notice of us. *Hieronymus*, who wrote an hiſtory of *Alexander*'s ſucceſſors, was cotemporary with *Hecatæus*, a friend of king *Antigonus*, and governor of *Syria*. Now *Hecatæus* wrote a book concerning our nation; *Hieronymus*, on the other hand, does not ſo much as mention us in his hiſtory, though he was brought up almoſt in our country. Here lies the difference between the inclinations of theſe two authors; the one was of opinion that, the *Jews* were a nation worthy of being tranſmitted down to poſterity with accuracy and truth; the other was guided by a ſenſeleſs prejudice which blinded his eyes from ſearching into the truth. However, let the hiſtories left us by the *Syrians*, *Chaldeans* and *Phœnicians*, and ſo many *Greek* Authors, ſuffice to confirm this antiquity of ours; to which number we may add *Theophilus*, and *Theodotus*, and *Mnaſæas*, and *Ariſtophanes*, and *Hermogenes*, and *Euhemerus*, and *Conion*, and *Zopyrion*, and very likely a great many others; all whoſe volumes I have not had the opportunity to peruſe, who have made any mention of our nation. And though the major part of thoſe authors, whom we have cited by name, have but faintly touched upon our books, and wandered from the truth of facts as they were originally perform'd; yet all are unanimous as to our antiquity, which was the ſole deſign I aimed to prove in this place. Of this number, indeed, are *Demetrius*, *Phalareus*, and *Philo* the elder, and *Eupolemus*, who have moſtly miſtaken the truth; though, where they have run into any miſtakes, 'tis but reaſonable that we ſhould pardon both with this excuſe, that it was not in their power to take and follow accurately the ſenſe contained in our books.

But I have one particular ſtill left to place in a proper light, out of which I propoſed in the beginning of my diſcourſe, which is, to ſhew that all the calumnies and abuſive reflections which ſome have thought fit to load our nation with, are downright falſe; conformably to which I will endeavour to prove that the authors of them are witneſſes againſt themſelves. And becauſe this is a circumſtance that, for ſome enmity or other, happens to be the lot of ſeveral others, I ſuppoſe there's no need of inſtructing thoſe who have applied their minds more cloſely to the reading of hiſtory: For ſome have not ſcrupled to diſhonour the grandeur of nations, and the high ſtate of the fineſt cities in the world, and even to traduce and vilify the plan and form of their different governments. In this diſhoneſt claſs of writers are *Theopompus*, who aſperſed the *Athenian* ſtate, *Polycrates* that of the *Lacedæmonians*, and he that wrote the *Tripoliticon* (not *Theopompus*, as ſome think) the city of the *Thebans*. But, excluſive of theſe writers, *Timæus* hath endeavoured to detract, in ſeveral paſſages of his hiſtory, from the aboveſaid and ſeveral other cities. And theſe are they who principally purſue this baſe method when they have to deal with characters of the greateſt excellency; ſome fancying envy and malice, and others an empty talkativeneſs worthy of tranſmitting down their names to poſterity. And, indeed, among the fooliſh and illiterate, they ſeldom are deceived in their hopes as to this point, but men of intregity and ſound judgment turn this malignant humour of theirs to their prejudice and ſcandal.

Indeed, all the ungenteel words and reproaches which have been thrown upon our nation, were originally owing to the *Ægyptians*, for the ſake of pleaſing whom, ſome writers have earneſtly ſtrove to pervert the truth of real facts, by an ungenerous obſcuring the arrival of our predeceſſors in *Ægypt*, as the caſe truly was, but dealing after the ſame baſe manner with their departing out of that country. The *Ægyptians*, indeed, found ſeveral pretences of hatred, which they ſtirred up againſt our nation in a very ſenſible manner. This enmity took riſe from the beginning, becauſe our people held a kind of government among themſelves in their country; and afterwards, when they left the land, the ſame evil diſpoſition broke out, becauſe fortune ſeem'd to favour them in all their undertakings in their own country: But, at the laſt of all, the difference of the religions between them and us kindl'd up an unquenchable flame for their religion, which they took to maim the moſt ſacred truths, was as far different from that of ours, as the divine nature is ſuperior to that of the animal kind. For it is a ritual of their country, which is common to it, to imagine bruits of this kind to be gods, and every one worſhips different ones; vain and ſottiſh men! who have learned from the beginning to imbibe ignorant thoughts of the ſupreme being. They refuſed being taught to imitate the ſolemnity and gravity of our learning, with reſpect to our theology; but when they found abundance of perſons approve of our inſtitutions, then their hatred began to ſhew itſelf againſt us: For ſome among them did not ſcruple to let ſo much folly and cowardice gain the aſcendants over their minds, that they were not aſhamed to vent their innundo's againſt their own ancient hiſtories; nay, to be ſo far blinded with hatred and envy, as not to know that they had wrote in contradiction to themſelves.

This neceſſarily brings me again to a principal head of my diſcourſe, which a little way before I produc'd as a voucher for our antiquity: This is *Manetho*, who promis'd to give us a tranſlation of the *Ægyptian* hiſtory out of their ſacred records, he premiſes, 'That our progenitors came into *Ægypt* with ſeveral thouſands, and overcame the inhabitants; after which, he himſelf acknowledges, that ſoon following they left the country, and ſeiz'd upon what is now call'd *Judæa*, and after having built *Hieroſolyma* erected the temple.' Thus far he traces old hiſtory; but afterwards aſſuming a liberty to himſelf, in order that he may be thought to have written what was ſpoken and related of the *Jews*, he foiſts in a parcel of monſtrous and incredible ſtories, ſhewing his deſire to blend us with a multitude of leprous *Egyptians* (as he ſays) who were forced for that and other diſtempers to abandon their country. After this account, he adds *Amenophis*, which is a falſe name, and therefore, without having the preſumption to aſſign the true time of that king's reign, though he has fix'd the ſeveral dates to the others with accuracy and juſtneſs, he joins ſeveral fables to this king's actions, without reminding himſelf that he had alledg'd that it was five hundred years before this when the ſhepherds went to *Hieroſolyma*; for the king's name was *Tethmoſis*, when the circumſtance happened. And now he acquaints us, that, from the time of the kings that ſucceeded afterwards, to the brothers nam'd *Sethon* and *Hermeus*, the firſt of whom he calls *Egyptus*, and the latter *Danaus*, there elapſed three hundred and ninety-three years; beſides that, *Sethon*, after he had expelled *Hermæus*, reigned fifty-nine years, and his eldeſt ſon *Rampſes*, after him, ſixty years. Thus we have his own confeſſion of our anceſtors going out of *Egypt* ſo many years before, after which, he puts *Amenophis* to the liſt: 'Which prince (he ſays) was deſirous to be a ſpectator of the gods, as had been the caſe of *Orus*, one of their former kings, and that he acquainted the ſon of one *Papius* with this deſire of his, who was nam'd alſo *Amenophis* and who, in reſpect to his extraordinary wiſdom, and great foreknowledge of things to come, was look'd upon as one who partook of a divine nature. In conſequence hereof, he pretends to aſſert, that this cognominal perſon told the king, that he might ſee the gods if he would but be pleaſed to ſcour all his dominions of lepers, and perſons unclean. He tells us afterwards, that the king being extremely rejoiced at the anſwer he had received, all people, any way affected with diſtempers, gathered together from all parts of *Egypt*, the multitude whereof amounting to ſeveral thouſands, he ſent them into the quarriers to the eaſt of the river *Nile*, there to perform the ſame labours as thoſe *Egyptians* who were deſigned thither. He ſays, there were ſome of the learned prieſts among them who were tainted with the leproſy; and that *Amenophis*, the wiſe and divine perſon, was afraid to draw upon him the king and the anger of God, if any violence was offered them; and therefore told him, from a preſaging mind, that ſome were coming to the aſſiſtance of the polluted, and who would reign over *Egypt* thirteen years. That theſe were circumſtances he was afraid to acquaint the king with, but that he left every thing in writing, and ſlew himſelf. That this action put the king into extreme grief.' Afterwards he ſpeaks thus: 'After they had been confined a ſufficient time to hard labour in the quarries, petitions were made to the king to allow them reſt, and a place for their defence; whereupon, he aſſigned the city named *Acaris*, which was quite deſtitute of inhabitants, and which had belonged formerly to the ſhepherds. This city, according to the ancient theology, was called *Tiphonis*. Upon their making their entrance into this place, and finding it convenient to execute their deſigns in, they choſe one *Oſarſiphus*, a prieſt of *Heliopolis*, for their general, and ſwore to obey him in all things. But the firſt act of this general was, to prefer a law which forbad them paying adoration to the *Ægyptian* gods, and enjoined them to abſtain wholly from any animals which the *Egyptians* held ſacred; but, on the contrary, commanded them to ſlay and conſume every one of them, and not to communicate with any one that was not of their body. Having ratified theſe and ſeveral other things which chiefly were calculated to oppoſe the *Egyptian* cuſtoms and manners, he gave orders for ſeveral hands to go to work and build the city walls, and be in a readineſs to make war upon king *Amenophis*. Mean while, having ſummoned ſeveral prieſts, and ſome of the lepers, he ſent ambaſſadors to the ſhepherds, who had been deprived of their habitations by *Tethmoſis*, and forced to withdraw to the aboveſaid city of *Hieroſolyma*; by this embaſſy acquainting the ſhepherds with the ignominious and ungrateful uſage his countrymen from time to time had received, he asked them to join with him in an expedition he had formed againſt *Ægypt*, and promis'd to conduct them firſt of all into *Avaris*, their predeceſſor's country, where he would afford them neceſſaries of all ſorts, and carry on the war as ſoon as occaſion offered, for the country could be put under their dominion with a wonderful deal of eaſe. This remonſtrance making them rejoice beyond meaſure, all, with great alacrity, to the number of two hundred thouſand men, marched out, and came to *Avaris* in a little time. As ſoon as *Amenophis* the *Ægyptian* king came to receive the news of their invaſion, he began to have no little uneaſineſs on his ſpirits, eſpecially when he recalled to mind the predictions of *Amenophis*, the ſon of *Papios*. And having ſummoned the *Ægyptian* people together, and entered into a conſultation with the principal of them, he ordered the ſacred animals, chiefly thoſe which had the greateſt veneration paid them in the temples, to be brought before him, and then commanded each reſpective to hide and guard with the greateſt care the images of the gods. Laſtly, he took care to ſee his ſon *Sethon*, who was but five years old, and who was called *Rameſſes*, from the name of his father *Rampſes*, conveyed to a friend of his. But he himſelf marched at the head of three hundred thouſand courageous men, but declined the engagement on meeting the enemy, ſuppoſing he ſhould fight againſt God; and therefore returned, and took *Memphis* in his way; where, taking *Apis*, and the other ſacred animals which had been brought him, he croſſed over into *Ethiopia* with all his ſhipping, and a vaſt multitude of *Egyptians*. The king of *Ethiopia* lay under ſeveral obligations to *Amenophis*; upon account whereof, after he had received him, and ſet before the vaſt multitude he had brought along with him all manner of neceſſaries which his country afforded, he gave orders for having cities and towns aſſigned him and his followers for them to live in during the fatal thirteen years of their baniſhment; and alſo an army of *Ægyptians* to guard the perſon of *Amenophis*, and protect his followers to the very frontiers of *Egypt*. Theſe are what were tranſacted in *Æthiopia*; mean while, the *Solymites*, on their deſcent with the leprous *Egyptians*, committed ſo many outrages upon the men, that they looked upon the victory they had gained with horror, who made any inſpection into their impieties. For they not only laid the cities and towns in aſhes, nor were contented to commit ſacrilege, and break the images of the Gods, but they alſo eat the fleſh of the ſacred animals, which had been ſet apart for divine purpoſes, and forced the prieſts and prophets to kill them, and then drove them away naked. It is ſaid that the founder and law-giver of this republic was a prieſt, by nation an *Heliopolitan*, named *Oſarſiph*, from the God *Oſiris*, which the city of *Heliopolis* worſhipped; but that, on going over to this people, he altered his name, and called himſelf *Moyſes*.'

This, and abundance more, is what the *Egyptians* ſay of the *Jews*, which I omit for the ſake of brevity. Nevertheleſs, *Manetho* expreſſes himſelf again thus: 'That *Amenophis* returned back again out of *Æthiopia* with a powerful army, and that his ſon *Rampſes* alſo came at the head of another large body of forces: That they two giving the ſhepherds and the lepers battle, defeated them, and after a great ſlaughter purſued them as far as the frontiers of *Syria*.' This and other things of the like nature are what *Manetho* writes. I will now ſhew that he trifles, and convict him of manifeſt lies; however, I ſhall make a diſtinction between what I am going now to ſay, and what I ſhall produce afterwards againſt him. By his own confeſſion, and acknowledgment, then, he declares, that our original is no way to be deduced from the *Ægyptians*, but that we came from ſome other country, and ſeized upon *Ægypt*, from whence we departed again. But that the ſickly *Egyptians* never mix'd among us, and that *Moſes* our leader was none of their deſcendant, but lived ſeveral ages before them, I will endeavour to prove from his own words.

The firſt ſtory he tells is a very ridiculous one. 'King *Amenophis*, *ſays he*, wanted to ſee the Gods.' Which of them do you think? For he ſaw already the bullock, and goat, and crocodiles, and *cynocephali*. But how could he ſuppoſe to ſee thoſe in heaven? And from what motive ſprung this ſtrange deſire of his? Becauſe, forſooth, a preceding king had ſeen them. From him, then, he had heard, what ſort of Gods they were, and how they were to be ſeen; ſo that he had no occaſion for any new art to execute his deſire by. But perhaps it may be ſaid, that the prophet was a perſon of great underſtanding, by whom the king believed he ſhould do theſe things. We will grant it ſo; but ſay, how came he not to foreknow that the king's unaccountable deſire was a circumſtance impoſſible for him to ſatiſfy? For what he longed for never happened. Again, what was the cauſe that induced him to think that the Gods avoided the ſight of his eyes becauſe of the lepers and diſtemper'd people? The Gods are angry at our crimes, not at our weak and ſickly bodies. Laſtly, how it came about for him to aſſemble together, almoſt in one day's time, eight thouſand lepers and other diſtempered perſons? Or how came the king to give ſo readily into the words of the prophet? It ſeems he commanded all the weak in body to be driven out of *Ægypt*; the king took care to have them thrown into the ſtone quarries, as though he had wanted workmen: His deſire was not to clear the country of them. He ſays, beſides, 'That the prophet laid violent hands upon himſelf, becauſe he foreſaw the anger of God, and the miſfortunes that were going to befal *Ægypt*, and that he left the king his prediction in writing. Pray how came the prophet not to foreknow from the beginning his own death? Why did he not oppoſe the king who was ſo deſirous of ſeeing the Gods? How came he to have ſo juſt an apprehenſion of evils which were not to fall out in his time? Or what was he to ſuffer of more terrible conſequence, that he ſhould haſten to kill himſelf? But let us ſee now the fooliſheſt thing of all the reſt. After he had heard theſe things, and even had fears of the conſequences, it ſeems he did not ſcour the country of the weak and ſick, as he ought to have done, in compliance to the prediction of the prophet; but, 'on their petitioning him, *according to his own words*, he gave them a city; which the ſhepherds had inhabited long before, which was called *Avaris*; where, being met together, they choſe a general out of the prieſts that formerly belong'd to *Heliopolis*: That this elected perſon introduced ſome laws among them, which were, not to worſhip the *Ægyptian* Gods, neither refrain from thoſe animals which were ſet apart for divine worſhip, but kill and conſume all; and none were to marry any but with thoſe of their own body: Which ſeveral laws they took on oath to keep inviolate. And that, after he had fortified *Avaris*, he maintained a war againſt the king. *After which he adds*: That he ſent to *Hieroſolyma*, requeſting the inhabitants of that city to enter into an alliance with him; and promiſing to give them *Avaris*, the ſeat of their anceſtors, provided they would leave *Hieroſolyma*: And that on making an invaſion, all *Ægypt* would be reduced to their arms with abundance of eaſe. *Afterwards ſubjoining*, That they arrived there with two hundred thouſand armed men, but that king *Amenophis*, ſuppoſing he was not to fight againſt God, immediately withdrew by flight into *Ægypt*, put *Apis* and the reſt of the ſacred animals into the hands of the prieſts, with orders to keep them. *And then*, That the *Hieroſolymites*, after their arrival, deſtroyed cities, burnt temples, ſlew horſemen, and committed all manner of inſults and cruelties. That he, *as he himſelf ſays*, who firſt inſtituted their plan of government, and made their laws, was by nation an *Heliopolitan*, named *Oſarſiph*, ſo denominated from *Oſiris*, the God worſhipped at *Heliopolis*; who having altered his name, called himſelf *Moyſes*. And he tells us farther, that king *Amenophis*, thirteen years from his firſt exile (*for juſt ſo much time the fates had decreed for his baniſhment*), came out of *Æthiopia* with a powerful army, engaged with the ſhepherds and the lepers, overcame them in battle, made a great ſlaughter, and afterwards purſued the reſt to the frontiers of *Syria*.'

The hiſtorian *Manetho* was not aware that in this extract he gives us a moſt palpable falſhood: For let the lepers and other diſtemper'd perſons who were with them, have ſhewn never ſo much reſentment at firſt at the king, and at thoſe who uſed them with ſuch cruelty, yet it cannot be doubted that when they came out of the quarries, and received the city and country from him, they were of a more gentle diſpoſition towards him. But granting they had ſtill kept alive their old grudge, they might have ſecretly conſpired againſt him, and not have proclaimed war againſt all the kingdom, when it may be fairly preſumed they had ſo many of kin to aſſiſt them. And ſuppoſing they had determined to have maintained a war againſt the *Ægyptian* people, it was not for them to offer to fight againſt their Gods, and ſubmit to laws contrary to thoſe of their country, under which they had been educated, and to which they had always been accuſtomed. Upon the main, we ought then to ſpeak our obligations to *Manetho* for ſaying that the authors of this antiquity were not they who left *Hieroſolyma*, but the *Ægyptians* themſelves, and principally their prieſts, who both projected the ſcheme, and forced the people to the oath they took. How is this agreeable to reaſon? None of their friends and familiars revolted from the common wealth, neither did they involve themſelves in the dangers and hazards of a war; but they ſent the polluted to *Hieroſolyma*, to get aſſiſtance from thence. Pray tell us what tie of friendſhip or acquaintance was there ſubſiſting between them? For they were enemies, and a great difference was in their manners. But, according to his words, they came into their propoſals without any heſitation; namely, being induced by the promiſes which had been made them, that they ſhould ſeize on *Egypt*, as though they, who had been forcibly driven out of the country, were extremely ignorant of it: And ten to one if they had been poor and needy, but they had been expoſed to ſome unforeſeen dangers. When they inhabited an happy city, and enjoyed a country of ſufficient extent, and better than *Egypt*, how came it about at laſt that their old enemies, and thoſe of polluted bodies, whom none of their people could endure, ſhould induce them to expoſe themſelves to danger, in order to give them aſſiſtance. Neither had they any fore-knowledge of the future flight of the king. For in one place he ſays, *That the ſon of* Amenophis *marched to* Peluſium *with an army*

army of three hundred thouſand men; a circumſtance which every one who came thither was very well acquainted with. But how could he make any conjectures of the king's alter'd mind, and his flight? After this, he ſays, *That the army of* Hieroſolymites, *have ſeized upon the magazines of corn, committed ſeveral outrages.* He charges them with this, as tho' they had not been enemies, or as though theſe circumſtances were to be laid to the charge of ſome other army called from elſewhere; ſeeing they had done the very ſame things before their arrival, and they who were born *Egyptians* had ſworn to do ſo But he proceeds, and ſays, *That* Amenophis, *ſome time afterwards, gave the enemy battle, and defeated them, and then purſued thoſe that fled, to the very borders of* Syria. So eaſy was *Egypt* to be won by all who invaded it on any ſide; and ſo remiſs thoſe who held the country by conqueſt, that, though they knew *Amenopis* was alive, they neither guaded the paſſages from *Æthopia*, when they might have conveniently done it; neither had any thoughts of enliſting other forces. *But*, he ſays, *That ſlaying them to the very borders of* Syria, *he purſued them thro' ſandy and thirſty places*, when it was hardly poſſible for an army to paſs thro' thoſe places without hazarding a battle.

Thus, according to *Manetho*, our nation neither takes its original from the *Egyptians*, nor has ſuffered any mixture with them. 'Tis not to be doubted but that many of the lepors, and other diſtemper'd perſons, loſt their lives in the ſtone quarries, eſpecially thoſe who continued a long time there, and were hardly treated: That many, too, died in the engagements which they were obliged to maintain afterwards, and that ſeveral more in their laſt flight.

It reſts now that I ſpeak of *Moyſes*. The *Egyptians* look'd upon this perſon as one wonderful and divine; yet they are pleaſed to throw a ſurprizing piece of ſcandal upon his character, and ſay that he is an *Heliopolitan* one of the prieſts of that place, and who, on account of his leproſy, was driven away with others. Now their own hiſtories diſcover, that he flouriſhed three ſcore and eight years before this time, and that he conducted our anceſtors out of *Egypt* into the country which we poſſeſs now. But that his body happened to have no ſuch impurity upon it, is very evident, from the words he himſelf ſpeaks. He forbade a man that had a leproſy upon him, neither to dwell in city or town, but enjoin them to walk by themſelves, and with garments rent; and that he who happened to touch ſuch a perſon, or reſided under the ſame roof with him, was, in his opinion, reckoned equally impure. And further, that if the diſtemper was healed, and the body came to enjoy its former purity, he commanded even them to purification, to be made by bathing in ſpring water, and by ſhaving off all the hair; and not, even then, to be admitted into the ſacred city, till ſeveral ſacrifices of different kinds were offered: Tho' it was but reaſonable that he who fell into this diſtemper, ſhould have us'd a tender care and humanity towards thoſe who labour'd under the ſame diſtemper. Theſe were the laws he made about lepers, which were not the only ones, but he prohibited thoſe from exerciſing the ſacred function who were defective, or impure, in any part of their body; and yet, if it ſo happened that any one actually in the ſacred function fell into this diſtemper, he commanded him to be deprived of the honour. How, then, is it reaſonable to think that he himſelf would promulgate laws againſt theſe very things to his own defamation and diſcredit? Beſides, the altering his name is another circumſtance that carries vaſt incredibility along with it. He ſays, *He was called* Aſarſiph; but, indeed, this little agrees with the mutation of the name. Now the appellation (*Moyſes*) ſignifies one who hath ſaved from the water; for the *Egyptians* call water *Moy* · Upon which, I take it, I have ſufficiently proved that *Manetho*, ſo far as he follows the old writings, comes pretty near the truth; but where he lays aſide the juſt author, and hath recourſe to fables, he ſpeaks either things vaſtly improbable, or aſſents to thoſe authors who have forg'd lies upon our nation.

Next to *Manetho* I will make ſome enquiry into what *Chæremon* ſays. This perſon profeſſing to write an *Egyptian* hiſtory, and adding, juſt as *Manetho* has done, the ſame name *Amenophis* of the king and his ſon *Rameſſes*, ſays, ' That *Iſis* appeared to *Amenophis* in a dream, complaining of him that his temple had been deſtroyed by the war. That *Phritiphas*, the ſacred ſcribe, told him, he ſhould never more be troubled with nocturnal terrors, provided he drove out of *Egypt* the lepers and diſtempered men. That, in conſequence of this news, he collected two hundred and fifty thouſand diſtempered perſons and baniſhed them his dominions. That the generals of this multitude were *Moyſes* and *Joſeph*, which latter was ſcribe of the holy things. That they had *Egyptian* names, *Moyſes* being called *Tiſithes*, and *Joſeph* by the name of *Peteſeph*. That theſe two came to *Peluſium*, and there found three hundred and fourſcore thouſand perſons left there by *Amenophis*, whom he had refuſed to carry over with him into *Egypt*. That an alliance being made with this vaſt additional number, they made an expedition into *Æthiopia*, but that *Amenophis* finding himſelf in no condition to withſtand their united forces, fled into *Egypt*, leaving his wife behind him, who was big with child. That ſhe, concealing her ſelf in a certain cave, brought forth a boy, whoſe name was *Meſſene*, who, coming to man's eſtate, drove the *Jews* into *Syria*, who were two hundred thouſand in number, brought back his father *Amenophis* out of *Ethiopia*.'

This is the account *Chæremon* gives us of this matter. Now I ſuppoſe, from what has been ſaid, that both theſe hiſtorians had inclinations alike to publiſh lies; for if there were any footſteps of truth to be traced, it is next to an impoſſibility the difference ſhould be ſo great between them. But they who have a mind to publiſh falſhoods, do not confine themſelves to write what other authors agree in, but feign things juſt as their own humours lead them. *Chæremon*, indeed, ſays, that the king's deſire of ſeeing the Gods, was the cauſe of baniſhing the impure perſons; but the dream about *Iſis* is a meer fiction of this hiſtorian's own invention; beſides which, he takes notice of *Amenophis*, who pre-adviſed the king of making the luſtration. He calls him *Phritiphas*. They do much differ with regard to the number of the multitude, the one ſaying they were fourſcore thouſand, the other two hundred and fifty thouſand. But *Manetho* tells us they were at firſt condemned to the quarries, afterwards brought thence, and *Avaris* given them to inhabit. That all *Ægypt*, next, was involved in a terrible war; and that, laſt of all, the auxiliaries were drawn from *Hieroſolyma*. Repugnant to this account, *Chæremon* ſays, that leaving *Egypt*, they found about *Heluſiam* three hundred and fourſcore thouſand men, which *Amenopis* had left behind him, and that they invaded *Egypt* again with an additional number; but that *Amenophis*, in the interim, thought fit to retire into *Ethiopia*. But what is the pleaſanteſt tale of all, this hiſtorian ſays not a ſyllable of, who, and whence ſo many thouſands were; neither mentions he whether they were *Egyptians*, or foreigners of ſome other country. Neither has he aſſigned one reaſon why the king refuſ'd to carry them with him into *Egypt*, though he is particular in ſetting down the account of *Moyſes*, as if *Joſeph* had been expelled with him at the ſame time, though there are no leſs than four ages between the death of the latter, and the time of the former, which take in full one hundred and ſeventy years. Again, *Rameſſes*, the ſon of *Amenophis*, is, according to *Manetho*'s account, made to join with his father in the management of the war, when but a child, to ſuffer baniſhment together with him, and to fly with him into *Ethiopia*. The latter writer, on the other hand, ſays, that, after his father's death, he was born in a cave; that afterwards he fought a battle againſt the *Jews*, conquered, and drove them, who were to the number of two hundred thouſand, into *Syria*. Oh the proneneſs of man to vent falſhood! he never told us before who the three hundred and fourſcore thouſand were, nor how the one hundred and fourſcore thouſand came to periſh; whether they loſt their lives in the field of battle, or fled over to *Rameſſes*; but what's the moſt to be admired at is, that we cannot learn from him, whom they are he calls *Jews*, or to which of them he gives this appellation; whether to the two hundred and fifty thouſand lepers, or to the three hundred and fourſcore thouſand who were about *Peluſiam*. But probably it may be eſteemed folly to offer to confute them in more particulars, who are different from themſelves. If others had controlled them, they had been more to be borne with.

I will juſt add *Lyſimachus* to them, who is remarkable, equally with others, in producing falſhoods; nay, excels, in the greatneſs of his fictions their incredible ſtories: From whence it will appear, that his envy to us was the ſole cauſe of his feigning ſuch monſtrous ſtuff. He ſays, 'That, when *Bocchoris* reigned over *Egypt*, the people of the *Jews*, who were infected with the leproſy, ſcabbedneſs, and other diſtempers, fled to the temples, and begged their bread. That abundance of people being taken with theſe diſtempers, a barrenneſs and dearth ſucceeded thereupon in *Egypt*. That *Bocchoris*, the *Egyptian* king, ſent to conſult the oracle of *Ammon* about the dearth; and was anſwered by the God, that he was to cleanſe the temples from impure and impious men, by driving them out of the temples into diſolate places, but that he muſt drown the leprous and ſcabby, the ſun being offended that they continued to live; that the temples were to be expiated, and then the ground would produce fruit again. That *Bocchoris*, having received this oracle, ſummoned together the prieſts, ordered ſacrifices to be brought, and then commanded to aſſemble together the impure perſons, and ſurrender them into the hands of his ſoldiers, who were to conduct them into the deſert; that the lepers had weights of lead tyed to them, and ſo were thrown into the ſea. That the lepers, and thoſe labouring with the ſcurvey, being thus drowned, the reſt were collected together, and expoſed in the deſert, there to finiſh their lives. That they had a conſultation about themſelves, but, the night approaching, they made fires, and ſet up lights, and kept ſtrict guard: And that the next night they faſted, in order to make the Gods look down upon them with a more favourable eye. That the next day, one *Moyſes* adviſed them to travel boldly on in one way, until they came to a cultivated country: That he then commanded them to ſhew no mercy or quarter to any man living, neither to harbour within their breaſts any good thoughts, but the very worſt: To pull down the temples and the altars of the Gods that would happen to fall in their way. That a great many of them approving of theſe inſtructions, and reſolving to follow them, they purſued their journey through the deſert; and, after a ſeries of ſeveral difficulties, arrived at laſt in places that were cultivated: That afterwards uſing the inhabitants ill, rifling and burning their temples, they came into the place which is now called *Judæa*, where, having built themſelves a city, they took up their habitation in it: That they called this city *Hieroſyla*, from their own diſpoſition; but that, afterwards, augmenting in their number and forces, they changed the name to wipe off their diſgrace, called the city *Hieroſolyma*, and themſelves *Hieroſolymites*.'

This writer found not the ſame king, whom he mentions, as the others did, but hath forg'd a name of much later ſtanding; he omits the dream and the *Egyptian* prophet, and goes to *Ammon* for an anſwer about the ſcabby and lepers. He tells us, the multitude of the *Jews* were aſſembled together at the temples; but has left the name of the leprous undecided, and whether or no the *Jews* were the only perſons that were involv'd in the diſtemper? He ſays, the people of the *Jews*; which? Stranger, or native? How comes he thus to call them *Jews*, when they were *Egyptians*? If they were ſtrangers, why do not you acquaint us from whence they came? How comes ſo large a multitude to be ſtill remaining, when the king had drowned ſo many of them in the ſea, and baniſhed the reſt into the deſart? Or how croſſed we the deſart, and came to get that country into our hands which we now poſſeſs? Beſides, how built they their city, and erected their temple, ſo famous over the world? This hiſtorian certainly would not only have given us the name of their legiſlator, but have acquainted us with his family, who he was, and from whom deſcended, and what was the reaſon inducing him to promulgate ſuch laws about the Gods, and thoſe things which are prejudicial to mankind. If they had been *Egyptians* by nation, they would not have renounced ſo ſoon the inſtitutions of their country, and had they been from any place elſewhere, they certainly had ſome laws among them wherein they had been inſtituted by a long acquaintance with them. And ſuppoſing they had taken the oath, as pretended, which was, never to give any mercy or quarter to thoſe who had baniſh'd them, yet the action had reaſon enough on its ſide; and to alledge that they undertook a moſt cruel war againſt mankind, when (according to the writer's own words) they were in a miſerable condition, and deſtitute of all things, is ſo far from involving them in a fooliſh attempt, that it retorts the ſtupidneſs of the thing upon him who feign'd the account. Who had the aſſurance to ſay that the name of the city which was given it from the riſling of temples, was changed in ſucceeding times. Poſterity, indeed, thought ſuch a name ſcandalous, and which deſerv'd to be hated; but they who were the founders of the city were of opinion, that the appellation was ornamental and grand. This good perſon, moved on by too immoderate a deſire of ſpilling his venomous ſpeeches, did not allow himſelf time ſufficient to acquaint himſelf that *the riſling of temples* is not expreſs'd by one and the ſame word alike by *Grecians* and *Jews*. Why ſhould then a man go on to ſay any thing further againſt a falſhood ſo impudently and ſhameleſly told? But becauſe my book is carried already to a ſufficient length, I will make another beginning, and diligently annex the reſt of thoſe heads which any way belong to what I have deſigned.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
OF THE
ANTIQUITIES of the *JEWS*,
AGAINST
APION.

BOOK II.

IN the foregoing book, my deareſt friend *Epaphroditus*, I have ſhewn the antiquity of our nation, by confirming the truth thereof from the writings of the *Phœnicians*, *Chaldæans*, and *Egyptians*, and by producing ſeveral other *Greek* hiſtorians as witneſſes of what I have advanced; in the courſe whereof, I take it, I have ſufficiently laid open and refuted the invectives and aſperſions of *Manetho*, *Chæremon*, and ſome others. My deſign is now to attack the reſt of authors, who, in their writings, have mentioned any thing againſt us, in order to weaken and invalidate their accounts: Though I am ſcarce enough confirmed in my own opinion, whether I ſhould beſtow any time or pains in refuting the grammarian *Apion*. For the paſſages wherein he has mentioned us, are, ſome of them, much of the ſame ſtamp with what others have ſaid of us; thoſe, indeed, of his own inſerting and adding, are very poor and cold conceits, and in ſeveral particulars betray a childiſh ſcurrility, and, to ſpeak my mind juſtly and freely, diſcover great want of learning; as though they had been compoſed by a perſon of ill morals, and by one who all his life-time had been a turbulent man. As it ſeems that abundance of perſons, through a fooliſh motive, are rather taken with ſuch kind of diſcourſe, than with ſuch as has been committed to writing with a world of care and diligence, and are more pleas'd with invectives and abuſes, and more uneaſy at hearing commendations given of others. I conſidered that I was under a neceſſity not to paſs by this author without examining him, who has accuſed us in ſo open and flagrant a manner, as though his intenſions had been to have brought us before the judgment-ſeat. And I diſcover that a great many men have a natural propenſity to be wonderfully pleaſed, when the perſon, who begins to throw his ſcurrility and abuſive language upon another, is refuted in his own follies. Such a man's diſcourſe certainly creates us no ſmall trouble in reading it, and abundance of labour is found to underſtand what his ſentiments are, or what he means. Sometimes, ſeemingly in a vaſt-diſorder, and confounded with the lies he had been telling, he falls now and then into hints which come pretty near thoſe which have happened under our examination above concerning the removal of our anceſtors out of *Ægypt*. Sometimes he falls to throwing accuſations againſt the *Jews* living at *Alexandria*; and at other times mixes himſelf amongſt the ſacred things of our temple, and amongſt our rites and ceremonies which he equally traduces.

That our forefathers were no deſcendants of the *Ægyptians*; that they were driven out of their country for no bodily defect or other pretences of that nature, I think I have not only very extenſively, but even above meaſure, ſhewn in my foregoing book: What *Apion* has thought fit to add to the accounts above-mentioned I will curſorily run over. The following are what he himſelf ſays in his third book of his *Egyptian* hiſtory. Moyſes, *as I am informed from old* Egyptians, *was a native of* Heliopolis, *who, trained up in the cuſtoms and inſtitutions of his country, made thoſe ſupplications which had been offered in the open air, to be preferred in ſuch encloſures as were in the city. Beſides which, he ordered all the city, during prayers-time, to face the riſing ſun. For* Heliopolis, *is exactly ſituated in that manner. He placed pillars in the room of gnomons* or *obeliſks*,

liſks, under which he put baſons, whereupon the ſhadow deſcended from their tops upon them: And, by this means, he followed the ſame courſe as the ſun. This is the elegant and fine language of this grammarian. Indeed, the monſtrous falſity of this paſſage want no words to refute it, the works of *Moyſes* being ample witneſſes againſt it. Neither when *Moyſes* firſt of all erected the tabernacle to God, did he either put any ſuch form to it, or gave any commands to poſterity to do: Neither did *Solomon*, who built the temple in after-ages, ſhew himſelf ſo curious in that affair, as *Apion* has formed to his thoughts. He ſays, *That he was acquainted from old men, that* Moyſes *was a native of* Heliopolis. He himſelf, for example, was young, and believed the ſtories of thoſe who knew, and were daily acquainted with him. But he himſelf, though a grammarian, is at a mighty loſs to know for certain where to fix the birth-place of *Homer* the poet, and labours under the ſame difficulty with reſpect to *Pythagoras*, who, in compariſon, was born but yeſterday: But *Moyſes*, who liv'd ſo many ages paſt, is a perſon he can eaſily account for, on the credit of what he has heard his elders ſay. Which makes it remarkably evident, that he has groſly miſtaken himſelf in this particular. What regards chronology, or the account of time, when he ſays *Moſes* brought out the leprous, the blind, and the lame, in my opinion this excellent and moſt accurate grammarian hath neatly kept time with his predeceſſors authors: For *Manetho*, indeed, ſays, that the *Jews* went out of *Egypt* while *Tethmoſis* was on the throne, a matter of three hundred ninety and three years before *Danaus* was in baniſhment at *Argos*: But *Lyſimculius* places this occurrence in the time of king *Bocchoris*, which makes it ſeventeen hundred years. *Molon*, and ſome other authors, juſt as their fancies have led them. But *Apion*, who deſerves more credit than the reſt, hath placed their migration in the firſt year of the ſeventh olympiad, in which year, according to his words, the *Pœni* built *Carthage*. He tack'd this mention of *Carthage* to the account, through a ſuppoſition that it would make ſtrongly for the credit of the relation: But never let it once enter into his thoughts that the very voucher he had produced made againſt him. If, with reſpect to this colony, we are to give credit to the *Phœnician* records, it will eaſily be proved from thence, that king *Hiromus* was more ancient than the building of *Carthage* by one hundred and fifty years, which I have endeavour'd to evince in the foregoing from the *Phœnician* monuments or writings; and ſtrove to ſhew, that the ſame *Hirom* was a friend of *Solomon* when he built the temple at *Hieroſolyma*, and contributed a great deal towards compleating that work. Now *Solomon* built the temple ſix hundred and twelve years from the migration of the *Jews* out of *Ægypt*. Beſides, he agrees with *Lyſimculius* in the number of the leprous (for he ſays they were a hundred and ten thouſand), but gives a wonderful reaſon, and what may be depended on, why the ſeventh day was called the ſabbath. *After they had journeyed ſix days, they were affected with ulcers in their groins, which made them reſt on the ſeventh day, being then arrived in ſafety in that country which is now called* Judæa, *and they ſtiled that day the ſabbath, preſerving the* Ægyptian *word; for pain in the groin is called* Sabatoſin *by the* Ægyptians. Say, now, Ought not ſuch trifling ſtuff in writing, as this, to be laugh'd out of doors; or, on the other hand, ought we not to ſhew our hatred to ſuch aſſurance and impudence in writing? For it appears, from the face of this aſſertion, that the whole hundred and ten thouſand laboured with this pain of the groin. But if there were blind and lame, and all kinds of other diſtempers among them, ſuch as *Apion* repreſents them, 'twas hardly poſſible they could make one day's journey. On the other hand, if they were able to march through the deſart, and, beſides, every man fight and defeat thoſe that oppoſed them in their rout, 'tis ſcarce poſſible to think that all, after the ſixth day, ſhould be ſeized with pains in their groins. Neither does ſuch a diſorder, or any thing like it, naturally fall upon ſuch as are a journeying: For armies which contain ſeveral thouſands, generally take their marches by fixed and appointed ſtages. Neither does it appear any way probable that ſuch a diſtemper could fall ſo general on a ſudden; for, to alledge this, would be one of the moſt ridiculous and abſurd aſſertions in the world. But this wonder-working *Apion* hath told us, juſt before, 'That they arrived in *Judæa* in ſix days, and that *Moyſes* having aſcended the mountain the ſecond time, which ſtands between *Ægypt* and *Arabia*, and which is call'd *Sinæus*, remain'd there forty days, and afterwards came down and gave the laws to the *Jews*.' Though, by the way, it was by no means poſſible to remain thoſe forty days in a deſart place wholly deſtitute of water, nor to croſs over the ſpace of ground that lay between in ſix days. The grammatical tranſlation about the name of the ſabbath, carries a very bold face along with it, or argues great want of judgment; for the words *Sabbo* and *Sabbath* have a wide difference between them: Becauſe *Sabbath*, in the dialect of the *Jews*, means a ceſſation or ceaſing from all manner of labour. Whereas *Sabbo*, according to his words, means no more with the *Ægyptians* than a pain in the groin.

Theſe are ſome of the *Egyptian Apion*'s conceits, which, beyond other writers, he has invented above *Moyſes*, and the migration of the *Jews* out of *Egypt*. And whereas the miracle, if he will offer to tell ſuch a ſtory of our forefathers, as to aſſert that they originally came from the *Egyptians*. For his part, he greatly believs himſelf; for having been born in *Oaſis* of *Egypt*, and being the principal of all the *Egyptians* (if I may be allowed to uſe the expreſſion), he has foreſworn his true country and original. By belying himſelf to be an *Alexandrian*, he proves the depravity of his race. Juſtly, then, he calls them *Egyptians* on whom he throws his invectives and abuſive words. Had he not been of opinion, that the *Egyptians* were the worſt race of people upon the face of the earth, he would never have gone to deny his original. Since thoſe who ſtand up for the honour of their country think it an honour to be named from it, but blame thoſe who claim it more than they deſerve. Wherefore the *Ægyptians* are affected to us two ways; either they would appear to be a-kin to us, or elſe make us equal ſharers with them in their infamy. But the famous *Apion* ſeems to level his aſperſions at us, as though he deſign'd them a gratuity to the *Alexandrians* for the favour of their city: And being ſenſible that between them and the *Jews* dwelling in that city, there was a ſtrict agreement and friendſhip, he hath made it his buſineſs to traduce them, and vilify all the reſt; in all which he hath vented his moſt impudent lies.

Let us then take a view and ſee what the heavy and intolerable accuſations are which are charged upon the *Jews* who inhabit *Alexandria*. 'Marching out of *Syria*, *ſays he*, they fix'd their habitations near an impetuous ſea, near where the waves daſh vehemently againſt the beach.' Wherefore, if the place be diſhonoured by this account, it cannot certainly reach their country; but *Alexandria*, which he ſays is his country, is involved in the ignominy. Now the maritime coaſt is part of this place, and, as every one confeſs, the pleaſanteſt place in the world to inhabit in. Beſides, if the *Jews* made themſelves maſters of it by compulſive means, and ſo ſecured themſelves in the poſſeſſion, as never to have been driven out; it argues, in the ſtrongeſt manner, their extraordinary courage and magnanimity. But it ſeems, that *Alexander* gave them the place to inhabit, in conſequence of which grant, they enjoy'd equal privileges with the *Macedonians*. I cannot ſay what *Apion* would pronounce, had they dwelt about *Necropolis*, and not lived about the metropolis, and their tribes at this time of day had not been called *Macedonians*. Had he had the fortune to have peruſed the letters of *Alexander the Great*, of *Ptolomy Lagus*, and fallen into the writings of his ſucceſſors kings of *Egypt*; had he ſeen the pillar ſtanding at *Alexandria*, and read the privileges inſcribed thereon, which the great *Cæſar* granted them; had he, I ſay, been well acquainted with theſe ſeveral particulars, and then preſumed to have advanced, in his writings, things contrary to them, in ſuch caſe, he would have acted the part of a very diſhoneſt man; but been accounted a very unlearned perſon had he known nothing at all of them. The circumſtance which he pretends to make ſuch a wonder of, why they, who were *Jews*, could come to be called *Alexandrians*, is another proof of his wonted ignorance. This is eaſily accounted for: For all being tranſplanted into one colony or other, though they might have never ſo much difference in regard to one another, as to their original, they received their names from their founders. But enough of this affair. Thoſe of our countrymen that dwelt at *Antioch* were named *Antiochenes*, and deriv'd the right they had to the city from its founder *Seleucus*. In like manner, they who live in *Epheſus*, and in the other parts of *Ionia*, enjoy the ſame appellation as the citizens who had their births in them. This privilege being allow'd them by the ſucceſſors of the kingdom. The clemency of the *Romans* was ſuch, that they gave liberty almoſt for all to name themſelves after them, not confining this privilege to men alone, but taking into their favour nations of the greateſt extent and moment. For example, the antient *Hiſpani* or *Spaniards*, the *Tyrrhenians* and *Sabines*, were diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *Romans*. Now if *Apion* pretends to take away this method of communion, let him never more call himſelf an *Alexandrian*. He was born, as I have juſt now obſerved, in the inland country of *Egypt*; how can he then make himſelf an *Alexandrian*, if he takes away the right of the city, which he preaches from us? The *Romans*, who are lords of the world, refuſed the *Egyptians* (who are the only people in the caſe) from being free denizens of any city whatever. Yet *Apion* is ſo generous, that, when he has a mind to make that his own by right which he is forbid to obtain, he will not ſcruple to throw his aſperſions on thoſe who have gained the privileges they enjoy after the moſt juſtifiable methods in the world. *Alexander* did not tranſplant a party of our nation to the city, becauſe it wanted inhabitants. But this kindneſs of his was ſolely owing to the probity and fidelity he found ſo conſpicuouſly ſhining in all of us. 'He honour'd our nation, as *Hecatæus* alſo ſpeaks of us, for the probity and fidelity the *Jews* ſhewed him; to recompence which, he was pleaſed to aſſign them the country of *Samaritis*, to be held by them exempted from the payment of all manner of tribute.' And *Ptolemy*, the ſon of *Lagus*, after *Alexander*, had the ſame opinion of the *Jews* who dwelt at *Alexandria*. He committed the *Egyptian* camp to them, under a ſuppoſition they would be ſteddy and faithful in preſerving it: Nor was this all, for, willing that his dominions in *Cyrene*, and in the other cities of *Lybia*, might be kept in peace, he ſent thither a body of *Jews* purely to inhabit. After him, *Ptolomy*, ſirnamed *Philadelphus*, not only ſet at liberty all our countrymen who were held priſoners within his dominions, but alſo gave them ſums of money ſeveral times, and (what was the greateſt thing of all) had a vaſt deſire of being inſtructed in our laws, and of learning the books of the holy ſcriptures: To which glorious end, he ſent to aſk our principals the favour to depute fit perſons to come and interpret the law to him: And with a deſign that the ſacred volumes might be beautifully tranſcribed, he appointed not any ſort of perſons to look after this affair. But *Demetrius Phalareus*, *Andreas*, and *Ariſteas*, the former being the greateſt ſcholar of his age, the latter the king's body-guards, were ſet over to manage it: And had *Ptolomy* thought meanly of us, and not rather have conſider'd us in a ſurprizing light, he would never have entertained a deſire of learning the philoſophy of our country, or making uſe of our books.

But *Apion* was almoſt a ſtranger how that the ſucceſſive kings of *Macedon* were our moſt intimate friends and allies. For *Ptolomy* the third, ſirnamed *Energetus*, having taken all *Syria* by force of arms, did not ſacrifice to the gods of *Egypt* in order to return thanks for his victory; but, coming to *Hieroſolyma*, he offered up abundance of victims to God, according to the cuſtom of our country, and dedicated ſeveral preſents worthy of the conqueſt he had gained. *Ptolomy Philometor*, and his wife *Cleopatra*, committed all their dominions to the *Jews*, and appointed *Onias* and *Doſitheus*, who were both *Jews*, generals of their whole army: Nevertheleſs, *Apion* will not ſuffer their names to be at peace, when he ought to admire rather their actions, and not reproach their memories, and is bound to acknowledge his thanks to 'em for ſaving *Alexandria*, of which city he has ſuch a mind to be thought and eſteemed a denizen. When the two queens, *Cleopatra*'s, maintained a war, and expos'd themſelves to extreme difficulties, nay, to the imminent hazard of their lives, theſe generals were the cauſe of reſtoring peace, and making all diſcords and civil diſſentions ceaſe. *But afterwards*, ſays he, Onias *brought his ſmall army to the city, while* Thermus *the* Roman *general was there*. A circumſtance which I ſhould ſay is judiciouſly and handſomely placed in the order it ſtands. *Ptolomy*, ſirnam'd *Phyxon*, after the death of his brother *Ptolomy Philometor*, march'd out of *Cyrene*, with a reſolution to drive *Cleopatra* and the king's ſons out of the kingdom, in order to ſeize on it unjuſtly for himſelf; yet *Onias* undertook a war againſt him in behalf of *Cleopatra*, and never once, in the utmoſt diſtreſs of fortune, let that faithfulneſs leave him, which he had always ſhewn the kings. God was a plain witneſs of his upright and diſintereſted heart in the following particular: For *Ptolomy Phixon*, aſſuming courage to fight the army of *Onias*, and having the fortune of the day, and of taking all the *Jews* which were in the city, together with their wives and children, he put them, naked, with their hands ty'd behind them, under his elephants, to the end they might be trod to death; nay, intoxicated the beaſts, to be more ſure in his deſign. But his project met with a contrary event: The elephants, inſtead of trampling on the *Jews* who were oppoſed to them, forcibly ruſh'd on the king's friends, and trod many of them to death. This was a gauling ſight to *Ptolomy*, who obſerved himſelf abſolutely forbid from injuring thoſe men. A concubine of his, one whom he loved far above the reſt, by ſome called *Ithaca*, by others *Hirene*, on begging him not to aſſent to ſo much impiety, he yielded to her requeſt, and ſeem'd extremely ſorry for what he had done, or ſhould do. Whence the *Jews* inhabiting *Alexandria* are known to celebrate this day, becauſe God gave them a manifeſt deliverance in it. But *Apion*, who is the baſeſt reviler in the world, hath the impudence to accuſe the *Jews* for this very war which they maintained againſt *Phyſcon*, when they rather demand his commendations. Nay, *Apion* makes mention of the laſt *Cleopatra*, queen of the *Alexandrians*, purely to cavil at us, becauſe ſhe ſhewed her ingratitude to our nation; without ever ſo much as ſpeaking a word againſt her, who had all the injuſtice and wicked arts lodged in her heart, that the depravity of nature could ſuggeſt, both againſt the relations of her family, and her husbands, who loved her to diſtraction, both in common againſt all the *Romans*, and the emperors her benefactors, who, too, ſlew her ſiſter *Arſinoe* in a temple, without any proof of injuſtice or other criminal allegation produced againſt her. She killed her own brother by treachery, plundered her paternal Gods, and the ſepulchres of her progenitors: Nay, having received her kingdom from the liberal gift of the firſt *Cæſar*, ſhe had the preſumption to rebel againſt his ſon and ſucceſſor: And having ruined *Anthony* with love-philtres, and a train of abominable amours, ſhe made him both an enemy to his country, and a traitor to his friends about him; depriving ſome of their royal dignities, and madly compelling others to accept governments. But what need of more words to illuſtrate this point? She left him at the naval battle at *Actium*, I mean him who was her husband, and the father of ſeveral children whom he had by her, and forc'd him to ſurrender his government and army, and follow her. But *Alexandria*, at the laſt, was taken by *Cæſar*, yet ſhe was brought to this damnable reſolve, as to think herſelf in ſome tolerable degree of hope for the better, provided ſhe could but kill the *Jews* with her own hand, becauſe ſhe had always been a cruel and mortal enemy to all of them. Do not you think we have abundant reaſon to think well of ourſelves, when, in a time of famine, according to *Apion*'s own words, wheat was not ſold by the meaſure? But ſhe was puniſhed as her villanies and crimes deſerv'd. We, on the other hand, call the great *Cæſar* to bear witneſs for us what aſſiſtance and aid we gave him againſt the *Egyptians*; nay, we beg this of the *Roman* ſenate and its records, and of *Cæſar Auguſtus*'s letters, which have ſeverally approved our deſarts. *Apion* was at liberty, and therefore ſhould have inſpected theſe letters; he ought to have examined the ſeveral vouchers in our favour obtained, and done under *Alexander*, and all the *Ptolemies*, what the ſenate decreed for us, and what were granted for our benefit by the great *Roman* emperors. If *Germanicus* was debarr'd from meaſuring out corn to all thoſe living then at *Alexandria*, this is a conſequence or proof that there was a want of corn; for it cannot be made an accuſation of the *Jews*. And 'tis plainly evident, what the ſentiments were of all the emperors, with regard to the *Jews* who inhabited *Alexandria*; for the meaſuring out of the corn was a circumſtance not only againſt the *Jews*, but the other *Alexandrians*. But they have conſtantly been in poſſeſſion of that chiefeſt truſt beſtow'd on them by the kings, I mean the cuſtody of the river, and the entire management, being eſteem'd proper perſons to be entruſted in theſe matters.

But this gentleman proceedeth thus: *How comes it*, ſays he, *if they are citizens, that they do not worſhip thoſe Gods which the* Alexandrians *do?*

do? To which I anſwer, How comes it, likewiſe, that you, who are *Egyptians*, ſo vehemently and hotly contend one with another about religion? We muſt, on this account, ſay either that you are not all of you *Egyptians*, or that you are not men of one common intereſt; becauſe you take abundance of care and diligence to bring up a ſet of beaſts quite different to our nature, and which you pay adoration to: Whereas our nation appears always to be one and the ſame. If there are ſuch differences of opinions in you who are *Egyptians*, what need is there to make ſuch wonder at thoſe people who came to *Alexandria* from other parts, if they perſevere in a ſtrict conformity to the laws which have been eſtabliſhed from the beginning? But this ſweet *Apion* will be always finding ſome cauſe or other of ſedition to lay to our charge, who, if he juſtly accuſes the *Jews* who dwell at *Alexandria* in this reſpect, why is he not able to do it againſt all the *Jews*, becauſe we are known to be unanimous among ourſelves? But a man will meet with no difficulty in perceiving, that, like *Apion*, the citizens of *Alexandria* are the authors of ſedition. While they were *Greeks*, and the *Macedonians* enjoy'd this city, there was no ſedition ſet on foot againſt us, but we ſolemniz'd our ancient worſhip in peace and tranquillity; but as ſoon as a multitude of *Egyptians* increaſed among us, the confuſion of time began, and theſe deſtructive pretences were not wanting to diſturb the common quiet. Nevertheleſs, our people preſerved themſelves offenceleſs, and clear from error. Therefore the original of this diſturbance is to be charg'd to their account, who poſſeſſed neither the conſtancy of the *Macedonians*, nor the prudence of the *Greeks*, but every one were hurried away with a purſuit of the wicked arts of the *Egyptians*, and every one revived their ancient grudges againſt us. But it happens out well, that what they have the preſumption to act againſt us, falls to their own prejudice. A great many of them, when they found they were not able to obtain according to their deſires the right of the city, called thoſe foreigners, who were generally known to have juſtly got this privilege. For the *Egyptians* have no pretence to ſay that they owe the privilege of the city to the bounty of any of the preceding kings, nor to any of the emperors now. But we can alledge on our ſide that *Alexander* introduced us into this right, that his ſucceſſors kings have augmented it, and that the *Romans* have thought fit to be always our guardians. But *Apion* would ſeem to derogate ſomething from us, becauſe we ſet up no ſtatues in honour of the emperors, as if they were unacquainted with this, or ſtood in need of *Apion's* defence; when he ought rather to admire the great ſoul, and extraordinary modeſty of the *Romans*, for not compelling the ſubjects to go beyond their native laws: But only admit of ſuch honours as is conſiſtent with the piety, and as it is thought lawful with thoſe who offer them. The *Romans* account thoſe honours meer trifles, or of no ſignification, which are the reſult of violence or neceſſity. Which, therefore, makes the *Greeks* and ſome others believe there is an inherent good in ſetting up ſtatues. In a word, they make it a pleaſing thing to them to have their fathers, wives, and children's pictures drawn, while ſome, again, take the pourtraits of thoſe who nothing belong to them; nay, ſome are ſo fond in this reſpect, that, becauſe they love their ſervants, they muſt have their pictures. What wonder is it, then, if they ſeem to afford this honour to princes and great men? But our legiſlator, not as though he had propheſied that the *Roman* power was not to be honoured, but looking upon it as a reaſon which neither did God or mankind any benefit, forbad ſtatues or images, whether of the living, or of the inanimate Gods, to be made, as is proved in the ſequel. That good men might, next to God, have honours paid them, was far from being any prohibition of his; for, in this reſpect, we are very profuſe on the *Roman* emperors, and the people of *Rome*; for when we offer up continual ſacrifices, and not only perform theſe every day at the joint and common expence of all the *Jews*, but alſo when we have no other ſacrifices to offer up for our ſons, we allow this principal honour to the emperors, which we give to mankind beſides. Upon the whole, this may ſerve as a ſatisfactory anſwer to the allegations produced by *Apion* againſt *Alexandria*.

But I am ſurpriz'd at thoſe who firſt afforded him an handle to the pretences he has made uſe of; I mean *Poſidonius* and *Apollonius*, the ſon of *Molon*: Theſe gentlemen accuſe us, becauſe we do not pay adoration to the Gods which others do. Notwithſtanding all their lies, and the inconſiſtent blaſphemies they vent about our temple, they are ſo hardened and abandoned, that they imagine they commit no impiety in what they either ſay or do. Whereas 'tis a very ſcandalous thing for perſons, who ſtile themſelves free, to lie on any pretence or account whatever, much more to forge untruths ſo glaring about a temple ſo much celebrated amongſt mankind, and famous for the holy worſhip perform'd in it. *Apion*, indeed, hath not ſcrupled to pronounce about this holy building, *That the* Jews *ſet up an aſs's head in it, and worſhipped it, and thought it worthy of ſuch great veneration; affirming, at the ſame time, that it was thus diſcovered when* Antiochus Epiphanes *rifled the temple, and found this ſame head of maſſy gold, and worth a great deal.* To this my anſwer is, firſt, that, ſuppoſing, there really had been ſuch a thing, the *Ægyptian*, nevertheleſs, ought not to tax us with it, ſince an aſs is not a baſer creature than a goat, or ſome others which are accounted Gods with them. But how came it that he did not underſtand he was telling the moſt palpable lie in the world? For 'tis well known that we make uſe of the ſame laws to which we have perpetually adhered. When our city felt the weight of adverſe fortune, as might have been the caſe of others; I mean when *Theos*, *Pompey the Great*, *Licinius Craſſus*, and, laſt of all, *Titus*, made war upon us, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of our temple, they found no ſuch thing there, but the pureſt piety; concerning which, I think it needleſs to make any further mention. Nor even did *Antiochus*, who made an unjuſt plunder of the temple, being led thereto through want of money, at a time when he was no enemy, and who attack'd us then in alliance with him and his friends, find any thing there that was ridiculous. Several worthy writers agree with me in this article; theſe are *Polybius* the *Megalopolite*, *Strabo* the *Cappadocian*, *Nicholas* of *Damaſcus*, *Timages*, *Caſtor* the chronologer, and *Apollodorus*; who all ſay, that *Antiochus*, through want of money, broke through the alliance ſtipulated with the *Jews*, and rifled their temple, which was full of gold and ſilver. Therefore *Apion* ſhould have looked back, had he not had rather himſelf the heart of an aſs, and the impudence of a dog, which his countrymen are uſed to worſhip. But his lies are too bare-fac'd to need detecting. Now we allow to aſſes neither honour or authority, as the *Ægyptians* do to their crocodiles and aſps, ſince they imagine thoſe happy, and worthy of the enjoyment of God, who are bit by the aſps, and devour'd by the crocodiles. On the other hand, aſſes are put to ſuch uſes among us, as other wiſe men generally do, namely, to carry burthens; yet, if they come and eat of forbidden corn, or do not fully perform their end, we do not ſcruple to give them juſt correction, becauſe they are found to be very ſerviceable about labour and huſbandry. But *Apion* muſt be either one of the moſt ignorant fellows in the world at telling a lie, or, having made a beginning, could not go through with it; ſince no blaſphemy can appear againſt us.

There's another fable which he has ſtarted, I mean about the *Greeks*, to the derogating from us: To which I will only anſwer, That they who preſume to talk of religion and piety, ought not to be ignorant that there is leſs indecency in paſſing through a temple, than for prieſts to forge wicked lies. Theſe men have ſhewn ſufficiently that their inclinations were more how they might ſtudy to defend their ſacrilegious king, than write a juſt and authentick account of us and our temple: For being deſirous to flatter their king, and ſcreen his perfidy and ſacrilege, which, through a want of money, he uſed about our nation, they aſperſed us, and told a thouſand falſhoods. But this is not all: *Apion* is a prophet in other matters; he ſays, *That* Antiochus *found a bed in the temple, and a man lying in it, with a table ſet before him, having diſhes of all ſorts of fowl which either the land or ſea could afford, ſtanding upon it; and that the man, at the ſight of* Antiochus, *ſeemed in great confuſion. That preſently he recollected himſelf, and worſhipped the coming in of the king, whom, he ſeemed to think was come to lend him ſome extraordinary aſſiſtance: Preſently after, throwing himſelf at his feet, and begging with extended arms liberty to ſpeak, the king bade him not be afraid, but acquaint him who he was, why he dwelt there, and the reaſon of the diſhes of proviſion before him? Whereupon, fetching a deep ſigh, and with a flood of tears he thus began to open his condition. He told the king, that he was a* Grecian, *who, whilſt he was a travelling over the country purely to obtain the charity of good-diſpoſed perſons, was apprehended immediately by men who were ſtrangers to him, brought to that temple, confined within it, and all ſorts of meats ſet before him. That at firſt theſe proviſions and unhoped-for favours made him rejoice. Afterwards he had ſuſpicions about it, and, at laſt, could not but wonder at the meaning; but, to clear his uneaſineſs, he asked one of thoſe that came and ſerved what was intended. Whereupon, it ſeems, he was told about an ineffable law of the* Jews, *for the completion of which, he was there kept, and ſo maintained. That they ſeized upon a* Grecian *foreigner, and pampered him ſo for a year, then carried him to a wood, and there ſlew him, then ſacrificed him, according to the practice of their religion, and eat of his entrails, then took an oath, as they were ſacrificing him, to be at enmity with the* Greeks; *after which, they threw the remaining part of the body into a certain ditch. Afterwards,* Apion *alledges, that he told the king, that he had but a few days allowed him to live, and therefore begged him, if he had any veneration for the* Grecian *Gods, and a deſire to defeat this treachery of the* Jews, *to deliver him from the ills that ſurrounded him.* This ſtory carries not only along with it a very tragical deſcription, but abounds with the moſt bare-fac'd impudence; nevertheleſs, it does not clear *Antiochus* from the imputation of ſacrilege, as they imagin'd, who wrote this to do him a compliment. *Antiochus* had no ſuch inducement for coming to the temple, but he found the matter ſo without, having any previous notions or hopes about it. And that he was a prince of baſe principles and inclinations, and carried on his deſign without the aſſiſtance of God, let theſe men be never ſo abounding in their lies, is eaſy to prove from the matter of fact it ſelf. For 'tis well known, that our laws do not only differ from thoſe of the *Grecians*, but vaſtly from thoſe of the *Egyptians* and a great many other nations. Bnt ſay, what people of any nation may not happen one time or other to travel through our country? That the *Greeks* ſhould be the only people againſt whom we ſhould renew our conſpiracy by effuſion of blood, is a ſtrange aſſertion; but, as *Apion* ſays, how is it poſſible for all the *Jews* to aſſemble together at their ſacrifices, or that their entrails ſhould be ſufficient for ſo many thouſands to eat of them? Why did he not tell us who the man, thus appehended, was (for he has omitted writing down his name) or how came it that the king did not carry him back into his country with extraordinary pomp? Had he done this, as he very well might, 'tis poſſible he might have acquir'd the character of having had religion at heart, and been a remarkable lover of the *Grecians*, and have procured the aſſiſtance of all in oppoſition to the *Jews*, who had ſufficient reaſon to hate him. But enough of this ſubject; it better becomes us to refute perſons incenſed againſt us, not with words, but works. All, therefore, know, who have ſeen the conſtruction of our temple, what it is, and the undefiled purity of it. It has four portico's, or apartments, within its circuit; each whereof is protected by perſons according to our laws: All foreigners and ſtrangers have liberty to enter the exterior part; only women, having their menſes, are prohibited from paſſing their. The ſecond portico admitted all *Jews* to enter with their wives, ſo they were entirely pure and immaculate. The third apartment received only the male *Jews* who were purified. And the fourth was the proper manſion of the prieſts, dreſs'd in the ſacerdotal veſtments. The adyt, or holy of holies, admitted none but the chief prieſts, and they in their proper veſtments. And ſo regular, and ſo great is the care of piety fixed here, that the prieſts, at certain hours, are appointed to enter. In the morning, when the temple was open, to offer ſacrifice, and at noon when it was ſhut. In ſhort, there was no veſſel ſuffered to be carried into the temple, but the only things that were in the inſide, were an altar, table, cenſer, and candleſtick, which were all according to the law. Nothing, beſides theſe, either of any ſecret myſteries, or of feaſting, is tranſacted here. And what I have advanced in this place, has the concurrent teſtimony of all my countrymen, who know the facts as well as my ſelf. And although there are four claſſes of prieſts, and each of theſe claſſes contains more than five thouſand perſons in it, yet there is a juſt obſervation preſerved particularly on certain days; after which, others ſupply their rooms, and aſſiſt at the ſacrifices: Theſe uſually aſſemble together in the temple about noon-time of the day, and receive from their predeceſſors the keys of the temple, and all the veſſels; but neither drink or meat is ſuffered to be brought in: For even theſe are prohibited to be offered at the altar, and only what neceſſarily belong to the ſacrifices are admitted.

What ſhall we then ſay of *Apion*, but that, without making enquiry into any of theſe particulars, he has advanced things that can be depended upon in no wiſe? But 'tis a great ſcandal, if a grammarian cannot advance the truth of facts in hiſtory; for, at a time when he is well acquainted with the piety of our temple, he has ſlipp'd over this article. The apprehending of the *Grecian* perſon is a fiction of his own inventing; ſo is the unſpeakable food, and rich diſhes of proviſions, and his making wicked men to enter, where the nobleſt *Jews* had not liberty to go, unleſs they were prieſts. This is an impiety, of all others, the worſt in the world, and a lie ſpontaneouſly broach'd, to impoſe on thoſe who refuſe being told the truth. Beſides, theſe incredible ſtories have been made pretences to detract from us and our religion.

Yet this *Apion*, though he was the moſt conſcientious man alive, ridicules this tale as a chimæra, and then produces a pack of idle and romantick facts to follow it. He tells us, *That when the* Jews *maintained a long war againſt the* Idumæans, *a certain man, named* Zabudus, *who worſhiped* Apollo, *came to the* Jews *out of a certain city of the* Idumæans: *That this fellow aſſured them he would give 'em up* Apollo, *the God of the* Dorenſes, *and go to our temple, provided all would but go up with him, and carry the* Jews *along with them; that this* Zabidus *made a wooden machine, and put himſelf within it, having placed three rows of lights within it, and ſo walk'd with it, whereby, to thoſe at a diſtance, he look'd like a ſtar bending its courſe over the country. That the* Jews, *amazed at this unexpected ſight, though at a conſiderable diſtance, were quiet: That* Zabudus *came to the temple in great peace, and took off the golden head of the aſs (for ſo he writes, willing to ſhew his pleaſantry), and then made what haſte he could back to* Dora. We may well now ſay, that *Apion* loads an aſs, which is himſelf, and puts a burthen of follies and lies, blended together, upon his back. For he points out not only places, which are not to be found any where in the world, but relates cities which he has no knowledge of. *Idumæa* lies on the frontiers of our country, near to *Gaza*; and there is no ſuch place as a city called *Dora*, throughout the whole country: In *Phœnicia*, indeed, towards mount *Carmel*, a city of this name is to be found; but this has nothing to do with *Apion*'s trifles; for it is four day's journey diſtant from *Judæa*. But why ſhould he lay it, beſides, as a matter of accuſation againſt us, that we have not Gods in common as other folks have, if our fathers were ſo eaſily brought to believe that *Apollo* would come among them, and to imagine that they ſaw him walk with ſtars on the earth? It may be, they never ſaw a candle before this time, who have ſolemniz'd ſo many and ſo great feſtivals of the lighting of lamps: And it may be, likewiſe, that not a ſoul, out of ſo many thouſands, met him as he was marching along: Beſides, he found the walls without ever a garriſon to defend them, now the war was carrying on. But I omit the reſt. The gates of the temple were very near ſeven cubits high, and twenty broad; they were covered over with plates of gold, nay, were almoſt of maſſy gold: Theſe were every day ſhut by twenty men, and no leſs a number; and it was abſolutely forbid to leave them open. Well, then, might this candle-bearer open them with a world of eaſe; or, if 'tis believed he open'd them, he certainly had the aſs's head, as was ſuppoſed. Say, then, whether this fellow came to us with this head, or, after he had taken it away, whether *Apion* carried it back into the temple for *Antiochus* to find there, that he might have another plea for telling another lie.

He is equally falſe with regard to the oath charged upon us; namely, *That we bound ourſelves by an oath, taking God to witneſs, the creator of heaven, earth, and ſea, that we would ſhew no mercy or quarter to any foreigner, eſpecially if they were* Greeks. Now this liar ought to have ſaid, that we would ſhew no mercy or quarter to any foreigners, eſpecially if they were *Ægyptians*; for then he would have tallied tolerably well with the falſhood he has publiſhed about the oath, if he had ſaid that the *Ægyptians*, who are pretended to be our relations, had drove out of their country our forefathers, not for their improbity, but their miſfortunes. The *Greeks* and us are more ſeparated by diſtance of countries than any thing elſe; ſo that there are no enmities, grudges, or detractive views, ſubſiſting between us. On the contrary, abundance of them have come over to imbibe our laws, ſome whereof have adhered cloſely to them, and others, again, who could not reliſh their precepts, have left them, and returned to their own: As for the oath, there is not a man among us that will ſay he remembers ever to have heard it; but, oh! *Apion*, it ſeems, alone, heard it: And he, truly, was the perſon that invented it.

But have we not abundance of reaſon to admire *Apions's* extraordinary prudence and ſenſe in what he ſays afterwards? *'Tis a plain diſcovery*, affirms he, *that the laws they uſe are neither good ones, nor do they worſhip God agreeably to his nature, becauſe we have no kingdom of our own, but are ſlaves rather to ſeveral nations, and expoſed to ſeveral hardſhips within our own city; whereas they have been accuſtomed ſeveral ages in ſucceſſion to govern in their metropolis, and not be ſubject to the* Romans: *Tho' by the bye, there's ſcarce any one but what has experienced, one time or other, their couragious and victorious arms.* All mankind, beſides *Apion*, would ſay, nay, affirm, that theſe words abundantly make againſt him. 'Tis the chance but of very few to maintain an equal authority and grandeur at all times, and not to meet with ſome revolution or other that ſubjects them to the dominion of others. A great many nations might be produced as examples, who have been compell'd to ſubmit to the authority of other maſters. But the *Ægyptians* are the only people that make an exception in this caſe, becauſe (according to their writings or words) the Gods took ſhelter in their country, and preſerved themſelves by aſſuming the forms of beaſts, which procur'd them the favour, never to be made ſubjects to any of thoſe princes who reign'd over *Aſia* or *Europe*: Though, by the way, this very nation cannot juſtly pretend to aver that they have enjoyed one day's liberty from the beginning of the world, nay, not the natives under their own governors. I will not endeavour to reproach them with the many times the *Perſians* have been their maſters; for 'tis well known, this has not been once, but they have ſeveral times deſtroy'd their rites, thrown down their temples, and ſlain thoſe very beaſts which they believed were Gods. 'Tis not agreeable to our character to imitate the fooliſhneſs and ignorance of *Apion*, who hath forgot the tranſactions and fortunes of the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, theſe latter being in the opinion of all mankind the ſtouteſt, and the former the moſt religious of all the *Greeks*. I ſay not a word of thoſe kings whoſe piety have divulged their fame over the globe, among whom was *Crœſus*; nor do I mention the miſfortunes the laſt part of this prince's life was reduced to. I likewiſe omit to ſay any thing about the citadel of *Athens* being burnt, the temples of *Epheſus* and *Delphos*, and ſeveral others; yet not one was ſo ſottiſh to blame thoſe who ſuffer'd theſe loſſes, but only thoſe who were the authors of ſuch wrongs. But *Apion* is found out to be a new accuſer of our nation, without ever once calling to mind the miſfortunes which his own country, *Ægypt*, has ſuſtain'd. But *Seſoſtris*, king of *Ægypt*, threw a miſt before his eyes, whoſe tranſactions are altogether burried under fable and fiction. However, this is no reaſon that we ſhould mention our kings *David* and *Solomon*, who conquered ſeveral nations; for we paſs by theſe. But *Apion*, forſooth, knows not a ſyllable of thoſe very things which all mankind are perfectly acquainted with; I mean that the *Perſians*, and after them the *Macedonians*, who acquired empire, ruled over the *Ægyptians*, and that theſe differ'd under their domination little more than being real ſlaves. We, on the other hand, preſerved our ſelves free people, enjoying the government and rule of the neighbouring cities, for an hundred and twenty years, till *Pompey the Great*'s time. And when all nations beſides were ſubjected to the dominion of the *Romans*, who governed the world, our anceſtors then alone purchaſed the name of allies, and friends of theirs, becauſe of their fidelity and loyalty.

But this gentleman ſays, *That our country produced no fine men, either who were inventors of ſome arts, or who excelled for their wiſdom.* And, hereupon, he enumerates, *Socrates*, *Zeno*, and *Cleanthes*, and ſeveral others of the ſame kidney; and then, what is the moſt ſurprizing and aſtoniſhing, he names himſelf, calls *Alexandria* an happy city, that can boaſt of ſuch a citizen endowed with ſuch a rare genius and qualifications. 'Twas, indeed, neceſſary, I confeſs, to give this teſtimony of himſelf; for other perſons think him a vain fellow, depraved both in life and converſation: So that any one would have juſt reaſon to pity *Alexandria*, if he had only him for its ſupport and dignity. But thoſe perſons who are any way the leaſt acquainted with our books of antiquites, very well known what famous men we have produc'd, no leſs worthy of renown and commendation than thoſe other nations.

The other charges contained in his accuſation probably deſerve to be omitted, as being not worthy of an anſwer; whereby he himſelf may be thought an accuſer of himſelf and the *Egyptians* into the bargain. For he lays it upon us as an abominable crime, that we ſlay beaſts to make ſacrifices of; that we do not eat ſwine's fleſh; and, what is the beſt ſport of all, in his opinion, he ridicules our method of circumciſion. Indeed, as to what relates to the ſlaying of domeſtick cattle, this is a fact no more uncommon than with all the other nations of the earth. But *Apion*, out of humour with our ſacrifices, ſays, that he himſelf is an *Egyptian*, had he been either a *Greek*, or a *Macedonian*, this would have given him no uneaſineſs. Now theſe people ſacrifice hecatombs to their Gods, and afterwards eat the victims; and yet it never happens that the world is in want of cattle, which *Apion* ſeems to have dreadful apprehenſions of. Nevertheleſs, ſhould all other people comply with the *Egyptian* inſtitutions, the world might reaſonably then be ſaid that it would be deſtitute of men, and abound with ſavage beaſts, which they account to be Gods, and train up with ſo much care and diligence; ſuppoſing any one ſhould put the queſtion, and aſk him, who of the *Egyptians*, in his opinion, were the wiſeſt and moſt religious, I dare ſay, he would preſently acknowledge that the prieſts were. Now they tell us, that their moſt ancient kings commanded theſe two things to be followed; namely, to worſhip the Gods, and admire wiſdom. And yet they themſelves are circumciſed, and abſtain from ſwine's fleſh, but that none elſe of the *Egyptians* are known to ſacrifice in company with them to their Gods. Therefore *Apion* muſt labour under a ſtrange infatuation, who, in favour of the *Egyptians*, determinately has reſolved to abuſe us, and charges his own countrymen with practiſing the very ſame things, which he finds fault in us with; who, beſides, teach others their method of circumciſion, as we are told from *Herodotus*. Whence, methinks, *Apion* was juſtly rewarded for the abuſes he threw upon the laws of his country. For it ſeems he was obliged to be circumciſed, becauſe he had a growing ulcer about his privities: But circumciſion doing him no manner of good, and the ulcer growing worſe, he died in extreme torment. 'Tis the buſineſs of ſuch as are well and wiſely train'd up in the inſtitutions of their native country, piouſly to adhere to them, and be far from finding fault with others. But this gentleman of politeneſs abandoned his, and has vented an hundred falſhoods about ours. And thus *Apion* ended his life; concerning whom, we think it ſeaſonable to put a period to our diſcourſe here.

But ſince *Apollonius*, the ſon of *Molon Lyſimachus*, and ſeveral others, partly through ignorance, but, for the moſt part, through malice and ſpite, have ſpoken things of *Moyſes* our legiſlator, and his laws, which are neither juſt nor true, ſometimes calling him an impoſtor and deceiver, other times aſperſing the laws he made, as unvirtuous and bad, I will give a compendious and curſory narrative of the whole plan of our republick, and of every particular in it, as well as I am able. I take it for granted, that, with regard to the obſervation of piety, and a ſocial communication with mankind, to the preſerving all the offices of humanity, to the defending of juſtice,undergoing difficulties, and deſpiſing of death, we have laws excellently well framed to all theſe ſeveral ends. However, I beg leave to aſk ſuch as may happen to peruſe them, to read them over with candor, and a generous mind: For I frankly declare, that my purpoſe is not to heap a load of praiſes on our ſelves, but I think that to be a moſt reaſonable defence, which is drawn from thoſe laws, according to whoſe plan we ſtill live, in oppoſition to thoſe who have charged us with abundance of things entirely falſe and groundleſs; eſpecially, ſince *Apollonius*, not ſervilely following the example of *Apion*, hath not made a continued accuſation againſt us, but hath interſperſed throughout his diſcourſe the charges he hath thought fit to bring againſt us. For this author, to be plain with him, reproaches us in ſome paſſages of his books, as tho' we were *Atheiſts*, and men-haters; in others he taxes us with cowardice: And, to contradict this aſſertion, in ſome others he lays to our charge an impetuous and thoughtleſs boldneſs and badneſs. But this is not all; he ſays, that of all the *Barbarians* we are the moſt ignorant and fooliſh, and that is the reaſon that we are the only people that have produced nothing of advantage or ſervice to life. I am of opinion, that 'tis no difficult matter to confute every word of theſe aſſertions, provided all he has advanced hereupon do but appear eſtabliſhed by our laws, and that we have diligently obſerved them: But I muſt be obliged to have recourſe to the mentioning of ſuch laws as are repugnant to ours, and the inſtitutions of other nations, they are certainly then to blame, who are determined to compare ours as the worſt, with thoſe which are of a foreign plan. I think that perſons of this claſs ought to have neither of theſe two things to ſay, either that we have not thoſe laws, a ſummary whereof I will preſently bring to light; or that, of all the people in the world, we have not remained the moſt ſteady and conſtant under the laws of our country.

I will draw my beginning from ſome diſtance of time, and lay my argument down firſt, that they who have been the firſt lovers and founders of order and laws, deſervedly claim the preference, both with regard to their ſociableneſs and natural goodneſs, before ſuch as live without order or laws. From hence it comes, that all who have been legiſlators, endeavour to have the greateſt antiquity allotted them, to wipe away being thought imitaters or followers of others, and to gain them the character of having been the original founders of a juſt and regular method of living among mankind. Now this being the real caſe, 'tis the virtue of a legiſlator to have an eye to nothing but what are beſt in themſelves, and to gain a good opinion of his inſtitutions to be entertained by thoſe who are to uſe them: That the people adhere conſtantly to all that is commanded them, and neither in times of good or bad fortune, offer to make a change therein. Upon the whole, I here aſſert, that our legiſlator has antiquity on his ſide with reſpect to ſome lawgivers that ſtand on record: For neither *Lycurgus*, nor *Solon*, nor *Zaleucus Locrenſis*, nor all the reſt, in ſuch admiration and eſteem among the *Greeks*, can plead for ſuch antiquity, if they come to a trial; ſince the name of *law* it ſelf was not long ago known among the *Greeks*, as *Homer* teſtifies; who never uſes that word throughout his whole poem. Nothing at all of this nature was in his time, but the people were governed by wiſe ſentences, and the commands of their kings; whence they continued a long time without the uſe of written laws, which they altered at pleaſure, according to circumſtances of time. Our law-giver, on the contrary, who was both the ancienteſt (for this is a fact which is allowed by all, who ſpeak every thing againſt us), and ſhewed himſelf to our people, the beſt captain and counſellor in the world ſquared all his life according to law, and perſuaded his followers to embrace it willingly, and cauſed both the prudent and wiſe to obſerve it with the greateſt exactneſs and care.

Let us, in the firſt place, now ſee what is great and magnificent among his works. After he had collected together ſeveral thouſand of our progenitors, after they were inclined to leave *Egypt*, and return back to their native country, he conducted them thro' a a ſeries of innumerable difficulties, and ſet them at length in a place of ſafety: For they were obliged to travel thro' a country deſtitute of water, and extremely ſandy, to maintain battles, and guard their wives, children, and ſpoil, as they fought. In all which he ſhewed himſelf their great general, their wiſeſt counſellor, and a faithful guardian to all of them. He cauſed every one to have his dependance upon him; and yet, when it was in his power to enforce upon them by his advice every time as he pleaſed, he never claimed any authority or juriſdiction over them. On the contrary, at the time chiefly when others aſſume power and tyranny to lord it over the reſt, leaving the people under them to live as they pleaſe, our law-giver, though inveſted with this authority, had a different opinion of himſelf, and thought he was bound to lead a religious life, and ſhew the people under him great benevolence and kindneſs. For by this method he was of opinion he ſhould diſcover his virtuous inclinations to them, and give thoſe, who had made him their general, the ſureſt token of their ſafety and preſervation. Wherefore, he has had thus virtuouſly propoſed within himſelf, and performed ſuch brave actions, we may juſtly think that he made God his captain and councellor: He having brought himſelf before-hand to think that he was bound to act and adviſe according to his ſuperior pleaſure, makes us conclude, that he believed that the peole, too, were, above all other conſiderations, required to embrace the ſame opinion: For they who believed that God directed his life, cannot endure being told that he was guilty of any ſin or error. Our law-giver, then, was ſuch a perſon as I have mentioned; no magician, no impoſtor, as our revilers have unjuſtly and ungenerouſly charged, but ſuch as the *Greeks* boaſt *Minos* to be, and all the law-givers who ſucceeded him: For they aſſert, that their laws were firſt moulded by the Gods themſelves; that *Minos* referred the prophecies of this law to *Apollo* and the *Delphinian* oracle. Wherein we muſt ſuppoſe that they believed either the fact was true, or that they were of opinion that they could eaſily bring the people over to embrace it, and think ſo. Now any one, that will, may know, from comparing their different ſyſtems of laws, who were the beſt law-givers among them, and who entertained the trueſt and juſteſt ſentiments of the divinity of God; for 'tis high time that we ſhould ſay ſomething of them. Were we to conſider and weigh all the differences ariſing from the ſeveral plans of laws and cuſtoms eſtabliſhed among the numerous nations of mankind, the account would be needleſs and infinite; however, there will be no great difficulty to ſum them up in general heads. Some have thrown the government upon the ſhoulders of one man ſingly, others upon thoſe of a *Jew*, while ſome, again, have entruſted the reins of the commonwealth to the management of the people. On the other hand, our law-giver, ſet aſide theſe different models, and put the form of our government under a theocracy, though there is ſomewhat more of harſhneſs in this word, attributing to God the ſupreme adminiſtration of affairs. And, in ſo doing thus, his principal care was, that the eyes and minds of all the people ſhould acquieſce in him, as he that, in times of calamity and adverſity, on our prayers and ſupplications, granted us all thoſe good things, which happen in common to all mankind, or to particular perſons; and whoſe knowledge, no thought of ours can conceal or hide itſelf. Beſides which, the ſame law-giver aſſerts, that the ſupreme God had no beginning, that he ſuffers no change or alteration from eternity; that his luſtre and beauty tranſcends thoſe of all other mortal forms; and, laſtly, that as he makes himſelf known to us by his almighty power, ſo we are entire ſtrangers to his inconceivable nature and eſſence. I omit making mention how that the wiſeſt of the *Greeks* taught, that he was the firſt ſtarter of this opinion of the divinity and attributes of God, which is ſo noble and grand, and comes ſo nearly joined to his eternal nature and majeſty. For inſtance, *Pythagoras*, *Anaxagoras*, and *Plato*, and the *Stoick* philoſophers after him; nay, almoſt all the others, agree and concur in this opinion about the divine nature. However their philoſophy was publiſhed but to an inconſiderable number of mankind; and they are afraid to acquaint the vulgar with the truth of this doctrine, who were prepoſſeſſed with other opinions. Our law-giver, on the other hand, not only made his own actions agree to the ſyſtem of his own laws, but brought thoſe who lived in his time, nay, his nephews and poſterity, to imbibe the ſame principles; amongſt whom, he eſtabliſh'd a firm belief of, and agreement about the divinity of God. And becauſe the advantages ariſing from his ſyſtem of laws were greater than could be ſhewn from any other plan, it followed chiefly thence, why he did not make any part of virtue to conſiſt in religion, but ſaw and inſtituted ſome other parts of religion to be more immediately neceſſary in the caſe: I mean, by this, juſtice, patience, temperance, and a mutual agreement and conformity amongſt citizens in all things: Since all our actions, endeavours and words, have a near relation to the worſhip of God. For he has left none of theſe indefinite. Now there are two ways or methods in all diſcipline, and how to inſtitute one's manners; the firſt conſiſts in laying down precepts, the other in modelling the life of man and his actions. Other law-givers led away and confounded with the variety of different opinions, while they pitch'd upon one of theſe ways juſt as their humour led them, relinquiſh'd the other. Thus the *Lacedæmonians* and *Cretans*, convey'd their inſtructions by a repreſentation of manners, and not of precepts: And the *Athenians*, nay, almoſt all the *Greeks*, inſtructed in their laws what their people were to do, and what to avoid; yet, all this while, they ommitted uſing them to join both methods to practice.

But our law-giver, with a principal care, joined both theſe methods together. He neither left the inſtitution of our lives and manners ineffectual or vain, nor permitted the precepts of his law to want the conjunction of deeds. But beginning his ſyſtem from the kinds of meat themſelves, he would not let his countrymen chuſe the minuteſt article in that kind, according to their own wills and inclinations; but he laid down certain poſitive and regular precepts in his laws, which informed the people what ſort of meats they were to abſtain from, what kind were lawful to be eaten, who were to aſſociate together and partake of meat in common, what labour was to be uſed, and when they were to refreſh themſelves; which made them live as though they had been under the direction of a father or maſter: So that we could not tranſgreſs any of theſe particulars, and plead malice or ignorance for ſo doing. However, he appointed no puniſhment for ſuch as were ignorant of them, but was pleaſed to direct that his own law ſhould be a more beautiful and neceſſary way of diſcipline, in order to inſtruct them: For he conſidered that his intentions would not be fully executed, if we were brought to hear this law but once, twice, or three times, unleſs we applied to it every week, and then entirely free from other buſineſs and avocations, with a mind properly prepared to hear what was recited, and to inſtruct the underſtanding: A thing which we obſerve other law-givers have omitted.

Hence it comes to paſs, that the generality of people are ſo far from forming their lives according to the preſcription of their own laws, that they are almoſt entire ſtrangers to them; and when they happen to tranſgreſs them, they come to be told, at laſt by others, that they have broke them. What ignorance do their principal and chief magiſtrates betray, who will have thoſe chiefly to ſit at the helm of affairs, and manage with them, who can but boaſt of ſome extraordinary knowledge in their laws. But put the queſtion to any of our countrymen, and aſk him concerning the heads of our Laws, you will find him to run them over in order more eaſy than to tell his name: For being taught them from the time we begin to have any notion of things, we have them impreſs'd upon our minds very ſtrongly. So that 'tis obſerved but very few violate them, and thoſe that do, never eſcape a deſerv'd puniſhment.

It is from this exact learning and keeping of our laws, that ariſes, principally, the admirable conformity and agreement of our minds among us: For all of us entertaining the ſame ſentiments of God, and agreeing in the ſame method of living and purſuing the ſame manners, have produced at all times that pleaſing harmony of mind, and union of endeavours amongſt us. Nevertheleſs we are a people by ourſelves, from whom none ſhall hear any differing opinions ſtarted about God, a thing very frequent among other nations, where not only the common and ordinary man ſhall converſe of God juſt as the peculiar force and ſenſe of his mind ſhall dictate, but even, alſo, this raſh folly has tainted ſome of their philoſophers, ſome of whom have endeavour'd utterly to aboliſh all the nature of God, while others have deprived him of having any care or providence over mankind. Neither ſhall any one find any diſparagement in our plan of living. Moreover, we have a ſtrict communion one among another with regard to all our employments and labours; we have but one language, and that agreeing with the law of God; which argues that all things are governed by the wiſdom of a divine eye. And what relates to the ordering or regulating of life, aſk but our women, or ſervants, and they will acquaint you that every thing beſides is to be reduced to the ſtandard of religion; for that is its period.

And from hence it has chiefly ariſen, that ſome have thrown it as a crime and diſhonour upon us, that we have produced no perſon among us, either who have new-modelled our language, or been the founder of any new work. Others, among other nation, ſtill unſettled in their tempers, and never at reſt, or willing to acquieſce in any of their country's inſtitutions, are of opinions, 'tis a fine action, and makes to their reputation to be ſo capricious and various. And they who ſtrive to invalidate or weaken any of their original laws, are ſure of gaining commendation, and the action to be ſtil'd the pure reſult of a ſingular force of prudence and ſkill. But this is a proceeding far from the practice of our countrymen, for we are unanimous in thinking that 'tis great prudence and virtue neither to inveigh or ſtrive againſt our ancient laws, or to act the leaſt thing that may injure thoſe inſtitutions which have been confirmed time out of mind: Which is the ſureſt argument in the world that this ſyſtem of our laws was originally excellently well framed: For that thoſe which have been made on different plans, experience confirms, that they ſtand in need of his amendment.

We, who believe that this original law was the reſult of God's immediate will and pleaſure, cannot, without manifeſt impiety, preſume to violate it. Say, who is it that can change any article from it, or invent a better, or borrow from other ſyſtems any thing properer to the real deſign? It may poſſibly be, that he may alter the whole form of our republick. But I beg leave to know, where can there be made a better and moſt juſt inſtitution than it it, which conſtitutes God the immediate governor and moderator of all things, and ſo places the prieſts at the helm of publick affairs, that theſe very prieſts have an higher appointed over them. And to this, our law-giver, from the beginning, did not conſider their great riches, or ſuch like things, which were owing to fortune, and place them, on ſuch accounts, in ſtations ſo elevate and high: No, they who were remarked by him for any excellence in diſcourſe, or in honeſty and the beautiful qualifications of the mind, we inveſted with this high dignity: Which were conſiderable

able helps towards maintaining a ſtrict obſervation of the law and the other inſtitutions, ſince the prieſts were intruſted with the principal inſpection into all things, were conſtituted judges of ſuits and controverſies, and ordained puniſhers of the guilty.

What ſort of government, then, can be more ſacred than this, or what worſhip repreſented more agreeable to the majeſty of God? Where the people in general are not only with the greateſt ſtrictneſs in the world informed in religious matters, but, alſo, the prieſts are required to uſe extraordinary care and foreſight in the functions and places they enjoy; which makes it ſeem as though the whole commonwealth was celebrating a general feſtivity: For thoſe myſteries, as foreigners call them, and ſtated ceremonies, which ſuch foreigners are not able to go through, but for a few days; we, on the other hand, not only with the greateſt alacrity, but the greateſt conſtancy, retain them. But what are thoſe things, and of what kind, I mean our commands and prohibitions? They are ſimple and illuſtrious. The principal and chief of all is this, which appoints thus of God; that God includes every thing; that he is the perfecteſt and happieſt being; that he is ſufficient both for himſelf, and all things elſe; that he is ſimply one; that he is the beginning, middle, and ending of all things; that as he is diſcernable throughout his works, and by his favours, and the nobleſt of all things, ſo his nature, and his magnitude, is not to be diſcovered by any one. That all matter, though ever ſo precious in its own nature, is vile, if compared to his likeneſs. That all art, if compariſon be made to him, is fooliſhneſs and meanneſs; for that nothing can enter the thoughts of man, or be ſeen reſembling the figure or image of God. Nevertheleſs, that the works of this great creator are to be ſeen; namely, the light, heaven, earth, the ſun, the moon, the waters, the procreation of animals, and living things, the production of the fruits of the ground; all which, were made by God, not by hands, nor any labour, nor the effect of the precarious workmanſhip of any one, but finiſhed in a moment by a ſingle command of his will; and as he ſaw they were good, ſo he determined to make 'em. Laſtly, that every one ought to cleave to him, and worſhip him only, with the exerciſe of virtue, becauſe that method of worſhip is the holieſt.

That there is one temple of the one God, becauſe like delights with like. That this temple is common to all, as God is common to all; and that there are peculiar claſſes of prieſts who are appointed to appeaſe him, over whom there is always one ſet over as the chief, who ſacrifices with the other prieſts to God, protects the laws, determines controverſies, if there happens to be any, and puniſhes the guilty. He who rejects to give obedience to this prieſt, is always puniſhed, as though he had impiouſly acted againſt God. Beſides, this is a law conſtantly and ſtrictly obſerved about the ſacrifices, that we never offer them to create drunkenneſs in them, which God only abhors, but it gives, alſo, an handle for luxury and injuries. Therefore they ought to be temperate, honeſt, and ſober, to the end that thoſe chiefly who are employ'd about them, may diſtinguiſh themſelves by a modeſt behaviour. And when we do ſacrifice, we are commanded, firſt of all, to pray in common for all, and then every one for himſelf: And whereas we were born for mutual ſociety, that perſon, therefore, procures the love of God in the greateſt degree, who accounts this dearer to him than his life. Moreover, this is the ſum of our vows and prayers, not for him to confer benefits upon us; for he beſtows them of himſelf, and diſtributes them to all about; but for us to be able not only to receive them juſtly, but, alſo carefully to preſerve them. In ſhort, whoever is to make ſacrifice, we have a certain law that preſcribes ways of purification, by which expiation is made for ſeveral things; ſuch as communication with a woman, and the like, which are too tedious to mention here. Now this is our doctrine of God, and of his worſhip, which has the ſame force as a law.

Now concerning marriages; what? Our law approves only of that conjunction which nature allows with a wife, and only then, too, if it be done purely to beget children. But the communication of males with males, is utterly condemn'd and curs'd, and dooms the offenders that way to capital puniſhment. However, in the uſe of matrimony, neither the conſideration of money, or a portion, is to have any weight, neither is the wife to be forcibly taken away, nor to be deluded, or accus'd with artful pretences; but ſhe is to be demanded of him who hath the lawful right of diſpoſing of her; with this proviſion, nevertheleſs, that her kindred and family be enquired into. Now the woman, ſays the ſcripture, is inferior to the man in all things. Let her, then, obey the man, not for the ſake of this inferiority, but to the end ſhe may follow the government and rule of another: For God has given to the man the power and anthority. It behoves the man with whomſoever he marries, to covet none elſe but her; for 'tis againſt the law to deſire another man's wife. Now whoſoever happens to tranſgreſs herein, death is his certain puniſhment. And, again, what man ſoever offers violent hands on a virgin affianced to anothar, or entices one married to another, in both theſe caſes, the law commands the children begotten hereupon, to be brought up; but the ſame law prohibits any woman from ejecting or extinguiſhing the ſeed which ſhe has once received: For what woman ſoever did theſe, is accounted a murthereſs of children, in the very ſame ſenſe as though ſhe had really taken away the life of the fœtus, or reſtrained the propagation of her kind. Whereupon, whoſoever commits whoring, or deſcends to ſuch diſhoneſt means, 'tis impoſſible that ſuch men be purifi'd and chaſte. Beſides, the law enjoins the huſband and wife, after a lawful embrace, to waſh themſelves; becauſe it is ſuppos'd that the ſoul and body receives a kind of pollution hereby, and is made, I mean the ſoul, to depart into ſome other region. For, indeed, the ſoul, while in the body, is ſubject to ſeveral uneaſineſſes; and when death comes, it ſeparates and leaves its fleſhly manſion: And this is the reaſon why our law enjoins chaſtity in ſo ſtrict a manner.

Beſides all which, our law forbids that no coſtly banquets or entertainments be prepared to celebrate the birth-days of children, to hinder any one from giving an handle to drunkenneſs. It enjoins, that from their infancy, they be accuſtom'd not only to a moderate diet and way of living, but, alſo, that they be virtuouſly inſtructed, taught the precepts of our law, and informed in the famous actions of their anceſtors, in order that they may ariſe to an imitation of their deeds; and by thus imbibing ſuch generous principles with their very milk, they very ſeldom afterwards are known to endeavour to violate them, nor can they plead ignorance that they did not underſtand them.

Our law, too, has excellently provided about the juſt ritals of funerals, that no room be given to luxury or prodigality, by vaſt and magnificent preparations for the dead, but that only ſuch things be got as are abſolutely neceſſary and decent at ſuch times, which are committed to the care of ſuch as are relations to the deceaſed, and that all perſons accompany the corps, join in the lamentation, and ſhed their tears along with their countrymen. Beſides which, the ſame law has provided, that the houſe and family of the deceaſed after the funeral, purify themſelves, to let people juſtly know how polluted that perſon is accounted, who hath committed murther.

It commands, likewiſe, that the duty of children to parents enjoy the ſecond place next to God's holy worſhip; and that whoſoever refuſes or neglects in this particular ſhall be ſtoned to death. It enjoins obedience from the younger to the elder, becauſe God is moſt antient. It ſuffers nothing to be concealed from thoſe who are our friends, becauſe that is no friendſhip, which does not entruſt every thing to the fidelity of a friend. Yet, ſuppoſing a miſunderſtanding happens afterwards, nevertheleſs, it prohibits the diſcloſing of ſecrets. If a judge takes bribes, he is to ſuffer death. And he that neglects a ſuppliant when he might have aſſiſted him, is guilty. What you have not depoſited, you may not not take away, nor can any one touch that which is another man's. None are to take uſury on pledges, or things borrowed. By theſe, and a great many other chains, is our ſociety and commonwealth joined together.

But it is worth a man's pains to ſee, what equity and juſtice our law-giver was pleaſed we ſhould ſhew to foreigners. Any one will find, that he had taken care, above all other conſiderations, to provide that we ſhould neither ſtrive to weaken the integrity of our own laws, nor envy thoſe who had a mind to enter into a communion with us; for as many as wiſh'd to live according to the ſyſtem of our laws, all theſe he received, and admitted with extraordinary marks of love, being of opinion, that this communion not ſo much conſiſted in kindred and relationſhip, as in a voluntary ſociety. And, indeed, they, who came over unwillingly, or had other views before them, were ſure not to gain admittance.

Beſides theſe ſeveral laws, he enacts others which were abſolutely neceſſary, of which ſort are the following: To allow fire, water, and proviſions to the needy; to direct a man on the road, and not paſs by a man that lay unburied. Moreover, he was pleaſed that his equity and moderation ſhould appear to thoſe who were ſtill'd enemies; for he permitted neither their fields to be ravaged, nor their fruit-trees to be cut down, and prohibited thoſe who died in battle from being plundered by the conquerors; and took care that the priſoners, but eſpecially the women, ſhould be mildly treated. But he taught us ſociableneſs and humanity, by example farther fetch'd, which was by his not neglecting the care of the brute animals. For when any one relinquiſh'd the lawful uſe of them, which he only allowed, he interdicted them the reſt. If any came into our houſes in the nature of ſuppliants, he enjoins us not to put them to death, or take away the parents and young together out of the neſt, or to kill thoſe animals which are ſerviceable to mankind in their labours: Nay, he was ſo deſirous to eſtabliſh humanity among us, that he enacted theſe ſeveral laws which we have already mentioned, and which are accommodated to rectify our manner and way of life; and, alſo, many others, the violaters whereof, were, without any excuſe, ſeverely puniſhed.

He propounded a capital puniſhment to him that committed adultery, who raviſh'd a virgin, who preſumed to communicate with a man, or who voluntarily yielded to the enormous abuſe. We have alſo a law about ſervants, which no body can object againſt. We have others concerning meaſures and weights, if any one commits irregularities herein, or unjuſtly or deceitfully put any commodity to ſale, who pilfers any thing that belongs to another, or takes away that which has been pledged with him. Now the puniſhments appointed for theſe ſeveral crimes, are not the ſame as other nations inflict. We have recourſe to the ſevereſt methods in theſe caſes: For if any but form their thoughts to act injuriouſly to their parents, or impiouſly to God, ſuch are immediately put to death. Now they who make the precepts of the laws the ſtandard to direct their whole life and actions by, meet with a reward for ſo doing; but it is not ſilver, nor gold, nor a crown of olive, or ivy, or any ſuch thing; but every one depending upon the teſtimony of their conſcience, which both our law-giver hath foretold, and God confirmed by his unerring truth, they believe that thoſe who conſtantly perſevere in maintaining and living after the laws, and, if occaſion be, who willingly and valiantly die for them, ſhall, after this life, receive a new birth, and that God will beſtow on them the fruit and recompence of a much better and happier life. I ſhould never have committed thus much to writing, had I not been well acquainted in this matter from the facts themſelves, how that abundance of our countrymen at ſeveral times have ſuſtained the worſt of hardſhips, rather than let the leaſt word againſt our laws drop from their tongues. Now ſuppoſing that our nation was not ſo generally known among mankind, or that this ſingular deſire and inclination of ours, wherewith we live up to our laws, was not placed before their eyes, yet was there any one that ſhould recite our inſtitutions before an audience of *Greeks*, which I have here mentioned, or tell them that he happen'd to fall among a nation of men, in ſome country beyond the bounds of the known world, who entertained both ſuch high notions and majeſtick ſentiments of the ſupreme God, and who had lived ſeveral ages in a conſtant and unalterable purſuit of ſuch laws; in this caſe, I make no wonder, but that all would be extremely ſurprized at the relation, conſidering ſo many revolutions and changes have from time to time happened among them. Indeed, ſome of their own countrymen, who have made an eſſay in this kind to write of a commonwealth and its laws, have given us nothing but a pack of monſtrous things and prodigies, and have ſet their hands to a work far above their reach, which we ſee all impartial men blame them for. But I wave taking notice of other philoſophers, who have meddled in this method of diſputation. *Plato*, who for the ſingular gravity of his manners, and the extraordinary force of his eloquence and perſuaſion, which carried him higher than all the other philoſophers, was celebrated in the mouths of the *Greeks*, even to a miracle; yet this great man, *Plato*, I ſay, was, by thoſe who pretended to be ſkill'd in commonwealths, repreſented on the ſtage with great ridicule and ſcurrility. Nevertheleſs, if any one will be but at the pains of diligently comparing his writings on this head, he will find that the paſſages have a ſofter turn, and ſquare with the cuſtoms of the people. For he himſelf confeſſes, that he durſt not, with his own ſecurity, diſcover his opinion of God to the folly of the multitude. Yet there are not wanting perſons who think theſe inſtitutions of *Plato* are only a gingle of words, and put together with a certain ſurprizing dexterity and ſkill. But as to what regards *Lycurgus*, they admire him, and will have him to be the greateſt law-giver in the world: All of them extol *Sparta*, for acquieſcing ſo many ages under his laws. This, therefore, is made the firſt argument of virtue; that they obey the laws. But will theſe heralds for the *Lacedæmonians* entertain the ſame thoughts on comparing the ſmall time of their duration with the two thouſand years and more of our commonwealth. The *Lacedæmonians*, to ſpeak nothing but the truth, ſo long as they enjoyed their ancient liberty, retained their laws, but when fortune began to change ſides with them, then they threw aſide the entire memory of them: Whereas we have ſtill perſevered in our laws, though we have been expoſ'd to infinite hardſhips and dangers, and ſuffer'd frequent alterations among us by means of the *Aſiatick* kings. And yet our obſervation of theſe laws was not to procure us an indolent or luxurious life. Let any man, that has a mind, but conſider the facts, and he will ſoon ſee that our ſtruggles and difficulties have been much greater than all the hardſhips which the *Lacedæmonians* are thought to ſuffer: For they had no lands to till, no trades to follow; they were exempt from all labour, lived fat, had nothing to do but beautiſy and ſet off to advantage their bodies in the city they lived in; they had other perſons to provide them all the neceſſaries of life, and their meats, if I may uſe the expreſſion, were put into their mouths. For which reaſon, that which was the only good and humane thing among them, they would ſuſtain every danger, and do any thing, ſo they gain'd but the victory in battle; which very circumſtance how they were ſometimes unable to perform, I wave mentioning. For 'twas obſervable, that one or two not only, but frequently a number of them together, without keeping to the obſervation of their laws, as they preſcrib'd, ſurrender'd themſelves, with their arms, to the enemy.

Can any one, then, I do not pretend to ſay ſo many, find among us more than one or two that have betray'd our laws, or ſhew'd themſelves fearful of death. I do not mean that eaſy one which generally is the portion of thoſe who engage in battle, but that, which, expoſed to the greateſt torments of the body, is acknowledged the ſevereſt of all others. I am of opinion, that they, who reduc'd us to their power, did not inflict theſe ſevere puniſhments through any hatred to our countrymen, but more thro' an inclination to ſee a wonderful and ſurprizing ſight, whether or no they were men who believed in the worſt calamity that could befal them in the world, or be compelled either to do any thing repugnant to their laws, or ſpeak any thing in derogation of them. There is no room for aſtoniſhment, why we, with a bravery ſuperior to all mankind beſides, yield up our lives in defence of our laws. Beſides, thoſe inſtitutions of ours, which we look upon to be the eaſieſt, are, in the judgment of others, very ſevere and rigid; I mean our method of labour, our ſlender and ſpare diet, our having no by-meals, or eating or drinking what any of us may have an inclination to, our chaſtity and temperence with regard to women, our plain attire, and, laſtly, the conſtant obſervation and immutable method which we purſue in leaving off from labour. Add, to all theſe, when our countrymen march out to battle, and make their enemies leave their inroads and depredations, they ſtill keep up to their methods of living. 'Tis a pleaſure to them to have recourſe to the obſervation of their laws, which is a ſufficient proof to convince mankind of their fortitude and brave ſouls.

Thus do your *Lyſimachus's*, *Molune*, and ſome others of the ſame ſtamp, who are ſcandalous ſophiſts, and only born to ſeduce the youthfuller part of mankind, ſcandalize us, as though we were the moſt indolent and ſluggiſh of all mortals. Notwithſtanding this, I ſhall make no enquiry into the inſtitutions of other nations; becauſe 'tis a cuſtom of our country for us to preſerve thoſe of our own, without going about to depreciate other people's, or ridicule thoſe which other nations have feign'd to be gods, or to abuſe them; all which, our law-giver has expreſly prohibited becauſe of the name of God. But ſince our detractors are of opinion that they cannot be refuted after all the objections, that can be, are fully anſwered, I cannot be ſilent, eſpecially when what I am going to ſay are not my firſt thoughts, but what appear to have been told by ſeveral before me, and thoſe of the greateſt veracity. Which of thoſe, whoſe wiſdom have gained them the admiration of the *Greeks*, doth not find fault with their beſt poets, and their law-givers of greateſt credit, for having inſtilled from the beginning ſuch opinions of their gods into the people? Making them juſt ſuch a number as they were pleaſed to aſſign them, and aſſerting them born of one another, and that after different ways; having ſeperate habitations and places to recide in, as though they were ſpecies of living creatures, ſome having manſions under the earth aſſigned, ſome in the ſea, but the ancienteſt of them being ſaid to be bound down in *Tartarus*. Thoſe whoſe lot it is to be in heaven, are, in words, ſaid to have a father ſet over them, but, in fact, a tyrant and domineering maſter; upon which account it is aſſerted, that he was conſpired againſt by his wife, brother, and daughter, who ſprung out of his crown, in order to apprehend and bind him, as he himſelf had done his own father.

Men endowed with ſenſe and reaſon think theſe are a pack of romantick tales, that deſerve abundance of cenſure: They ridicule and laugh at them, beſides, for making ſome of the Gods beardleſs, and ſmooth ſtriplings, and others more advanced in years; for endeavouring to have it believed that others are workmen, one a ſmith, another a weavereſs, this a warrior, and fighting with men, others excellent muſicians on the harp, or extraordinary archers. For making them, at laſt, create broils and contentions one among another, and fiercely wrangling in behalf of mankind; which obliges them, ſometimes, not only to lay violent hands upon one another, but, alſo come dirtily off with the men, and are forced to lament the wounds and injuries they receive from them. But the moſt abominable thing of all is, their attributing to their male and female Gods intemperate coition, and love intriegues. What an abſurdity is here? In ſhort, that the moſt excellent divinity of them all, their prince and father, deceived women, got them with child, and afterwards put them into priſon, or threw them into the ſea; that he could not ſave thoſe whom he begot, becauſe his hands were tied up by fate; nor could he refrain from tears when he found them dead. Theſe certainly are excellent ſtories, and choice things; nor are theſe following leſs to be admired; namely, that the gods beheld adultery committed in heaven with ſuch impudent eyes, that we have the words of ſeveral of them, ſaying that they envied to behold thoſe whom they ſaw linked together, in ſuch ſhamefulneſs. What, then, would they not do, when even the ancienteſt among them, and their king, had not power over his unbridled luſt to ſtay from lying with his wife, till he was got into his bed-chamber: Nay, ſome of theſe Gods have proſtituted themſelves ſo much as to be ſervants to mankind; ſome, for the ſake of hire, to build; others, to feed flocks of ſheep and cattle; and ſome, again, like baſe villains, to be impriſoned: All which particulars, would they not rouze up a wiſe man's indignation. to confute ſuch as framed ſuch ridiculous tales, and condemn the ſtupidity and exceeding great folly of ſuch as believed them. Some, indeed, have mixed cowardice and fear, alſo brutality and cheating, and all the worſt faculties, in the nature of their Gods; and yet cities have been induced to offer up ſacrifices to the honeſter among them. When they think it unavoidable for ſome of their Gods to be diſpenſers of good things, and others to baniſh all evil from them. In a word, they ſtrive all they can, with preſents and gifts, to appeaſe them, as if they were the moſt malignant beings in the univerſe, or were in expectation they were going to ſuffer ſome miſchance from them, unleſs they endeavour'd thus ſtudiouſly to reward and bribe them.

What is the meaning, then, of the groſs inequality, and of ſuch a great crime againſt God? For my part, it is my private opinion, that neither their law-givers ever had a true and adequate notion of the juſt nature of God, nor could they accurately explain their knowledge of it, ſo far as they were able to trace it; and that from hence it came that their commonwealth was modelled after another plan; and that they rather believed this, as well as other things, were of no material conſequence, which made them thus neglective to the laſt degree, allowing their poets to introduce what Gods they pleaſed, ready prepared to ſuffer all things; and their rhetoricians, to admit foreign Gods, according to each man's humour and judgment, into the commonwealth. But, beſides theſe, their painters and ſtatuaries had a great ſhare in this article among the *Greeks*, each being left at his own liberty to think upon any form he ſhould judge beſt: For one would make a God of earth, and another paint him, ſtill purſuing what ſhape each lik'd beſt. But thoſe who were the moſt famous artiſts in this way, uſed gold and ivory, to expreſs the mutability and changing quality of the thing they had deſigned. Further; ſome of the temples were already become deſolate, others are with a ſingular deſire frequented and adorned with all manner of expiations: And thoſe Gods, who before were loaded with honours, are now grown old; thoſe who are vigorous, and have their youth about them, are put into the ſecond claſs, to give my words a more grand turn. Other freſh gods, but I cannot tell who, are introduced, and religious worſhip is paid them, to get the deſart places again abandoned, as we have obſerved. Some of the temples are deſerted, others rebuilt, juſt as the whim poſſeſſes the people; when, on the other hand, they ought to preſerve from all manner of mutation or change, the opinion which they entertain of God, and the honour that is due to him.

Apollonius Molon was of the number of the fools and haughty. They among the *Greeks* who tranſmitted nothing but authentick accounts in their writings, and traced the true philoſophy, very well knew every tittle of that which I have advanced above, nor where any ſtrangers to the poor excuſes of their allegories. This made them take juſt reaſon to deſpiſe them, and their opinions, about the nature of God were the very ſame with ours. This raiſed *Plato*'s reſentment, who was of opinion, that none of the poets were to be admitted into a commonwealth: And he, accordingly, removed *Homer*, crowned and anointed, for fear his fictions and fabulous ſtories ſhould deſtroy the right opinion of God. *Plato* principally followed our law-giver in this particular, namely, that he gave citizens no ſtricter command than accurately to learn all their laws, and not inconſiderately ſuffer any of a foreign model to blend with theirs; providing, at the ſame time, that they who paid obedience to the laws ſhould be the ſole perſons in whom the commonwealth ſhould be compriz'd. Theſe are circumſtances which *Apollonius* was a meer ſtranger to; and yet he has had the ſincerity to raiſe an accuſation againſt us, that we refuſe to admit of thoſe who are prepoſſeſs'd with other ſentiments concerning God, and that we will have no communication with thoſe who follow a plan of living different to ours. But, by the way, let me be at liberty to tell him, that this is not peculiar only to our nation, but what all countries uſe; not only the *Greeks*, but thoſe too who are eſteemed men of the greateſt probity among the *Greeks*. Beſides, the *Lacedæmonians* have been at all times known to be careful in expelling foreigners; neither would they admit their citizens to take journeys into foreign countries, becauſe they thought they had reaſon to be apprehenſive that both theſe ways were detrimental and hurtful to their laws: And a thouſand to one but ſome or other may think them very rigid and difficult in this particular, and not without reaſon, perhaps, too. For they will not ſuffer any perſon whatſoever to ſtay any conſiderable time among them. Indeed I confeſs we refuſe to follow the cuſtoms or inſtitutions of other nations, but we never refuſe to admit thoſe among us who are deſirous to be incorporated; but, on the contrary, we are known to be extremely ready in this particular; which I humbly take to be a ſpecial ſign of our humanity and greatneſs of ſoul.

But I wave making any further mention of the *Lacedæmonians*. *Apollonius* ſeems, too, to be ignorant, with regard to the *Athenians*, who are very fond of having their city thought a commmon receptacle to all; he knows nothing of this circumſtance, nor how rigid and exact they are in inflicting puniſhments upon thoſe who ſhall but offer to ſpeak a word beyond their laws concerning their Gods. Pray how came the great *Socrates* to ſuffer death? *Socrates* did not betray the city to the enemy; he rifled no temple: But it ſeems that his accuſation was grounded on a new way of ſwearing, which he ſaid a certain genius or dæmon had acquainted him with; for which he was doom'd to death by drinking the juice of hemlock. But this proſecuter charged him with ſeducing young people, and that he had been the cauſe why they deſpis'd the laws and cuſtoms of their country. Thus *Socrates*, who was a citizen of *Athens*, died. *Anaxagoras* was a native of *Blazomene*; but, becauſe the *Athenians* thought the ſun a God, he aſſerted, that it was a ſtony ball of fire, and was, for his doctrine, condemned to die by the votes of a few; and a reward of a talent was offer'd to him that would kill *Digoras*, becauſe he was ſaid to ridicule their myſteries. Beſides, if *Protagoras* had not found means to eſcape as he did, he had certainly been apprehended, and put to death, becauſe he was ſuppos'd to have written ſome things that diſagreed with the opinions which the *Athenians* had of their Gods. Why ought we to make any wonder in the caſe, then, if they had ſuch inclination to deſtroy men worthy of our eſteem and credit, who could not reſtrain their violent hands from the women? For they put a certain prieſteſs to death on the information of a perſon who charged her with teaching that the Gods were foreigners, which the laws abſolutely forbad; for death was the certain puniſhment of any one aſſerting that the Gods were foreign. By this, then, it appears, that they who uſed this law, did not believe that the Gods of other nations were any Gods at all: Nor, ſuppoſing they had believed ſo, had they depriv'd themſelves of the benefit of a plurality of Gods. So judiciouſly and well, forſooth, was the *Athenian* commonwealth governed. The *Scythians*, who delighted in human blood, and were but little from being beaſts, were of opinion, that their myſteries were to be defended; and when *Anacharſis*, whom the *Grecians* admired for his wiſdom, came back, they put him to death, becauſe they thought him inſtructed in the *Grecian* cuſtoms. But theſe are not the only examples; we may find, among the *Perſians*, many who have ſuffer'd in this manner: And it is evident that *Apollonius* admir'd the *Perſian* laws, and held them in great veneration; becauſe their fortitude, and unanimous opinion about their Gods, was of advantage to the *Greeks*. The latter, namely, in the burning of their temples; the former in this reſpect, that all *Greece* was almoſt reduc'd to ſlavery by them. *Apollonius* was a ſervile imitater of all the *Perſian* cuſtoms, he debauch'd other men's wives, and caſtrated his ſons. Now with us it is made death for any one to offer this injury, even to beaſts that want reaſon; and to relinquiſh theſe laws, neither the fear or threats of great rulers and governors, nor the deſire of emulating thoſe who were in eſteem with others, could ever gain upon us. We never make our courage or fortitude a pretence to maintain war for the augmenting our poſſeſſions, but purely for the preſervation of our laws. Upon this account, we mildly ſubmit to any dangers that may happen; but if there was found thoſe to ariſe who will by force make us depart from our laws, then we have recourſe to war, and fight even above our ſtrength, and perſevere to the laſt extremities. Why ſhould we emulate the laws of other nations, when we ſee that all the foreſight and care of the law-givets cannot preſerve them? Why do not the *Lacedæmonians* condemn their inſociable form of a commonwealth, and neglect of marriage? And why do not the people of *Elis* and *Thebis* diſallow their abominable coition with men, which is ſo contrary to nature? For what they formerly thought was the moſt laudable and uſeful, they will not own now, unleſs they leave them altogether. But they, alſo, have laws about them, which the *Greeks* held in ſo great veneration, that they attributed to their Gods the coition of men; and, for the ſame reaſon, allowed of the communication with their own ſiſters; upon which they ground their plea for purſuing theſe unlawful pleaſures which are ſo repugnant to nature.

But I will ſay no more, at preſent, of puniſhments, nor of the many compoſitions which the generality of law-givers formerly gave to wicked men, while adultery and corruption in marriage were to be bought off with a ſum of money, or how many opportunities they gave to an impious man of denying the facts charged upon him, if at any time he was brought upon his trial. Now the caſe is quite otherwiſe with us: We are expoſed to the loſs of riches, of our cities, and the reſt of our goods; but our law is immortal, and immutable. Neither was there ever any *Jew* that departed ſo far from his country, or was in ſo much terror at a cruel tyrant, as he was apprehenſive of his country's laws. If, then, we are ſo much ſollicitous and fond about theſe laws of ours, it muſt be confeſſed that we have the beſt ſyſtem of laws in the world. But if mankind are of opinion that we thus obey a plan of bad laws, how ought they to be puniſhed who do not live under better? And becauſe length of time is thought to be the trueſt diſcoverer of all things, I make no doubt but to make this a voucher both of our law-giver's virtue, and his doctrine of God as delivered by him. For although a vaſt ſpace of time is elapſed, yet if any one will but be at the pains of comparing the time he lived in, with that of other law-givers, he will find that he was ſeveral ages before them.

I take it that we have ſufficiently demonſtrated, by this time, that his laws had always a wonderful effect on all mankind more and more to increaſe their deſire of emulating them. The firſt among the *Greeks* who taught philoſophy, ſeem to have ſtuck cloſe to the laws of their country; but to have copied our law-giver in their actions and deſire of knowledge, harbouring not only the ſame ſentiments of God; but keeping up to the like ſlender way of diet, and teaching the ſame mutual intercourſe among mankind; beſides a great many long ago have had deſires of imitating the rites which we uſe in our worſhip of God. Neither is there a city throughout *Greece*, nor throughout the countries of the *Barbarians*, neither is there a nation which has not heard of our way of celebrating the ſeventh day, which we ſet apart from labour; and how we obſerve faſtings, burning of lamps, and ſeveral other things, which we hold unlawful to eat. Let our detractors, then, imitate that mutual agreement that is amongſt us, that liberality which we are known for, that diligence in the exerciſe of our ſeveral trades, and that patience under torments which we undergo in defence of our laws. But what is moſt to be admired at, our law hath prevailed of it ſelf, without any inducements outwardly to pleaſe us into it. And as God deſuſes himſelf throughout the whole world, ſo our law ſpreads itſelf throughout all mankind. And if every one will but conſider a while his own country and family, he will ſoon agree with what I have here ſpoke. Whence either they deſerve to be condemned of wilful ill nature, who are deſirous to copy after foreign cuſtoms, which are bad, before thoſe of their own country, which are good; or our traducers ought to perſecute us no longer with their envy and malice. We are far from being invidious in this particular, ſo long as we honour our law-giver, and believe the things he has ſpoken of God: For though we may not be ſo wiſe as to underſtand the virtue of all our laws, yet the vaſt numbers that copy after them, is a ſufficient inducement for our approving them.

But I have given an accurate account of our laws and republick in my book of *Antiquities*; I have recited them here ſo far as was neceſſary; for my deſign was not to give a narrative of others, or to commend thoſe of my country; but to prove, that thoſe who have handled us unjuſtly in their writings, have impudently carried themſelves beyond the truth of things. And, indeed, I think I have ſufficiently performed my promiſe herein. For, in the firſt place, I have demonſtrated the antiquity of our nation, which our detractors have aſſerted to be exceeding modern; and, more than this, I have produced ſeveral witneſſes who have made mention in their writings of our antiquity, whom theſe traducers will not allow to be ſuch. they have pretended, that our anceſtors were originally *Egyptians*, but I have endeavoured to prove that they came into *Egypt* from another country. They have forged a lie in alledging that they were driven out of the country for a diſtemper in their bodies; but I have endeavoured to make it plainly appear that they voluntarily, and with a ſingular help, returned back into their native country. Laſtly, they have inveighed againſt our law-giver, as though he had been the vileſt perſon on earth; but it has been evinced, that both God formerly, and length of time, were vouchers of his virtue.

There is no occaſion to be more prolix about our laws; for it is evident from them, that they teach no impiety, but the trueſt godlineſs: That they do not incite men to hatred, but to a free communication of what they have one with another; that they are enemies to injuſtice, lovers of honeſty and righteouſneſs, reprovers of indolency and luxury, teaching mankind to be content with that which they have, and to be laborious; to be valiant and brave in defence of them; to puniſh all vice and immorality ſeverely; and are no way varniſh'd niſh'd over with pompous words or language: All which particulars are always put in force. For we conſtantly exhibit them to a fuller view than in the writing that contains them. Upon which account, I dare take the freedom to ſay that we have proved authors of better and nobler examples and precepts than any other nation in the world can pretend to. What can be more beautiful than an inviolate piety? What can be more juſt than to obey the laws? What more advantageous than to cheriſh up a mutual concord and agreement; neither to be caſt down when the day of calamity comes, nor to break out in ſeditions and rebellions when proſperity ſmiles: To be no ways afraid of death in battle; to cultivate arts and ſciences, and purſue affairs of husbandry in times of peace, and to think, nay, be perſuaded, that all things, and all places, are ſupported and governed by the ſupreme hand of God? Had theſe particulars been the original precepts of any other nation, or had they conſtantly preſerved them, we ſhould have owed them the ſame obligations as ſcholars do their inſtructers and maſters. But we are acknowledged to be the firſt people in the world that made uſe of theſe precepts, and we have clearly evinced that we were the original and firſt inventers of them. So farewel to your refuted *Apion*'s and *Molon*'s, and all the reſt who rejoice in lies and reproaches. Now for you, *Epaphroditus*, the greateſt lover of truth, and, on your account, for thoſe who were likewiſe deſirous to be acquainted with our nation, was this and the foregoing book written.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

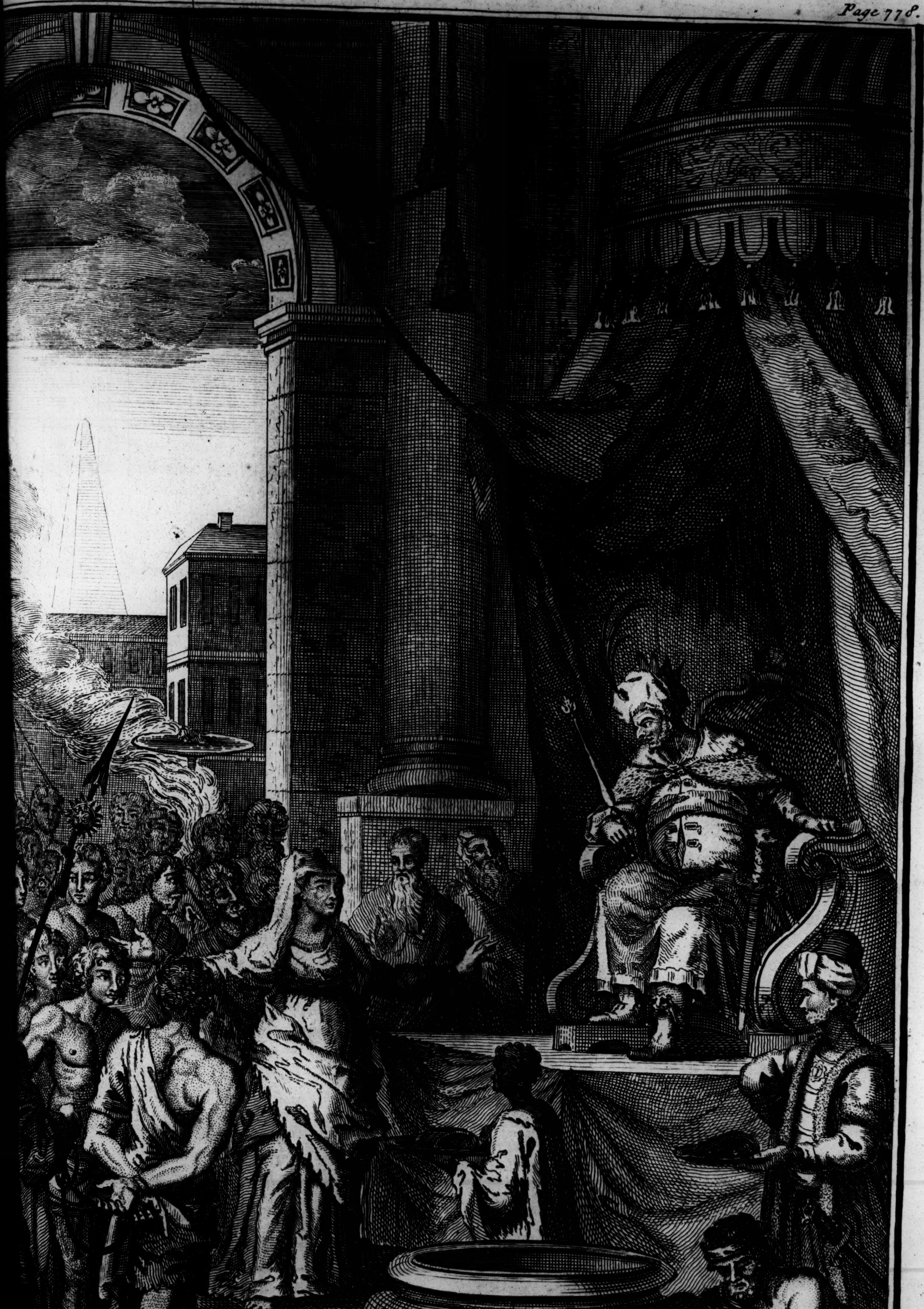
MACCABEES:

Or, of the

Empire of Reaſon.

In One BOOK.

I AM going upon a very learned and wiſe point, namely, the empire of right and pious reaſon over the perturbations of the mind; upon which, I would adviſe you to attend carefully to thoſe things which I deſign for materials for my enſuing diſcourſe. For it is a ſubject which every body ought to be acquainted with; and beſides, its theme is concerning the higheſt perfection of virtue: For it comprehends the praiſes and commendations of prudence, teaching us that reaſon can conquer all the perturbations of the mind which are oppoſite to temperance; I mean gluttony, covetuouſneſs, and the like. That it can maſter thoſe which are repugnant to juſtice, ſuch as improbity, and the like; that it can quell thoſe which are oppoſites to fortitude; ſuch as fear, anger, grief, and the like. But probably ſome men will ſay if reaſon has this dominion over the paſſions or perturbations of the mind, how comes it that it has not the ſame maſterſhip over ignorance and forgetfulneſs? This, I confeſs, is a queſtion that is ridiculous enough. Reaſon, indeed, has no command over its own perturbations, but only over ſuch as are oppoſite to juſtice, fortitude, and temperance; and that, too, in ſuch a manner, that it does not entirely remove them, but does not ſubmit to them. And therefore I can produce ſeveral arguments to prove to you, that reaſon is the miſtreſs over the paſſions or perturbations of the mind: But perhaps I may be thought to give a more copious and grand turn to this diſcourſe, if I publiſh an account of the famous actions of *Eleazar*, of his ſeven brothers, and of his mother, who were not afraid to lay down their lives in the cauſe of virtue: For all theſe, through an ardent zeal to the divine law, ſuſtained the worſt of torments and cruelties, even to death it ſelf; and the name of piety made them ſcorn the thoughts of life, inſomuch, that they made themſelves the moſt certain teſtimonies that reaſon was miſtreſs over the paſſions. I have endeavoured juſtly and deſervedly to commend theſe perſons, who, together with their mother, ſuffer'd death in the cauſe of juſtice: And I have not ſcrupled to call them happy, on account of the great honour and reputation which they gain'd. Their fortitude and extraordinary patience



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patience was ſuch, that not only the generality of mankind, but, alſo, tyrants themſelves have wonder'd at them, and been in the greateſt aſtoniſhment at their hiſtory. By their behaviour it was brought about, that the baſeſt tyranny in the world, which their country groaned under at that time, was effectually remov'd; for the tyrant that kept it in ſlavery was vanquiſh'd at leaſt by their patience, and their country, which was harraſſed with ſuch exceſſive evils, regain'd its liberty. Notwithſtanding, I will now ſpeak of the queſtion itſelf, beginning with the head of my argument, as is cuſtomary; after which, I will turn my diſcourſe to theſe brave perſons, giving, all the way, thanks to God, the fountain of all wiſdom.

In the firſt place, then, we proceed to enquire whether reaſon has any command over the paſſions, what reaſon is, what paſſion is, how many ideas there are of paſſions; alſo, if reaſon bears ſway over all of them. Reaſon, then, is the mind which prefers, to every thing elſe in the world, a life conducted by wiſdom and truth; wiſdom of the cognition or knowledge of divine and human things, and their cauſes. This wiſdom conſiſts in the inſtitution and diſcipline of the law, by which we learn divine things gravely, human things to our advantage. Wiſdom may be branched out in four particulars; prudence, juſtice, fortitude, and temperance: The firſt place is aſſigned to prudence, becauſe reaſon, by its aſſiſtance and influence, becomes miſtreſs over the paſſions. Thoſe paſſions that are moſt genteel, are two, pleaſure and pain; both of them exiſt in the body and ſoul: Beſides, in theſe two paſſions of pleaſure and pain, are comprehended a great many others. For example, covetouſneſs goes before pleaſure, joy follows it; fear precedes trouble, and ſorrow bears it company. Anger is a paſſion between pleaſure and pain, which any one may know that has been hurried into it. In pleaſure is comprehended a baſe and wicked affection, which, of all the paſſions, is the moſt diffuſive. In the ſoul are theſe, arrogance, ambition, love of contention, envy: In the body theſe, gluttony, voracity, ſolitary, gluttony. Beſides, pleaſure and pain, like certain branches growing out of the body and ſoul, have ſeveral coins, which reaſon the common huſbandman, by lopping, tying up, and watering, and every way tranſpoſing and ordering them, corrects their nature, and tames their native wildneſs. Reaſon is the conductrix of the virtues, and the governeſs of the paſſions. Let but a man firſt obſerve thoſe paſſions that oppoſe temperance, and he will find, that reaſon is the commander of the paſſions. Temperance reſtrains the deſire, ſome whereof belong to the ſoul, others to the body; both which are governed and reſtrained by reaſon. Then pray tell me how it comes about, that, when we are forced upon meats which are forbidden us, we meaſure all the pleaſure and ſatisfaction that may ariſe from them? It is not from an innate thought, that reaſon ſways the appetite? When we abſtain from fowls, fiſh, and four-footed beaſts, nay, from every ſort of meat that the law hath interdicted us, even when the appetite is craving; I take it, in this caſe, that we do thus purely becauſe we are ſenſible that reaſon governs: For the impulſe of the appetite, by the aſſiſtance of reaſon, is reſtrained, and all the motions of the body are bridled by the power of reaſon.

No wonder! when the deſires of the ſoul are maſter'd by reaſon, though longing after beauty. What a character does frugal *Joſeph* gain, for conquering his paſſion of delight by the ſtandard of reaſon, and ſound reflection? For being in the bloom of his years, and his blood boiling within him, yet he called reaſon to his aſſiſtance, and reſtrained the impulſe of his paſſion. But it is not only the furious and precipitant paſſion of luſt that is kept under and reſtrained by the aſſiſtance of reaſon; all the other motions of this paſſion are gently ſmoothed and calmed. The law commands, *Luſt not after the wife of thy neighbour, nor any thing that belongs to him.* And ſince the law it ſelf forbids us to luſt or covet, we ought to perſuade our ſelves that reaſon is the miſtreſs over our deſires, as ſhe is over thoſe paſſions that are repugnant to juſtice. Otherwiſe, pray how comes it that one who is a glutton, a ſlave to his belly, and a drunkard, changes his courſe, if reaſon was not believ'd to have ſway over the paſſions? When any one at firſt lives up to the preſcription of the law, if he happens to be of a ſordid and covetous temper he his obliged to put a reſtraint upon his deſires, to lend to the poor without intereſt, and to loſe his loan at the approaching weeks. If he chance to prove a tenacious and ſparing man, the law, then, with the force of reaſon, governs him, that he neither make harveſt, or gather his grapes. But there are a thouſand other inſtances, almoſt, that plainly ſhew how reaſon governs over the paſſions: Beſides, the law preſcribes a pious duty to parents, but ſo tempers and qualifies it, that virtue, for the ſake of it, is not abandoned. It enjoins, likewiſe, love to one's wife, but with a proviſion, to reprove the perſon infringing this law; and it qualifies love towards children, by inflicting puniſhments on their irregular courſe of living. Laſtly, it governs the familiarity and acquaintance of friends, by reproving them when they deal diſhonourably. Theſe reflections ought not to make you wonder, ſince reaſon, by the interpoſing authority of the law, carried her dominion among controverſies, which was neither to cut down the fruit-trees of an enemy, nor keep the effects of another, but tranſmit them to the right owner, and to ſet up every thing that was fallen down. But reaſon bears ſway over more violent paſſions, and impoſes laws on them; I mean ambition, a thirſt after vain-glory, arrogance, boaſting, and envy. All theſe unruly paſſions are removed and ſubdued by a mind ſoundly inſtructed and qualified by reaſon. Anger, too, owes it influence; for reaſon ſits at the helm, over her. Thus *Moyſes* was angry at *Dathan* and *Abiram*; he did not ſhew his anger upon them, but ſmoothed it by the force of reaſon: For a mind thus tempered, can, as I have ſaid, ſubdue the violence of the paſſions, ſometimes turning them this or that way, at other times effectually conquering them; For if the caſe was not ſo, how comes *Jacob*, that man of prudence, the founder of our nation, thus warmly to addreſs *Simeon* and *Levi*, who had cut off the whole nation of the *Sichemites? Curſed be your anger*. For he ſeems to have had no view of ſpeaking thus, unleſs perſuaded that reaſon was able to conquer wrath. When God made man, and adorned him with reaſon, and a freedom of will, he, at the ſame time, placed ſeveral ideas of paſſion within him, high over which, he put the mind the directreſs of all; withal impoſing a law upon him, according to whoſe preſcription, if he conformed himſelf, he might reign ſoberly, righteouſly, well, and valiantly. But, probably, ſome men will ſay, if reaſon has the dominion over the paſſions, how comes it that oblivion and ignorance are not ſubject to her government? This is a very ridiculous queſtion, ſince reaſon has nothing to do with its own paſſions, but only with thoſe of the body. For example, no body can remove the paſſion of deſire out of us; but that we may not be ſlaves to luſt, reaſon brings her aſſiſtance, and, what we cannot of our ſelves, ſhe performs. Anger, too, is above the reach of any man's power effectually to root out of our minds; yet the leſs we allow this paſſion to reign within us, the more can reaſon bring her ſuccours to our aid. And improbity is, too, of the ſame difficulty to be delivered of; yet reaſon knows how to aſſiſt us that we be not quite led away by it. 'Tis true, that reaſon does not take away theſe paſſions, as it were, by the roots, but conquers them by frequent ſtruggles, and oppoſing them; which I can demonſtrate more clearly yet. When *David*, with his army, had fought the *Barbarians* the length of a whole day, and made a very great ſlaughter among them, as ſoon as evening approached, being all in a drooping ſweat, and quite worn out with the fatigues of the day, he came to his royal tent, which was fortified with the whole camp of our anceſtors. Immediately all went to ſupper; the king, in the mean time, had a raging thirſt upon him, tho' there were ſprings enough about, and more than ſufficient to have ſatisfied him, yet they could not pleaſe him; but I know not what turbulent and brutiſh deſire for ſome of the enemy's water poſſeſs'd him, which encreaſed upon him vehemently, and tormented him after a ſurprizing manner. The guards of the king, it ſeems, appearing ſorry for his great thirſt, three young men, hardy and brave fellows, being moved with the ſame compaſſion, immediately, all in their martial habiliments took a jug, and, having eſcaped over the enemy's trenches, broke privately through the centinels that kept the gate. For ſome time, they were buſied in rummaging every place of the camp to find the well; which they had no ſooner done, but they drew their jug full of water, and brought it to the king; who, notwithſtanding the extreme thirſt upon him, thought the danger one of the worſt in the world, if he drank the water, which had been procured him with hazard of the men's lives. Wherefore, bringing his reaſon to his aſſiſtance to oppoſe him in it, he made a libation of it to God. Upon the whole, then, a mind thus tempered, can maſter the impulſes of the paſſions, can extinguiſh the flames of luſt, can overcome the cruelleſt pains of the body, and laſtly, can ſubdue all the head-ſtrong motions of the perturbations that diſturb us. But it is time, now, to confirm the queſtion, as propoſ'd, concerning a mind thus temper'd.

When our anceſtors, by following righteouſneſs and juſtice, enjoyed a profound peace, and had plenty of every thing about them; ſo that *Saleucus Nicanor*, king of *Aſia*, gave them ſums of money for the ſervice of their ſacrifices, and approved of their commonwealth; yet even then, they fell into ſundry calamities by the wicked attempts of certain baſe men to diſturb their repoſe, which broke that mutual harmony and concord among them. A certain man, named *Simon*, creating a quarrel with *Onias*, who was high-prieſt for life, and a man of the greateſt integrity and goodneſs, whoſe life could not be charged with any blemiſh, after he had aſpers'd him all he could, but not being able to bring the people to be his enemies, he was reſolved to betray his country, and, accordingly, fled, and, preſenting himſelf to *Apollonius*, who was governor of *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Cilecia*, told him, *Moved by a deſire of ſerving the king, I come hither, to make a diſcovery of a vaſt quantity of private money in the treaſury at* Hieroſolyma, *which does not belong to the temple. But* Seleucus, *the king, has the juſt claim to every part of it. Apollonius* coming to underſtand theſe particulars, praiſed his affection for the king; and then, going to *Nicanor*, told every thing about the money: In conſequence of which, the king giving him power of removing the treaſure, he came directly into our country at the head of a numerous army, with the traitor in their company. On his arrival, he gave out that he came by order of the king, to remove the private money that was in the ſacred treaſury. The people ſighed at the harrangue he made on this occaſion, and loudly exclaim'd againſt it, they thought it an unworthy action, to deprive thoſe of their money who had entruſted it in the ſacred treaſury, and reſiſted the officer as much as they were able: Notwithſtanding this, *Apollonius* broke into the temple, not without loud menaces. The prieſts, upon this, with their wives and children, implored God he would be pleaſed to defend his temple, violated in ſo unworthy a manner: When, behold, angels on horſeback appeared from heaven, ſurrounded with ſhining armour, who put *Apollonius* and his ſoldiers, going to take away the money, into a terrible panick and confuſion. *Apollonius*, half dead with the fright, ruſh'd into the inner portico, which was open to people of all nations, where, with extended arms to heaven, he implored the *Hebrews*, with tears in his eyes, to offer up their prayers for him, to pacify the cœleſtial army. This humiliation working upon *Onias* the high-prieſt, he prayed for him; though, by the way, he fear'd leſt king *Seleucus* ſhould imagine that *Apollinus* had been taken away by ſome human treachery, and not by any divine vengeance. In ſhort, he was ſaved, contrary to his and all other people's opinions, and went to tell the king of the thing that had happened to him. But king *Seleucus* was dead in the mean time, being ſucceeded by his ſon *Antiochus*, a man of prodigious inſolence and cruelty, who deprived *Onias* of the prieſthood, and created his brother *Jaſon* high-prieſt in his room, under a compact or agreement, if he made him high-prieſt, for him to pay an annual ſum of three thouſand, ſix hundred, and threeſcore talents. And ſo he made him not only high-prieſt, but inveſted him with the ſupreme authority over the people. *Jaſon* not only made his citizens forſake their antient manners, inſtitutions, form of their commonwealth, and laws, but hurried them into all manner of impurity; ſo that he built a gymnaſium in the higheſt place of our country, and aboliſhed the uſe of the temple. At which groſs wickedneſs and impiety, the divine wrath being offended, God ſtirred up *Antiochus*, and made him a bitter and inexorable enemy to the *Jews*. It ſeems, that being in *Ægypt*, and engaged in a war there againſt *Ptolomy*, he was told, that a report being ſpread about his death, ſome of the *Hieroſolymites* were in the greateſt gladneſs in the world about it, which made him proclaim war againſt them, which he preſently put in execution; and having defeated them, he publiſhed an edict, forbidding any of them to obſerve the cuſtoms of their country, under pain of death. But finding he could by no method bring that nation to abandon their laws, and that his threatenings and puniſhments were deſpiſed, and availed nothing, inſomuch, that the women, for the ſake of their circumciſed ſons, were precipitantly thrown from rocks, though they knew what they were to ſuffer: I ſay, when *Antiochus* found the people thus deſpiſing his edict, he was determined to force them into a compliance by the worſt of torments, and to make them eat of impure meats and, in the end, to curſe both their laws and country.

When *Antiochus*, that curſed tyrant, had placed himſelf with his judges on his tribunal, erected in a high place, with his armed ſoldiers about him, he commanded the *Hebrews* to be dragged before him, and forced to eat ſwine's fleſh, and partake of the ſacrifices ſlain to images, under pain, in caſe of refuſal, to be ſtretched upon the wheel. Several were preſently taken out of the promiſcuous multitude; but a certain man named *Eleazar*, a prieſt by deſcent, by profeſſion a lawyer, in an advanc'd age, and known on account of his years, to ſeveral who ſtood round the tyrant, was brought before him. *Antiochus*, when he ſaw him, ſaid, 'Old man, I adviſe you, before you be brought to the queſtion, to eat of ſwine's fleſh, and conſult your own ſafety; for I have compaſſion to you, for your age and grey hairs, which have graced your head ſo long a time, you cannot but know, that following the ſuperſtitious rites of the *Jews* is extreme weakneſs in you; for I muſt be plain to tell you, I think ſo. Pray tell me the reaſon that makes you ſo averſe to eat the delightful fleſh of this creature, when nature has provided it for our uſe? 'Tis certainly the mark of madneſs and ſtupidity to refuſe enjoying things that are pleaſant, where, beſides, 'tis a wrong done to nature, the beſt mother of all, thus to deſpiſe her gifts. But you will oblige me to look upon you as one far more beſotted, ſhould you continue in this ridiculous notion of the truth, and force me to diſregard all the torments you may endure. On the other hand, put from your mind this trifling and idle philoſophy of yours, and diſpel thoſe miſts of ignorance that cloud your thoughts: Return to ſentiments that become your age; apply to that virtue which is advantageous and profitable; and, in the laſt place, think on and embrace my kind advice, and let your length of age bring compaſſion into your mind. This is what I would have you think on, provided there is but any God, that regards this ſuperſtition of yours; for as you are forced to comply thus, certainly he will the ſooner remit the offence.' After the tyrant had made this ſpeech, in order to perſuade and invite *Eleazar* to the abominable feaſt, he, having begg'd and obtain'd leave to ſpeak, thus began: 'We, *Antiochus*, who have obliged ourſelves to pay obedience to the divine law, think that nothing worſe in the world can befal us than to diſobey our ſyſtem of laws: For hence it comes, that we are thoroughly perſuaded that our laws are no way to be infringed or violated by us, even ſuppoſing it were true, as you imagine, that our laws were not divinely given us, but that we believed them ſo by miſtake of opinion: Even, I ſay, in ſuch caſe, we are prohibited from changing or laying aſide the opinion we have once embraced of religion. Do not, therefore, think, that the ſin is trifling, to eat of things that are impure; for whether the law is tranſgreſſed in great or little things, the ſin is equally the ſame, ſince the authority of the law is weakened either way. Our philoſophy and doctrine is meer ridicule with you, as though it did not ſquare juſtly or conveniently with reaſon; yet it tells us how to embrace temperance, in order to keep a commanding hand over all our pleaſures and deſires: It affords us precepts of fortitude, in order to ſuſtain all manner of labours with a voluntary inclination: It directs us to juſtice and piety, in order to worſhip magnificently and juſtly the true God, who is one. Wherefore we can by no means be induced to eat of meats that are impure, ſince we are very well perſuaded that this law was originally divinely conſtituted; ſince we know, and have found out, that the author of this law, who perfectly and juſtly was acquainted with our diſpoſition and natural inclination, allowed us to eat ſuch things which he thought convenient for our ſouls; but refuſed us the uſe of thoſe that were repugnant thereto. It is, therefore, a cruel and barbarous action, to force us not only to violate this law, but, alſo, to eat, that you may laugh at us for uſing impure meats, which we account the moſt odious thing in the world. But you ſhall never bring me to this ridiculous ſtep, and I witneſs it before the ſacred memory of my anceſtors; no, not if you tear my eyes, or ſtrip my bones. I am, yes, I 'am, not yet ſo old and infirm, but that religion can make my reaſon grow young. Let the wheel be got ready, and prepare the furious fire; for I will never have ſo much compaſſion of my old age, as to abandon and deſert the law of my country for that. O miſtreſs law, I will not fruſtrate thee; nor, O deareſt continency, will I forſwear thee: Neither, O divine reaſon! will I diſhonour thee; nor, O honourable prieſthood, and prudence of the law! will I deny you: Neither ſhall my mouth, at any time, throw a blemiſh on venerable old age, and a life conducted by the preſcripts of the law. Pure and inviolate ſhall my forefathers receive me; and thy torments, though to the inflicting of death, ſhall not diſmay me, Let your torments and barbarity be exerciſed upon me never ſo cruelly, yet thou ſhall never conquer the ſentiments I entertain of my religion, either by deeds or words.'

Eleazar returning this anſwer to the tyrant's exhortation, was dragg'd by the guards, who ſtood round, to the cruelleſt torments. In the firſt place, they pull'd off the old man's garment, the venerable habit of his religion; and then, having bound both his hands behind him, unmercifully ſcourg'd him, an herald all the while ſhouting from an eminence, *Obey the king's commands.* Mean time, the valiant and truly great *Eleazar* ſuſtained his torments as if he had been in a dream, without altering a tittle from his opinion. On the other hand, he look'd directly towards heaven, while his fleſh was torn off, and the blood guſh'd from him, and his ſides were broken with the ſtripes: Yet when his body was no longer able to bear under the weight of his pains, he fell upon the ground, though reaſon, all the while, was immoveable and unalterable. Upon this, one of the guards ran and kick'd him on the belly, to make him riſe. The old man, though ſtruck thus, ſubmitted to his painful indignity with a vaſt bravery of mind: He ſcorned his ill uſage, and, with ſurprizing conſtancy, ſuffered his intolerable ſtripes. Like a brave wreſtler, he conquered his perſecutors. The ſweat now dropping down his cheeks, and having great difficulty to draw his breath, his very tormentors began to ſtand in admiration at his extraordinary greatneſs of ſoul: They began to be touched with compaſſion of his decriped age, partly being ſorry on account of his antient friendſhip, partly amazed at his conſtancy and unalterable mind; upon which, ſome of the king's guards ſtepp'd up, and thus addreſs'd him: *Why,* Eleazar, *do you inconſiderately and raſhly thus throw yourſelf upon theſe misfortunes and torments? Suffer us to ſet ſwine's fleſh before you, which you are not ſcrupulous to taſte, and conſult your ſafety.* But he, as though he had been more diſhonoured by this advice, cried aloud, 'Forbid, forbid it, heaven, that we, the poſterity of *Abraham*, ſhould ſo far diſcover our folly and madneſs, as baſely and diſhonourably to live a ſcandal and ignominy to our dignity. For, methinks, 'tis contrary and repugnant to reaſon, after a whole life even to the laſt days of old age, ſpent agreeably to truth, with unalterable conſtancy and honour all the time, to change one's opinion at laſt, and make one's ſelf, to the younger ſort, an example of impiety, by eating of forbidden things: To live the remainder of our lives in ignominy and diſhonour, and give all mankind an occaſion of ridiculing us for our timidity and cowardice; to be deſpiſed by the tyrant himſelf, as weak and infirm men, and not to defend our laws to the laſt drop of blood we have. Therefore you, who derive your original from *Abraham*, put your confidence in God, and religion and piety move you to ſuſtain death valiantly, and with an undaunted mind. And you, who are the king's guards, why do you ſtand and loiter thus?'

When they ſaw him bear and deſpiſe the torments, they had put him to, with ſo much courage, and greatneſs of ſoul, and that their compaſſion of him had no effect to work a change in him, then they put him upon fire, pull'd his fleſh off with pinchers, and pour'd into his noſtrils ſtinking liquors. Sill he bravely underwent theſe pains, and, when burnt to the very bone, and ready to expire, he lifted up his eyes to God, and ſaid, *Thou truly knows, O God! that for thy laws, as the power is taken from me, I die amidſt cruel torments and pains: Wherefore, be ſatisfied with my puniſhment, and be propitious to thy nation, and let my blood be an expiation for them, and receive my ſoul in the room of their ſouls.* Which words, the moſt holy man had no ſooner ſaid, but he gave up the ghoſt, with great intrepidity and courage, in the midſt of his torments, and, to his laſt breath, made reaſon his ſupreme guide. Wherefore, it is plain, that pious and right reaſon has command over the paſſions: For if the paſſions were miſtreſſes over reaſon, it would ſeem but juſt that we proved this rule and command they had. But ſince reaſon doth conquer the paſſions, it is juſt that we allow it the principality: And, indeed, it is moſt equitable, unleſs we have a mind to appear ridiculous, to confeſs thus the empire of reaſon, ſince it moderates thoſe troubles of ours that are extrinſical, nay, not only theſe troubles, but it likewiſe rules our pleaſures as I have ſhewn above, neither does it altogether ſubmit to them.

The reaſon of our father *Eleazar*, like a ſkilful pilot, holding the rudder of the ſhip of piety in the ſea of the paſſions, toſs'd to and fro with the threatenings of the tyrant, and overwhelmed with the waves of torments, never changes the rudder of piety he has hold of, till he enjoys the haven of immortal victory with a ſtraight and proſperous courſe. A city beſieged with a great many various engines, never is uſed to make ſuch reſiſtance as the divine mind of the holy *Eleazar*, expoſed to and harraſs'd with cruel ſtripes and torments, which valiantly fighting in defence of reaſon, as valiantly ſurmounted them. Our father *Eleazar* daſh'd in pieces with his mind, as with a rock, the mad and boiſterous waves of the paſſions. O prieſt, moſt worthy of the ſacerdotal dignity! Neither didſt thou pollute thy ſacred teeth, nor contaminate thy belly with impure meat, which was always accuſtomed to contain meats dedicated to God. O guardian of the law! and follower of the divine word! for ſuch it becomes holy ſacrifices to be, who, in ſpite of death and torments, are determined to aſſert and vindicate the law with their blood and lives. Thou, O father! haſt gloriouſly confirmed the equity of our law, by thy perſeverence and ſufferings: Thou haſt render'd our rites more conſpicuous, but haſt not abrogated them; and thou, by realities and deeds, haſt eſtabliſhed the precepts and doctrine of our divine philoſophy. O brave old man! ſuperior to torments; and O reverend ſire! above the force of the raging flame: O *Eleazar!* thou mighty king over the paſſions. As our ſire *Aaron* ran with the incenſe in his hand, through the fire that was deſtroying the people, and overcame the deſtroying angel, ſo, in like manner, did *Eleazar*, the ſon of *Aaron*, ſteadily adhere to reaſon, though melted with the fire: And, what was moſt ſurprizing, he, tho' advanced in age, the vigour of his body worn out, his fleſh looſened, and his nerves grown ſtiff, yet, with the force of reaſon, diſcovered in his mind and ſoul an youthful warmth, and manly ſtrength. O happy old age! O reverend grey hairs, and ſanctified life! that gave teſtimony of ſo illuſtrious a death. Now, therefore, if an old man, purely to aſſert piety and religion, deſpiſed the chief of torments, even to death it ſelf, it conſequently follows, nor can be ſcrupled, that right and holy reaſon has the ſuperiority over the paſſions: But, very likely, ſome will object, and ſay, that all people have not ſufficient capacity to maſter their paſſions; for that all are not bleſs'd with a prudent reaſon: Only that they who apply themſelves to a religious and devout life, are the perſons who ſtrive all they can to become poſſeſſors of this prudent reaſon, and are the ſole perſons who can maſter their paſſions. Whence it follows, they ſuppoſe, that there is no material difference in the weakneſs of reaſon: For who are they, among mankind, that, having ſet the whole rule of philoſophy to be their guide, and put their confidence in God, and being aſſured of the happineſs and felicity there is in ſuffering every calamity and hardſhip for virtue's ſake, would not maſter their paſſions when religion is in the caſe? Such, certainly, are both wiſe and valiant, and maſters of their paſſions.

From this very conſideration it is, that even young men, who had embraced a pious notion of religion, proved ſuperior to torments heavier than the former. When the tyrant ſaw himſelf foiled at this firſt ſtruggle, and that he could not force the old man to eat of the prohibited meat, he was in a vaſt rage, and gave orders for others of the *Hebrew* captives to be brought before him; who, provided they eat of the impure meat, were to be ſet at liberty; but, on refuſing to comply therewith, to be put to crueller torments. Accordingly, on the tyrant's command, ſeven ſons, with their ancient mother, were brought, before him, who were of excellent ſhape of body, valiant, pious, and every way to be admired. Theſe the tyrant no ſooner ſaw, with their mother in the middle, as a dance, but he was pleaſed with the ſight, and could not but greatly admire their fine make and graceful deportment. He ſmiled pleaſingly upon them, and calling them to him, thus endeavoured to ſoften them with theſe words: 'Handſome and excellent young men, I am both in love and admiration with the dignity of your ſeveral perſons; your number gives me extraordinary ſatisfaction, and I would be the perſon to adviſe you, not only to baniſh any thoughts of imitating the madneſs of the old man who has been tortured before you, but, alſo, to obey me in what I ſay, and ſo procure my favour: For as I can chaſtiſe thoſe who diſobey my orders, ſo I can heap my favours on thoſe who comply with my commands. Wherefore, be it your duty to gratify me in what I deſire of you, that ſo I may conſtitute you princes and governors in my kingdom; by relinquiſhing the cuſtoms of your country, and forſaking its rites, and by coming over to the *Grecian* laws, which may give you uninterrupted liberty to enjoy ſtill the delights of your youth. But if you raiſe up my reſentment againſt you by your contumacy and obſtinacy you will force me againſt my inclination, to deſtroy every one of you with direful and heavy torments. But, at leaſt, take compaſſion of yourſelves, whom I, your enemy, pity you for your youth and beauty: Neither think that your diſobedience will be any otherwiſe rewarded, but by a moſt terrible death.' He had no ſooner ſaid theſe words, but he commanded the torments to be brought into the middle of them, to ſee if fear, at leaſt, would force them to eat of the forbidden meat. The guards having now brought the wheels, rods, hooks, rakes, racks, caldrons, cages, gridirons, *catapultæ*, iron manacles, wedges, and bellows, the tyrant thus ſpoke: 'Young men, dread the conſequences; doubtleſly you will forgive yourſelves, for paying adoration to a deity, by being compelled to violate his law.' Having heard this artful inſinuation of the tyrant, and ſeeing the dreadful racks and torments before them, they were ſo far from being terrified at the conſequence of a denial, that they cried aloud, in anſwer to the tyrant's words, and by the force of their prudent reaſon made themſelves ſuperior to all his threats. 'What are our ſentiments? *ſaid they.* If ſome among them were diſpirited, and heartleſs, what words do we ſuppoſe beſt to fit them? What, not ſuch as theſe? O miſerable and fooliſh we! when the king of his own accord adviſes us to accept of his favour, and ſave ourſelves. Should we refuſe to regard his command, why do we glory in our ſilly opinion, and raſhly give into a diſobedient temper, that will prove prejudicial to us? Say, my brothers, are not torments very dreadful, and the threats of pains and racks very heavy? Is not this frivolous glory we embrace, and this deſtructive arrogance we entertain ſometimes, to be thrown aſide? Let our young years plead once for us, and let the thought that we have of an aged mother engroſs at leaſt our minds. Nay, let a ſerious conſideration fill our thoughts, that on our diſobedience our preſent death depends, the divine vengeance will pardon us, becauſe we are forced to ſtand in awe of the king.

‘Why ſhould we deprive ourſelves ſo ſoon of the enjoyment of this precious life? Or why ſhould we rob ourſelves of the pleaſures of this entertaining world? Let us not ſtruggle againſt the ſtream, or oppoſe our difficulties; neither let us pretend to acquire reputation, or a character, from ſuſtaining torments that we may avoid. The law is far from puniſhing with death, when we, through fear of torment, act againſt our inclination. Whence, therefore, ariſes this diſobedience and ſtubbornneſs in our breaſts? And to what purpoſe does this reſolution to ſuſtain death, actuate us; when, if we obey the king, we may live ſecurely and comfortably?’ But theſe were words which theſe young men, on point of being put to the rack, neither ſpoke, nor ſo much as thought of; for the conſideration of the racking pains they were going to endure, little affected their minds; and they triumphed in their breaſts over their impending miſfortunes: For the tyrant commanding them to eat of the forbidden fleſh, they, with one mouth, and, as it were, from one ſpirit, made him this anſwer:

‘Why do you thus delay, O tyrant? You ſhou'd ſee what you do; for 'tis convenient, that death is a thouſand times more eligible to us, than the violations of thoſe laws and cuſtoms we have been brought up to embrace. A veneration for the memory of our anceſtors, ſpurs us to this, even ſuppoſing we were inclined to believe that the violation of our laws was to be diſpenſed with, and the authority of our counſellor *Moſes* was not to be depended upon. Neither do you, tyrant, who are our implacable enemy, compaſſionate us more than we do ourſelves. For our opinion is, that your pity to give us our lives on ſuch ſhameleſs and diſhonourable conditions, is worſe by far than death itſelf. You throw your menaces, in order to terrify us, by denouncing our death by torments, as though what *Eleazar* has ſo lately ſuffered was trifling, and of no ſignificancy. Now if the *Hebrew* old men, purely to preſerve themſelves immaculate and juſt, can ſuſtain the violence of being put to the torment: It follows, and is certainly more reaſonable to think, that we, who have the bloom of youth upon us, ſhould not be awed by the rigour of your puniſhments, which the old man, our brave example, ſurmounted; but that we ſhould bravely lay down our lives. Therefore, tyrant, make the experiment upon us; but take care from ſuppoſing that our ſouls ſhall receive damage, by your taking away from us our lives, which we ſacrifice for religion's ſake; or that you can, by all the kinds of torments you can inflict upon us, prejudice that immaterial and immortal being. For the famous action we ſhall commit in thus valiantly dying, and the extraordinary patience and ſufferance we ſhall teſtify under our torments, will be rewarded ſuitably to the great virtue we ſhall profeſs. We ſhall be with God, in whoſe cauſe we ſuffer; but, on the other hand, you, for the inhuman and barbarous taking away of our lives, ſhall inherit, by the unalterable determination of the ſame God, an endleſs puniſhment, from eternal torments.’ Which words being no ſooner out of their mouths, but how the tyrant was enrag'd at their contumacy, and how he burn'd at their ingratitude! Immediately the guards, being commanded, brought the eldeſt, and, having torn his garment from his back, tied his hands and arms behind him with ropes, and then cruelly ſcourging him, they continued their laſhes till they were tir'd, but could avail nothing: Upon which, they put him on the wheel, where having his body extended, at length he was broke to pieces; and, at the laſt, thus addreſs'd the tyrant: ‘Cruelleſt of tyrant, *thus he*, and the bittereſt enemy of the divine juſtice, you do not torment me in this manner as one guilty of homicide or impiety, but an aſſerter and defender of the ſacred law.’ Then the guards ſaid, ‘Say that thou wilt eat, ſo ſhalt thou obtain reſpite from thy torments.’ To whom he ſaid, ‘Think not, baſe men, *ſays he*, that your wheel is ſtrong enough to choak my reaſon; break my limbs in pieces, burn my fleſh, diſtort my arteries: For all the torments you ſhall inflict on me ſhall convince you that the *Hebrew* youth are the ſole perſons that are invincible in propagating virtue.’ Upon theſe words, they put fire under him, and forced the wheel with greater ſtrength; upon this, the wheel was beſprinkled all over with blood, and the heap of fire put out with the reeking gore that ran into it, and the beam of the torturing engine had the fleſh cleaving to it. His bones and joints being now broke, the valiant youth, the worthy ſon of his father *Abraham*, never ſo much as ſighed or groaned, but bore all his torments with a brave and invincible ſoul, as if he had been tranſlated to immortality in the midſt of the flames. ‘Never abandon me, my brothers, *cried he with a loud voice*, nor falſify the bravery of me your brother, but fight the ſacred and noble battle of piety, through which the providence of a juſt and merciful God, which has been propitious to our nation, ſhall avenge itſelf on the cruel tyrant.’ The holy young man had no ſooner uttered theſe words, but he gave up the ghoſt: At which, every one were in the greateſt admiration and aſtoniſhment that could be imagined. But the guards went to the ſecond brother, and, by reaſon of his age, brought him before the tyrant: They fix'd his hands in manacles of iron, and then faſten'd him to a *catapulta*, with exceeding ſharp hooks upon it. Before they put him to the rack, they ask'd him to eat, but were anſwered, with a brave and valiant reſolution, to die ſooner than do it. Upon which, they tore off his fleſh with iron pinchers, from his tendons to his chin, and with cards pull'd off the skin of his head. Yet all this torture he bore with an unparallell'd bravery, and greatneſs of ſoul. ‘How ſweet and pleaſant, *ſaid he*, is any ſort of torment, when the religion of my country is in the caſe! O moſt cruel of tyrants, is not your reſolution to put me to more exquiſite pains, when you ſee, yourſelf, how your tyrannick aims are conquered by the ſufferings we endure for our religion? The comforts flowing from virtue, alleviate the ſharpneſs of the pains I endure. As for you, inhuman 'tyrant, the dreadful load of your impiety ſhall fall on your head, and the divine vengeance will one time or other find you out.'

Thus the ſecond making a glorious cataſtrophe, the third was produced, and ſollicited, with abundance of intreaties, to taſte and preſerve his life. But he ſaid, *What, don't you know that I am a ſon of the ſame father, and that the ſame mother brought me into the world? Three are already dead, and the ſame inſtitutions were taught us all. But I will never break the glorious band of fraternal alliance between us.* This freedom of ſpeech gauled the tormentors, who ſtretched his hands and feet on the horſe-engine, and broke them to pieces, by pulling them through the holes; his fingers, arms, legs, and thighs, were uſed in the ſame manner; but when the tormentors found that theſe methods were ineffectual to deprive him of life, they pull'd off his ſkin, and then, placing him on the wheel, his eye-lids were torn off, to make him ſee his own fleſh pull'd from him, and the big ſtreams of blood that guſhed out of him. But being juſt on giving up the ghoſt, *O mercileſs tyrant*, ſays he, *theſe are the torments and cruelties which we ſuffer for the cauſe of virtue, and our divine law: But remember, that you ſhall endure an everlaſting puniſhment for this impiety and parricide of thine.* Thus he being dead, equally glorious with his preceding brothers, the fourth was produc'd by the guards, who cried aloud, *You, too, are pioſoned with the ſame ſenſeleſs opinion as your brothers were.* Upon this, he ſaid, *Your fire has not ſo much heat in it, as to make me deſpond, or renounce my opinion. I ſolemnly ſwear, by the happy exit of my brothers, by the eternal deſtruction of the tyrant, and the glorious life of the pious, that I will not renounce the magnanimity and valour of my brothers. Invent and bring thy torments, tyrant, and make the experiment upon me, whether or no I am a branch belonging to thoſe brothers of mine who have ſuffered death underneath thy moſt cruel torments.* *Antiochus*, on hearing theſe words, was exceſſively enraged; a wild ſternneſs glared in his looks, and all the force of paſſion was viſible in his countenance. He gave immediate orders to cut out his tongue. To which he anſwer'd, *You may cut out the inſtrument that gives me utterance, but God has ears to hear the ſilent. Lo! here is my tongue, come and cut it out; for you cannot, by this act, deprive me of reaſon. With a glad mind, and joyous heart, we ſuffer our members to be cut from us, to ſupport the cauſe of our God, and religion: And though you take away the tongue which chaunts the praiſes of God's religion, remember, that his high hand will very ſoon let its vengeance fall down upon your head.* Thus he was taken away by the torments of the mercileſs tyrant. Whereupon, the fifth jump'd into the middle, and ſaid, *Make ready your torments, for I am here ready to ſuffer the worſt you can do, or inflict on me. I came voluntarily, and of my own accord, to die in the cauſe of virtue, and, by a cruel cataſtrophe, to procure an endleſs puniſhment for the infinite cruelties, and inhuman barbarities, you have committed on the bodies of my brothers. O mortal enemy to virtue, religion, and mankind! what have we done, or wherein tranſgreſs'd, to deſerve this unheard-of treatment, and inhumanity? Do not we worſhip God juſtly, who was the founder of this univerſal ſcene? And do not we live up according to the preſcription of his moſt holy law? Which are things that ought to be rewarded, and not puniſhed.* The tormentors hearing him ſpeak thus, bound and dragg'd him to a *catapulta*, to which faſtening his knees in iron rings, they ſtretch'd him round the engine, and then broke his joints. Being miſerably tortur'd in this manner, he ſpoke aloud, 'O tyrant! you do us the greateſt honour, againſt your own inclination; for the glorious torments you inflict upon us, only ſerve to teſtify our extraordinary love for our laws and religion.' After he was dead, the ſixth young man was brought before *Antiochus*, who ask'd him if he would eat, and preſerve his life. But he made anſwer, ''Tis true, indeed, that I am younger than my brothers, but my mind and reſolution is the ſame with theirs. We had all of us the ſame parents, and the ſame inſtruction, and it is but neceſſary that we ſhould all die alike for them. Therefore, if you are determined to put me to the torment, on my refuſal to eat, torment me.' So ſaying, they faſten'd him to the wheel, on which, having put his body to the full ſtretch, they pull'd his members from it, one after another, then tore off his eye-lids, and, with a ſlow fire put under him, miſerably ended his life in that manner. Beſides this, they applied red-hot pincers to his back, bor'd through his ſides and bowels, and ſo moſt barbarouſly roaſted him to death. But he, in the midſt of his torments, cried aloud: 'O brave conflict, and the beauty of virtue! for the defence of which, ſo many brothers of us have voluntarily ſubmitted to ſo many cruel torments. O tyrant! let me acquaint you, that the profeſſion of virtue is invincible. For my part, I will accompany my brothers, and, relying on my own probity as my defence, now ſubmit to death. But you, tyrant, muſt not think to avoid a puniſhment which your cruelties deſerve; for a death, attended with the worſt and moſt dreadful of torments, hangs over your head. Six of us young men, O miſerable inventor of cruelties! and mortal enemy of the truly pious! have proved ſuperior to all the inhumanities and barbarities you could deviſe: There is nothing more in gaining this conqueſt over you, than to make you incapable of gaining over our reaſon by your artifices and perſuaſions, and putting the power out of your hands of forcing us to eat of prohibited meat. As for your fire, it feels cold to us, your tormenting engines are far from giving us pains, and all the violence you can uſe us with, is fruitleſs, and of no conſequence: For ſo long as not tyrants, but aſſertors of our divine law, eſpouſe our cauſe, we retain a reaſon that not all the world and its puniſhments can ſubdue.'

Upon this, being thrown into a boiling caldron, he made a glorious and happy exit; and the ſeventh brother, who was the youngeſt of all, appeared. Him the tyrant ſeem'd to have ſome pity and compaſſion for; and though all his brothers had been very warm in intreating him to ſuffer with them, yet when the tyrant ſaw him bound, he order'd him to be brought nearer him, and endeavour'd to ſooth and bring him over with theſe words: ‘ You ſee what kind of deaths your brothers have undergone, but their diſobedience and contumacy have been the ſole means of all their torments and the cruelties they have ſuſtained. And yet you, if you do not obey my commands, ſhall be expoſed to the ſame, nay, worſe torments, and ſo ſuffer an immature death: But if you comply with my deſires, I will take you into the number of my friends; you ſhall have a conſiderable poſt in my kingdom, and be a governor in the ſtate.’ Such words as theſe, *Antiochus* made uſe of to gain the young man over: He ſent for his mother, to ſee if the ſenſe of having loſt ſo many ſons would not influence her to intercede for this ſon's ſafety, and make him comply with his meaſures. But his mother ſpeaking to him in the *Hebrew* tongue, exhorted him to ſuffer, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter, in the ſequel. Upon which, he cried aloud, ‘ Take my fetters off, for I have ſomething to communicate to the king and all his friends.’ The king and his nobles about, hearing the promiſe which the young man made, were full of extraordinary gladneſs, and ordered him to have his chains knock'd off immediately. Upon which, drawing near, ‘ Impious and curſed tyrant, *ſaid he*, have you no fears or apprehenſions on your mind, after having received from God the riches and kingdom you enjoy, thus to put to death his ſervants, and torment his worſhippers? Which cruelties ſhall be rewarded with an eternal puniſhment from the hands of the divine vengeance; a puniſhment, I ſay, that will never abandon or forſake you? Is your conſcience touch'd with no ſcruples, inhuman monſter, as you are a man, thus to deprive of their tongues thoſe who ſhare alike the ſame nature and paſſions with you, and who are born of the ſame elements, and thus put innocent perſons to cruel torments, and take away their lives in the moſt unmerciful and barbarous manner. They have undergone a glorious and valiant death, and ſhewn how much their piety and obſervance was for the maintaining of God's religion: Whereas you, wicked man, ſhall yet be expoſed to ills you little dream of, for unjuſtly taking away the lives of thoſe who were worſhippers of the ſupreme being. For this reaſon, I will ſuffer death, and, in my laſt pangs, diſcover how much my deſire was to follow the brave example of my brothers. I beg and intreat the God of my fathers, that he would be propitious and merciful to our nation; but that he may chaſtiſe you while you live, and, after death, that your puniſhment may be augmented.’ Having finiſhed this prayer, he threw himſelf into the boiling caldron, and ſo gave up the ghoſt.

Now, therefore, if theſe ſeven brothers could thus ſurmount the greateſt pains and torments that can be imagined, it muſt conſequently follow, and it cannot but be confeſſed, that a right and holy reaſon is miſtreſs over the paſſions. Had they eaten of the forbidden meat, and ſo have proved themſelves dependant on their paſſions, we ſhould then grant they had entirely loſt their victory: But ſince they combated theſe paſſions by a right and judicious uſe of reaſon (for we cannot in juſtice paſs over it ſlightly), we are bound to acknowledge, with abundance of praiſe to the holy martyrs that ſuffered, that as they made ſo ſmall account of the moſt dreadful torments, ſo reaſon never more diſcovered its dominion over the ſubject paſſions, than in theſe inſtances. Like as towers, jetting out in ſome harbours of the ſea, break the waves that daſh againſt them, and afford a ſafe ſtation to ſhips, ſo reaſon, the tower and defence of theſe young men, being fortified with the harbour of piety, aſſwages and reſtrains the impetuoſity of the paſſions. When the holy company of theſe young men were together, they exhorted one another to ſuffer, by ſaying, ‘ Brothers, let us die like brothers, in the defence of our laws; let us imitate the brave example of the three *Aſſyrian* youths, who made nothing of the furnace, that was equal to theſe torments. In fighting the cauſe of virtue, let us never deſpair, nor once be caſt down.’ And another ſaid, ‘ Aſſume a couragious heart, my brother, and ſuffer all with an inſurmountable bravery of mind.’ And others of them brought ancient facts to memory. ‘ Remember whence you derive your original, and by the hand of what father *Iſaac* could ſuffer death in the cauſe of piety.’ Then each would mutually, and ſometimes all at once, look at one another with a glad and intrepid countenance: ‘ Let us, *ſaid they*, heartily conſecrate our bodies to God, who gave us life, and was the author of our ſouls; and let us lend them in the defence of his law. Let us not be any way diſmayed at him who thinks to kill our bodies; for be aſſured, that they who infringe and violate the precepts of the divine law, run the riſque of eternal puniſhment hereafter. Wherefore let us arm ourſelves with the authority and dominion which divine reaſon maintains over the paſſion; to the end, that when we are dead, *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, may receive us into their boſoms, and we obtain praiſe from all glad fathers.’ Moreover, when any one among them was taken away, the reſt would ſay, ‘ Brother, do not diſhonour us, neither elude the expectation of your brothers who have already ſuffered death: I ſuppoſe that none of you are ſtrangers to the influence there is in brotherly blood of conciliating love, which the providence of the moſt wiſe God hath vouchſafed to impart to parents, and they to their ſons. This influence exiſted in our mother's womb, wherein we brothers exiſted an equal time, wherein we were faſhioned at the ſame time, and formed in the ſame ſpace; we were made of the ſame blood, endowed with the ſame ſoul and faculties, brought to light at the ſame diſtance

‘ of time; who ſuck'd thoſe rivulets of milk flowing from the ſame fountains, who were nurſed by the ſame hand, received the ſame education, were always acquainted and familiar together, inſtructed in the ſame tenets and diſcipline; and, laſt of all, all of us determined to preſerve a mutual deſire of maintaining God's honour and religion.’ Thus, I ſay, was the love of theſe brothers cemented to one another, and thus lovingly and affectionately did they embrace one another: For having been inſtituted under the ſame laws, learn'd to embrace the ſame virtues, and brought up in the ſame holy courſe of life, their love was the more vehement, their mutual and reciprocal deſire to maintain honeſty and fidelity encreaſed, their concord and unanimity, and their piety and religious ſentiments were a conſiderable help to augment their brotherly charity. Notwithſtanding, though the force of nature, of alliance, and of their ſincerity, heightened the impulſe of their mutual love: Yet theſe brothers who remained, purely to vindicate the cauſe of piety, could look on their brothers all the while they were ſo baſely handled, and cruelly tormented.

But this was not all: They not only excited one another to ſuffer theſe terrible conflicts, ſo as to make them ſurmount all the pains they might be put to, but, alſo, were the cauſe that their brothers, during their torments, bore every thing with an aſtoniſhing eaſe. O the noble reſult of reaſon, greater than the majeſty of kings, and freer than liberty it ſelf! O the ſacred and ſweet harmony in this ſtruggle of the ſeven brothers for the maintaining of piety! Not one of them was obſerved to betray any fears, nor to have any ſcruples, on going to die; but all, with one accord, as if they were going a journey to immortality, embraced death willingly amidſt their torments. Like as the hands and feet obey the motions of the mind, and ſo direct themſelves; even ſo did theſe moſt holy young men, from a motive of immortal piety, or of the ſoul, conſent to die on its cauſe. O the inviolable agreement of the ſeven brothers! As the creation of the world took up ſeven days about piety; ſo theſe ſeven young men danc'd round the number ſeven, above the thoughts of fear or puniſhment. The melancholy ſufferings of theſe young martyrs, when we come to hear them, ſtrike us with horror and amazement; whereas they not only could endure to look on all the while, liſten to the direful menaces and threatenings of the tyrant, but endure their hardſhips and ſufferings with a conſtant bravery and greatneſs of mind: Nay, when they were ſo much ſcorch'd and burnt with the violence of the flames, that nothing can be conceived more terrible? For the force of the fire, as being ſwift and rapid, ſooner diſſolved the members of their bodies. Nor ought you to make any wonder in this matter, namely, that reaſon in man ſhould have the dominion over his paſſions, when the mind of a woman contemned more cruelties than theſe, and of a different nature: For the mother of theſe ſeven young men had ſo much preſence of mind, as to be a ſpectator all the while her children were put to the tormenet. You will eaſily perceive how great natural affection is, and how diffuſive to one's offspring, which generally incites one to ſeize every thing for their defence; when brute animals have a tincture of the ſame affection and love for their young, as mankind. Thus do birds that build their neſts in the roofs of houſes, endeavour to defend their young; and thoſe that hatch on the tops of mountains, or in the rocks of vallies, in trees, or caves, ſtrive to drive away that which approaches them: And though they may not have ſufficient power to do ſo, yet by flying round about, which is the meer reſult of natural love, and chirping, they ſeem to give their young all the aſſiſtance they can. But there is no neceſſity of producing examples of brute animals, to confirm this love for their young; when the very bees, at the time they are employed about making their honey, revenge themſelves on thoſe who approach 'em, by throwing a ſting, like a dart, at them, tho' death is the fatal conſequence of this revenge. Notwithſtanding the mother of theſe young men, with a reſolution like that of *Abraham*, ſeem'd not any way concern'd for her ſons, all the time they were under torment.

O reaſon! thou tyrant over the paſſions! deſtructive to the care of children; and O piety! more lovely to a mother than her ſons! though the tyrant propoſed two things to the mother, namely, that her religion and ſeven ſons ſhould be preſerv'd; yet ſhe preferr'd that religion which leads to an eternal life and happineſs with God. O what way ſhall I take to expreſs and deſcribe the tender and moving affection of parents towards their children! eſpecially when mothers, on any little accident happening to them, commonly grieve more than their fathers. For by how much the more women are of a weaker nature, and conſequently more inclin'd to love what is born by them, by ſo much is their affection to them the more. But the mother of theſe ſeven children far excell'd all other mothers in her love to her ſons: For having ſuſtained the courſe of ſeven births, and by that means, as it were, forced to preſerve an infinite love for them; and having undergone ſeveral pains and anxieties for each, which ſeemingly ſhould have fill'd her with compaſſion, yet ſhe choſe rather to have the fear of God to conduct her, and conſequently made no account of the preſervation or lives of her ſons. But theſe were not all the reaſons that induc'd her to this: The extraordinary virtue of her ſons, their fidelity, their vaſt attachment to the laws, and their ſtrict obſervance of them, endeared her ſons more in her breaſt. Beſides this, they were juſt, and continent, temperate, and valiant; and ſuch lovers of their mother and their brothers, that, if the former but deſired it, they would undergo death for her, and in the defence of the law. But ſetting aſide that the mother had ſo many, and ſuch extraordinary reaſons to love her ſons, which might have drawn her to compaſſion of them; yet not all the exquiſite pains and cruelties they were expos'd to, could once divert the opinion and reſolution ſhe had form'd within her breaſt. But with exhortations and intreaties ſhe kept all the while ſpeaking to all her ſons, and adviſing them to undergo death in the cauſe of their religion. O moſt ſanctified nature! and the perſuaſive love of a mother! O moſt indulgent intelligence! nurſing and inſurmountable ſoul of this excellent woman. Though ſhe was an eye-witneſs, all the time, of the torments inflicted on each of her ſons; yet the cauſe of piety engroſſed her ſoul, and ſtill ſhe maintain'd the ſincerity of her intentions. She ſaw her ſons fleſh roaſted with fire, their fingers and toes fall down on the ground, and palpitate; the fleſh of their heads torn off, and their ſkin bared to their ſhins, all lying at her feet. O mother! that felt greater pangs of ſorrow now than ſhe ever expierenc'd at bringing them into the world! O woman! the only one that made a perfect piety thy guide! Thou gave no ſighs at ſeeing thy eldeſt expire: The ſecond giving up the ghoſt amidſt his torments, was not able to draw a tear from thy eyes; neither could the third in his laſt terrible moments. And, more than this, thou conſtantly gaz'd upon each and ſaw their eyes ſtare grimly, in the midſt of their torments. Their fleſh was burnt from their bones, hands were laid upon hands that were cut off, heads thrown upon heads, and bodies upon bodies. You ſaw the place, laſtly, that before had been danced upon by your ſons in mirth and pleaſure, made now the melancholy ſcene of ſo many inhuman butcherings; and, notwithſtanding theſe, you never once ſhed a tear. The ſongs of the *Syrens*, though never ſo bewitching, or the enchanting melody of ſwans, were not perſuaſive to your ears, as the voices of your ſons in the midſt of their torments calling upon you. Say, what, and how great muſt the internal torments be of the mother, when her ſons were extended on wheels, and thrown into red-hot pans. But a pious and glorious reaſon, though ſurrounded with the waves of the paſſions, put into her ſoul a manly fortitude, which brought her to reject a momentary kindneſs for her ſons, though ſhe was the mother of all ſeven, and was an eye-witneſs of their deſtruction, and had ſeen from the beginning to the laſt period, ſo many various kinds of torments: Yet this noble and generous mother, by a confidence and firm truſt ſhe put in God, ſhewed how ſuperior ſhe was. She ſaw within her mind, as in a ſenate, thoſe grave councellors; namely, on one ſide nature, procreation, and the love of her children; and on the other, their torments: And, as their mother, ſhe held the two accounts of her ſons, the mortal and the ſafe. She did not vouchſafe to her ſeven ſons that which was white for a ſhort time; but, as a daughter of the holy *Abraham*, ſhe brought to remembrance his conſtancy and perſeverance. O mother of our nation! protectreſs of our law! the bulwark of piety! and who maſtered the conteſt that worked within thy bowels! O thou that art more patient than man, and fitted with more fortitude than he, to ſuffer and undergo difficulties! For as the ark of *Noe*, in the deluge which overſpread the whole world, bore with force againſt the raging and boiſterous waves; ſo you too, O guardianeſs of the law! toſs'd on every ſide with the deluge of the paſſions, and the torments of your ſons, as with the moſt violent winds, bravely bore up, for the ſake of piety and religion, againſt the fierceneſs of a dreadful tempeſt.

Now, therefore, if a woman, and one old, and the mother of ſeven ſons, was able to look on her children, and ſee them rack'd and tormented to death; it is manifeſt, and clearly evident, that pious reaſon is the queen and ſovereign over the paſſions. Upon the whole, we take it that it has been ſufficiently proved by us hitherto, that not only men have maſter'd vaſt difficulties, but, alſo, that a woman conquer'd the worſt of pains by it. The lions, among whom *Daniel* was thrown, were not ſo fierce; neither was *Miſael*'s furnace, tho' heated with the moſt raging fires, ſo hot as that force of nature which directed the breaſt of this valiant mother to the love of her children; who being an eye-witneſs all the time her ſons were put to their exquiſite torments; yet, by the happy influence of pious reaſon, ſhe curb'd and maſter'd the vaſt pains ſuch a ſight gave her. For we ſhould conſider this, likewiſe, namely, that had this woman been of a low and narrow ſoul, as ſhe, was their mother, had diſcovered ſign of compaſſion for them, and, in ſeeing appearance, us'd ſuch words as theſe to them: *O unhappy me! and frequently miſerable woman! who, having brought ſeven ſons into the world, am now the parent of none! O my ſeven fruitleſs labours, and my ten times ſeven fruitleſs months, my vain nurſings, and my unfortunate ſuckling time! O my ſons! to what purpoſe have I borne the many ſorrows I have ſuffered for you, and the many ſollicitudes worſe by far than bringing you up? Alas! my ſons, ſome untimely made batchelors, others in vain huſbands. I am no more to ſee your children, nor ſhall be ſtilled their grandmother, or called the happy. O me! who juſt now was ſurrounded with ſeveral beautiful children, but now am deprived of them, and left deſolate in a flood of ſorrow. Alas! when I depart this life, which of my ſons will pay the laſt honour of interment to me, ſince I am going to have none?* On the contrary, this holy and pious mother made no ſuch miſerable complaints over her ſons, neither did ſhe uſe any influence in order to divert any of them from his purpoſe of dying. She ſhewed not the leaſt concern why they were not dead ſooner; but, as if her mind had been of adamant, ſuppliantly enforced them, for the ſake of their religion, to undergo death. O reverend mother, on account of piety, a *Veteran* ſoldier of God! the tyrant was ſubdued by thy perſeverance, and both in thy words and actions thou haſt made thy ſelf more powerful than him. For when thou wert apprehended with thy children, and ſaw *Eleazar* put to the torment, thou ſtood immoveable, and ſpoke in *Hebrew* to them thus: 'My ſons, you have a noble and brave ſtruggle before your eyes, to which being called, that you may leave to your nation a teſtimony of your faith and religion, contend chearfully in defence of the laws of your country. It wou'd be

‘ ſcandalous, and beneath your characters, to let an old man be expoſed on account of his religion, to the miſerable pains of the rack; while you, who have youth and vigour on your ſides, ſhould ſtand confounded at the ſight thereof. Recal to your remembrance how that it was owing to a ſingular favour of God that you were born into this world, and came to the enjoyment of this refreſhing light; upon which it is your duty to undergo, in the cauſe of God, every difficulty and danger. For him did our father *Abraham* haſten to ſlay *Iſaac*, the future parent of our nation; and even *Iſaac* himſelf, when he ſaw the ſword in his father's hand lifted up to ſtrike him, was afraid. For him was *Daniel* thrown among the lions, and *Andnias*, *Azarias*, and *Miſael*, caſt headlong into the fiery furnace. You, therefore, who put a like faith in God, do not be diſheartened, ſince 'tis ridiculous for you who are acquainted with your religion, to give ſigns of fear in the ſuſtaining of difficulties.’ With words like theſe did this mother of ſeven ſons exhort each of them; ſhe adviſed them rather to ſuffer death than to violate the divine precepts of the law: From which 'tis found and known, that they who ſacrifice their lives in the cauſe of God, do live with God; as *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, and all the ſucceeding patriarchs.

On her being apprehended to ſuffer death, ſome of the guards ordered none to lay hands on her, for that ſhe would voluntarily throw herſelf on the pile. O thou brave mother! accompanied with ſeven ſons; thou ſubdueſt the violence of the tyrant, thou diſſipated his cruel ſentiments, and demonſtrated the generous conſtancy of thy faith! Thou like an houſe, leaning on and ſtrengthened with the pillars of thy ſons, ſuſtained with ſurprizing intrepidity and firmneſs, the cruelty of thy torments. Therefore, O moſt holy mother, thy mind is good and ſound, who places thy firm and unalterable hope with God. Not the moon with the ſtars ſhine ſo bright in heaven as thou, who has brought ſeven ſons, equal the ſtars in luſtre, to the clear light of piety. Thou art the glorious workmanſhip of God, and art fixed up in heaven with them. Thy procreation of thy ſons came from our father *Abraham*. Were we able to depict this hiſtory of piety in writing as it deſerv'd, wou'd not they, who ſhould ſee the mother of ſeven children, in the defence of religion undergoing the worſt of torments, even to death, tremble at the ſight? It would be but agreeable to carve theſe words on her monument, in order to preſerve her memory among her countrymen:

‘ Here, underneath, lie an old prieſt, his wife, and ſeven ſons. The violence and cruelty of a tyrant, who endeavoured to deſtroy the *Hebrew* commonwealth, was defeated by them. By caſting up their eyes to God, and enduring the worſt of torments, even to death, they vindicated their nation.’

Their death certainly was a divine ſtruggle; where virtue, approved by their ſufferings, rewarded them with immortal victory and honour. *Eleazar* was the firſt champion; the mother of the ſeven ſons made a glorious defence; the brothers ſtoutly fought: The tyrant was their adverſary, and the word, and the life of men, were eye-witneſſes. Religion got the day, at laſt, and beſtowed crowns on her champions. Who is he that will not admire theſe champions of the divine law? Or who, on gazing on them, would not ſtand in amaze? The tyrant himſelf, and all the court, were ſtruck with admiration at their patience: But now they ſtand by the throne of God, and enjoy a life of immortality. For *Moſes* ſaith, *And every one are bleſs'd under thy hands.* Upon which, they likewiſe are bleſs'd, and, in fighting for the cauſe of God, have purchaſed immortal honours; but not theſe honours alone, they have fought in vindication of the laws of their country, cleanſed it from the impurity of the tyrant, and ſhew'd themſelves victims for the tranſgreſſions of their nation. Their ſhedding of blood, and undergoing death, hath pacified the divine providence, and ſaved *Iſrael*, that before was afflicted. When *Antiochus* the tyrant found their virtue was ſo immoveable, and had experienced their invincible patience under their torments, he commanded proclamation to be made among his ſoldiers, for them to copy after it (for this prince had ſeveral ſtout and famous men of that nation, both for the foot ſervice, or the carrying on a ſiege:) By their valour having ſubdued all his enemies, he became abſolute conqueror. O you ſons of *Iſrael*, and offſpring of the blood of *Abraham!* give obedience to this law, and worſhip it always, ſince you are eye-witneſſes that pious reaſon is the queen of the paſſions; and yet not only of the internal paſſions, but alſo of external pains and troubles.

This, and the ſake of religion, made them expoſe their bodies to extreme cruelties, whereby they not only became the admiration of mankind, but, alſo, were thought worthy of divine condition; in order, that by their virtue the nation might enjoy peace, and its enemies be ſubdued by a renovation of the laws of its country. But the tyrant *Antiochus*, as in his life-time he had been the author of extraordinary torments, ſo before his death, he ſuffer'd the worſt of pains: For when he found that he could by no means enforce the *Hieroſolymites* to embrace foreign cuſtoms, and their rites, and abdicate their own, he departed from *Hieroſolyma*, and undertook an expedition againſt the *Perſians*. Moreover, the righteous mother of theſe ſeven ſons, is reported to have ſpoke thus to her children: *I was a chaſte virgin, neither did I paſs over the threſhold of my father's houſe; I preſerved the ſpacious building. No ſeducer of my youth corrupted me in the field, neither did the ſubtle craftineſs of the ſerpent ſpoil my virginity. I ſpent the flower of my age with my huſband: When my ſons were grown up their father fell a ſacrifice: Happy for him, that having finiſhed the limited time of his procreation, cannot lament the time of widowhood. When he converſed among us, he uſually inſtructed us in the knowledge of the law and the prophets. He would acquaint us how* Cain *ſlew* Abel; *how*

Isaac *was going to be sacrificed*; *and how* Joseph *was thrown into prison. He would tell us of the rivalship of* Phinees; *how* Ananias, Azarias, *and* Misael, *were thrown into the fiery furnace*; *how* Daniel *into the Den of lions*; *and then he would call him happy man. He would repeat to us that saying of* Esaiah, Though thou pass through the fire, the flame shall not singe thee. *He would recount to us* David, *the writer of hymns and odes*; *saying, many are the afflictions of the just, but God will deliver them out of all their troubles. He would recite to us that proverb of* Solomon, *which teaches,* That he's the tree of life to all who execute his will. *He would produce to us the confirmation of* Ezekiel, *saying,* Shall those dry bones have life again? *The song which* Moses *taught, he would tell us never to forget*; I kill, yet restore life again; this life, and the length of time, is thine. O bitter and melancholy day! and yet not bitter, when the cursed tyrant of the *Grecians* commanded the caldrons to be heated, and the oil boiling over, ordered the sons of *Abraham* to be dragged to the *catapulta*, and all other torments, prepared for them; when he deprived them of their eye-sight, cut off their eye-lids, cut out their tongues, and put them to death with various cruelties. For which, the divine vengeance brought that destruction upon his head, and will continue to bring it. On the other hand, the sons of *Abraham*, together with their superior mother, are assembled to the company of their forefathers, having received from God pure and immortal souls. To whom be glory for ever and ever. *Amen.*

PHILO's EMBASSY to the *JEWS*,

AND OF

CALIGULA's Virtues.

TO what end ſhall we, who are boys, become old men at laſt, look grey and hoary, through length of age over our bodies, while our ſouls, through ignorance, proclaim us meer babes, in ſuppoſing fortune to be ſtable, which is the moſt unconſtant thing in the world; and nature to be precarious, which is moſt firm? 'Tis true, we change the eſtimation of things, as we do counters at play; while we attribute a greater length of time to the fortuitous, than the natural, to which we give more infirmity than to any other things beſides; the reaſon is, becauſe unſkilful men, who know not how to form any judgment of what is to come, are led away by things preſent; they chuſe to be influenced by a fallacious ſenſe, rather than believe the dictates of a thorough and private examination. The Eyes, indeed, are fit inſtruments to receive ſuch objects as are near and conſpicuous; but it is reaſon that penetrates to future and inviſible things, whoſe ſight, which is clearer than that of the eyes of the body, we make dim; ſome by an exceſs of wine, or a luxurious way of living; others by ignorance, which is the worſt fault of all. Notwithſtanding theſe our times, and the many and remarkable events that have fallen out in them, are ſufficient to perſuade us to a belief of a divine providence, and chiefly, that it takes care of the ſuppliant and virtuous as an hereditary portion of the omnipotent father and king, which race of men is called, in *Chaldee*, *Iſrael*, which ſignifieth *ſeeing God*; a circumſtance, in my opinion, more to be valued than either private or public wealth: For if the aſpect of ſeniors, if precepts, if magiſtrates, or the looks of parents, can create in us a reverence and awe, and by their preſence correct our manners and demeanor; how much more muſt we ſuppoſe does it contribute towards virtue and honeſty, to launch above the depth of other creatures, and ſurvey God uncreated, who is the chiefeſt good, and the chiefeſt happineſs; nay, to ſpeak truly, who is better than goodneſs itſelf, more beautiful than beauty itſelf, and more happy than happineſs itſelf; and, if any thing can be advanced higher, ſtill more perfect. Language and words are too narrow to comprehend his excellencies; they cannot reach the ſupreme perfections of God, who is ſuperior to every thing. On the other hand, we are forced to return back again, when we are at a loſs to find proper names, or can mount no higher in order to tell, I do not ſay, what he is: For were all the heavens endu'd with an articulate voice, yet they would prove too ſhort in declaring his attributes, the powers that attend him, his creating faculty, his providence, and his diſpenſations of good and bad. But even his avenging frown, are to be placed in the number of his benefits, not only becauſe they are a part of his law, which naturally reſults from the honour of that which is good, and the puniſhment of that which is bad; but, alſo, becauſe very often due chaſtiſement reſtores ſinners to ſoberer ſenſe of themſelves, or is a means to hinder them from proceeding further in their enormities. 'Tis a plain truth that we reform by other men's puniſhments, through a fear leſt we ſhould fall into the like errors and omiſſions. Say, what man ſeeing *Caius*, after the death of *Tiberius Cæſar*, in poſſeſſion of the empire both of ſea and land, in ſo great tranquility, his government ſo excellently framed, the princes in profound peace and concord; both north, ſouth, eaſt, and weſt, in a perfect agreement, *Barbarians* and *Greeks* in alliance together, his armies in friendſhip with the ſeveral towns, and theſe in union with them; and, laſtly, offices and mutual commerce carried on throughout the whole: Who, I ſay, ſeeing this, could not help being aſtoniſhed at ſuch vaſt felicity and happineſs, almoſt above words to expreſs? An happineſs accumulated on one inheritance with prodigious goods, treaſures ſtored with gold and ſilver, conſiſting partly of bullion, partly of coined money, and partly of gold and ſilver workmanſhip, curiouſly modelled, and wrought into goblets, and other rich veſſels. To theſe join his foot, horſe, and naval forces; his prodigious revenues flowing, as it were, from a perpetual ſpring? his authority divided into the principal parts of this world which is properly habitable, bounded by the *Euphrates* and the *Rhine*, the latter ſeparating *Germany*, and other fierce nations, the former *Parthia* and the nations inhabiting *Sarmatia* and *Scythia*, not a wit inferior to the *Germans* in barbarity; the eaſt, and all the weſt, and ſome places beyond the ocean, enjoyed a general gladneſs: The people of *Rome* performed a general feſtivity, and all *Italy*, together with the provinces both in *Europe* and *Aſia*, partook of the univerſal bleſſing: For if ever a compleat happineſs was enjoyed under any preceding emperor, certainly it ſeemed to be at this time, when mankind were no longer fluctuated between hope and deſpair, but had ſure enjoyment both of their publick and private effects, and were bleſſed with a plenary indulgence of propitious fortune, whoſe deity ſmil'd on every thing. So that throughout every city nothing was to be ſeen but ſmoaking altars, victims, ſacrifices, candidates, blithe and jocund aſpects all round, feſtivities, plays, muſical performances, thronged theatres, banquets; nothing but airs of harps and trumpets, pleaſures, regalements, paſtimes, and a looſe given to all the ſenſes. There was no diſtinction between the rich and the poor man, the lofty and humble, creditors and debtors, maſters and ſlaves, were promiſcuouſly mixed together? ſo that truly was verified now, what we find deſcribed in the fabulous accounts of poets concerning the *Saturnian* days of old; ſo great was the plenty, ſo abundant, the fruits of the earth, ſo much joy and ſecurity bleſſed the world, that entire families, and all the lower kind of people, were employed night and day, for ſeven months together: But in the eighth *Caius* fell into a very acute diſtemper, becauſe he changed that frugaller and wholeſomer way of diet, which was uſed under *Tiberius*, to a luxurious method. A great deal of wine was drank, the belly was not ſatisfied with being filled; and unneceſſary baths were put in vogue. Then vomitings followed, and afterwards ſucceeded drunkenneſs again. The pleaſures of the belly were purſued, and venery eſtabliſhed every where. Balls and dances, women and boys together, and every thing beſides, put in force, that was any way obnoxious or prejudicial either to the ſoul or body: For as ſtrength and health is the reward of temperance, ſo of intemperance are diſeaſes and weakneſs, the near neighbour to death.

As ſoon as his illneſs came to be noiſed about, the ſea being then ſerene, and fit for ſailing, about the beginning of Autumn, which commonly is the laſt time of ſailing of ſuch as want to return to their own ports, eſpecially of thoſe who do not care to winter among foreign nations; I ſay, as ſoon as it was heard, a ſudden ſorrow and dejection uſurped the room of their former delicate and voluptuous lives; for all houſes and cities were preſently filled with mourning and ſadneſs, and a gloomy and dim aſpect appeared in every place. All the provinces were taken with an indiſpoſition together, and ſome laboured worſe than the emperor himſelf. He, for his part, had his illneſs confined to his body alone, theſe to the mind. They were anxious and ſollicitous, and were in terrible apprehenſions of loſing the peace they enjoyed then, and the free poſſeſſion of their effects. They ſeaſonably recalled to mind all the calamities that generally roſe up in the empire when it was deprived of its prince, to wit, wars, depredations, raviſhing of fields, driving colonies from their habitations, plundering of goods, captivities, deaths, terrors, and dangers. The remedy of all which, they imagined, was placed in the preſervation of their emperor. Thus, on hearing that his diſtemper was ſomewhat abated, they ſeemed to enjoy a ſhort happineſs, which diffuſed it ſelf preſently to the farther frontiers of the empire. For nothing moves with ſo much velocity as fame. All the cities were vaſtly eager and fond to hear the glad news, and were in a ſort of uneaſineſs till they had received the welcome meſſenger that acquainted them with the perfect recovery of *Cæſar*; which gave them ſo much joy, as if their caſe had been their own. Immediately, they who lived on the continent, and thoſe, too, of the ſeveral iſlands, return'd again to their mirth and feſtivity. 'Tis out of the memory of man to relate, that ever one nation or country demonſtrated ſuch a general and publick rejoicing for the recovery of their prince, as the whole world did now for the mending of *Caius*, as ſoon as he began to recollect his ſtrength; for they began to turn their fierce and paſtoral way of living into a ſocial and friendlier method; they drew out of their deſarts and caves, and reſorted into fortified towns and cities, and, after a life purſued without controul, and ſubject to no maſter, they ſtooped to the obedience of a ſhepherd of a more humaniz'd flock, who was their lawful captain; rejoicing in their change, though ignorant of the truth.

The mind of man is blind; neither does it underſtand what is truly advantagious and profitable; being devoted more to gueſs-work and conjecture, than real ſcience. For he that in every one's thoughts was expected to prove the kindeſt preſerver of them, and who gave ſigns of pouring freſh fountains of happineſs through *Europe* and *Aſia*, vaſtly advantagious to both publick and private perſons, beginning, according to the proverb, from himſelf, broke out in boundleſs cruelty; or rather, he diſcovered what he had been diſſembling all this while: For he put to death *Druſus*'s ſon *Tiberius*, who was coheir of the empire with him, and a nearer ſucceſſor of *Tiberius* than he, becauſe the former was his nephew by nature, and the latter but by adoption; condemning him of a conſpiracy againſt him: Which crime, was vaſtly far from entering the thoughts of a youngſter of his tender age. For, poor youth, he was ſcarce got above his firſt childhood; and, as ſome ſay, had *Tiberius* enjoyed his life a little longer, *Caius*, who lay under ſuſpicion, had certainly been taken out of the way, and the other nominated ſucceſſor to his grandfather's empire. But he happened to die, before he had time to put his reſolution in action; however, *Caius* had recourſe to artifice, in order to deprive his collegue of his common right; imagining this would be a way to avoid cenſure. The ſcheme was executed thus:

A council of the great men being called, My intentions, ſaid he, are to tender my love to this relation of mine, by making him my collegue in the empire. But behold, gentlemen, his great youth make it abſolutely neceſſary to provide him with curators, maſters, and inſtructors: For nothing in the whole world can happen more according to my wiſh, than not to ſee one body, and one ſoul, expoſed to the labours, and under the burden of ſo extenſive an empire; but to have a partner who may take his ſhare of the trouble, and eaſe me. Indeed, ſaid he, I profeſs myſelf to be now ſomething more to him than either a maſter, curator, or preceptor; and I command him to call me father, as I will him ſon.

After he had thus impoſed on the great men and the young prince, that were preſent at this council, with theſe words, becauſe this new adoption did not ſo much give him the empire he might hope for, as take that away from him which before had been given him, he began, with the greateſt ſecurity imaginable, to act againſt his coheir and collegue: For by the *Roman* laws the ſon is in the abſolute diſpoſal of the father; and the emperor, in conſideration of his power, can do any thing, without any man's daring or being able to obtain a reaſon for it from him. Upon this ground, looking on him as his profeſs'd enemy, he ſlew him, as it were, in a conteſt, without any compaſſion to his youth, his education, or familiarity with him, or ſo much as reflecting on the immature fate he expoſed him to, who was his collegue both in his empire and patrimony, and who, according to the expectations of abundance of perſons, was, on account of his near kindred, deſigned ſucceſſor to *Tiberius*. For grandfathers take their grandſons, after the deceaſe of their fathers, for ſons.

They ſay he commanded him to put an end to his life with his own hand, when a great many tribunes and centurions were ſtanding by, who were forbid to aſſiſt in ſo deteſtable an act; as if there had been ſome wickedneſs in killing the poſterity of an emperor with other hands. He would not ſeem forgetful of the laws, though at the very inſtant he was going to commit one of the worſt of crimes, and carried an appearance in his looks that he had notions ſtill, of ſanctity and piety; though all the while he laugh'd at it, and but cloak'd over the truth with abundance of deceit and cunning. The youth, upon this, who was entirely a ſtranger to the command, and had never ſeen a murther committed, nor been trained up to the exerciſe of martial arms, as generally kings ſons are in the times of peace, by making and engaging in ſham battles, firſt put out his neck to thoſe that approach'd him, who declining the office, and bending from him, he took a ſword himſelf, and aſk'd them to which place he muſt apply the mortal wound, in order to take away his unhappy life: And having obtained from this miſerable office, which was the firſt and laſt that he ever learnt from theſe maſters, he was compelled to be the homicide of himſelf.

When *Caius* had finiſhed this firſt and principal diſpute juſt as he had wiſhed, no body now remaining for the diſaffected to oppoſe againſt him, he preſently prepared to make *Macro* the ſecond ſacrifice, who had been his counſellor, not only after he had obtained the empire, for it is the province of flatterers to fawn upon the fortunate, but alſo, during the time of his ſeeking, to ſecure it: For *Tiberius* was a crafty old man, and had a ſurprizing faculty in ſifting into the ſecret deſigns of men; neither was he leſs prudent than powerful. He had frequent ſuſpicions of *Caius* that ſenſibly touch'd him, and had too much reaſon to think that he hated all the whole family of *Claudius*, and was in the Intereſt only of that of the mother's ſide. He had apprehenſions and fears for his grandſon, leſt being left in his minority, his life would but prove of ſhort date: But he was moſtly mortified at the reflection about *Caius*, whom he look'd on as a man unworthy of the empire, which was ſo vaſt, without a genius for political rule, and of a mind intolerably fluctuating and inconſtant. People conſidered him as a kind of man in a phrenzy, whoſe words and actions ſo little ſquared together, yet *Macro* by his artifice, and uncommon addreſs, proved an able phyſician; labouring as much as in his power was, to reconcile things, by freeing the mind of *Tiberius* from his ſuſpicions, leſt the fears he entertained about his grandſon ſhould ulcerate and corrupt his thoughts. He told him that *Caius* was a very loyal ſubject to him, and one who bore him a vaſt reſpect; that he was a friend to his grandſon, and devoted to his intereſt: inſomuch, that he would willingly yield the empire to him alone: But his modeſty hindered him, becauſe he ſaw that it was not for the publick benefit to do ſo, at that time; and that that was the true reaſon why ſome people thought him various and inconſtant, though naturally and really exceedingly honeſt and ſincere.

When he found at any time that the ſeemingly-ſolid reaſons, which he offered were of no effect, he made no ſcruples to covenant for him, and be his ſecurity, ſince he had already ſufficiently made appear his loyalty to *Cæſar* in publick, and in private to *Tiberius* himſelf, and had been of great ſervice in diſcovering and ſurpreſſing the conſpiracy of *Sejanus*. In ſhort, he commended *Caius* to the ſkies; if the defending him againſt cauſes of ſuſpicion, and uncertain and dubious charges againſt him, may be called a commendation. But not to make more words than are abſolutely neceſſary, whatſoever *Macro* was able to do, either for his brothers or his ſons, all this, and more, he did for *Caius*. A great many pretend to ſay, that the reaſon of this extraordinary reſpect was owing to the ſeveral good offices which *Caius* did *Macro*, who, at this time, might properly be called the pillar of the empire; but ſome alledge a great deal about *Macro*'s wife, with reſpect to a certain ſecret, who was continually teazing her Husband about him, and conſtantly putting it into his head to aſſiſt the young man, and eſpouſe his cauſe. 'Tis true, indeed, that an unchaſte woman has a very great aſcendant over a man, with regard to the making him do this or that, as ſhe is more ſoft and tender in her ſollicitations. *Macro*, who was an entire ſtranger to the diſhonour of his houſe, imputed theſe blandiſhments of his wife to her conjugal love, and imprudently giving way to her arts, gratified, by that means, his greateſt enemies, whom he took for his greateſt friends. In conſequence of this, as he was conſcious to himſelf that he had been the means of preſerving *Caius* at ſeveral times, he took his uſual liberty of councelling him openly, without harbouring any manner of ſuſpicion. He had a deſire, like a good workman, to purchaſe fame from the length and contrivance of his work; fearing it might periſh either by his own negligence, or be deſtroyed by others. Therefore, if at any time he ſaw him ſleeping during an entertainment, he was ſure to awaken and rouze him up; for a perſon ſleeping expoſes himſelf to danger: He thought in this there was neither reputation or ſafety. So, likewiſe, when at any time he fondly ſtood gazing at a company of dancers, and perhaps would mix himſelf amongſt them, or betray his childiſh laughter at hearing the language of buffoons, or ſo far prove that ill maſter over himſelf, as to ſing to the harp or lute; at all theſe times would *Macro*, who ſat next to him, ſtrive to check him. Sometimes he would whiſper in his ear ſo low, that no body might hear him, and kindly admoniſh him: 'Tis, Sir, below your character, either in hearing or ſeeing, or in uſing your other ſenſes, to reſemble other people: On the other hand, it is your principal duty to conform your words and actions to the ſtandard of reaſon, and excel in that, ſo far as fortune has placed you above the reſt of mankind: For 'tis ridiculous and abſurd for you, who have empire over ſea and land, to ſtoop to ſuch ignoble things, as ſongs and dances, witticiſms and fantaſtick buffoonery: Your buſineſs is, and you ought conſtantly to bear in mind your imperial majeſty, that you are a ſhepherd ſet over a flock, and you ought always to make a greater proficiency both in your words and actions. *Macro* proceeded on, and ſaid: When ever you happen to be preſent at any of the theatres, led not the ſtudy of the perſons to pleaſe, but their induſtry, enter your mind. Let your reflections be thus; If theſe things, which are of no manner of advantage to life, becauſe they are calculated only to pleaſe the ſpectators, are the effect of ſo much extraordinary care and diligence which ſome men have taken, who deſire commendations from the admiring throng, and think to be crowned or proclaimed a victor by the voice of an herald, or a large reward; what ought he to do who profeſſes an art ſo vaſtly ſuperior and excelling? That is the art of government, which cauſes fruitful land, whether in the mountains, or in the plains, to be cultivated; all the ſea is ſailed over without danger, and by means of commerce, the moſt different countries communicate their goods to other countries that want them; and they, in their turn, return back their plenty to ſupply their neceſſities. Envy never diffuſed it ſelf over the whole world, nay, nor the greater parts of it, to wit, all *Europe*, or *Aſia*; but, like poiſonous beaſts, it lurks in caverns, whenſoever it creeps into one breaſt, or one family, or into this or that city. Extenſive regions and nations are not plagued with it, eſpecially that auguſt nation of your's, that has made it ſelf maſter of the world; for all the rancour and ill humour that poiſoned the hearts of cities, are now driven down to the loweſt regions of *Tartarus*, and in their rooms, the beſt of things, and the greateſt felicity, from the fartheſt ſeas and lands, crown theſe our lands; all which, are committed to you alone. Since you are then by nature placed in a lofty ſhip, ſteer that veſſel well, which carries the ſafety of mankind, with as much pleaſure as though your ſubjects were to receive ſome kindneſs by it. From other perſons are expected other things, according to their publick or private capacities; but, from a prince, mankind properly expects good counſels, the execution of which is advantageous to the people who are his ſubjects; and that he ſhould be bounteous, and extend his liberality with an extenſive hand, and open heart: Only ſuch things excepted, which providence, for ſome uncertain caſes that may happen, requires to preſerve for it ſelf.

Thus did this unfortunate councellor, *Macro*, endeavour to win over *Caius*'s mind with ſuch words as theſe, through a deſire to form his notions to better things: But the man was of a contentious ſpirit, and plunged into the quite contrary way, as if he had been forced into it. He ſcornfully rejected his admoniſher.

On a time, ſeeing him come towards him, he ſpoke thus to thoſe who ſtood next him: *Here comes my preceptor, who is uſeleſs now; an inſtructor, but no longer of me as a child; the monitor of one who is wiſer than himſelf, who wants me, an emperor, to ſtoop to him who is my ſubject; when I am acquainted with the qualifications that ſuit regal dignity, of which he would pretend*

pretend to be abſolute maſter, but who has taught him them, I am at a loſs to know. From my ſwadling cloaths I have had a great many teachers, fathers, brothers, uncles, couſins, grandfathers, great grandſires, and all from the chief Roman *prince, nearly allied to me both by father's and mother's ſide, without mentioning or taking notice of the ſeeds of virtue that generally are innate with the birth of a prince. As we reſemble our parents in the form of our body and ſoul, in our habits, geſtures, counſels, and actions; ſo, after the ſame manner, it is probable, that in the very ſeed may be delineated or mark'd out a certain hability ſuitable to the grandeur and majeſty of a king. And ſhall any illiterate fellow preſume to teach me, who in my mother's womb, and ſhop of nature, was formed an emperor ſome time before I ſaw this light, the arts that become ſuch an elevated perſon, which I underſtood ſo long ago? Say, is it reaſonable to believe that a man, who, a little while ſince, was in a private and humble condition, ſhould have the counſels of kings entering his thoughts? Notwithſtanding, ſome have the preſumption to ſet before us thoſe myſteries which alone are an emperor's province in which they are ſcarcely initiated.*

In this manner did *Caius*, by degrees, alienate himſelf from *Macro*, ſeeing out falſhoods to lay to his charge, which he choak'd over with the appearance of truth. There are ſome perſons in the world exceedingly dextrous at inventing probabilities and appearances. *Macro*, at this time, dropp'd ſome words which were turned againſt him; they were theſe: Caius *is my workmanſhip; he owes his being born more to me, or certainly not leſs, than to his own parents. Thrice, and not once, I ſnatched him, by my prayers, out of the hands of enraged* Tiberius, *who demanded his death. Alſo, after his death, when I was captain of the pretorian bands, I ſurrendered the command of thoſe forces to him, admoniſhing him firſt, that there was need but of one man, and as for the reſt, that the empire was entirely ſafe.* Abundance of perſons believed the truth of theſe ſayings, becauſe they were not acquainted with the mutable and inconſtant temper of *Caius*, who, under the greateſt diſſimulation and artifice imaginable, hid his capricious and fluctuating humour. However, it was not many days after this, that this unfortunate man, together with his wife, were removed out of the way to ſooth *Caius*'s ambition and barbarity; a ſad recompence, and an undeſerved puniſhment for his extreme loyalty and affection to him! But this is no more than ungrateful men generally do; they uſually reward their benefactors thus. 'Tis beyond diſpute, that *Macro*, who, with a ſedulous ambition, and equal endeavours to it, ſtrove firſt to ſerve *Caius*, next to put the empire in his hands alone, received this reward for his pains and trouble. Some ſay, that he, unhappy man, was obliged to be his own executioner, and that his wife underwent the ſame fate; though it is ſuppoſed, that *Cæſar* had carnal communication with her: But they deny that there was dependance on his love, by reaſon of his various and unſtable temper.

After *Macro* and all his domeſticks were put to death, *Caius* went about a third buſineſs, in the management whereof he had recourſe to greater arts and contrivances than in the two former. He had a father-in-law named *Marcus Syllanus*, a very ſtout man, and one of the moſt illuſtrious families. This gentleman having had his daughter ſnatched away by an untimely death, did not yet ceaſe giving his ſon-in-law ſuch advice as became his condition: hoping (as it might very well be) that his ſon would thank him for his kindneſs. But, all the while, it ſeems, he was but cheriſhing hopes that prov'd vain and fallacious in the end. He was continually pouring leſſons into his ears very applicable towards correcting his manners, and altering his conduct, hiding nothing from him, but admoniſhing him freely, and acquainting him with ſuch things as became the high ſtation he was in; wholly depending upon his illuſtrious birth, and the near alliance between their families. His daughter had not been ſo long dead, as to efface out of his mind the thoughts of her affinity; but the deceaſed lady ſat freſh within his memory. But the emperor interpreted this officious and good reſpect in a bad ſenſe; he looked upon it as a diſhonour done him, that he ſhould arrogate to himſelf the greateſt prudence, temperance, fortitude, juſtice, ſo that he began to hate the man as he had done the reſt of his inſtructors, and conſidered him as his profeſſed enemy. He ſuppoſed him a main obſtacle to the purſuit of his deſires; and therefore bad a laſting farewel to the remains of his deceaſed wife, and to her father, whom he ſlew by treachery. His death was attended with that of ſeveral other great men. The fame hereof was not long in ſpreading it ſelf far and near; yet no body durſt open their mouths againſt the barbarity of the actions: Fear reſtrained them from talking openly about them, and what they did ſay was in ſecret, and whiſpers.

However, people's minds beginning to change (as the common ſort, of all others, are the moſt given to change, both in their words, actions, and adviſe), yet ſcarcely having power to bring themſelves to believe that ſo ſudden an alteration could proceed from him, who before was thought ſo good and humane, and ſo civil and bountiful, *Caius* began to invent excuſes for his conduct, with regard to the young prince *Tiberius*, his coheir, how that the laws of nature would not admit that the empire ſhould have a collegue: That he had been put to death, becauſe, had he been ſtronger himſelf, he would have ſlain him in the very ſame kind: That it could not properly be termed ſo much an homicide, as a favour of divine providence, in taking the youth out of the world for the benefit and advantage of mankind, to hinder them from being divided into parties, ſome in favour of this, others of that perſon; and to eſcape as well foreign as civil wars, that might follow thereupon: For what could be more deſirable than tranquility and peace? That peace was the reſult of good government, and an empire guided by equity and moderation. But this could never be ſaid to be, unleſs the chief men lay aſide their animoſities and contentions, whereby all things might enjoy their proper ſtations and courſes.

As to *Macro*, the opinion about him was this: That he was grown to an immoderate ambition, having baniſh'd out of his mind the oracle of *Delphos*, which commands every one to know himſelf, that the knowledge of himſelf had been the ſource of his felicity and happineſs; but now, on the contrary, his ignorance had been the cauſe of his miſery and hardſhip: That it was unbecoming a ſubject to arrogate the part of the prince, or ſtrive to reduce the emperor *Caius* to a level with himſelf, ſince it was his place to exerciſe the government which *Macro*, who was a private man, had endeavoured to uſurp, and make *Caius* to do that which he himſelf ought much rather to have performed. This was the manner in which ſome illiterate people conſtrued this perſon's admonitions, whether it was owing to their reſentment, or want of knowledge, to diſtinguiſh things, or whether it is the peculiar genius of flatterers to adulterate things and their names, I leave others to gueſs.

Syllanus, mean time, was not free from the cenſure from envious tongues; men ſaid that it was ridiculous in him to ſuppoſe or pretend that a father-in-law was inveſted with as much authority over his ſon, as a real father was over his ſon: That fathers who were private citizens, on their ſons being advanced to poſts and dignities, commonly gave the precedence to them: That *Syllanus* diſcovered extraordinary ſimplicity and ignorance, and was a father-in-law over-curious in meddling with ſuch affairs as no way belong'd to, or concern'd him; having not the ſenſe to know that when his daughter died his affinity with the emperor was at an end: For marriage is only a chain to families, which being looſen'd, the alliance is diſſolv'd in courſe, eſpecially as often as the caſe happens to be above remedy; which was evident in the death of her that had been eſpous'd into another family.

This was the diſcourſe handed about in moſt companies, where every one ſtrove to clear the emperor of the imputation of cruelty. For having fixed in their minds an opinion of his humanity and probity, they judg'd it incredible that he ſhould be ſo ſoon changed for the worſe.

Having thus gain'd his points in the diſputes we have juſt now mention'd, againſt three principal parties of the republick, and obtained two victories over citizens of equeſtrian and ſenatorian dignity, and a third over one of his own family, he ſuppos'd that after he had thus remov'd the moſt powerful out of the way, he ſhould become formidable to all about him. *Syllanus* was made a ſacrifice, who was one of the moſt illuſtrious ſenators amongſt that venerable body. *Macro* had loſt his life, who was an equeſtrian, and enjoy'd the greateſt dignities in that famous order; and his couſin *Tiberius* was remov'd out of the world, who was coheir to the empire with him, and his neareſt relation: So that theſe three rivals being diſpatch'd, he no longer contain'd himſelf within natural bounds, or within the limits of human nature; but ſpir'd to divine honours, and arrogated ſacred worſhip to himſelf, and, as ſome ſay, built his pretence for this upon the following argument:

That he was perſuaded, as the maſters of other flocks, ſuch as goat-herds, cow-herds, were neither goats, nor cows, themſelves, but men of far more excellent nature than ſuch beaſts: So that he who was conſtituted maſter over the flock of human kind, ought to be eſteem'd ſomething far more elevated, and to be number'd among the Gods.

On his firſt embracing this opinion, he, like a fooliſh man, graſp'd at a romantick tale inſtead of a true one. At length, having ventured to publiſh his conſecration among the people, he proceeded further, and, as it were, mounted up higher by certain gradations, or ſteps. For at firſt he emulated the demi-gods, whom they call *Bacchus*, *Hercules*, *Caſtor*, and *Pollux*, *Trophonius*, *Amphiareus*, *Amphilochus*, and ſuch like. After this, very much after the imitation of ſtage-players, he dreſs'd and undreſs'd himſelf, now he had a club in his hand, and the ſkin of a lion thrown over his ſhoulders, imitating *Hercules* in this garb; but with this difference, that both the club and his ſkin were made of gold. At another time he would wear a hat upon his head; and this was when he perſonated *Caſtor*: Other times he would be adorn'd, like father *Bacchus*, with ivy and a thyrſus, and with the ſkins of hinds. However, he required this privilege to himſelf, that, as each of theſe deities was content with the honours and ceremonies appropriated to him, ſo he commanded all of them to be given him, in order that he might be above thoſe whom he envied. He did, like *Gerion*, with three bodies draw together the numerous concourſe of people to ſee him; but, what is more ſurprizing, he chang'd one body into as many forms and ſhapes as formerly the *Ægyptian Proteus* did, whom *Homer* introduces turning himſelf into miraculous things; ſometimes into a horrible and fierce fire, ſometimes into a glaſſy river. But ſay, *O Caius*, what need had you of the enſigns or trophies of theſe images? You ſhould have imitated their virtues. *Hercules* ſoured the land and ſea, he expoſed himſelf to combats with other men that were advantagious, in order to purge both elements from monſters that did nothing but miſchief to mankind. *Bacchus* cultivated the vine, and ſqueez'd a moſt pleaſant drink out of it, which is of ſovereign uſe both to ſoul and body, cheering the heart of man, by making him forget his misfortunes, and entertain kind hopes of good things to come. Wine recreates the health and makes us more valiant and active. It is of ſingular advantage to every city, and to families; and this demi-god, *Bacchus*, led mankind from a painful and laborious life, to a more ſocial and civil one. Among all the *Grecians* and *Barbarians* he inſtituted feſtivities, entertainments, rejoicings, and ſeveral other amuſements; theſe particulars are all owing to wine. Of the twins of *Jupiter* it is reported, that the one gave immortality to the other:

For as the one was born ſubject to mortality, and the other to an immortal life, he, whoſe condition was the happier, choſe rather to loſe the right of his privilege, than not diſcover his love to his brother. Accordingly, ſeriouſly conſidering with himſelf his own immortality, and the mortal life of his brother, and that when his brother died, his immortal condition would be attended with an everlaſting ſorrow, he deviſed a very wonderful and ſurprizing mutation, or change; which was, to mix ſome of his brother's mortality with his immortality, and ſome of his nature with his frail condition; whereby he made both their natures alike: Which is the very fountain and ſpring of all juſtice. All theſe, therefore, *Caius*, as they diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their actions, great favourers of mankind, were, upon that ſcore, held in profound admiration, and ſo are to this day; being eſteem'd worthy of divine honours. But as for your part, what thing have you performed like their actions, that can give you a pretence for this extraordinary grandeur and altitude of yours? Have you once copied the charity of theſe ſuppoſed ſons of *Jupiter*, that I may begin your commendation thence? No; in the firſt place, hard-hearted and unmerciful man, you cruelly put to death your brother and coheir in the firſt flower of his age; after this, you condemn'd your ſiſters to baniſhment, in order to be free from the apprehenſions they might give you, and that you might enjoy the empire in greater ſecurity: But you pretend to be a rival to *Bacchus*. Have you been the inventor of any new good? Have you fill'd the world, as he did, with gladneſs? Are *Europe* and *Aſia* ſcarce able to contain your munificence? True it is, indeed, that you have diſcover'd yourſelf to be the inventor of new arts, but as a publick peſt, whereby you have changed the joys and pleaſures of mankind into troubles and anxieties, that all might have ſorrow enough during the remainder of their lives; for while you ranſack'd the eaſt and weſt, and all the other regions ſtretching to the ſouth and north, for their choiceſt commodities, to ſatisfy your unbounded avarice, you ſend back to thoſe countries nothing in return but the execrable fruits of your poiſonous ſoil, which carry ſo much deſtruction along with them where they go. Theſe are the reaſons, then, that make you ſhew yourſelf another father *Bacchus*. So, in like manner, you give a fine pourtract of *Hercules*, by the beautiful, valiant, and indefatigable actions of your arm, by your wholeſome laws, ſincere determinations, by a plentiful increaſe of the fruits of the earth, and other rare advantages of peace, wherewith you bleſs the continent and the iſlands. No; indolent and puſillanimous man! who has driven peace and tranquillity out of your cities, and, in their room, introduced inſurrections and tumults, and render'd the inhabitants mutinous and ſeditious. Say, *Caius*, do you want to be ſtiled a god for theſe abominations and deſtructions which you have brought upon your ſubjects, mankind? Forſooth, that being yourſelf immortal, you may prolong them not for a ſhort time, but while your ſuppoſed deification laſts. I am of a different opinion in this affair, though you were believed to be a god, that you would certainly betray your manhood, by reaſon of your ſiniſter and perverſe aims. For if divinity is a conſequence of excellent virtues, it follows, that mortality is diſcoverable from foul vices; therefore you have no reaſon to pretend to the like friendſhip between the remarkable ſons of *Jove*, who have made your ſelf an homicide and fratricide: Neither can you, if you would, partake of the excellent nature either of *Hercules*, or *Bacchus*, who diſtinguiſh'd their lives by their inventions and actions; whereas you deſtroy them by your enormities and cruelties.

Caius was poſſeſſed with ſo much madneſs, and actuated by ſuch a ſenſeleſs infatuation, that, not content to compare himſelf to the demi gods, he proceeded to rival thoſe of a higher claſs; namely, *Apollo*, *Mars*, and *Mercury*. He imitated this latter, by wearing a caduceus in his hand, binding winged buſkins to his feet, and dreſſing himſelf in a fine ſurcoat. Next, juſt as the fancy took him, having lain theſe ornaments aſide, he perſonated *Apollo*, encircling his temples with a radiated crown, holding a bow and arrows in his left hand, and reaching with his right graces and favours; becauſe it was convenient that things of a milder aſpect ſhould be in that hand which was the readieſt. Next to this, he inſtituted dances for the ſinging of pæans to him who juſt before was repreſenting *Bacchus*: For whenſoever he aſſumed the habit of this god, they called him *Evius*, *Lyæus*, *Bacchus*. Several times he appeared with a breaſt-plate, a helmet, a ſhield, and came out with a drawn ſword, ſtrutting, and imitating *Mars*. On both ſides of him he had his new *Salii*, homicides, ready to do any barbarous work he commanded them, and to humour his cruel temper, that thirſted after human blood. He ſtruck terror into the people by unuſual appearances, who were ſurprized that he ſhould aſſume the honours of thoſe whoſe virtue's he deſpiſed, and content himſelf only with their enſigns, though theſe outward habiliments are annexed to their images to ſignify the advantages which are exhibited, by them, by theſe gods, to mankind, and their worſhippers. For example, the feet of *Mercury* have winged buſkins tyed to them; to what purpoſe? Why, becauſe it ſuits the character of the meſſenger and interpreter of the gods; whence they give him a *Greek* name that denotes the ſame (for a wiſe man, much leſs a god, would with great difficulty be brought to be the meſſenger of bad); and that he is prodigiouſly ſwift, and borne along with expanded wings, with ſurprizing rapidity: Becauſe, in affairs of this nature, haſte and expedition are eſſentially required, though in different caſe a ſober and conſiderate conduct is much more preferable, and ſafer. So, likewiſe, he is depicted with a caducæus, which is the badge of a conciliator, and a friendſhip-maker: For wars are determined by caduciators; either by ſtriking peace, or making treaties or truces. For were not theſe means admitted, there would be no end put to the hoſtilities of jarring princes; injuries and inſults would continue to be committed without controul. But, ſay, what deſign had *Caius* in putting on the winged buſkins? Was it to divulge, by a rapid courſe, his unhappy and ominous actions, through all the provinces of the empire, that he was eternally to purſue them? And, pray, what neceſſity was there for this rapid courſe, when, had he but ſtood in one place, he might have pour'd out one miſchief upon the neck of another, and ſo on, *ad infinitum*, as it were, from a perpetual ſpring, which would have ſpread over this habitable world like a deluge. And what need of the caduceus, when, in all his life-time, he never did, or ſpoke, a peaceful thing, or word? Every houſe, and city, as well *Grecian* as *Barbarian*, has he not filled with inteſtine ſedition, and civil diſcord? Let him lay down the appellation he has aſſumed of a mock and ſuppoſititious *Mercury*. What is there in him, pray, that reſembles *Apollo?* He wears a radiated crown, whoſe rays, repreſenting thoſe of the ſun, are beautifully imitated and made by the artiſt, as if either the ſun, or a general light, pleaſed him much better than the night, and the thickeſt darkneſs, to perpetrate his villainous deſigns in. Indeed, honeſt actions ſtand in need of the noon-day to make them appear conſpicuous to every body: But baſe and ſiniſter views require the darkeſt covering to hide them: I mean the pit of *Tartarus*, the fit receptacle of all ſuch things which cannot bear examination, or endure the light. But the enſigns he carries within his hands, he tranſpoſes them, as may very well be; putting the bow and arrows into his right, that he may ſtrike, with ſure aim, at men, women, whole families, populous cities; being ſo naturally accuſtom'd to murther. The graces he covers in his left hand, unleſs he chuſes to throw them away entirely: For it is plainly evident, that he does but abuſe them, in gaping ſo eagerly after the poſſeſſions of other people, and, after having ſtripp'd the owners, putting them to death, bringing this calamity upon them only becauſe they were rich. And as to *Apollo*'s medicinal quality, he manifeſtly inverts it; for the god was the inventor of wholeſome remedies, and ſo good in his nature, that he was always ready to heal thoſe diſeaſes which others had been the cauſe of. *Caius*, on the contrary, brings diſeaſes on thoſe that are well, mutillations on thoſe that are ſound and entire, and death inflicted by his own hand on the living, before fate hath determined their time. He made diligent ſearch after ſeveral ſorts of poiſons, wherein, had not the divine juſtice prevented him, all the beſt and moſt virtuous men in every city, under his dominion, had certainly been deſtroyed. This damnable preparation was made againſt the noble and wealthier ſort, chiefly the *Italians*, and thoſe within the metropolis, whoſe ſums of gold and ſilver were ſo large, that, had all the world's wealth, beſides, been collected together, it would have fallen ſhort of theſe. Wherefore, he made his own country the point to aim at, whereby he would have been the infallible ruin of the city, the devourer of the people, and the plague and deſtruction of all his ſubjects.

But *Apollo* had another qualification that was celebrated with extraordinary praiſe; this was owing to his prophetic mind: For he was not only excellently well ſkill'd in the medicinal art, but he was the chiefeſt of prophets. He foretold, by his oracles, accidents to come, for the benefit and welfare of mankind, that none might be led away with uncertainties, and ſtumble thereat, like a blind man in the dark; or enquiring after that which was good, ſplit, by miſtake, upon that which was bad: But rather, being preſcient of what was to happen, and for a while entirely having the mind fixed upon it, he might take the ſame care over himſelf, as the eyes do of the body, in order to avoid every hurtful and unprofitable thing. But what, ſuppoſing we ſhould oppoſe to theſe the famous oracles of *Caius*, which foretold nothing elſe but ignominies, confiſcations, exiles, baniſhments, and deaths, to the princes and governors of the ſeveral nations of the world; what, pray, has all this to do with *Apollo*, who never did any thing like it? Away, then, with thoſe falſe pæans, made to imitate thoſe which are right pæans; for neither is it lawful to adulterate coin, nor ſpoil the divine image. But nothing could be ſo much unexpected, as for ſuch a body, and ſuch a ſoul, both prodigiouſly effeminate and broken, to rival the ſtrength and fortitude of *Mars*. *Caius*, as if he had been a player on the ſtage, by his various and ſingular appearances, impoſed on the eyes of the ſpectators. We will leave deſcribing his ſoul and body, which, in every article, bear no conformity to the aforeſaid god, either in his habit, or his actions. We are no ſtrangers to the courage of *Mars*, I do not ſpeak of the fabulous divinity, but of him by whom we underſtand natural fortitude, which is beneficent, and an aſſiſter of thoſe that labour under oppreſſion and injuries, as is evinced from the original *Greek*. So that he is properly called a diſperſer of wars, a worker of peace; and there are two names of this god, the one importing an hater of wars, the other of peace; and this latter is that which confounds all together.

I ſuppoſe I have ſufficiently made it appear, by this time, that *Caius* did not in one ſingle article reſemble either the major-gods, or the demi-gods, being different both in nature and eſſence from them; but chiefly in his qualifications and actions. Our deſires are directed by a blind fatality, eſpecially when ambition, a pertinacious humour, and an unbounded liberty, are annexed to them; for this was that which formerly ruined our people, who had been fortunate before. The *Jews* were the only people that created ſuſpicions in *Caius*'s breaſt, as they were the likelieſt to obſtruct his deſign; becauſe they had been taught to believe from their cradles, by their parents, maſters, and preceptors, and chiefly from their divine laws, and traditional accounts, that there was but one God, the father and founder of the univerſe: For all others, men, women, cities, nations, regions, and tracts of land, nay, I might ſay, the whole world, almoſt, though under the moſt terrible concern and care at theſe proceedings, yet were obliged to give their conſent, by extolling him more than was reaſonable, and exaggerating his immoderate pride. Some introduced the manners and cuſtoms of the *Barbarians* into *Italy*, whereby the *Roman* worſhip and rites were adulterated. The nation of the *Jews*, I ſay, was the only one that lay under the load of ſuſpicion of oppoſing the divinity of this mad emperor: The *Jews* were known to throw themſelves voluntarily into the arms of death, as if they were going to obtain an immortal ſtate, rather than ſuffer even the leaſt article belonging to the rites of their country to be taken from them. Becauſe, as we obſerve in buildings, if one part be wanting, though the reſt may appear firm and ſtrong to the eye, yet the edifice looſens, by degrees, and falls to nothing.

The ſcheme that was carrying on was not of the ſlighteſt conſequence; it exceeded every thing of the like nature: It was a man, who was born a mortal, endeavouring to metamorphoſe himſelf into the form of an unborn and immortal God; an impiety, than which, nothing can be more impious, or thought more execrable. It is certain, that God can be ſooner transform'd into a man, than the latter into a God. I forbear mentioning how by this method an inlet is opened to other enormous vices; namely, to infidelity, and to ingratitude towards the benefactors of all creatures, who, according to his power, allots his ample bleſſings to every part of the univerſe. In fine, our nation was menaced with a war, without affording it any truce. Say, what greater misfortune can a ſervant labour under, than to be ſubject to maſter who is his avow'd and profeſs'd enemy? Subjects are the ſervants of emperors; and a peaceable and lawful government is vaſtly advantageous to mankind. But *Caius* hath baniſh'd from his breaſt all clemency, and juſtice is what he contemns: He requires, that his unbounded deſires ſhould be the ſtandard to adminiſter equity by; and he abrogates as needleſs, every thing that before was eſteemed lawful. Our great men were look'd upon not only as belonging to the number of ſlaves, but reckoned amongſt the vileſt of things; which, when the tumultuous and ſeditious people of *Alexandria* came to know, they imagined they had got the opportunity they had ſo long wiſh'd for to give a looſe to their hatred, which now opened itſelf very remarkably, and perverted the minds of all the lower kind of people. Had the emperor permitted, or given expreſs orders for their violent proceedings, we could not have been more expoſed to their fury and rage, or, by the right of war, been more reduced to their power. For, with an irreſiſtible barbarity, they put us to death; they broke into our houſes, and drove the maſters out of them, together with their wives and children: They plundered and made them deſolate; they carried off their effects and goods of value, but not after the manner of thieves in the night, who act with apprehenſions of paying dearly for what they do, provided they are taken. On the other hand, they took broad day-light to commit their havock in, and boaſted to every one they met of their actions, as if the things had been theirs by right of heirſhip, or purchaſe. Some were ſo daring, as to form themſelves in bands, or companies, that profeſs'd robbing: They went into the middle of the market-place, and there divided the ſpoil amongſt themſelves, whilſt the owners all the while ſtood gazing at their proceedings, whom they abuſed and reviled. Theſe were hardſhips that carried abundance of cruelty and barbarity in them; though every thing that happen'd, was accounted ſlight, and of little or no conſequence. But what can it be term'd to reduce men of wealthy circumſtances, without any fault of theirs, to poverty, and make thoſe, who lived before in a full and affluent condition, feel the rigour of want? To drive them from their own fire-ſides, and expel them their houſes, either to periſh by the ſcorching heat, or the nocturnal colds? Yet theſe are abundantly more tolerable than what comes after in the ſequel: For after they had forced, out of every corner of the city, ſo many thouſands of men, women, and children, like ſo many ſheep, into a certain narrow place, as it were, into a cave, they were in hopes, within a few days, to ſee them lie on a heap together, or, for want of proviſions, to die of hunger; for being ſo ſuddenly coop'd up in a place they ſo little expected, they had no proviſions with them. They ſuppoſed the heat of the place would effectually do their buſineſs; for being preſs'd together into ſo narrow a compaſs, and the air about them being tainted with their frequent reſpirations; and, to expreſs myſelf more truly, both their mouths and noſtrils breathing out a ſickening heat, they, according to the proverb, added fuel to the fire, and made their caſe very deplorable. It is obſervable, that the nature of the bowels within is very hot, ſo that nothing affects the inſtruments or organs of reſpirations more than a moderate refrigeration of the air; for by that temperament the body and its internals are preſerved calm and pure: But if they become heated more than is natural, then follows an intemperament of body, and it receives, if I may uſe the expreſſion, fire added to fire. Theſe miſerable people, when they found they were not able any longer to hold up againſt the difficulties and hardſhips of the place, crowded to the deſart ſhores and ſepulchres, deſiring at leaſt to have a pure and wholſome air to breathe in: Yet, if any were found remaining behind, in other parts of the city, or, ignorant of the calamities that threatened them, appeared abroad, they were unmercifully treated; either wounded with ſtones, or beaten to death with clubs. Thoſe, whom we have ſaid above to be coop'd up in a narrow corner of the city, had the favour not to be beſieg'd by their enemies, who watch'd narrowly that none of them privately made their eſcape. But a great many, for want of proviſions, eſcap'd, not caring what became of themſelves, ſo they and their families periſh'd not of hunger together. Their enemies were very diligent in keeping them from getting away; and as many as they intercepted, they tormented firſt, and afterwards put to death, with all the rage and cruelty imaginable.

There was another party of them that lay in ambuſh, about the ports of the river, for the *Jewiſh* merchants, whoſe goods they took away before their faces, and then making piles of the helms or planks of their ſhips, burnt them to death. Others were burnt in the middle of the city, after a very miſerable manner. There being no dry wood to be found, they brought branches that were green, and in ſap; and having ſet theſe on a flame, the poor wretches were thrown in, who endured greater torments from the ſmoke, than the fire; becauſe from the greenneſs of the matter, a thick ſmokey fire aroſe, which burnt but weakly, and was ſoon extinguiſhed, leaving few or no aſhes at all. Several others had throngs of leather, and cords, faſtened to their ankles, and in that condition were dragg'd through the middle of the market-place, amidſts the inſults of the mob, who ſpared not even the bodies that were dead; which, with worſe cruelty and barbarity than the moſt raging beaſts, they cut into pieces, and ſo many, that no remains could be found to be buried. The perſon who was governor of this country, who, alone, had he been minded, could, in one hour's time, have ſtopp'd the furious courſe of theſe madmen and miſcreants, diſſembled both what he ſaw and heard, and gave liberty to purſue their meaſures; ſo that they proceeded to far worſe actions than ever they had done before. For having collected themſelves into numerous companies, they went to the oratories, which were in ſeveral parts of the city, and either plundered them, by cutting down the trees about them, or entirely levell'd them with the ground. Some they burnt by throwing fire into them, with ſo much rage and fury, that the houſes adjoining could not eſcape their deſtructive hands: For the fire having once catch'd hold of them, preſently ſpread it ſelf.

I decline giving an account of the honours of the *Roman* princes that were made a ſacrifice in this conflagration by theſe enraged people; ſhields, crowns, and golden ſtatues, with their inſcriptions; which they ought to have reverenced, and reſtrained their fury from. But they were puſh'd on by a ſenſeleſs rage, without any regard to *Caius*, or fearing his puniſhing them: They knew he was the worſt enemy the *Jews* had in the world, and that nothing in nature would pleaſe him more than to ſee this nation expoſed to the worſt of hardſhips; that they might obtain his favour and friendſhip by a new piece of flattery, and cauſe his rage to fall upon us with the heavier weight; what reſource were they obliged to have recourſe to? Why, as many of our oratories as were not able to ſet fire to, becauſe of the great number of *Jews* that dwelt therein, they deſtroy'd after another manner, in company with their rites, and manners of worſhip: For they ſet up the ſtatue of *Caius* in all of them; but in the greateſt, and moſt famous of them, his ſtature was raiſed aloft upon four brazen horſes, but with ſo much haſte, and over-officious duty, that, having no new horſes caſt, they took out of the gymnaſium four ruſty ones, with their ears, tails, and feet, very much worn; which, as fame ſays, had been dedicated to *Cleopatra*, the laſt queen of that name. Now every one may clearly ſee what an outrage and inſult was committed in this action. Was it according to the rules of decorum to dedicate to the *Roman* emperor, who endeavoured to emulate a god, things that had been erected to the honour of a woman? What, and ſuch old ones, and ſuch as were foreign to the purpoſe, and had been the enſigns of another? Were they not afraid of incurring the diſpleaſure of *Caius*, by honouring him with ſuch a gift? An emperor that was paſſionate, and one who arrogated to himſelf all honours, and thoſe of the moſt ſplendid and magnificent nature. However, for this famous action of theirs, they were in hopes of obtaining praiſe, and greater favour than they had hitherto done: For changing their oratories into new temples, and increaſing the number of temples that were dedicated to *Caius*, not ſo much to honour him in this action, as to compleat his hatred, by bringing on our nation the worſt of hardſhips, as may be evinced from irrefragable arguments. The firſt is, becauſe that during the reigns of ten kings, whom they count in ſucceſſion for three hundred years, not one of them had a ſtatue dedicated to him in their oratories, though they gave theſe very princes the name of gods in their ſuperſcriptions and titles. Why, pray? Becauſe, certainly, they knew that they were men; ſince among their deities they have abundance of beaſts, land creatures, and belonging to the water, and fowls, with whoſe altars, temples and groves, all *Ægypt* is well ſtock'd: And, probably, they will anſwer now what they would not have anſwered then, after the example of flatterers, who generally are link'd more to the fortune of princes than to the princes themſelves: And ſay that the majeſty and grandeur of the emperor's is much above what the *Ptolomy's* enjoyed, and therefore that it is but juſt they ſhould have greater honours aſcribed to them. But this makes you out the moſt ignorant men in the world, without involving you in an harſher expreſſion. Pray why did you not decree the ſame honours to *Tiberius* before *Caius*, who left him in the empire, and for the ſpace of three and twenty years, the time he held the government of the world, never occaſioned one war, or ſo much as the ſpark of one, either in all *Greece*, or in the countries of the *Barbarians*; but every place, to his death, enjoyed the ſweets of peace, and the ſerenity of a quiet government? Pray was his family any way inferior? No; both by father and mother he was of moſt noble deſcent. Was his erudition leſs? But ſay, who could pretend to more prudence and learning than he, at that time? But it may be, his age makes againſt him. Can you produce either king or emperor that enjoyed his hoary years with greater felicity? You are in the wrong, mightily in the wrong, for the opinion mankind had of his underſtanding, made them believe him old, when he was in the flower of his youth: Yet this prince, who ſuch an one, and ſo great, has not had the honour of being deified by you. What ſhall we ſay of him, who, in the number of every virtue which he poſſeſs'd, excell'd human nature; and, for his extraordinary power and goodneſs, obtained the ſirname of *Auguſtus*, not claiming the honour as hereditary in his family, but giving it to his ſucceſſor and his poſterity? Though the affairs of the world were in the utmoſt diſtraction when he came to the empire, and took into his hands the reins of the republick; for both ſea and land contended for the ſuperiority: The maritime and mediterranean provinces, under the conduct of each *Roman* general, diſtinguiſhed for his dignity and honour, were parties in the famous ſtruggle. The vaſt countries and regions of the world followed one another, and fought in this grand deciſive battle that was to give the globe to the conqueror: The remoteſt nations were rouzed up to partake of the two intereſts, one ſide, or the other, and the land and ſea joined their forces; ſo that during this grand revolution, almoſt all mankind had been ſwallowed up in the deſtruction and mutual defeats that were given by either ſide, had not one man, a prince of an auguſt family, come in time, and given his aſſiſtance, when affairs were at the laſt gaſp. This was *Cæſar*, who, after he had driven back the ſtorms that raged on every ſide, reſtored a ſerene calm to the afflicted world; who brought remedies to the publick calamities that viſited both the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, which beginning at the eaſt and ſouth, diffuſed their baleful influence to the weſt and the north, while the countries lying between were expoſed to all manner of evils. This was he who brought liberty to all the provinces, and freed them from their chains. This was he who removed not only the fear of wars, but, alſo, all manner of depredation and plunder. This was he who ſcour'd the ſea of pirates, and made it be frequented by ſhips of merchandiſe. This prince beſtowed liberty on all cities; affairs that were in confuſion, he reduced to order and certainty. Nations that were barbarous, and unacquainted with the commerce of other countries, he civiliz'd, and made them ſociable. He gave large immunities to the *Grecian* cities, and annexed to *Greece* the richeſt and beſt ſituated countries of the *Barbarians*. He was the guardian of peace, a juſt diſpenſer of right and equity, had an extenſive and liberal hand, was profuſe in his benefactions, and, as long as he lived, was a diſtributer of every good thing. Yet this great man, this vaſt benefactor, all the three and forty years he was maſter of *Ægypt*, never had theſe honours given him; no image or ſtatue repreſenting him, was ſet up in their oratories: But if ever any one had a right to theſe new and famous honours, they became him principally, not only as he was the founder of the *Auguſtan* family, and, more than any others, deſerved well of mankind, for removing the government that was in the hands of many, and taking the key of the commonwealth into his hand alone; being, of himſelf, the beſt able to govern. For that ſaying is very juſt, which intimates, that in the government of many there is miſchief; becauſe the opinions of many are the cauſe of many evils: But, alſo, becauſe the whole world had decreed divine honours to him; namely, temples, groves, portico's; more beautiful than which, none, either ancient or modern, were ever ſeen in any cities, or to be compared with thoſe in our *Alexandria*. There is no comparing any other with that called *Sebaſtion*, a temple of *Cæſar*'s, the protector of mariners, ſtanding over againſt the mouth of the haven, on an aſcent, vaſtly large, and full to the proſpect, more than any other, full of gifts, painted tables, and ſtatues, on every ſide, adorned with ſilver and gold, exceedingly ſpacious, having fine portico's annex'd to it, libraries, courts, groves, porches, walks; all of them ſurprizingly beautiful, and which thoſe that ſail from thence, and thither back, make the ſtandard of their hopes. In ſo great and general a conſent of nations, *Cæſar*, notwithſtanding he was debarred of the right of the oratories, had not he all the honours given that was due to him? No man, certainly, in his right ſenſes, will pretend to ſay ſo. Why, then, did they paſs them by? I'll tell you the reaſon, without prevarication: They were too well acquainted with his care and diligence, who took as much toil upon him to confirm every province in its rites, as the *Romans* in their ceremonies: He received theſe honours from ſycophants that were blinded with an exterior reſpect, not becauſe he approved of what they did, but becauſe the majeſty of the empire ſeemed to require it: For theſe are arts that procure an empire veneration. That he was never vain-glorious enough to be elated or puffed up with theſe obſequious duties, may be gather'd from hence, that he would never ſuffer himſelf to be called, by any, either god, or lord; having an utter averſion to ſuch fulſome flattery, and ſhewing how he liked the *Jews*, who could not endure ſuch things: Otherwiſe he had not ſuffered a good part of the city, beyond the *Tiber*, to be inhabited by *Jews*, the greater part of whom were freemen, who, having been made priſoners by right of war, had been mamonized by their maſters, and permitted to live after their own way. He was not ignorant how that they had their oratories, in which they had their aſſemblies, eſpecially on their ſabbaths, conformably to the religion of their country. He knew, likewiſe, that they collected their firſt-fruits, and ſent them to *Hieroſolyma*, together with certain perſons, who offered ſacrifices for them. Yet he neither ordered them to depart out of the city, nor took from them their right of being citizens; becauſe he would not that their religion or government ſhould be aboliſhed in *Paleſtine*, neither did he prohibit them from keeping their aſſemblies, where they taught their laws: Neither did he by any edict or proclamation annul their ſolemn cuſtom of ſending and offering their firſt-fruits: But he held our ſacred things in ſo much veneration, that almoſt all his domeſticks gave gifts which are extant in our temple, wherein he commanded victims to be ſlain and offered every day at his own expence, to the moſt high God. Which ſolemnities and ſacrifices are performed now, and will continue for ever, as a laſting monument of the virtues of ſo excellent an emperor.

At all ſuch times as he made diſtributions of money or corn among the people at home, he was pleaſed always to have the *Jews* in the number; but had his liberality happened to fall on a ſabbath, when we are prohibited both to give and receive, and to perform any manner of work, eſpecially for the ſake of gain, he would ſend his orders to thoſe who diſtributed his favours, to poſtpone them to the next day. This made all other nations, though naturally no great friends to the *Jews*, fearful of violating their cuſtoms and rites: Moreover, they were preſerved under *Tiberius*, though *Sejanus* was raiſing commotions in *Italy*. For preſently after the death of the traitor, he found that the crimes laid to the charge of the *Jews* inhabiting the city, were nothing but meer calumnies, and forgeries of *Sejanus*, who wanted to remove them out of the way, which was his principal deſign; and that they were the only or chief perſons that had oppoſed his wicked meaſures, and the ſcheme he had concerted to take away the emperor's life. In conſequence of which, he ſent his orders to the governors of the provinces, not to meddle with our nation whereſoever diſperſed or inhabiting their towns, except a few who were too guilty: However, no innovation was made within the tribes; but, on the other hand, they were commended, for being perſons who lov'd peace, and whoſe laws and morality tended very much to eſtabliſh the public tranquillity. But *Caius* is ſo ſwoln with ambition, that, not content to boaſt himſelf a god, he believes he is ſuch; and amongſt all his ſubjects, *Greeks* or *Barbarians*, he found none ſo fit to be impos'd on as the people of *Alexandria*, with regard to the humouring this horrid thirſt of grandeur of his. For they are men of ſurprizing ſlaviſh ſentiments in this point, who are always at hand to flatter, aſſent, prevaricate, and turn their words to all quarters; being endowed with a wonderful facility in putting things into diſorder and confuſion. The religious among them hold ſo much veneration for the name of God, that their *ibes*, and *aſpides*, and ſeveral other creatures, are honoured with it: Therefore, as they are ſo prodigal of this name, they impoſe on the timorous, and ſuch as are not acquainted with this impiety of the *Ægyptians*; though they cannot hide their folly, or rather impious preſumption, from thoſe who know it: Which *Caius* being entirely ignorant of, he ſuppoſed that the *Alexandrians* were in earneſt in believing him a god, ſince they did not diſſemble, but eloquently aſcribed all the acclamations to him which they gave their other gods: For he took the innovation which they brought into the oratories to be the pure reſult of their minds, and their ſtrong deſire to pleaſe him; having accounts ſent him of their actions, from *Alexandria*. This proceeding pleaſed him better than any poem or hiſtory written in his praiſe and commendation by ſome domeſtick ſervant, a ſlave to his humour, and ready at all times either to praiſe or diſpraiſe with his maſter. Theſe infectious creatures were, for the general part, *Ægyptians*; ſlaves, whoſe ſouls and bodies were tinctured with the poiſon of their native aſps and crocodiles. Of this company, or, rather, of this *Ægyptian* band, one *Helicon* was principal; a baſe ſlave, extremely wicked, and who, by a train of ſubtle arts, had crept into the palace. He had received the principles of his education under the management of a former maſter, who made a preſent of him to *Tiberius Cæſar*: But, at that time, he was not much eſteemed, becauſe *Tiberius* ever had an averſion to boyiſh tricks and amuſements; giving, even in his youth, a natural propenſity and inclination to a grave and ſevere behaviour. But as ſoon as *Tiberius* was dead, and *Caius* on the imperial throne, he, finding his new maſter abandoning and plunging himſelf into all manner of ſenſuality and delight, began to have theſe thoughts:

'Now, *Helicon*, is the time for thee; rouze 'thyſelf; thou haſt one that hearkens to thee, 'and a grand ſpectator of thy actions; to 'whom thou mayeſt approve thyſelf by boaſting much. Thou are endowed with a rolling 'and eaſy wit, and can prevail much by thy 'repartees and witticiſms. Thou are no ſtranger how to ſet off trifles, laughter, jeſts, and 'merry ſpeeches. Thou art maſter as well of 'the liberal as illiberal arts. Thou art maſter 'of a pleaſing flow of words, that carry the 'force of ſatire whilſt thou flatters, and raiſe 'a laughter, and create a ſmart at the ſame 'time, eſpecially when thou haſt the aſcendant 'over thy maſter, and findeſt him eaſy to receive the poiſon. His ears, as thou knoweſt, always open to receive calumny and detraction, forgeries and invented tales. Plague 'thyſelf no more with ſeeking freſh matter to 'keep them alive; thou haſt crimes ready 'at hand to charge the *jewiſh* ceremonies with, 'which thou imbibed and learned in thy infancy; not from one man, but from the 'ſcurrilous and talkative part of the people of '*Alexandria*. Diſcover, then, what thou 'haſt learnt.'

Theſe were the childiſh and wicked thoughts which this ſycophant and impoſtor made uſe of to alienate the heart of *Caius* from the *Jews*, in the proſecution of which, he neither ceaſed day nor night carrying on his villainy with the greateſt artifice in the world, thereby the more to ſet him againſt them: He did not chuſe to behave openly in ſo nice an affair, neither was he able, could he have never ſo much wiſhed it; he, on the other hand, proſecuted his ſcheme in covert, and with a great deal of cunning, thereby doing more execution than if he had made an open attack upon the nation. This was no ſooner known to the ambaſſadors ſent by the *Alexandrians*, but, people ſay, that they bought him over to them with great gifts, not only of money, but with hopes of other goods, which they promiſed to give him as ſoon as *Caius* came to *Alexandria*. *Helicon* was extremely pleaſed with theſe proſperous beginnings, and did nothing but dream, all the time, of being honoured in the preſence of his Lord, and receiving praiſes all over the whole world (for it might well be ſuppoſed that the great men of the ſeveral cities would make their court to him, by leaving their diſtant and remote cities to viſit the greateſt and moſt celebrated of all); ſo that he promiſed every thing with a chearful air and countenance. It was, indeed, ſome time that we were kept in entire ignorance of this lurking enemy; ſo that our obſervations were confined to ſuch only as openly diſcovered their enmity againſt us: But when we came to the bottom of *Helicon*'s deſigns, we endeavoured, by one way or other, to ſee if we could ſoften and mollify the man, who was throwing his darts, all around him, at us. He was *Caius*'s companion at tennis, at the ring, at the baths, at his entertainments and banquets: He was the head officer of his bed-chamber, a principal dignity, becauſe in this poſt he has the entire command of the emperor's ear, and, being free from the avocations of other buſineſs, has opportunities enough of poiſoning him with his fables, which conſiſted of buffoonery, mix'd with abundance of detraction, calculated purely, at once, to amuſe and prejudice him againſt us. But that which ſeemed to be his principal aim, namely, the pleaſure of his prince, was only carried on tranſiently; and thoſe accuſations which were thought to be thrown at random, were the very ſcope of his intentions, and the ſole purpoſe of this pernicious ſlave. At length, having weigh'd all his anchors, and being favoured with a gale that blew favourable to his ſhip, he ſailed with expanded ſails, and darted all his malice againſt us, heaping crime upon crime, and accuſation upon accuſation, againſt us; which took ſuch deep root in the mind of the liſtener, that it was impoſſible for him ever to forget them. Now being almoſt at our wits ends, we turned every ſtone to ſoften the mind of *Helicon*; but there was no getting to him, and none had courage enough either to ſpeak to, or approach him, ſo great was his arrogance, which no body could endure. But we were at a loſs to know whether the hatred he diſcovered againſt the *Jews* was a private concern that touched only himſelf, becauſe he was continually imbittering his lord's mind againſt them; ſo that we omitted ſeeing any more opportunities of conferring about this buſineſs, and had recourſe to another method, which we look'd on more neceſſary. We came to a determination to preſent *Caius* with a written account of all our hardſhips, and a petition that he would be pleaſed to redreſs them. There was no more than an abſtract of a much longer petition, which, a little time before, we had ſent to king *Agrippa*, who fortunately was come now to *Alexandria*, to take ſhipping for *Syria*, in order to return to his kingdom which he had received from the emperor. But we were quite ignorant, as well as deceived, ever ſince our arrival: We thought to have found a judge who would have determined juſtly; but, to our coſt, we found him our implacable enemy, though outwardly he ſeemed to have a ſerene and chearful countenance, and friendly to beſpeak us. Our firſt reception was in the *Campius Martius*, where, coming, out of his mother's gardens, he complimented us, and, by a ſign of his right hand, ſhewed himſelf propitious: He ſent a perſon to us whoſe poſt was to receive all ambaſſadors, in whoſe name he gave us aſſurances to look into our demands as ſoon as he had any leiſure upon his hands. This made every body, who ſtood about us, nay, our own countrymen, who formed their notions according to the appearance of things, congratulate us on this good beginning. For my own part, who, in regard of my age and knowledge, thought my ſelf to be ſomething wiſer, I could not help ſuſpecting that which others ſeemed to be pleaſed with. Theſe were my reflections: *What means the emperor, now ambaſſadors almoſt from every nation of the world are here, in ſaying that he will give audience to us only? He is not a ſtranger how that we are* Jews, *who would be ſatisfied with being put on an equality with the reſt. Certainly it muſt be taken to come very near madneſs, to hope for ſuch a privilege from a youth that is a ſtranger to us, and a lord of abſolute authority. It cannot be otherwiſe but that he is more favourable to the people of* Alexandria, *and that, in favour of them, he ſhews himſelf thus ready to give his judgment. But I heartily wiſh that the parties may find an impartial judge in him; that he may not prove a patron to them, and to us an enemy.*

While I haboured theſe reflections within my breaſt, I could not help trembling: I was vaſtly uneaſy, both day and night. While I continued thus ſorrowful and dejected (for it was dangerous to addreſs the emperor), I was ſuddenly frightened with another circumſtance, which I little expected, which ſeemed to threaten not ſo much the *Jews* only, as all mankind. We left the city, and followed *Caius* to *Puteoli*. He came down to the ſea-ſide, and took up ſtay there ſome time, viſiting this or that village, which are very ſplendid and numerous there; all the while being very ſollicitous to have our cauſe brought to a hearing, becauſe we expected to be called every moment. A perſon with ſwollen eyes, trembling, and out of breath, came to us; and, having drawn us aſide (for there were people ſtanding near us), *Have you heard*, ſaid he, *any news?* And, with that, endeavoured to diſcover ſomething, but was hinder'd by a flood of tears. After a little pauſe, he began again to ſpeak, but was a ſecond and a third time hinder'd, as before. Upon this, we ſtood aſtoniſh'd at his looks, and begg'd him to acquaint us with the reaſon of his coming; for we could not think he came on purpoſe to weep ſo openly: But if there was any thing that deſerved our tears, he would be ſure to make us partake with him, who were already accuſtom'd to ſorrow. At length, after many deep ſighs fetch'd up, *Our temple is doomed to deſtruction and ruin*, ſaid he; Caius *commands that his ſtatue be put up in the* penetralia, *with the title of* Jupiter *on the inſcription.* This unaccountable news aſtoniſh'd us; we were preſently fix'd in amazement: We ſtood like mute perſons, and our ſenſes and bodily ſtrength left us. Immediately came other meſſengers with the ſame melancholy account. At laſt, all of us withdrew into our apartment, and, ſhutting our ſelves cloſe up, we gave a looſe to our ſorrow, and deplored our private and publick condition with uncommon dejection of mind. We were already tired, and it repented us that we had paſs'd the vaſt ſea in the middle of a ſtorm to petition for a redreſs of injuries, to which we were every day expoſed, without knowing that a greater and more terrible tempeſt, than what we had ſuffered at ſea, hung over our heads at land. This laſt ſtorm was no more than the conſequence of a natural cauſe, which divides the ſeaſons; for all nature's works are good and healthful: But the former was raiſed by a man who had no humanity at all in him; by a youth that itch'd after a change, and one abandoned to all manner of tyranny and ſenſuality: For his youth was vitiated by the greatneſs of the empire, and therefore an evil not to be conquer'd. Pray, who could have courage enough to approach him with a petition, or even to whiſper him who was the deſtroyer of a temple, the holieſt and moſt ſanctified of any in the world? It was ſufficiently apparent that he would contemn every thing, who had refrained doing honour to that famous temple which the eaſt and weſt worſhipped as religiouſly as if it had been the ſun. Beſides, ſuppoſing even that an audience had been granted, what elſe was to be expected but moſt certain death? ‘Let us die, then, *ſaid I*, for we live in order to meet a glorious death, in defence of the laws of our country. But ſince our dying will be of no ſervice or advantage to any, will not it be taken for folly or madneſs to do ſo, thereby adding this misfortune to the number of the reſt? Eſpecially ſince we are ambaſſadors: Which will make thoſe who ſent us, feel the greateſt concern at our loſs. Neither will there be wanting, amongſt our tribes, men of malicious tempers, ready to charge us with impiety for abandoning our commonwealth reduced to the laſt extremity, and conſulting our own private advantage. Affairs of ſmall conſequence muſt give way to thoſe of greater; private concerns muſt ſtoop to public, which, once loſt, both the laws and inſtitutions of our country are inevitably loſt. We muſt relinquiſh the right we have to be citizens of *Alexandria*, ſince the whole republic of the *Jews* is concerned in the affair, and it is to be feared that this innovator, *Caius*, and frightful monſter, will command the whole nation to be aboliſh'd. But ſince we may be thought to come upon a needleſs errand, with regard to both cauſes, ſome body may chance to ſay, they cannot get back again with ſafety. To this I make anſwer, either ſuch a man is very diſingenuous, or he has no knowledge in the ſacred writings. Minds of generous principles always hope for the beſt, and the ſacred writings are the original of good hopes, to ſuch as learn them, not to them who ſlightly touch them, or taſte their doctrines with the ſurface of their lips. Very like this may be an experiment of ſome perſons of this age, to find out how they are affected towards virtue, and whether they have learnt valiantly to bear up againſt misfortunes. A laſting farewel, therefore, to human protection, which has left us, provided our ſouls are confirmed by a good hope; that God will not be wanting to give us his aſſiſtance, who ſo many times hath delivered our nation from deſtruction.’

In this manner we ſtrove to comfort one another, under afflictions that hung over us, contrary to our expectations, and waited to ſee a better iſſue put to our doubts: At laſt, having kept ſilence for a ſhort ſpace, we addreſs'd thus the meſſengers of our calamity: ‘Why do you ſit thus, having thrown a ſpark of fire into our ears only, that burns us, when you ought to explain to us the reaſon of this proceeding, that moves *Caius* to this? *Whereupon they replied*, You are acquainted with the original cauſe which every body knows, He is reſolved to be thought a god, and is perſuaded that the *Jews* are the only people that will obſtruct his deſire therefore, that he cannot mortify them the more, or inflict a heavier puniſhment upon them, than by taking from the dignity and majeſty of their temple. For he has heard, that it is the moſt famous one in the whole world, having been adorned through a ſucceſſion of ſeveral ages, with exceeding coſt, and large preſents. He is inflexible, and unvariable in this reſpect, and is determined to act in this manner: Beſides, he has received a letter from *Capito*, his quæſtor, which hath put him into a great rage. This perſon governs *Judæa*, and collects the tributes there, being offended at the provinces. He was low in circumſtances when he firſt went thither, but now being enrich'd with the depredations and ſpoils he has made, and fearing an accuſation to be laid againſt him, he reſolved to be before-hand, and to wipe off the crimes, that were too true on his ſide, with calumnies againſt the *Jews*, having found an opportunity, that favoured his deſign, from a certain circumſtance. *Jamnia*, a very populous city of *Judæa*, is ſtock'd with inhabitants of different nations: The *Jews*, indeed, make up the greateſt part, the reſt are of other countries, who unfortunately thruſt themſelves into the city, as they are ſtrangers, they are continuing diſturbing the natives; they are always doing ſomething or other to offend the *Jewiſh* rites. The moment theſe people had received the news from ſome ſtrangers of *Caius*'s extravagant deſire of being thought a god, and how violently he was enraged againſt the nation of the *Jews*, they imagined they had got a fit opportunity to put their treachery in execution; and therefore, without delay, raiſed an altar of the vileſt materials, of mud made into bricks, purely to offend the citizens in this action. They were ſenſible that the violation of their laws was a thing they would not brook; which proved true in the conſequences: For ſeeing thus the rites of their holy country going to be exterminated, they were extremely enraged, went and pulled away the altar. Immediately the diſaffected went to *Capito*, who was the cauſe of the whole tragedy. He, thinking to make his advantage of what had happened, which he wiſhed for a conſiderable time, wrote a letter to *Caius*, wherein he exaggerated the whole affair. The emperor having peruſed the epiſtle, in which he came to the knowledge of the whole proceeding, ſent orders to place, in the room of the brick altar that had been ‘thrown in *Jamnia*, his ſtatue of gold, in the temple of their metropolis, having taken the advice of two of his beſt and moſt judicious counſellors; namely, *Helicon*, that famous buffoon, and *Apelles*, the tragedian, who, according to report, had proſtituted the firſt flower of his age, and was now become a player. All men know what the buſineſs of the ſtage is, and the deſire of ſuch to gain applauſe in the theatre; namely, the moſt abandoned impudence and ſhameleſsneſs. But theſe were the arts helping *Apelles* into the number of *Caius*'s counſellors, who minded the one for his ſinging, the other for his jeſts and buffoonery, without any regard to the adminiſtration of juſtice, or the defence of the public peace. Thus did *Helicon*, the enormous ſlave, ſtrike the *Jews*, like a ſcorpion, with his *Ægyptian* poiſon; while *Apelles*, on the other ſide, worked execution by his *Aſcalonian* poiſon; for that was the place of his birth. The inhabitants of *Aſcalon* are at perpetual variance with the bordering *Jews*, who live in the holy land.’

In hearing this, every word wounded our ſouls: However, theſe honeſt and good counſellors received the reward that was due to their impious actions. *Apelles* was commanded by *Caius*, on ſeveral crimes being exhibited againſt him, to be put in chains of iron, and tortured on the wheel at ſuch and ſuch intervals; like ſome diſeaſes that uſually return at certain periodical days. *Helicon* loſt his life by *Claudius Germanicus Cæſar*, for the like crimes. After the removal of theſe two monſters, things were in no better condition than before; letters were written about the dedication of *Caius*'s ſtatue, not raſhly, but with all the accuracy and care imaginable. In theſe, orders were given to *Petronius*, then governor of *Syria*, to leave one half of his army, to oppoſe the irruptions of the eaſtern kings and nations, and take the other half and march with it from the *Euphrates* againſt the *Jews*, to aſſiſt in ſetting up the ſtatue, not to make the dedication of it the more pompous and magnificent thereby, but to puniſh thoſe with death immediately, that ſtrove to hinder it. What is this you ſay, mighty Sir? Becauſe you foreſee that the *Jews* will not ſuffer this encroachment, but that they will ſtruggle to death in defence of the laws of their country, do you foment a war? You ſeem to be no ſtranger to the unhappy conſequences that will inevitably ariſe from the prophanation of the temple by the hands of any one. Therefore, through a kind of preſage, you command an army to be brought, to dedicate your ſtatue, with the ſlaughter of thouſands of miſerable men and women.

Petronius having read over the letter, was at a ſtand in what manner to proceed. Fear hinder'd him from diſobeying; he knew the emperor would reſent the leaſt delay: And it was equally dangerous for him to return from his orders. He ſaw that, to attempt ſuch an action, would be attended neither with ſafe or kind conſequences; and he found, on examining it, that there would be great difficulties in proſecuting it. He knew that the *Jews* were people that would not ſuffer one, but a thouſand deaths, if it were poſſible, ſooner than ſuffer themſelves to do any thing that was forbidden them. All nations are ready and chearful to preſerve the rites of their countries, but the *Jews*, above the reſt; becauſe they believe their laws are of a divine ſtamp, have learnt them from their infancy, carry with them their images ſtamp'd in their minds, and, by always gazing upon them, admire them as the moſt perfect in the world; becauſe, too, they admit ſtrangers, who are obſervers of them, into the number of their citizens. Thoſe, indeed, who hate and ſcorn them, they look upon as enemies, and have ſuch an abhorrence of every thing that is unlawful amongſt them, that they cannot be brought to prevaricate a tittle for all the happineſs and good fortune that can attend man. But there is nothing which they pay ſo much veneration to, as their temple; which is diſcovered in this, that it is always certain death to thoſe who preſume to go beyond the inner encloſure; for the exterior is ſet apart to receive men of their nation that come from all parts. Theſe were the reflections that ſat in the mind of *Petronius*; he ſet about the affair but ſlowly, thinking it, as in truth it was, an audacious undertaking. Having aſſembled together all the reaſons he had, as it were, in the conſiſtory of his ſoul, he enquired of every one their ſeveral opinions, and found that all agreed, that religion was to ſuffer no innovation; firſt, becauſe ſo the law of nature and piety required it; next, becauſe of the danger that threaten'd, not only from God, but from the perſons that were injured and detrimented. He conſidered, alſo, how populous our nation was; that it was not comprehended within the ſpace of one country, but diffuſed almoſt all over the world. All the provinces of the continent and the iſlands, were peopled with them, ſo that their numbers were not much inferior to thoſe of the natives: Therefore, to provoke ſo many thouſands of men, did it not ſeem hazardous and dangerous? For fear, as might probably be, a general inſurrection might ariſe in all countries at once, to repel this injury, and thereby give birth to an inſuperable war, without taking notice of the vaſt numbers of inhabitants in *Judæa*, remarkable for their extraordinary ſtrength, and mighty valour, being ready at all times to die glorioufly rather than abandon or forſake the rites of their country, though, in the opinions of detractors, they are called barbarous, when, in fact, they are free-born and brave men.

The forces of the *Jews* beyond the *Euphrates* ſtruck him with terror; he had not only heard, but had ſeen how the *Jews* were in poſſeſſion of *Babylon* and ſeveral other provinces: That annually large ſums of money were remitted thence to the temple in the name of firſt-fruits, through different and almoſt impaſſable ways, which yet they overcame through their extraordinary devotion and piety. Therefore it was not without reaſon that he was afraid, as ſoon as they heard of this new dedication, of their riſing immediately into arms, and undertaking an expedition; of their muſtering up together from all parts, joining their forces, and of his being hemmed in amongſt them, and ſuffering a terrible defeat; ſo that theſe thoughts retarded him. However, he had different reflections ſometimes; he conſidered that his maſter, a youth, ſent him this command, who judged every thing advantageous, juſt as he broach'd it in his mind, and who was reſolved to have that performed which was once decreed, though never ſo prejudicial and hurtful: That death inevitably threaten'd him, whether he put his commands in execution or no. He conſider'd with himſelf, that, ſhould he comply with the emperor's demands, a fierce war would be the conſequence, and the event of that was precarious. On the other hand, ſhould he diſregard the royal mandate, his deſtruction muſt anſwer for it at the hands of *Caius*.

Many of the *Romans* who aſſiſted in the government of the affairs of *Syria*, were more inclined to undertake a war, becauſe they knew that the rage of the prince would fall upon them firſt, as being the authors of the diſobedience: And what gave them an opportunity for this, was, their having time to deliberate matters, whilſt the ſtatue was preparing; for it was not yet ſent over from *Italy*: Which I take to be owing to ſome providence of God, thus, by ſome ſecret counſel of his, to protect his people from an inſufferable injury. Had this happened, the conſequence would have been this: Nothing but confuſion and diſorder would immediately have broke out on the violation of their laws, before ever they could have brought their conſultations to bear to any advantage: For nothing is ſo true as this; that the force of reaſon is deſpoiled on the ſuddenneſs of any caſe. This made *Petronius* give orders for the making of a ſtatue in a place not far from him: He ſent to *Phœnicia* for ſome of their moſt famous workmen, and, on their coming, gave them the proper materials for it. After this, he ſummoned before him thoſe of the *Jewiſh* prieſts and magiſtrates that bore dignity, to whom he laid open the command he had received from *Caius*, and, at the ſame time, endeavoured to exhort them patiently to ſubmit to the mandate of his maſter, and guard againſt the ills that threaten'd them on their refuſal. He acquainted them, that he had a numerous army of *Syrians* at hand, who were prepared to commit the greateſt ſlaughters in every part of their country. *Petronius* was of opinion, that if he could but ſoften the minds of theſe grandees, he ſhould be able to bring the reſt of the multitude to comply after their example. But he was groſly out in his conjectures; and the firſt mention of the affair, they ſeem'd thunder-ſtruck, and ſtood ſtock ſtill, as if they had been involved in ſome immediate calamity: They ſhed tears as tho' from ſome fountain, and tore their hair and beards; uttering theſe complaints: *What avails all our former felicity, to arrive to old age, in order to be eye-witneſſes of that which none of our anceſtors ever caſt their eyes on before? But with what eyes? We will ſooner tear them out of our heads, and ſo end our lives moſt miſerably than ſurvey ſo great an abomination; which we can neither abide to hear, or think of.*

Mean while, they who inhabited the holy city, and the other parts of the country, receiving the news of this ſtrange innovation, met together with one common conſent, and gave a looſe to their ſorrow; they left their cities, towns, caſtles and houſes, and marched together into *Phœnicia*, where *Petronius* then reſided. Some, who belong'd to the *Roman* governor, ſeeing the multitude, went and acquainted him with the news, bidding him have a care of them, taking them for a dangerous company of men. Not long after this, another multitude of *Jews*, without any convoy or guard, ſuddenly appeared like a cloud, overſpreading all *Phœnicia*; ſo that they who were ſtrangers to the numbers of the *Jews*, thought it ſomewhat miraculous. At firſt, there was ſuch a great noiſe, and ſo much weeping amongſt them, that thoſe who were preſent could not hear a word they themſelves ſaid: For even when the clamour was done with, the ſound thereof continued for a while afterwards. Nothing ſuceeded, after this, but prayers and intreaties, ſuch as are generally put in force in perillous and calamitous times. The *Jews* were divided into ſix claſſes, namely, the old men, youths, and boys; and, to match theſe, were the old women, wives, and maidens. As ſoon as they ſaw *Petronius* on an advanced ground, all the claſſes, as though at one word of command, threw themſelves proſtrate on the ground, with prodigious wailing and ſorrow. *Petronius* commanded them to riſe up and draw nearer to him; which they obey'd with a great deal of reluctance. Having thrown duſt on their heads, and watered their faces with their tears, they came near the governor with both hands behind their backs, like ſo many condemned perſons; whereupon, the heads thus addreſs'd him: ‘We are come hither, as you ſee, unarm'd, that no one may find occaſion to ſay that we are in the quality of enemies. We have placed thoſe hands indolently behind our backs, which nature gave us for arms, and we now offer up our bodies to ſuffer a certain number of ſtripes from thoſe who ſhall think fit to inflict them on us. We have, moreover, brought our wives, children, and families, along with us, and here proſtrate ourſelves to ſupplicate you, and *Caius*, by your intereſt; having left our houſes without any one to guard them: Beſeeching you that you would either preſerve all of us, or put us all to death, without diſtinction. Let us acquaint you, *Petronius*, that we are naturally fond of peace, and deſirous to purchaſe it; and that the love and care we have for our children, and training them up, induces us to it. When *Caius* came to the Empire, we were the firſt in *Syria* that congratulated him on his acceſſion. *Vitellius*, whom you have the honour to ſucceed, inhabiting then in our city, had letters on this very account: He was the perſon who acquainted the other cities with joyful news, and our temple was the firſt that offered up ſacrifice for the empire of *Caius*. When the news firſt reach'd our ears that our country was going to be deprived of its religion, we departed out of our cities, left our private houſes, and poſſeſſions, abandon'd our effects and the things we held moſt dear to a voluntary prey; with a reſolution, as we are of opinion, not to give, but to receive. One thing we beg for all theſe, that our temple may be expoſed to no innovation, but that we may be permitted to preſerve only ſuch things as our anceſtors always did before us. If this requeſt is denied us, we are ready to ſuffer death, rather than live, which is far worſe than death. We are told, that an army of horſe and foot is prepared againſt us, if ſo be we give any obſtruction to the dedication of *Caius*'s ſtatue. But no body is ſo much loſt to himſelf, as for a ſervant to diſpute the authority of his maſter. We voluntarily perſent our throats to the point. Let them make ſlaughter among us; kill us, chop us in pieces, without coming to an engagement, or ſpilling any of their blood. Let our conquerors do what they will with us. What need or occaſion is there then for an army? We, who are prieſts, will ſacrifice them as victims; our women ſhall be brought to the temple, and be uxoricides; brothers and ſiſters ſhall ſlay one another, and prove fratricides and ſororicides: Boys and girls ſhall bereave themſelves of their innocent lives, and become puericides and puellacides: For tragick words are to be uſed in tragick times. After this, we, ſtanding in the midſt all the time, and beſprinkled with their blood (for this ſuits with thoſe who went to put a period to their lives), will blend among the crowd of martyrs, by throwing our ſelves on the points of our ſwords, and falling upon them who are our relations. This will be the laſt command of dying perſons, that God may not impute any crime to us for having a regard to two things; namely, the obedience that was due to the emperor, and the defence of our ſacred laws. This will be the caſe, if we ſet that life at nothing which is not worth living for. There is an ancient *Grecian* ſtory which we have been told, that ſays, the head of the *Gorgon* had ſo great force in it, that men, on but ſeeing it, were turned into ſtones. This, though it may ſeem a fable, yet it cannot be denied that ſomething of the like to it frequently happens from great and unexpected caſes. The indignation of the emperor brings death along with it, or ſomething that come very near to it. You imagine, *Petronius*, if (but God forbid it) any of our countrymen ſhould ſee the ſtatue brought into the temple, that they would not be metamorphoſed into ſtones with glaring eyes, and all their members bereaved of their natural motion. This, *Petronius*, is the laſt and moſt juſt wiſh we entertain: We inſiſt not for your acting againſt your orders, only pray for ſome reſpits in this melancholy caſe, and heattily intreat you to give us leave to ſend ambaſſadors to your maſter; perhaps it may be, we may obtain ſo much of him, as that neither the religion to our heavenly father, nor our laws, which are the holieſt in the world, be ſtruck at: It may be, that we may not be ſet aſide to other nations, whoſe rites and cuſtoms are inviolably preſerved to them, and that the decrees and edicts of his uncle and great-grandfather may not be annulled, which have approved, and ſo diligently confirmed our religion and government. Perhaps the recital of theſe things may mollify and influence him in our behalf; princes do not always keep alive the ſame reſolution and temper, and paſſionate men ſoon diſcharge themſelves of their prejudices, We are loaded with infamy and detraction; ſuffer us, then, to uſe ſome remedy or other. It is a very hard caſe for perſons uncondemned to ſuffer the condition of the guilty. If we obtain nothing, he his ſtill at the liberty of doing then, what he wants now to be done. Before we have ſent ambaſſadors, do not deprive ſo many thouſands of their hopes, who have no advantage of lucre at heart, but are influenced by a real motive of piety. As we have mentioned lucre, pray what kind of lucre, can be more advantageous, or is more profitable, than piety?

The ſpokeſmen for the *Jews* uttered this ſpeech with great ardor and emotion of mind, with ſighs, and abundance of tears; ſo that *Petronius*, and the others about him, were moved with compaſſion. *Petronius* was of a mild and gentle diſpoſition, and very eaſy to be gained over, either with words or deeds. The *Jews* were thought to demand nothing but what was equitable and fair; and the ſight of this petitioning multitude was the moſt miſerable in the world: Therefore he entered into a conſultation with his friends. He found that thoſe who but juſt before were rigidly againſt the petitioners, were divided, ſome ready to agree to it, others ſtill to hang doubtful, ſome to entertain their prejudices, while others, again, would not help diſcovering their compaſſion; which difference of temper mightily pleaſed him: Though he was ſenſible of the cruel and implacable anger of the emperor, and the innate barbarity that poſſeſs'd his mind; yet he ſeem'd to be ſome way touch'd with the *Jewiſh* piety and religion. But how to account for it, we do not know; whether he had been at any time before inſtructed in their learning, and ſo imbibed ſome notions from their books, during the time of his being made governor of *Aſia* and *Syria*, in whoſe ſeveral towns the *Jews* reſided in abundance; or whether he was naturally of a docile diſpoſition, with regard to the underſtanding topicks worthy of his knowledge, is hard to ſay: However this be, God is frequently known to ſuggeſt good counſel to men that are good, equally profitable and commodious as well to themſelves as the government: Which happened now to be the caſe. What, therefore, is the conſequence of the decree; or, rather, what is then decreed? Why, that the artificers make not too much haſte, but take all the care, and uſe all the labour they can, to adorn the ſtatue with the utmoſt of their art, and then take off perfect copies as well as they poſſibly could, that it might be more laſting. For extemporary works are ſeldom of any duration: whereas perfect models are better to endure time and age. However, the *Jews* could not obtain leave to ſend ambaſſadors; nor, indeed, was it ſafe for them to commit an affair to the will of a prince who had every thing under his command. Mean while, *Petronius* was not well pleaſed either to grant or refuſe what they demanded, becauſe both ways were dangerous: The ſureſt way was, to ſend the emperor a letter, without accuſing the *Jews* at all; to ſay nothing of their petitioning; to lay the cauſe on the workmen, why the dedication was deferr'd, who neceſſarily were to have a certain ſpace of time to compleat the ſtatue in: That ſuch delays would inevitably occaſion a longer reſpite, whereby, probably, *Caius* would, at length, ſuffer himſelf to be gained over. Beſides this, the corn was ripe now, and there was room to fear that the *Jews*, abandoning themſelves to too much ſorrow for their religion, would value their lives at a ſmall rate, and, a thouſand to one, deſtroy their lands, and ſet fire to their harveſt. *Petronius* was in ſome concern for the gathering in of the corn and fruit: Moreover, it was reported, that the emperor had determined to ſail into *Ægypt*, and viſit *Alexandria*; though it ſeemed very unlikely that ſo great a prince ſhould expoſe himſelf to unneceſſary dangers on the high ſeas; and there were two material reaſons for his not doing ſo; which were theſe: One, the largeneſs of the fleet to bear him company; the other, the preſervation of himſelf; though his journey would have been much eaſier in taking the rout of *Aſia* and *Syria*. Had he took this method, he would every day have had means of taking ſhipping, ſince there were two hundred long ones at hand. In conſequence of this report, all the cities of *Syria* were under a neceſſity to provide a ſufficient quantity of proviſions, eſpecially thoſe on the ſea-coaſt. A prodigious multitude was expected to come, both by land and ſea, not only from *Rome*, but other parts of *Italy*, beſides numbers from the provinces that lay between; partly of eminent and dignified perſons, partly of ſoldiers, both horſe and foot, mariners and ſervants: For all whom, there was not only required neceſſary accommodations, but, alſo, a ſufficiency of every thing ſuitable to the dignity of the emperor. It was thought, after the emperor had peruſed the letter, he would have pardoned the contents, and condemned the prudence of thoſe who deferr'd the dedication, not ſo much to gratify the *Jews*, as to collect the fruits in. This opinion, being approved, the letter was wrote, and given to meſſengers, men of expedition, and who knew how to make the ſhorteſt of their journey. *Caius*, receiving the letter, betrayed his indignation as he was peruſing it, and ſhew'd a countenance cover'd over with an angry aſpect. Having read it over, he folded his hands together; ‘Very well done, *Petronius, ſaid he*, you are yet to learn how to obey an emperor; your long continuance in office ſwells up your ambition; you do not ſee that fame has acquainted me, whom, it ſhall not be long before you ſhall experience, that you favour the laws of the *Jews*, the nation I hate the moſt in the world. You neglect the commands of your prince; you have ſhewn your ſelf a coward to a baſe multitude, as though the forces under your command, which have ſtruck terror in the eaſt, eſpecially the *Parthian* kings, were not enough for you. But you are puny and compaſſionate; ſo that pity had a larger place in your breaſt than *Caius*. You plead the harveſt as an excuſe; but it ſhall not be long before your head ſhall be ſevered from your ſhoulders, without any excuſe. You plead, in excuſe, the collecting in of the fruits, in order to prepare them for my arrival; as though, if *Judæa* were barren, the provinces that border upon it, were not able to ſupply proviſions, or make up the defect of a country which is but one government, with all their increaſe. But how comes it that I am thus patient; what is it that induces me thus fooliſhly to publiſh what I would have done? He ſhall receive his reward, and be the firſt that ſhall experience his own deſtruction. However, I will make no more threatenings; though my anger ſhall be kept alive.’

Some little time after this, he returned an anſwer, by one of his ſecretaries to *Petronius*'s letter, commending therein, by an artificial pretence, his extraordinary precaution and underſtanding, and his foreſight into things to come. He was extremely afraid of his governors, becauſe they had all the opportunities in the world, were they ſo minded, to create innovations and diſturbances; eſpecially in the large provinces, where conſiderable armies were kept up; ſuch as were the tract of land comprehending *Syria* to the *Euphrates*: So that having ſmooth'd over *Petronius* in this letter, he only conceal'd his reſentment, which was implacable, to a fit opportunity. After which, he added a command; which was, to uſe all imaginable diligence in the affair of the dedication; for the harveſt might very well be got in then: And his excuſe, in reſpect to that point, whether it was real, or a forc'd one, of courſe dropp'd to the ground.

Shortly after, came *Agrippa*, to pay his compliments to *Caius*, as uſual; he was entirely a ſtranger to *Petronius*'s letter, and to the anſwer the emperor had wrote back. However, from the cloudy countenance of *Caius* he preſently gueſs'd that ſome uneaſineſs and reſentment lurk'd, and was brooding in his breaſt. He conſidered with himſelf, if he had not, either in word or action, committed ſomething which might thus offend him, which he ought not to have done; but finding he was entirely clear of crime, he found, as the caſe really was, that his reſentment was againſt others: But perceiving, again, that his ſtern countenance was directed only at him, he began to be in ſome apprehenſions of fear. Several times he was willing to enquire the reaſon, but as often put a reſtraint upon himſelf for fear his raſh curioſity ſhould bring upon his own head thoſe menaces which were deſigned another way. Hereupon, *Caius*, who had a ſurprizing art, from the aſpect of perſons, to collect what they thought, after he ſaw the king thus fearful and heſitating; *Are you*, Agrippa, ſays he, *in ſome perplexity or doubt? I will remove your ſcruples. The long time you have converſed with me, are you ſo much a ſtranger, as not to know that I am uſed to ſpeak as much with my eyes, as my tongue? Thoſe good and honeſt citizens of yours, who are the only people out of the reſt of mankind that refuſe* Caius *the honour of being ſtiled a god,* *a god, ſeem now to ſeek their ruin and death, through their unſeaſonable contumacy; for having given my commands for the ſtatue of* Jupiter *to be ſet up, and conſecrated in their temple, they leave their city and fields, and throng together, like ſo many ſupplicants, in appearance, though, in reality, to trample upon my orders.* More of the ſame nature he was going to thunder out, but the king, involv'd in the greateſt anxiety imaginable, was terribly afraid, and changed colour every moment, now red, then pale. He was ſeized with a kind of horror from head to foot, and the confuſion and trembling all his joints were in, had certainly made him fall, had not thoſe who ſtood next him ſupported him, who had orders to carry him to his houſe; which they did ſpeechleſs, and almoſt motionleſs. However, *Caius* was the more exaſperated againſt the *Jews*. If Agrippa, ſays he, *who is my familiar friend, and one obliged to me for many favours, ſhews ſo much regard to the rites of his country, that he cannot endure to hear a word ſpoke againſt them, but ſeems frighted almoſt to death at the crime; what muſt I expect from others, who have nothing to vex him in that manner?* As for *Agrippa*, all that day, and part of the next he was ſeiz'd with a ſurprizing ſtupidity, inſomuch, that he was not himſelf all the while; but, towards the evening, he began to lift up his head a little, and, with great difficulty, opened his eyes, though yet ſo much darkened, that he could hardly diſtinguiſh the perſons that ſtood about him. But, a little after this, he fell into a gentle repoſe, and ſeem'd to reſt ſomething better, as appear'd from the manner of drawing his breath, and the beating of his pulſe. A while after, waking, he enquir'd, *Where am I now, with* Caius? *Is that great prince here?* They anſwer'd him, *Be eaſy, Sir, you are at home;* Caius *is not here; you have ſlept enough; raiſe your ſelf up upon the bed. Look on thoſe about you, they are all your domeſticks, friends, freedmen, ſervants, your true and faithful ſervants.* Upon this, looking about him, and ſeeing all of them drowned in ſorrow, he began to be uneaſy at himſelf: However, the phyſicians ordered the company to withdraw, that he might be anointed, and have proper food given him to refreſh his body. *Gentlemen,* ſaid he, *you take a world of pains to prepare me food that is delicate and fine; but is it not as good for a miſerable man, as I am, to drive away his hunger with eating and uſing things that are mean, and the moſt ſimple? Which I would not ſuffer, unleſs I had ſome ſmall hope of doing the greateſt ſervice to my nation, that now is reduced to the laſt extremity,* He ſpoke theſe words with a flood of tears, contented himſelf with food that was only neceſſary, without kickſhaws; not ſo much as ſuffering wine to be mix'd in his drink; but drinking water by itſelf. *Now,* ſaid he, *my poor belly has got its deſire. What have I to do, now, but ſuppliantly to intercede with* Caius *in behalf of the preſent danger that threatens the* Jews? And, having ſo ſaid, he took the tables, and wrote this letter.

SIR,

‘EXcuſe my perſonal appearance; fear and reverence obſtruct me; I am terrified at your menaces, and ſo much majeſty aſtoniſhes me. This letter will better explain what I want to petition for, which I humbly ſend you. All men, great emperor, have a love implanted in their natures for their country, and a ſacred deſire to preſerve its rites, two circumſtances which I have no occaſion to acquaint you with, who are, your ſelf, devoted to the intereſt of that land you were born in, and a ſincere admirer of its laws, which you look on as the beſt in the world, though they are not ſo; becauſe every one judges of them according to humour, more than reaſon. As for myſelf, I was born a *Jew*, as you know; and my native country is *Hieroſolyma*, where the moſt ſacred temple of the moſt high God ſtands. My anceſtors, fathers, and grandfathers, were kings, and ſome of them dignified with the office of the high-prieſthood; which honour was more to them than a diadem: Conceiving that by much the more God excelled man, ſo much more excellent was the prieſthood than a kingdom. To the former belongeth the care over divine things; to the latter that over human. Now as I am ſo nearly allied to this country, nation, and temple, by all manner of ways, I intreat you, in behalf of all my countrymen, not to force them from the true religion they profeſs, to another that is quite oppoſite; ſince they have at all times bore abundance of ſacred deference to your family: For ſo far as is lawful for the laws of the religion of my country to do, in that reſpect they have no room to ſtoop to any other nation, either in *Europe*, or *Aſia*: They have conſtantly offered up prayers for the ſafeguard and preſervation of the empire; they have made frequent gifts; ſacrificed not only on their publick feſtivals, but alſo offered daily victims: So that their mouths and tongues have not been the only inſtruments to praiſe the *Cæſars* with; but they diſcovered alſo in their actions the propenſity of their inclinations to ſerve them. Wherefore ſuffer me, great emperor, to plead thus in behalf of my ſacred city, my birth-place, which is not a metropolis only of the country of *Judæa*, but of many others, becauſe of the colonies formerly taken from thence; namely, thoſe nearer at hand, into *Ægypt* that borders upon us, *Phœnicia*, *Syria*, and that named *Cele*; or thoſe removed at a greater diſtance, namely, into *Pamphylia*, *Cilicia*, ſeveral parts of *Aſia* as far as *Bythinia*, and the inward bays of the ſea; ſo, in like manner, into *Theſſaly*, *Bœotia*, *Macedonia*, *Attica*, *Ætolia*, *Argos*, *Corinth*, and the principal places of *Peloponneſus*. Nor yet are the provinces on the continent the only places that are ſtock'd with colonies of *Jews*; but the moſt famous and celebrated iſlands have them likewiſe: For example, *Eubœa*, *Cyprus*, *Crete*, not to inſiſt on the places beyond the *Euphrates*; excepting only a ſmall portion of *Babylon*: Though the *Jews* inhabit in the other province, and till the cities that ſtand in a good ſoil. Therefore if my country can influence you ſo far as to obtain your clemency in this point, you will not only ſecure the protection of *Hieroſolyma*, but of great many other cities, ſituate in the different quarters of the world; to wit, *Aſia*, *Europe* and *Africa*, and in the iſlands, maritime and inland towns. It will make for your illuſtrious dignity thus to extend your favour to one city, whereby you will gain the love of a great many more; ſo that your name ſhall be divulged throughout the whole world, and every place reſound with the commendations aſcribed to your actions. You have gratified entire countries of ſome of your friends with the liberty of *Rome*; and they who before were but ſlaves, by your means were made maſters of others. Yet they who are ſenſible of this obligation, do not receive more gladneſs from it, than they who were the original cauſes of it. For my part, I can always perſuade myſelf that I have a lord and maſter above me; but to be reckoned amongſt the number of your friends, to ſtoop to few in honour and dignity, to no man in love and benevolence; nay, to be the firſt in this point, either becauſe it is hereditary to me, or becauſe I have infinitely been obliged to you, is my ultimate deſire: Yet I dare not take the preſumption to intercede for my country; I do not mention the city of *Rome*; no, not to petition for liberty and immunity: The favour I aſk for them is of the laſt advantage, though to you injurious. For what greater happineſs and felicity can ſubjects have, than a propitious prince? *Hieroſolyma*, great emperor, was the firſt place that received the news of your ſucceſſion to the empire, which was ſo much every body's deſire; and from the holy city the report of it was carried over the neighbouring provinces: This noble city is deſerving to obtain your favour. As thoſe ſons who are born firſt are more eſteemed and dignified, becauſe the father and mother acquire a propitious name by their means; in the ſame manner, becauſe *Hieroſolyma* was the firſt of all the eaſt to congratulate you on your acceſſion to the throne, it is but juſtice that it ſhould be treated ſomething tenderly, or certainly not to reduce it to a worſe condition than the others. Thus far extend my prayers for my country; the laſt which I uſe are in behalf of the temple. Now this temple, *Caius*, from its firſt foundation till now, never ſuffer'd an image made with hands to ſtand within it; becauſe it is an houſe dedicated to God. Now pictures and ſtatues are the reſemblance of ſenſible gods, or thoſe that may be touch'd; but to paint or carve him who is inviſible, has been look'd on by our anceſtors as an henious crime. *Agrippa*, your grandfather, ſurvey'd this temple, and honour'd it. *Auguſtus* commanded by his patent to bring the firſt-fruits from every place to it, and inſtituted a daily ſacrifice. Your great-grandmother honour'd it. Neither *Greek* nor *Barbarian*, neither king or any governor, or the greateſt of its enemies; neither ſedition, nor war; neither captivity, nor deſtruction, nor any other thing, ever brought ſo great a calamity upon it, as for an image made with hands to be carried into it againſt its eſtabliſh'd and ancient laws. Though abundance of its own inhabitants were no great friends to it, yet its religion was always preſerved ſafe, and it kept ſacred to the founder and father of all things. They were too well acquainted how that the violation of it was expiated with the moſt dreadful calamities; which made them always fearful to injure it, leſt thereby they ſhould draw upon themſelves their own deſtruction. I believe I am under no neceſſity of producing foreign teſtimonies, when I can cite ſome at home. When *Marcus Agrippa*, your grandfather by the mother's ſide, came into *Judæa*, during the time that *Herod* my grandfather ſat upon the throne, without thinking much of the fatigue of travelling from the ſea ſhore to *Hieroſolyma*, which was in the middle of the inland country. After he had viewed the temple, the rites of the prieſts, and the purity of the citizens, he was tranſported with the ſight, as with a miracle or ineffable conjuncture; ſo that in the familiar diſcourſe he had with his acquaintance, nothing came from his tongue but commendations of the temple, and its rich ornaments. So long as he continued there in *Herod*'s favour, he went every day thither, to pleaſe his mind, with a view of the whole materials, with the order of the ſacrifices, aud the majeſty that appear'd in the high-prieſt, both in his looks and habit. Afterwards, when he had honoured the temple with ſome preſents he made it, and given the citizens ſuch indulgencies as were in his power, praiſing and commending *Herod*, and, in his turn, receiving back the ſame compliments, he was conducted to the ſea-ſide, after a train of people from ſeveral cities; who ſtrew'd the road with branches and flowers in reſpect to his piety. What elſe did your other grandfather *Tiberius Cæſar*? Did not he diſcover the ſame temper and inclination? For the three and twenty years, the time he held the empire, the moſt ancient religion of the temple was preſerved ſafe, and remained unaltered: And though under his reign I was expoſed to a thouſand hardſhips, yet I can produce ſomething that adds to his commendation. Truth, I know, is always acceptable to you, and ſure to find a friend in you. *Pilate* happen'd to be governor of *Judæa* at this time: This *Roman*, not ſo much to honour the emperor, as to ſhew his hatred to the people, ſet up ſome golden ſhields in *Herod*'s palace, within the ſacred city; but without having any image impreſs'd upon them, or ought elſe that was againſt the laws; only a title that contained the name of the perſon that dedicated 'em, and of him they were dedicated to. As 'ſoon as the people got intelligence of this affair, they ſummon'd together four of the king's ſon's, of princely fortune and dignity, who were the remaining branches of his family, and with them the reſt of the grandees; when they petitioned them to remove the ſhields, which were an innovation upon their rights, and not ſuffer the laws of their country to be infringed or trampled upon; which their foregoing kings and the emperors had conſerved entire. This was complied with; but *Pilate*, who was of a ſour and ill-natur'd diſpoſition, oppoſing them ſtiſly, they made loud acclamations of, *Do not foment ſeditions, and kindle up a war; do not break the peace; the emperor's robbed of his honour by this contumelious carriage; do not ſeek any pretence for committing this injury.* Tiberius *is a prince that will not ſuffer any of our cuſtoms to be violated; either ſhew his command, or letter, ordering this, or ſomething of the like, that we may leave you, and refer to your maſter by our ambaſſadors.* This did but the more exaſperated him; for he was afraid if an embaſſy was ſent, the reſt of his crimes would come to light, and be detected; ſuch as ſelling his judgments and determinations, his rapines, numberleſs injuries, deſtructions, torments, frequent putting to death of perſons without any manner of proceſs; and his unexampled cruelty. This magnified his reſentment, and put him into a ſituation he knew not how to extricate himſelf out of; becauſe he neither durſt take away the things that had been once dedicated, neither was he willing to humour his ſubjects: Though he was no ſtranger all the while to the conſtancy of *Tiberius* in ſuch caſes. The chief among the *Jews*, when they ſaw this, and found he began to repent of what he had done, though he diſſembled it as much as he cou'd, they wrote a letter to *Tiberius*, couch'd in very ſubmiſſive terms, and full of humble intreaties; who underſtanding by it what *Pilate* had ſaid, and what he had threaten'd, I have no need to mention how he was enrag'd; though he was not very eaſy to be rouz'd up into a paſſion. But this affair fully diſcovers his anger; for immediately, without any heſitation or delay, he wrote back a letter to the governor, therein charging him heavily for his preſumption, and commanding him inſtantly to take away the ſhields: Which were carried to *Cæſarea* on the ſea-coaſt; ſo nam'd from *Auguſtus* your grandfather, where they were dedicated in the temple that was ſacred to him. In this action not only the honour of the emperor was augmented, but alſo the ancient laws of *Hieroſolyma* were kept unviolated. Then ſhields were dedicated without any painted or engraven image upon them. Now we muſt have a vaſt coloſſus; then they were ſet up in the private houſe of a governor: But now, for ſo fame reports, this ſtatue muſt be erected in the inner ſanctuary, into which the high-prieſt enters but once a year, and that in the time of faſting, only to burn incenſe, and offer up his vows, as cuſtomary, for the year to prove happy, and for all mankind to enjoy tranquility and peace. In ſhort, if any one, I do not ſay a common *Jew*, but a prieſt, or he that is next to the high-prieſt, nay, the very high-prieſt himſelf, ſhould preſume to enter two days in a year, or three or four times on the ſame day, he infallibly loſes his head. For our law-giver was pleaſed to make the adyt, or holy of holies, of the temple, ſo ſacred, that none ſhould touch it, nay, that it ſhould be innacceſſible. How large a number, think you, will ſacrifice themſelves voluntarily, if they ſee a ſtatue brought in? I am truly of opinion, they will firſt ſlay their wives and children, and then throw themſelves on the points of their ſwords on the bodies of their relations. This is what was decreed by *Tiberius*. But what did your great-grandfather, the beſt emperor that ever reigned, and the firſt who for his virtue and ſucceſs obtained the ſirname of *Auguſtus*; who ſpread peace over ſea and land to the fartheſt limits of the world: Did not he, I ſay, after he had heard from thoſe from whom he made his enquiry about the temple, that there was no image made with hands ſuffered to be there, that repreſented an inviſible nature under a viſible form, ſtand in the greateſt amaze, and ſeem'd to admire it with a religious awe. This prince had not taſted deep of our philoſophy, but had only retained in his memory the ſayings of the philoſophers about us at his entertainments, which were pretty frequent; or had received them from the acquaintance of learned men, whom he kept about his palace: For at ſupper-time liberty was conſtantly allowed for learned diſcourſe to go round; whereby not only his body, but alſo his ſoul, received refreſhment from the fine repaſt. I could, 'tis true, produce numberleſs examples of this *Auguſtus*, your great-grandfather; but I ſhall confine my ſelf to two.

'When he came firſt to hear that the ſacred firſt-fruits were neglected, he ſent letters to the procurators of the ſeveral provinces of *Aſia*, with expreſs orders to let the *Jews* make their aſſemblies only in their ſynagogues; for that they were not *Bacchanalia*, or aſſemblies of ſeditious perſons purpoſely met together to diſturb the peace; but were ſchools and ſeminaries of juſtice and temperance, in which the ſtudy of virtue flouriſh'd; and that the firſt-fruits ſhould be carried to the place where the ſacrifices were made: To which end, he ſent a ſacred embaſſy to the temple at *Hieroſolyma*; after which, he commands them to give no impediment or obſtruction to the *Jews* in making their aſſemblies, or ſending their firſt-fruits to *Hieroſolyma*, after the cuſtom of their country. If theſe are not the very words, yet the orders he gave in his letters were couched in the ſame ſenſe. I will now ſubjoin the copy of one letter, that you may give the eaſier credit, Sir, to what I here advance. The letter was wrote by *Caius Norbanus Flaccus*, ‘wherein he ſignifies what *Cæſar* acquainted him with. The words are theſe:

Caius Norbanus Flaccus, Proconſul, to *the* Magiſtrates of *Epheſus*, greeting:

I HAVE received a Letter from Cæſar, *wherein he commands, that the* Jews *whereſoever they reſided, be ſuffered to make their aſſemblies, according to the ancient privileges and cuſtoms of their country; and to collect the money, without interruption, which they ſend to* Hieroſolyma. *In the execution of theſe two points, his pleaſure is, that they meet with no oppoſition. Therefore I ſignify this fuller to you, and order you to do ſo.*

‘Is not this, emperor, a plain and manifeſt proof of *Cæſar*'s will; how religiouſly he was affected towards our temple, in permitting the *Jews* to celebrate their aſſemblies in publick; and to collect their firſt-fruits, and do the other duties of their religion? There is another argument of equal weight with the former, from which it appears that *Auguſtus*, by an edict, commanded to be provided an ox and two lambs, at his own expence, for perpetual victims to be made every day to the moſt high God as a burnt-offering; which are continu'd to be offer'd to this day. This was one of *Cæſar*'s actions, though he knew their was no image either publickly or privately ſet up within this temple. Notwithſtanding ſo great a prince as he was, who had not his fellow in the knowledge of philoſophy, conſidered that it was abſolutely neceſſary there ſhould be ſome famous temple in the world dedicated to the inviſible God, without any image or likeneſs of any thing in it; where mankind, with a good and ſure hope, might offer up their prayers. *Julia Auguſta*, your great-grandmother, copied this great pattern of religion, and embelliſh'd this temple with phials and cups of gold, and ſeveral other gifts of exceeding great value. But how came all this when there was no ſuch thing as an image throughout the whole temple? The minds and tempers of women are much weaker than thoſe of men, and can reach no farther than things that ſtrike upon their ſenſes; yet *Julia*, as ſhe excelled all others of her ſex in other qualifications, ſo ſhe diſcovered her ſelf ſuperior to them in this point. What nature had denied her, ſhe acquired by her own underſtanding and reflection, and ſeem'd to poſſeſs the reaſon of a man; inſomuch, that ſhe made it plainly appear, that intelligible, more than ſenſible objects, were her ſtudy, which ſhe accounted but as the ſhadows of them. Since, therefore, Sir, you have ſo many examples in your own family of the great regard and reſpect your anceſtors bore us, from whom you have the honour to be deſcended; and ſince you are raiſed to ſuch an elevated pitch of grandeur, preſerve thoſe things to us which every one of them have preſerved before you. We petition you in behalf of our laws; do not make of no force thoſe decrees enacted in our favour, which have remained in full virtue to this time. Though the uncertainty of what may come does not ſuffer even the moſt preſumptuous to be ſecure. Should I go about to ſum up the many friendly offices you have done, and the ſeveral obligations I lie under to you on their account, a whole day would be too ſhort for the task. Neither am I under any neceſſity of giving a compendious narrative of them; but it is abundantly more my intereſt to be ſilent herein: For the things themſelves ſpeak for me. You ſet me at liberty from my chains of iron; who is a ſtranger to this? Pray, my good emperor, do not bind me in heavier fetters: The former only oppreſs'd part of my body; theſe latter, I am afraid, will be a burden to my whole ſoul. When the fear of death too much frighted me, you delivered me from my mortal apprehenſions; and when I was ſeemingly dead with my hardſhips, you reſtor'd me again to life, and ſnatch'd me from the funeral pile. Let your kindneſs and favour for me, emperor, be everlaſting; for fear your *Agrippa* put a haſty period to his life: Otherwiſe I ſhall not ſeem to be ſaved in order to enjoy life, but to die ſplendidly amidſt greater misfortunes. You made me a preſent of a kingdom, in which condition no body on earth enjoyed more ſerenity and peace: At firſt it contained but one country; upon which, in a little time, you annexed to it a larger, namely, *Trachonitis* and *Galilee*. Therefore, Sir, ſince you have enlarged my dominions with other territories that were not neceſſary; do not deprive me of ſuch as abſolutely are needful. Do not caſt into utter oblivion and darkneſs, again, the man who is now encircled with the cleareſt light. If your pleaſure is to be obey'd, I voluntarily reſign my ſplendor; nor do I covet my former condition. One thing I petition for to you, which is, that the rites and cuſtoms of my country may remain on the ſame foot as they have done time immemorial. What do either my own tribes, or the reſt of mankind, ſay of me? Why, that he follows one or t'other of theſe two things; either to be ſtiled a traitor to his countrymen, or a friend of your's hereafter: But I will be accounted neither; for nothing in the world can be more unhappy, take which of them you pleaſe. For if I retain a place yet amongſt the number of your friends, the world will charge me with treachery; and the ſame imputation will load my character if I refuſe giving my country the aſſiſtance which I ought, or abſtain from keeping the temple unviolated. Perſons in your exalted ſtations are uſed to conſult in their affairs the more powerful of their friends that ſollicit governments; which, ſuppoſing I proved any way offenſive to your mind, I ſhould beg you not to bind me in ſuch chains as *Tiberius* did; but, in order to deliver me of my frequent apprehenſions about that

‘ head, I ſhould hanſomely bid you put me to death immediately.d What occaſion ſhould I have of deſiring to prolong my life, when my only hope depended upon your benevolence and kindneſs ?

This was the letter which he wrote, and ſent ſeal'd to *Caius*; after which, he ſhut himſelf up within his houſe, and waited the conſequence with great impatience and anxiety. He was afraid he had timed the writing this letter not ſo properly as he ſhould have done, and that the ſeaſon was very incommodious to addreſs the emperor in that way. Certain it is, he ran the riſque of no little danger, I mean with regard to the liberty and lives not only of thoſe who dwelt in the holy land, but, alſo, of all the *Jews* any where diſpers'd over the face of the whole world.

While the emperor was peruſing the letter, he perceived his deſign had not ſucceeded: Now and then he ſeem'd to be won over by the juſtice of ſo good a cauſe; now and then by the intreaties that were annex'd to it. He commended *Agrippa* in part, and in part accuſed him. He laid to his charge the too much love and affection he diſcovered for his countrymen, who had been the only people that, through contumacy and diſobedience, had refus'd the conſecration of his image. However, he praiſed the king for being ſo frank in not concealing his mind, which, he ſaid, plainly ſhew'd a great ſoul, and generous diſpoſition. To all outward appearance he ſeemed perfectly reconciled and made eaſy, and returned an anſwer to *Agrippa*'s letter, couch'd in very mild and obliging terms. He preſented *Agrippa* with a kind of promiſe, in his letter, that there ſhould be no more mentioned about the dedication, which was the greateſt obligation he could lay on the king; and, at the ſame time, gave orders for a letter to be wrote to *Petronius*, governor of *Syria*, to ſuffer no innovation to be made in the temple at *Hieroſolyma*. However, to make appear the favour he had thus granted was not entirely ſolid, he mixed ſeveral menaces up and down the letter, which was after the manner here underneath: That he exempted one metropolis; but if in any of the bordering cities there were found any that obſtructed others who were deſirous to erect temples, altars, or ſtatues to him, ſuch, who gave the impediment, were either to be put immediately to death, or be ſent to him. This was no other than the ſpring of numerous ſeditions, and the cauſe of civil wars: It was no other than a ſhrewd and tacit abrogation of the favour he ſeemed to have given with ſo much juſtice and ſimplicity: For now thoſe who were enemies of the *Jews* diſcovered their hatred more againſt them, than they did honour to *Caius*. The former were thought determin'd to fill all the country with their anathemas and calumnies; the latter could not ſuffer their laws and cuſtoms to be violated or infring'd, and they be lookers on all the while; though they ſhew'd themſelves patient and ſubmiſſive to a miracle. *Caius*, mean time, puniſh'd thoſe very ſeverely that were found to make any diſturbance. He gave orders again for his ſtatue to be ſet up in the temple; but ſome providence of the moſt righteous God ſo order'd it, that none gave any freſh diſturbance, or afforded a pretence for ſo doing: Though the ſmalleſt fault was attended with the worſt of conſequences. But of what ſignification or advantage was this moment of tranquility, ſome or other probably may ſay; for if the reſt kept themſelves quiet, *Caius* did not ſo. The favour he had granted began to give his mind ſome uneaſineſs, and his former deſire rekindled within his breaſt. He gave orders for another ſtatue to be made at *Rome*, of braſs, and cover'd over with gold, throwing aſide that caſt for him at *Sidon*, for fear of any tumults ariſing among the people; and this, he thought, being put privately on ſhip-board, and tranſported into *Judæa*, it might on a ſudden be ſet up in the temple before the *Jews* came to know any thing of the matter. He took ſhipping for *Ægypt*, thinking thereby to accompliſh his deſign the ſooner. He had an extreme deſire to ſee *Alexandria*, and had taken a world of care about his journey, in order to take up his reſidence there ſome time, being of opinion that the conſecration of his image, which he ſo much dream'd of, would ſucceed better in that city; and that as it ſtood in a very convenient place, the example of this new religion of his would ſpread itſelf into the leſſer towns. Indeed 'tis generally ſeen, that not only the lower claſs of men, but that of cities too, imitate the example of their ſuperiors and betters. But *Caius* was likewiſe ſo various and inconſtant in his temper, that any thing done by him that was good, he would immediately repent of, and render it of no ſignification, by turning it into ſomething that was hurtful and prejudicial. To ſet this in a clear light, or for the ſake of an example: On a time he ſet ſome priſoners at liberty; and though nothing could be found criminal againſt them, he ordered them to be put into chains again, whereby he deprived the poor wretches of all manner of hope of pardon. Others, who had no other thoughts but of ſuffering death, were condemned to be baniſh'd by him; not becauſe they were guilty of a capital crime, or any other the leaſt omiſſion, but becauſe the implacable temper, and rigid diſpoſition of their judge, made them deſpair of pardon. Theſe perſons imagining they had eſcaped the worſt, imputed their baniſhment to ſome bribe that had been given in their favour; and this rejoiced them as much as others were pleaſed for returning back into their country. However, though they endeavoured at no change, inhabiting the iſlands they were baniſh'd to, as if they had been their ſeveral birth-places, and ſubmitting bravely to their misfortunes; it was not long before he ſent a company of ſoldiers, who put every one of them to death. This proceeding filled the city with unexpected ſorrow, eſpecially ſuch families as bore the chiefeſt dignities. If he preſented any with ſums of money, he would afterwards demand them again, not under colour of having lent them, but forcibly receive them; to the great damage and prejudice of thoſe who had received 'wherein he ſignifies what *Cæſar* acquainted him with. The words are theſe:

Caius Norbanus Flaccus, Proconſul, to *the* Magiſtrates of *Epheſus*, greeting:

I *HAVE received a Letter from* Cæſar, *wherein he commands, that the* Jews *whereſoever they reſided, be ſuffered to make their aſſemblies, according to the ancient privileges and cuſtoms of their country; and to collect the money, without interruption, which they ſend to* Hieroſolyma. *In the execution of theſe two points, his pleaſure is, that they meet with no oppoſition. Therefore I ſignify this fuller to you, and order you to do ſo.*

'Is not this, emperor, a plain and manifeſt proof of *Cæſar*'s will; how religiouſly he was affected towards our temple, in permitting the *Jews* to celebrate their aſſemblies in publick; and to collect their firſt-fruits, and do the other duties of their religion? There is another argument of equal weight with the former, from which it appears that *Auguſtus*, by an edict, commanded to be provided an ox and two lambs, at his own expence, for perpetual victims to be made every day to the moſt high God as a burnt-offering; which are continu'd to be offer'd to this day. This was one of *Cæſar*'s actions, though he knew their was no image either publickly or privately ſet up within this temple. Notwithſtanding ſo great a prince as he was, who had not his fellow in the knowledge of philoſophy, conſidered that it was abſolutely neceſſary there ſhould be ſome famous temple in the world dedicated to the inviſible God, without any image or likeneſs of any thing in it; where mankind, with a good and ſure hope, might offer up their prayers. *Julia Auguſta*, your great-grandmother, copied this great pattern of religion, and embelliſh'd this temple with phials and cups of gold, and ſeveral other gifts of exceeding great value. But how came all this when there was no ſuch thing as an image throughout the whole temple? The minds and tempers of women are much weaker than thoſe of men, and can reach no farther than things that ſtrike upon their ſenſes; yet *Julia*, as ſhe excelled all others of her ſex in other qualifications, ſo ſhe diſcovered her ſelf ſuperior to them in this point. What nature had denied her, ſhe acquired by her own underſtanding and reflection, and ſeem'd to poſſeſs the reaſon of a man; inſomuch, that ſhe made it plainly appear, that intelligible, more than ſenſible objects, were her ſtudy, which ſhe accounted but as the ſhadows of them. Since, therefore, Sir, you have ſo many examples in your own family of the great regard and reſpect your anceſtors bore us, from whom you have the honour to be deſcended; and ſince you are raiſed to ſuch an elevated pitch of grandeur, preſerve thoſe things to us which every one of them have preſerved before you. We petition you in behalf of our laws; do not make of no force thoſe decrees enacted in our favour, which have remained in full virtue to this time. Though the uncertainty of what may come does not ſuffer even the moſt preſumptuous to be ſecure. Should I go about to ſum up the many friendly offices you have done, and the ſeveral obligations I lie under to you on their account, a whole day would be too ſhort for the taſk. Neither am I under any neceſſity of giving a compendious narrative of them; but it is abundantly more my intereſt to be ſilent herein: For the things themſelves ſpeak for me. You ſet me at liberty from my chains of iron; who is a ſtranger to this? Pray, my good emperor, do not bind me in heavier fetters: The former only oppreſs'd part of my body; theſe latter, I am afraid, will be a burden to my whole ſoul. When the fear of death too much frighted me, you delivered me from my mortal apprehenſions; and when I was ſeemingly dead with my hardſhips, you reſtor'd me again to life, and ſnatch'd me from the funeral pile. Let your kindneſs and favour for me, emperor, be everlaſting; for fear your *Agrippa* put a haſty period to his life: Otherwiſe I ſhall not ſeem to be ſaved in order to enjoy life, but to die ſplendidly amidſt greater misfortunes. You made me a preſent of a kingdom, in which condition no body on earth enjoyed more ſerenity and peace: At firſt it contained but one country; upon which, in a little time, you annexed to it a larger, namely, *Trachonitis* and *Galilee*. Therefore, Sir, ſince you have enlarged my dominions with other territories that were not neceſſary; do not deprive me of ſuch as abſolutely are needful. Do not caſt into utter oblivion and darkneſs, again, the man who is now encircled with the cleareſt light. If your pleaſure is to be obey'd, I voluntarily reſign my ſplendor; nor do I covet my former condition. One thing I petition for to you, which is, that the rites and cuſtoms of my country may remain on the ſame foot as they have done time immemorial. What do either my own tribes, or the reſt of mankind, ſay of me? Why, that he follows one or t'other of theſe two things; either to be ſtiled a traitor to his countrymen, or a friend of your's hereafter: But I will be accounted neither; for nothing in the world can be more unhappy, take which of them you pleaſe. For if I retain a place yet amongſt the number of your friends, the world will charge me with treachery; and the ſame imputation will load my character if I refuſe giving my country the aſſiſtance which I ought, or abſtain from keeping the temple unviolated. Perſons in your exalted ſtations are uſed to conſult in their affairs the more powerful of their friends that ſollicit governments; which, ſuppoſing I proved any way offenſive to your mind, I ſhould beg you not to bind me in ſuch chains as *Tiberius* did; but, in order to deliver me of my frequent apprehenſions about that

‘ head, I ſhould hanſomely bid you put me
‘ to death immediately.d What occaſion ſhould
‘ I have of deſiring to prolong my life, when
‘ my only hope depended upon your benevo-
‘ lence and kindneſs?

This was the letter which he wrote, and ſent ſeal'd to *Caius*; after which, he ſhut himſelf up within his houſe, and waited the conſequence with great impatience and anxiety. He was afraid he had timed the writing this letter not ſo properly as he ſhould have done, and that the ſeaſon was very incommodious to addreſs the emperor in that way. Certain it is, he ran the riſque of no little danger, I mean with regard to the liberty and lives not only of thoſe who dwelt in the holy land, but, alſo, of all the *Jews* any where diſpers'd over the face of the whole world.

While the emperor was peruſing the letter, he perceived his deſign had not ſucceeded: Now and then he ſeem'd to be won over by the juſtice of ſo good a cauſe; now and then by the intreaties that were annex'd to it. He commended *Agrippa* in part, and in part accuſed him. He laid to his charge the too much love and affection he diſcovered for his countrymen, who had been the only people that, through contumacy and diſobedience, had refus'd the conſecration of his image. However, he praiſed the king for being ſo frank in not concealing his mind, which, he ſaid, plainly ſhew'd a great ſoul, and generous diſpoſition. To all outward appearance he ſeemed perfectly reconciled and made eaſy, and returned an anſwer to *Agrippa*'s letter, couch'd in very mild and obliging terms. He preſented *Agrippa* with a kind of promiſe, in his letter, that there ſhould be no more mentioned about the dedication, which was the greateſt obligation he could lay on the king; and, at the ſame time, gave orders for a letter to be wrote to *Petronius*, governor of *Syria*, to ſuffer no innovation to be made in the temple at *Hieroſolyma*. However, to make appear the favour he had thus granted was not entirely ſolid, he mixed ſeveral menaces up and down the letter, which was after the manner here underneath: That he exempted one metropolis; but if in any of the bordering cities there were found any that obſtructed others who were deſirous to erect temples, altars, or ſtatues to him, ſuch, who gave the impediment, were either to be put immediately to death, or be ſent to him. This was no other than the ſpring of numerous ſeditions, and the cauſe of civil wars: It was no other than a ſhrewd and tacit abrogation of the favour he ſeemed to have given with ſo much juſtice and ſimplicity: For now thoſe who were enemies of the *Jews* diſcovered their hatred more againſt them, than they did honour to *Caius*. The former were thought determin'd to fill all the country with their anathemas and calumnies; the latter could not ſuffer their laws and cuſtoms to be violated or infring'd, and they be lookers on all the while; though they ſhew'd themſelves patient and ſubmiſſive to a miracle. *Caius*, mean time, puniſh'd thoſe very ſeverely that were found to make any diſturbance. He gave orders again for his ſtatue to be ſet up in the temple; but ſome providence of the moſt righteous God ſo order'd it, that none gave any freſh diſturbance, or afforded a pretence for ſo doing: Though the ſmalleſt fault was attended with the worſt of conſequences. But of what ſignification or advantage was this moment of tranquility, ſome or other probably may ſay; for if the reſt kept themſelves quiet, *Caius* did not ſo. The favour he had granted began to give his mind ſome uneaſineſs, and his former deſire rekindled within his breaſt. He gave orders for another ſtatue to be made at *Rome*, of braſs, and cover'd over with gold, throwing aſide that caſt for him at *Sidon*, for fear of any tumults ariſing among the people; and this, he thought, being put privately on ſhip-board, and tranſported into *Judæa*, it might on a ſudden be ſet up in the temple before the *Jews* came to know any thing of the matter. He took ſhipping for *Ægypt*, thinking thereby to accompliſh his deſign the ſooner. He had an extreme deſire to ſee *Alexandria*, and had taken a world of care about his journey, in order to take up his reſidence there ſome time, being of opinion that the conſecration of his image, which he ſo much dream'd of, would ſucceed better in that city; and that as it ſtood in a very convenient place, the example of this new religion of his would ſpread itſelf into the leſſer towns. Indeed 'tis generally ſeen, that not only the lower claſs of men, but that of cities too, imitate the example of their ſuperiors and betters. But *Caius* was likewiſe ſo various and inconſtant in his temper, that any thing done by him that was good, he would immediately repent of, and render it of no ſignification, by turning it into ſomething that was hurtful and prejudicial. 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However, though they endeavoured at no change, inhabiting the iſlands they were baniſh'd to, as if they had been their ſeveral birth-places, and ſubmitting bravely to their misfortunes; it was not long before he ſent a company of ſoldiers, who put every one of them to death. This proceeding filled the city with unexpected ſorrow, eſpecially ſuch families as bore the chiefeſt dignities. If he preſented any with ſums of money, he would afterwards demand them again, not under colour of having lent them, but forcibly receive them; to the great damage and prejudice of thoſe who had receiv'd them. But for ſuch perſons to reſtore back what had been given them, was not ſufficient; all their effects muſt follow the demand likewiſe: It ſignified little what they were, whether they had deſcended to the owner by right of patrimony, or heirſhip, or were the acquiſition of his own induſtry. Thoſe who imagin'd themſelves the greateſt in his favour and eſteem, were dealt with after another manner; a pretext of friendſhip was conſtantly made the ſnare, and by that means he ſqueez'd them intolerably. This was by making them be at prodigious and vaſt expences to ſupport the frequent journies he took juſt as the whim and frolic took him, and afford him luxurious entertainments. Sometimes all they were worth was ſpent in the preparation of one ſingle ſupper; inſomuch, that they were oblig'd to take up ſums of money at intereſt; ſo great was the ſplendor and magnificence on theſe occaſions. This, however, made ſome reject his friendſhip and kindneſs, as no way advantageous or profitable to them, but rather hurtful and treacherous, that infallibly brought their ruin. This was the uncertain and unequal condition of his mind; but the *Jews* were the only people that felt its conſequences the moſt, whom he mortally hated. He began with them at *Alexandria*, by ſeizing on their oratories, and filling them with ſtatues that repreſented his image, without controul; no one daring to diſpute his authority and power. The temple of the holy city of *Hieroſolyma* was the only place left as an aſylum; and this he endeavour'd to change into a temple dedicated to him with the title of *The temple of the New* Jupiter *of the illuſtrious* Caius. But what is this, emperor, that you ſay? Do you, who are a man, ſeek for ſky and air, without ſatisfying your ambition with the government of ſo many provinces, iſlands, and nations? Are you determined that God ſhall ſhare nothing with you in this world? What, not a field, nor a city, nor ſo much as a ſmall temple, which has been dedicated to him by his own divine appointment? What, are you reſolv'd to remove all traces, and every memorial of that piety and religion which is due to the true God? You make mankind conceive a wonderful hope of you: Are you ſo much a ſtranger that you do not know how you open the ſprings of every evil, in attempting to commit that which is unlawful either to do or imagine?

Permit me here, in this place, to touch a little on ſuch things as I both ſaw and heard; becauſe I was deputed to undertake the cauſe of my country. In the very firſt audience we had of him, we plainly ſaw from his countenance and behaviour, that, inſtead of a judge, we ſhould find him our accuſer and enemy. The duty of a judge was to have placed himſelf on his tribunal, examined our cauſe which had never been ſearch'd into for the ſpace of full four hundred years, and now was the firſt time of its being call'd into queſtion; wherein ſo many thouſands of *Jews*, inhabiting *Alexandria*, were concern'd, have cited their adverſaries, have heard the different parties in their turns, conſulted with his aſſeſſors, and have pronounced openly a juſt and equitable ſentence. But inſtead of theſe methods which he ſhould have follow'd, he put on a magiſterial air, and diſcover'd in his looks the ſourneſs of a mercileſs tyrant. He ſent for the perſons that had the management of *Mæcena*'s and *Lamia*'s gardens, which lay adjoining to the city, where he had been already three or four days, and where our nation was to be made ſport of, we gazing on all the while. His orders were for all the villa's to be open'd, his pleaſure being to take a diligent proſpect of each. It was not long before we were introduc'd, and the moment we ſet eyes upon him, we proſtrated ourſelves with abundance of reverence before him, and ſaluted him with the name of emperor, and *Auguſtus*. He return'd us the compliment with ſo much ſeeming generoſity and affability, that we had reaſon to ſuppoſe things would go well with us. However, he put this queſtion: *Are you thoſe perſons whom the gods hate, who preſume to deſpiſe me, declared a god by the confeſſion of all mankind, except you? And had you rather pay adoration to that god of your's that has no repute?* At the ſame time he lifted up his hands towards heaven, and broke out into a ſpeech which ought not to be heard, neither to be mention'd. This beginning gave our enemies a great deal of pleaſure, who concluded that nothing but ſucceſs would be the conſequence, and that they ſhould be victors in the diſpute. They ſeem'd intolerably lifted up, and, with an enthuſiaſtic joy, gave *Caius* every particular name the gods bore: Theſe appellations, which exceeded human nature, tickling the mind of the emperor; which *Iſidore*, the ſycophant, ſeeing, he thus addreſs'd *Caius*: *You wou'd entertain, Sir, a greater deteſtation of theſe men, and their countrymen, if you but knew the ſpite and ill-nature they bear you. Every nation elſe makes ſacrifice, and offers up its prayers for the long continuance of your reign: Theſe* Jews *are the only people that refuſe to do you honour. When I mention theſe, I ſpeak of all the* Jews *in general.* Upon this, we exclaimed together againſt *Iſidore*, ſaying, *Lord* Caius, *we are unjuſtly us'd by the words of this man. We offer'd ſacrifices, and made a libation of the blood at the altar; not ſo much as taking the fleſh of the victims home to eat, as ſome did: On the other hand, we made entire victims, and burnt them, and this at three ſeveral times; firſt, when you acceeded to the empire; again, when you were taken very ill, when all the world was in mourning for you; and the third time, for the victory you obtained in* Germany. *I grant you,* ſaid he, *that you offered ſacrifice, but it was for another, and not me; where then is the duty? It was not to me, certainly, that you ſacrificed.* This unexpected anſwer threw us into a fit of exceſſive trembling; we ſtood amaz'd, and knew not what to ſay. Mean while, the emperor went into the villa's, caſting his eyes into all the chambers and apartments, commending ſome, finding faults with others, and giving orders for alterations to be made where he thought proper. We follow'd him up and down whereſoever he went, being, all the time, expos'd to the reproaches of our enemies, like ſo many players on the ſtage. He that ſhould have been our judge, took upon him to be our accuſer; and our accuſers proved our unmerciful judges, without having any regard to truth. But ſuch accuſers, and ſuch a judge, ought much rather to be buried in ſilence, than have their proceedings, at this time, expoſed in writing. We could make no anſwer at all that could pleaſe him; and the laws of our country impoſed ſilence on our lips in ſeveral caſes. After he had given ſome orders about his houſes, he ask'd us, with a ſerious and grave countenance, what was the reaſon of our abſtaining from eating ſwine's fleſh. Our adverſaries no ſooner heard him make this enquiry, but they laugh'd at us heartily; ſome being very glad to hear the emperor ſpeak ſo, others fond to find ſo ſmart and home an expreſſion come out of his mouth. But all this was done with no other view than to flatter *Caius*, and gain his favour. However, ſome of the houſhold took this as a great affront, to behave ſo irrevently in the preſence of the emperor, before whom, even to ſmile was very dangerous, unleſs for ſuch as were his intimate acquaintance. We made anſwer, that other countries had their cuſtoms as well as we; and even thoſe who diſcovered themſelves to be our enemies, were forbid the uſe of ſome certain things, as well as the *Jews*. To this a certain man amongſt them replied, that ſeveral would not eat lamb's fleſh. The emperor ſmiled at this, and ſaid, *Truly you are in the right; that meat is unſavory.* Thus were we trifled with. At length, the emperor ſpoke, not without diſcovering ſome paſſion, *I deſire to know*, ſays he, *what right you pretend to have in that city.* On this we began to found our claim on its right bottom. But the emperor perceiving, from the moment we began to ſpeak, that we were going to produce ſuch vouchers as were irrefragable, and that we could bring more to ſtrengthen them, he broke off the diſcourſe, and haſtily withdrew into a large apartment; where, walking about, he commanded all the windows to be ſhut with white glaſs, that reſembled tranſparent ſtones, which admits the light, but excludes the wind and ſun. Sometime after, he came out, and drew near us with a ſlow and majeſtick pace, and ask'd us then, more patiently, *What is it you have to ſay?* We now drew up what we had to ſay, into as ſhort a compaſs as we could, but he left us again, and withdrew into another apartment, where he ordered ſome old pictures to be placed before him. Our affairs being thus hinder'd, and the proſecution of our cauſe thus managed by piece-meal, we were quite tired, and at our wit's end; nothing but death ſat uppermoſt in our minds: So that, in this ſad condition of ours, we had recourſe to the true God, and prayed him to protect us from the threatnings of the falſe one; who took compaſſion upon us, and made the emperor's mind more gentle. In ſhort, having loſt his fierceneſs for a while, he only ſpoke thus much: *Theſe men, in my opinion, are not ſo bad as miſerable; who will not ſuffer themſelves to be perſuaded that I partake of divine nature;* and then departed: Commanding us, at the ſame time, to go our ways. Thus we left, not ſo much the emperor's judgment, as his priſon and theatre (for, indeed, we were hiſs'd at, ridicul'd, and reviled, as though we had been in ſome theatre. We were racked and tormented in hearing ſo many blaſphemies utter'd againſt God, and ſo many menaces levelled at us, more than if we had been in a priſon; and all this implacable hatred and reſentment darted at us on account only of one ſingle thing, which was a mad and infatuated deſire of the emperor of being thought a God.) When we left him, we had ſcarce any breath left within us; not that we deſired to live, or were fearful of death: For we deſired nothing more than to ſacrifice our lives, and gain immortality, provided we thought our laws were to reap any advantage from it. But we were ſenſible our deaths would be of no ſervice to our countrymen, but rather an ignominy; for if ambaſſadors happen to be expoſed to any misfortunes, the people who ſend them commonly lie under the charge. This very thing ſaved us a deſperate bout ſeveral times. In ſhort, we were in a ſad plight about what the emperor would decree or ſay againſt us. But how was it poſſible for him to know the merits of our cauſe, who would not ſuffer himſelf to let ſeveral circumſtances of it enter his ears? Was it not a buſineſs of extraordinary weight that all the *Jews* in the world ſhould reſt their dependance upon us ambaſſadors, who were but five in number? If our enemies had been gratified in their expectations, pray what other city would have remain'd quiet? Which would have ſpared the foreigners? What auditory would there have been that would not have felt their inſults? What cuſtoms would thoſe *Jews* that lived up to the rites of their religion have preſerved to themſelves? Nothing but deſtruction, havock, and a miſerable wreck of thoſe privileges they enjoyed in the ſeveral cities, would have been the conſequences. Theſe were ſome of the troubles we lay under, miſerable people as we were; for they who ſeem'd before to favour us, were now entirely out of our intereſt, as deſpairing of our ſucceeding: So that when we were ſummoned before him, they were fearful, and withdrew from us, becauſe they did not want to know the extraordinary clemency of the man who wanted to be accounted a god. Thus have we ſhewn, in a ſhort view, the cauſe of *Caius*'s hatred wherewith he perſecuted the whole race of the *Jews*; it remains now for us to ſpeak of the *Palinodia*, or thoſe which we preferred to him.

ARISTEAS *to* PHILOCRATES.

My PHILOCRATES,

BEcauſe my journey to *Eleazar*, the high-prieſt of the *Jews*, and the occurrences that paſs'd with him, are worthy to be related, and becauſe you make more of the matter, as it happened for me to be preſent, and know every circumſtance as it fell out; I have endeavoured to be as plain as I can, in acquainting you with the occaſion and reaſons of my going.

And this I chuſe the rather to do, knowing your genius and purpoſe to be ſuch, as always to acquire ſomething or other beneficial, whether it be from reading hiſtory, or the occurrences or tranſactions of private life. By this means you inform your mind, which receives, from thus collecting together the beſt things, a pure habitude; and your great inclination to piety, which is the choiceſt of things, makes you have recourſe to ſo unerring a rule of life, that all your counſels and actions are directed thereby with the profoundeſt judgment.

As I was myſelf of a willing diſpoſition to be more faithfully and fully informed in matters of religion, I offered to go in quality of ambaſſador to the above-mention'd perſon, who in virtue and reputation bears away the prize, both in his own and other nations: Beſides, he has in his keeping ſomething that is of infinite advantage, not only to his own countrymen, but the people of other nations; I mean ſomething that is conducive to the explaining of the divine law, which is written on parchment in *Hebrew* characters, and is preſerved among the *Jews*. We took upon us this embaſſy with a great deal of willingneſs, as we thought, to find an opportunity of conferring with the king about what his father had brought out of *Judæa* into *Ægypt*, who made himſelf firſt maſter of the city, and then of *Ægypt*.

Theſe are circumſtances not unworthy of your peruſal; though I am perſuaded your deſire is more to have me talk gravely, and treat of the actions of ſuch men, as conform their method of living to the preſcription of the laws. I own 'tis the chief part of my deſign ſo to unfold matters to you, that you may have a thorough knowledge of the whole; becauſe you left your iſland lately, with a reſolution and deſire to underſtand every thing that was of ſervice, and which might tend to inſtruct and inform your mind. I ſome time ſince ſent you a book of ſuch things as were neceſſary to be known, which I purchaſed from the moſt learned *Jews* inhabiting *Ægypt*. You always expreſs'd a great inclination for every thing any way ſerviceable towards the information of the mind; now 'tis but common generoſity to communicate ſuch things to every one that are influenced by the ſame ſtrong deſire. But I take it you have a right to be firſt ſerved in this kind, becauſe you and I had all along the ſame inclinations and deſires; being not only brothers in our manners, but in blood and education, and becauſe I was always fond, even to the very ſtretch of my deſires, to learn and acquire things that were good and laudable in their natures. There is not half the advantage or uſe in the ſplendid and ſhowy grandeur of the great, as in the acquirement of ſcience and education, and in the care and pains to obtain them. But not to ſpin out my preface to too tedious a length, thereby to draw upon me the imputation of a pratler, I will begin the ſubject I deſign'd to ſend you.

When *Demetrius Phalareas* was the king's librarian, his principal care, whereby he was at great expences, was, to collect, if he could any ways do it, all the books in the world. That he might pleaſe the king's mind, he not only made purchaſes of, but procured the names of books to be ſent him. When we were with him, we took occaſion to aſk him how many thouſand volumes he had in the king's library. He anſwer'd, *Above twenty; but it ſhall not be long*, ſaid he, *before I'll add fifty thouſand more to the number at preſent: For I am told, that the* Jewiſh *laws deſerve to be copied, and placed in the library.* The king replied, *What is the reaſon, then, that hinders you from doing this? For you have every thing at your abſolute diſpoſal to do it.* To this *Demetrius* anſwer'd, that thoſe laws wanted to be tranſlated; for the *Jews*, as well as the *Ægyptians*, had characters of their own, and a way of pronunciation only peculiar to themſelves. 'Tis thought by ſome to be *Syriac*, but in that they are miſtaken; for the form of it is quite different. The king hearing this, ſaid, he would ſend a letter to the high-prieſt of the *Jews*, and therein deſire him to perform what he had been acquainted with.

I took this to be a fair time to ſpeak about the affair, which had frequently been mention'd to *Soſibius Tarentinus*, and *Andreas*, the king's principal body-guards; which was, to ſet thoſe at liberty who had been brought out of *Judæa* into *Ægypt* by the king's father: For it ſeems this prince, having large forces under his command, and being on all ſides befriended by fortune, he fell upon all *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, which he conquer'd; ſo that the vanquiſhed were obliged to ſubmit to his terms, ſome to be transferr'd into colonies, others to be led away priſoners. Though this was not all; for the report of his arms threw ſuch a terror and conſternation all round, that every place fell proſtrate to him; and this victory was ſo general, that ten thouſand *Jews* were brought into *Ægypt* out of their native country; three thouſand whereof, who were choice men, and well armed, he conveyed into places up and down the country, to ſupport and live in the garriſons. A great number were brought into this country before this time, by the *Perſian* king; and, before this revolution, another number, in quality of auxiliaries, were ſent to *Pſametychus*, under whoſe banner they fought againſt the king of *Æthiopia*; but the number of theſe was inconſiderable with regard to the others which *Ptolomy*, the ſon of *Lagus*, brought with him.

As we mentioned above, thoſe that were of age and ſtrength capable to bear arms, he appointed for the wars; but the reſt of them, which conſiſted in old men, women, and children, he gave to his ſoldiers, though not ſo much from a motive of his own inclination, as the importunities of them, to make ſerviceable in providing them with neceſſaries during a campaign. So that finding I had found a fine opportunity, or rather a pretence to get theſe wretches their liberty, I thus addreſs'd myſelf to the king.

Have a care, O king! that you are not diſhonoured in being reproved in your own actions: For as theſe laws, which we ſo much deſire to have copied, and tranſlated, concern all the Jews *in general, what reaſon have we for ſending to* *them ambaſſadors, while ſuch a number of their countrymen are kept ſlaves in your kingdom? Rather extend to them the richneſs of your ſoul, and ſet them at liberty who are thus miſerably confin'd, eſpecially ſeeing the ſame God who vouchſafed to give them theſe laws, governs both you and your kingdom in felicity, as I have thoroughly conſidered it in my mind. For they worſhip God the ſuperviſor of all things, and the creator of all things, in the ſame manner as all other nations, and eſpecially we, do, though by another name, calling him* Zeus; *by which word our anceſtors ſignified, and that not improperly, that he was the governor and lord of all things, by whom every thing had life and being. Do you, then, brave prince, whoſe magnificence and great ſoul excel thoſe of the reſt of mankind, ſet thoſe at liberty who are kept in bondage.*

He was not long in deliberating with himſelf what to do, when he found I was offering up my prayers to myſelf to God, that he would pleaſe to prepare his mind fit to ſet them all at liberty. Now as mankind is but a creature belonging to God, ſo his eternal wiſdom and pleaſure can transform and do with it as he ſeems beſt. My prayers to the all-powerful being, therefore, were many and various, to move the king's heart to perform what I petitioned him: And, indeed, I had great hopes to be ſerviceable to theſe poor people, being induced to think ſo from the perſuaſion I had of God's will to accompliſh my wiſhes. Becauſe the all-powerful creator, when he ſees men going about to do juſt and good things with a purity of heart, directs and promotes all their actions and endeavours.

The king, at laſt, with an erect look, and chearful countenance, turned his face upon me, and ſaid, *How many thouſands of them are there, think you?* Whereupon, *Andreas* who ſtood by him, made anſwer, that there were a few more than ten thouſand. *A trifling matter does* Ariſteas *then aſk of me*, ſaid the king. At this, *Soſibius*, and ſome others, who were preſent, ſaid, that it was an act worthy of his royal generoſity and greatneſs of mind to ſet them at liberty, and give the honour thereof to God, as an inſtance of his pious and grateful mind. For ſince God, the governor of the univerſe, had raiſed him to the greateſt dignity, and vouchſafed him a far more illuſtrious name than ever any of his predeceſſors bore, it was but juſt in him to exhibit the greateſt act he cou'd of generoſity, to prove his gratitude for ſuch extraordinary favours.

The king being exhilerated at dinner, ſaid, at table, that he was willing to make this addition, namely, to allow for every body, to ſuch as had any, twenty drachms each; of which he would have proclamation made, and that forthwith, and every thing diligently committed to writing. Herein the king diſcover'd an extraordinary and ſurprizing promptitude of mind to ſerve the *Jews*; though God muſt be allowed to be the accompliſher of our deſires, and the ſole means of ſetting at liberty not only thoſe who came with the army of his father, but others, alſo, if they had been brought thither before that time, or after it. The expences in this buſineſs ſtood the king in above four hundred talents. According to my ſentiments, I have not done a thing amiſs in explaining the king's edict by itſelf; for the king's magnificence will thereby appear more ſplendid and glorious, which the almighty vouchſafed to inſpire him with, that he might ſave ſeveral thouſands of mankind. The following is a copy of the edict, as it was wrote according to the king's orders:

OUR will and pleaſure is, That all ſuch as bore arms under our father in the regions of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, and attack'd *Judæa*, and thence took away any *Jews* priſoners, bringing them to this city or country, or who have ſold them to others; and, likewiſe, that all ſuch as came hither before that time, or were afterwards drawn out of *Judæa*, may be diſmiſs'd, and have their liberty; and that ſuch as have any ſuch priſoners, may do ſo immediately: For which they ſhall receive twenty drachms, to be paid them for each head; ſoldiers to receive ſuch payment when their wages become due; others to have it from the king's treaſury. For we ſuppoſe it was not our father's inclination to make them priſoners, neither has their captivity been according to juſtice and equity; but that their country was laid waſte, and their removal into *Ægypt*, was in conſequence of the force of arms. The advantages that aroſe from the aſſiſtance of the forces of our kingdom, were, indeed, conſiderable; but becauſe theſe men are ſtill kept priſoners, and from their native country, 'tis altogether unjuſt and wrong. Since, therefore, we have declared our purpoſe and intention to reſtore to all mankind what properly belongs to them, and much more ſo to thoſe who are juſtly under the laws of another country; and ſince 'tis our deſire in every occurrence and action of our reign to execute things according to juſtice, and the dictates of religion: We therefore command, That all *Jews* now in actual ſlavery, or by any other ways detained in our kingdom, be ſet at liberty by thoſe who ſo detain them, at the price which we have thought fit to fix, without any prevarication, artifice, or fraud, to be us'd by any one; and that this ſetting them at liberty be within three days from the day of the date of this our edict; wherein they are commanded, on ſevere penalties, to bring in their true number of ſlaves to thoſe that are appointed commiſſioners to act herein. For this diſpatch, we have found in our mature deliberation about it, not only to be of advantage to us, but to the buſineſs itſelf. And whoever preſumes to diſobey this our proclamation, ſuch contumacy ſhall have its full reward, and the effects of ſuch ſhall go into our royal exchequer.

This edict being drawn up, was given to the king to peruſe over, with every thing contain'd in it, except the words, *And likewiſe all ſuch as came hither before that time, or were after drawn out of* Judæa. This clauſe, out of the greatneſs and vaſtneſs of his ſoul, he ordered to be inſerted; and as to the payment of the ranſoms, which were likely to prove numerous and various, he diſtributed the management thereof amongſt the tellers of his exchequer. And thus the affair being decreed, it was confirm'd and executed within ſeven days, by the king's authority. The expences amounted to more than ſix hundred and threeſcore talents; for a great number of children at the breaſt, and their mothers, were included in the ranſoms: Which being told the king (for twenty drachms were ſet upon each of theſe,) he gave his orders that it ſhould be done; being willing that this edict ſhould be amply and faithfully executed.

Having finiſh'd this affair, he next gave orders to *Demetrius* to draw up his opinion in writing about copying the *Jewiſh* volumes, and give it him to peruſe (for theſe kings never went about a thing raſhly and unadviſedly, but did all with thinking of it before-hand carefully). This had almoſt determined me to give you a ſeparate account of what *Demetrius* preſented the king, with a copy of his letter; and then to have added an account of the number and quality of the preſents that were ſent to *Eleazar*, becauſe every thing amongſt them were extraordinary, both for riches and fine workmanſhip. However, *Demetrius* gave the king his opinion to this effect:

'Becauſe, O king, you have laid your commands upon me, that if any books are wanting in your library, to ſee that they be procured to fill up the deficiency; and, alſo, that if any are out of repair, to take care to have them put into a better order: I here acquaint you, that I have beſtowed no ſmall pains in this affair, and here ſignify to you that we want the *Jewiſh* books, with a few others. It appears that theſe books are wrote in the *Hebrew* language and character, but poorly, and not as the ſubject matter deſerves (as I am told from perſons who ſeem to have a juſt notion of the thing,) becauſe they have not yet had the good fortune to fall under the direction and care of ſome royal hand. It would be a good and juſt act to get theſe books accurately tranſcribed, and in that condition placed among the others of your liberary; becauſe the laws they contain exceed all others in wiſdom and holineſs, as being divine. Hence it is, that not only other writers and poets, but, alſo, the hiſtorians, have refus'd to make any mention of theſe books, and of the perſons that liv'd, and do live, according to the inſtitutions mention'd in them: Becauſe, as *Heccatæus* the *Abderite* aſſerts, they contain certain divine thoughts and holy meditations. If, therefore, my king,you are pleas'd to have theſe volumes, I will take care to ſend a letter to the prince of the prieſts at *Hieroſolyma*, for him to ſend you ſix men of each tribe, known for their exemplary life, age, and underſtanding in theſe laws; that from ſo great a number of perſons we may get a faithful and accurate tranſlation of theſe books; which, as the dignity both of the thing it ſelf, and of your royal will, requires, we may repoſit in your library. May you be happy for ever.'

The king having received this account, he gave him orders to write to *Eleazar* about it, and at the ſame time to acquaint him with the redemption of the captive *Jews*. The charges the king was at in getting the goblets, phials, tables, and libation veſſels made, were prodigious; namely, fifty talents of gold, ſeventy talents of ſilver, and a vaſt number of precious ſtones: Beſides which, he commanded the commiſſioners of his treaſury to let the artificers chuſe what they pleas'd, and to lay out in ſacrifices and other articles an hundred talents. But I will acquaint you how every thing was made, after I have run over the king's letter, which was wrote to the following effect:

King Ptolomy *wiſhes health and gladneſs to*
Eleazar *the high-prieſt.*

'WHereas it has fallen out that numbers of the *Jews* inhabit our kingdom, ſome of whom we brought away from *Hieroſolyma* by the *Perſians* who reigned at that time; others, being taken priſoners, came with my father into our kingdom, of whom he ſelected ſeveral numbers to fill up his army, and ſerve him in his campaigns, allowing them a larger ſtipend: And becauſe he judg'd that the firſt that came were very conſiderable, therefore diſtributed them into the garriſons, to remove the fears the *Ægyptians* might have on their account. Now we being mounted to the throne of our anceſtors, diſcover our humanity to all about us, eſpecially to your countrymen, a matter of ten thouſand of whom, who were made captives, we have ſet at liberty, having paid to all ſuch as detained them a meet ranſom: And at the ſame time we have taken effectual care to prevent any inſults or abuſes that might happen. In doing which, we are perſuaded we have acted piouſly, and performed an action grateful to the great God, who has preſerved our kingdom in peace and glory, which has ſpread it ſelf over the whole world. They, inded, who were of age and ſtrength to be of any ſervice to us, we have enliſted into our army; on the other hand, they who are thought worthy to be about our perſons, we have honour'd them with preferments and dignified poſts within our palace. But as our deſire is not only to be of ſervice to theſe, but, alſo, to all the *Jews*, any where diſpers'd throughout the world, nay, to thoſe that ſhall appear hereafter, we have determined to tranſlate your law out of the *Hebrew* language into *Greek*, that our library may be graced with it. You will, therefore, do an act worthy, and becoming the greatneſs of our deſign, to ſend to us ſix old men out of every tribe, known for their knowledge of your laws, and their extraordinary talent in tranſlation; that ſo, from the labours of ſuch a number of perſons, we may have a genuine, faithful, and accurate verſion thereof: For we are of opinion, that, after we have executed this affair, we ſhall acquire much glory. We have ſent to you *Andreas*, our principal body-guard, and *Ariſteas*, perſons in great eſteem with us; who are authoriſed to act in concert with you in this affair; with whom we have ſent our firſt offering for the uſe of the temple; and the ſacrifices, namely, an hundred talents. Your anſwer to us will be gratefully received, and be deemed worthy 'of our friendſhip. For we will take care to ſee that done, which we know your pleaſure is to have perform'd. Farewel.

To this letter *Eleazar* return'd this civil anſwer.

Eleazar, the high-prieſt, to king *Ptolomy*, his ſincere friend, greeting.

'WE hope that you, queen *Arſinoe* your ſiſter, and your children, enjoy your healths; 'tis our prayer. We are in health. The receipt of your letter was exceedingly grateful to us, and we expreſſed no ſmall joy at your famous deſign. We inſtantly ſummoned together all our citizens, and read it over to them, that they might know your religious mind to honour God. At the ſame time, we we ſhew'd the phials, twenty of gold, and thirty of ſilver, which you ſent; beſides five goblets, and a table for making the oblations upon, and performing ſacrifice: Alſo, a hundred talents of money, to pay for making ſuch other things as the temple wanted. All which, were brought by your dear friend *Andreas*, and *Ariſteas*, two honeſt and good men, of extenſive knowledge, and worthy, in every reſpect, of your converſation and juſtice. They explained to us every thing which you had entruſted them with; and, in return thereof, they received from us a certificate of every article which we put in this our anſwer to your letter. For in all things that are for your intereſt and advantage, though they may be far above our reach, yet will we obey; which is an argument of our friendſhip and love for you: Becauſe you have heaped favours, never to be forgotten, and thoſe many, on our countrymen, and citizens. Upon theſe accounts, we made immediate ſacrifice for your ſiſter and children, being accompanied with the prayers of your countrymen, that you, as you deſire, may for ever proſper, and that God, who governs all things, may preſerve your kingdom in peace and glory; and that the tranſlation of the law may be furthered, according to your own deſires. Moreover, in the preſence of all, we elected ſix elders, honeſt and good men, out of each tribe, whom we have ſent to you, together with the law. But, O king! you will act to a juſt and ſincere part, in ſending back in ſafety theſe men to us, after they have tranſlated the books according to your orders. Farewel.

Out of the firſt tribe were,

Joſeph, *Ezekias*, *Zacharias*, *John*, *Ezekias*, and *Eliſæus*;

Out of the ſecond tribe,

Judas, *Simon*, *Samuel*, *Adæus*, *Mattathias*, and *Eſchlemias*;

Out of the third tribe,

Neemias, *Joſeph*, *Theodoſius*, *Baſæus*, *Ornias*, and *Daces*;

Out of the fourth tribe,

Jonathas, *Abræus*, *Eliſæus*, *Ananias*, *Chabrias*, and *Salus*;

Out of the fifth tribe,

Iſaac, *Jacob*, *Jeſus*, *Sabbathæus*, *Simon*, and *Levis*;

Out of the ſixth tribe,

Judas, *Joſeph*, *Simon*, *Zacharias*, *Somoel*, and *Schlemias*;

Out of the ſeventh tribe,

Sabbatæus, *Zedekias*, *Jacob*, *Iſac*, *Iſias*, and *Natthæus*;

Out of the eighth tribe,

Theodoſius, *Jaſon*, *Jeſus*, *Theodotus*, *John*, and *Jonathas*;

Out of the ninth tribe,

Theophilus, *Abram*, *Arſamus*, *Eudemias*, *Jaſon*, and *Daniel*;

Out of the tenth tribe,

Hieremias, *Arſamus*, *Jaſon*, *Eudemias*, *Eleazar*, and *Dathæus*;

Out of the eleventh tribe,

Samuel, *Joſeph*, *Judas*, *Jonathan*, *Chaben*, and *Doſitheus*;

Out of the twelfth tribe,

Iſael, *John*, *Theodoſius*, *Arſamus*, *Abietes*, and *Ezekiel*.

All theſe perſons together, made the number of ſeventy-two. And this was the anſwer which *Eleazar* returned to *Ptolomy*'s letter.

But, as I before promiſed, I will now give an account of the ornaments and preſents ſent by the king, and their workmanſhip, which was very extraordinary and curious. As *Ptolomy* beſtowed ſufficient materials of all ſorts, and watched the workmen as they were employed about each, it was impoſſible they ſhould omit any thing, or perform any piece either ill or injudiciouſly. The firſt thing that I ſhall explain, ſhall be the making of the table.

The king's intentions were to make this of an extraordinary bigneſs; but having given orders to enquire of thoſe that were at *Hieroſolyma* how large the former table was, and being told the exact dimenſions, he aſked them again if he ought not to make his larger. Hereupon, ſome of the prieſts, and others, told him, he was at his own choice. He ſaid he was ready to make it five times larger, but was afraid it would not be fit for ſervice, being ſo large. That it was not his intention that the preſents he made ſhould only ſtand for ſight in the temple, but he was of opinion his character and honour would be more concern'd if the veſſels, and table, he had ordered to be made, were appropriated to the lawful ſervices of religion. That the firſt table's being made ſo ſmall was not for want of gold, of which, as he had a ſufficient quantity, ſo he thought the bigneſs of it was perform'd for certain reaſons. Therefore that it was not his buſineſs to exceed the dimenſions of the former, ſeeing it was of a right and juſt proportion. However, he would make up for its ſmallneſs, by conferring upon it as much curious and coſtly workmanſhip as it wanted in its dimenſions: For *Ptolemy* himſelf was an excellent draftſman. All ſuch figures as were to be in releive, he order'd to be made the moſt ſumptuous; thoſe that were to be plain, and without releive, he commanded to have proportionate places aſſigned them. He made the table in length two cubits, in height one and a half, of ſolid gold, without any foliage, or thin plates, carried over it. A crown of palms, finely carved, was drawn round it. About the edges and corners were repreſented ringlets of hair, twined after the manner of ropes, in which, on the three ſides was admirable workmanſhip of releive. It was of a triangular form, each ſide being of the ſame dimenſions; and, turn it which way you wou'd, it afforded the ſame proſpect. The ſpace which ran down from the crown of palms to the table, made a comely appearance; but that part which faced the door was far more noble, as it directly took the eyes of the comers-in; becauſe, as we ſaid before, being of a triangular form, and moveable to any ſide, this part appeared ſharp and elevated. A glorious ſight of precious ſtones appeared here, ſet in the middle of the hairy ringlets, and diſpoſed in a moſt inimitable order. Every one were ſet in gold, to keep them the firmer; and the corners were froſted. About the parts of the crown of palms, which were raiſed up to view, ran an oblique circle, which quite ſurrounded the table; whereon was engraven, a fine repreſentation of ſheep, in precious ſtones, all in releive, with ſhrubs and wood beautifully imitated, which went round the table. Under this repreſentation of ſheep in ſtones, the artificers made a beautiful fruit-branch, whereon ſeveral fruits hung conſpicuous, and full to view; as grapes, palms, apples, olives, pomgranates, and other ſorts of fruits; and every ſtone they not only made according to the ſhape, but, alſo, of the colour of the ſeveral fruits which they repreſented; which ran in a circle round the table, and were at the end faſtened to a golden ball. Next to the branch, thus adorned, appeared the aboveſaid repreſentation of ſheep, ſhrubs, and woods, and the emboſs'd work; ſo that the table being made for ſervice two ways, you might erect it to which you wou'd. Moreover, they made a plate, very firm and ſolid, which they added to the breadth of the table, four fingers thick, in order to put feet into it, faſtened with rivets, ſo that the table might be of ſervice, by thus being raiſed up on either ſide: Theſe were fix'd full to the ſight, and put into the external ſuperficies of the table. Above this, a beautiful meander was repreſented, having in the middle abundance of precious ſtones jetting out; ſuch as the carbuncle, ſmarag'd, onyx, and others, that caſt a refulgence. Near the meander was ſeen a broad piece of texture of ſurprizing workmanſhip, in the middle repreſenting an oblong and round figure, like a rhomboid, or cone, made of chryſtal, and which they call electrum, ſo exquiſitely contrived, that perſons who ſaw it took it for a piece of inimitable workmanſhip. The feet were ſo contrived, that they had chapiters at the top, made broad, on which the table reſted, but the foilage which appeared underneath, ſtood erect. The lower part of each foot, which leaned upon the ground, conſiſted of a carbuncle of a palm ſquare, eight fingers thick, becauſe it ſerved for the foundation, on which all the reſt laid its weight. There was alſo repreſented ivy growing, with acanthus and vine-twigs, which circled round the whole foot, and had bunches of berries and grapes artificially cut out of precious ſtones, which went up to the very foilage. This artificial repreſentation took in four feet, wherein every thing was ſo curiouſly wrought and joined, that the excellent ſkill and workmanſhip that appeared throughout, made every thing ſeem as if it had been natural: For on the leaſt breath of air all the foilage would move. The edges of the table conſiſted of three parts, and were ſo curiouſly faſtened together, that it was impoſſible either to ſee or find out the joints. The thickneſs of the whole table was not leſs than half a cubit; ſo that the charge of it amounted to many talents. And becauſe the king had once determined to make it no bigger, he made up for it in the thickneſs; ſo that every thing, as he had commanded, were executed with the greateſt curioſity and workmanſhip imaginable. The art expreſs'd in it exceeded all imitation, and its appearance was ſurprizingly beautiful and ſplendid.

There were two goblets, imitating ſcales, on the outſide, from the bottom to the middle, and in the middle of the ſcales were ſet precious ſtones, after a wonderful manner; next to this was a meander, a cubit high, and ſo beautifully adorned with precious ſtones of various colours, that the ſplendor which iſſued from them was not the only thing worthy of admiration, but the curious workmanſhip made a noble appearance. Next, was a row of trees to to the very edge of the cone, which was folded like a net; in the middle of theſe were repreſented ſhields, in ſtones of ſeveral kinds, four fingers big, and which caſt a prodigious ſplendor, from the difference of their colours: And the rim of the crown had lillies, and cluſters of grapes, beautifully repreſented upon it, which went round in a circle. And this was the ſhape and faſhion of the two golden goblets, which contain'd above two turns, or gallons. Thoſe which were of ſilver, were poliſh'd vaſtly beautiful, and threw a ſurprizing ſplendor round them. They were made ſo ſhining for the very end, that whatſoever was put in them, might be repreſented more clearly than in a looking-glaſs; nor is it poſſible to deſcrible, in words, their true and juſt form. When they were finiſh'd, and plac'd in the following order, namely, a ſilver one firſt, a gold one the ſecond, and a ſilver one the third; after the gold one was put down, there iſſued ſuch a brightneſs and reſulgency, as is unſpeakable: For thoſe that came near them could not depart becauſe of the aſtoniſhing brightneſs of every thing about them: Beſides, the proſpect of ſuch tranſparency afforded very agreeable ideas; lookers-on were aſtoniſhingly enlivened with the ſight, and, for a long time, moved their eyes to gaze on one and then another, admiring, with the deepeſt thought, the reſulgency and curious workmanſhip of the veſſels. When people caſt but their eyes on the ſilver goblets, nothing but amazing light and brightneſs dazzled their eyes; ſo that in ſhort, the vaſt variety and beauty of the workmanſhip make it impoſſible to deſcribe them as they ought.

The golden phials were ſo curiouſly wrought, that the middle of them was beautified with chaplets of vine branches, and the rims were enrich'd with ivy and myrtle; among which, was finely interſperſed a charming crown of olives, adorn'd with precious ſtones, all the reſt of the noble preſents being anſwerable to the great ſoul of the king that ſent them, and every where diverſified with the moſt uncommon ſtrokes of elegant ſculpture: For neither the king's cabinet, nor that of any other prince, could produce things of ſuch excellent workmanſhip, and prodigious art. As *Ptolomy* had an ambition to make the things, he did, appear vaſtly ſplendid and ornamental, ſo he was at no ſmall pains and care to execute this brave deſign of his in the fineſt and moſt beautiful manner he was able: For he left, ſeveral times, the publick concerns of his own kingdom, and ſat himſelf down by the workmen, with great diligence looking over them, and directing 'em how every thing was to be put into its proper place. Whence it ſo happen'd, that every thing was finiſh'd as became the grandeur of the prince who ſent them, and the dignity of the high-prieſt who bore that ſupreme office: For the largeneſs of the ſtones was not only ſurprizing, but their number was great; there being no leſs than five thouſand uſed to the whole: And the curioſity of the workmanſhip was ſo much ſuperior to all the reſt, that the precious ſtones, and the labour of the artificers, exceeded by five times all the gold that was made uſe of.

Thus I have given you a ſuccinct account of theſe ſeveral particulars, a deſcription whereof, I ſuppoſe not any way unneceſſary at this ſeaſon. The ſequel of my diſcourſe will acquaint you with our journey to *Eleazar*; but, before I enter upon that, I will give you a narrative how the country is ſituated. On our firſt landing in the *Jewiſh* territories, we had a proſpect of the city, which ſtood in the very center or heart of the country, on a high hill, of difficult aſcent. On the top hereof, ſtood the temple, exceedingly beautiful and ſplendid, having three walls running quite round it, above threeſcore and ten cubits in height, of equal breadth to the height, and of length in proportion to the bigneſs of the noble fabrick, all built vaſtly ſumptuous and magnificent; for in every part appeared prodigious labour, and uncommon expence. But, beſides this, the gates diſcover'd extraordinary magnificence and coſt, and the greateſt art and expence were equally laid out on both parts, above and below the gates. A veil hung over the door, made in the ſimilitude of gates, which afforded a very pleaſing ſight, ſo taking, that the eye, once fixed thereon, was with difficulty drawn away. The charms ariſing from this ſcene, were owing principally to the continual motion of this veil, which was gently ſhaken by the wind that came in at the door, and from the air ariſing from the floor, which, from the poſition of its hanging, was in a perpetual ruffle from top to bottom. There was an altar erected exactly ſuiting the place whereon it ſtood, and every way convenient to receive the ſacrifices that were burnt thereon. On that ſide were the going up to the altar was made, a great deal of fine workmanſhip appear'd, and all was very beautifully accommodated to the ſervices uſed thereon, and to the garments of the prieſts, which were of fine linnen, gracefully depending to the ſoles of the feet. The temple it ſelf exactly faces the eaſt, its back front being to the weſt. The floor is of ſtone, and a conduit of water runs into certain places, for the waſhing away the blood of the victims; becauſe on the ſolemn days ſeveral thouſand heads of cattle are ſlain. The water of this conduit runs perpetually. Nor is this to be wonder'd at; becauſe there is a large well in the inſide, whoſe water continually ſprings; and under ground are made ſeveral receptacles to receive it, which diſcover exquiſite workmanſhip. Theſe are brought a matter of five furlongs off, as was eaſily to be ſeen, about the temple, every one of which had a prodigious number of holes, ſo contriv'd, that the water was thrown into one another with wonderful eaſe. Theſe ducts of Water were made of brick-work cover'd over with lead, a pretty deep way under ground. But there are, beſides theſe, ſeveral other holes in the main baſon, or receptacle, which no eye can diſcern, unleſs of ſuch perſons as are employ'd about them; and 'tis through theſe that the water is forc'd up with ſome violence, which entirely waſhes away the blood of the victims, though never ſo large a quantity be ſpilt.

Now I ſhall acquaint you how I came to be favoured with a ſight of the ſtructure and bigneſs of theſe receptacles. The *Jews* carried me ſome four furlongs out of the city, and one of them then bad me lay my head to a certain place, and liſten to the vaſt ſound and rumbling the meeting of the water made; whence I learn'd perfectly what bigneſs theſe baſons, or receptacles, muſt needs be of, of which I have already ſpoken.

The prieſts, whoſe office is purely about matters of religion, exceed all others in bodily ſtrength; but this not all, their magnificent garb, and the ſilence they are noted for, ſet off their character abundantly. Every one of this faculty voluntarily expoſe themſelves to labour, though never ſo hard and difficult: Beſides, every one has his particular lot of buſineſs ſo aſſign'd him, that no impediment or obſtruction is known to put things out of their regular and juſt order. Some are employ'd to prepare the wood, others the oil, ſome the flour, others the ſpices, or aromaticks: Some are buſied in burning the entire bodies of victims, wherein they are oblig'd to ſhew not only great ſtrength of body, but dexterity of mind. In this they take up in both their hands the legs of the bullocks, each of which can't weigh leſs than a talent, which they, by turns, very dexterouſly heave up to a determinate height, without ſo much as making one falſe ſtep all the while. After the very ſame manner they do with the legs of the ſheep and ſhe-goats, which are of ſurprizing weight and fatneſs; for I muſt acquaint you, that ſpecial care ir taken by perſons appointed for that end, to ſee that theſe victims are not only without ſpot, but, alſo, that they be of the fatteſt kind. Theſe prieſts have certain places aſſign'd to repoſe themſelves in, where they enjoy their full eaſe; from whence it comes, that they riſe with readineſs and alacrity to their reſpective employments, without having one to order them to their duty. But what is more ſurprizing, is this, ſo great a ſilence reigns throughout the place where theſe prieſts are employ'd, that you wou'd think not a ſoul was there, and yet no leſs a number than ſeventy prieſts are at once employ'd, excluſive of the number of people who bring the ſacrifices, who are very conſiderable. With ſo much reverence is every thing perform'd, agreeably to the majeſty of that divinity which is ſuppos'd to inhabit this temple.

When we firſt caſt our eyes on *Eleazar*, the high-prieſt performing the ſacred worſhip of the ſupreme being, the magnificence of his garb, and luſtre of precious ſtones which glanced there-from, we were thrown into the deepeſt wonder and amazement; for the golden bells which hung round the ſkirts of his garments had a particular harmony in each, and ſweetly charm'd the ear; beſides punick apples, or pomgranates, were hung between each of theſe bells, adorn'd with flowers of various kinds,and colours. He was girded, beſides, with a moſt beautiful girdle, variegated with the choiceſt of rich colours. Above his breaſt he wore the *rationale*, ſet finely in gold, whereto were faſtened twelve ſtones of different kinds, which diffuſed around an unſpeakable ſplendor, having inſcribed upon them the names of the twelve tribes, according to their original inſtitution: Above his head he wore a covering, call'd *cidarim*, and, above that, a turbant, of inimitable workmanſhip, which kings commonly wear; and, above this, ran round a plate of gold, with the name of God, inſcribed in ſacred letters, upon it, which cover'd his forehead to his eyebrows, with great comlineſs. As for *Eleazar* himſelf, he appear'd entirely worthy of all theſe honours, eſpecially in his way of performing the awful ceremonies and worſhip of God. Indeed, *Eleazar*, from the prodigious ſplendor of his dreſs, threw a terror among thoſe who looked upon him; nor did I think my ſelf out in my aſſertion, in ſaying that all the company then preſent had ſurprizing and aſtoniſhing idea's enter their minds, when they ſaw the dignity and ſacredneſs of his garb.

From this place we withdrew, after ſome time; and, that we might have a full proſpect of every thing, we were conducted up to the top of a tower that was at a ſmall diſtance off. This place we took particular care to view. It was ſituated on a very high hill, and fortified with ſeveral ſmall towers that were built of exceeding large ſtones. From its appearance, we concluded that it had been built as a place of defence for the places which were about the temple, in order to ſtop any inſurrections or ſallies of the enemy, and to exclude any paſſage being made to the fortreſſes which were built round the temple. The towers belonging to this citadel were ſtored with darts and other martial inſtruments; beſides which, it ſtood on the very ſummit of the mountain, and rear'd up its head a conſiderable height above the other towers it was built amongſt. Add, to all this, that theſe towers were fortified with ſtrong and faithful garriſons, who were prohibited from leaving their poſts but on feſtival days, and then they were forced to take it by turns; neither would they ſuffer any perſon to enter in. Indeed they had orders from the governor to let any perſon come in to take a proſpect of the place, but even this was done with great caution, they narrowly watching and obſerving the perſon all the while, as happen'd to us, while we were there. With much difficulty, we, who were but two in company, and who went purely to have a ſight of the ſacred things, were admitted, thongh unarm'd. They told us, in excuſe, that their orders were ſuch, and all who were admitted to guard the place were under an oath for the faithful and careful execution of their office. Now though their number conſiſts of above five hundred perſons, yet they never will admit of above five in company together to enter in. And he who originally founded this fabrick, took care to have ſuch ſtrict and accurate orders made and enforced.

The breadth of the city is of moderate dimenſions, and the circumference, as far as we could gueſs of the matter, contained about forty furlongs. The towers ſeemed to have paſſages underneath them, and above, ways to walk through. Their order reſembled the make of a theatre; for the city ſtanding on a hill, they were reflex'd, and ſeem'd to lean one againſt another. To the paſſages above ſtairs, of a conſiderable height are made, as likewiſe to theſe underneath. This diſtinction was purely made for the ſakes of the religious, that they might not touch any perſon whom the law forbad to come near.

The firſt founders of this city did not make it of the dimenſions above ſpecified through any ill-concerted counſel, but the greateſt wiſdom appears to have been the director herein: For the country round about is large, and of a good ſoil. Indeed, towards *Samaria* and *Idumæa*

mæa it is, for the moſt part, a fine champaign country; though in ſome places a great many large and high mountains are ſeen, where the land requires good husbandry, and a great deal of tillage. Yet, for all this, the inhabitants are ſo induſtrious, that they have plentiful crops annually ariſing from their fields, and not only ſo, but every part of the country is tilled, and every where is prodigious plenty to be ſeen. In ſuch cities as are of any conſiderable extent, and are bleſs'd with peace, happineſs, and an affluence of all neceſſaries, great numbers of youth are to be ſeen; whereas the countries round about them are abandoned, becauſe of the general feſtivity that poſſeſſes the minds of the people, every one being ſo naturally inclineable to indulge this pleaſureable affection. Of this, *Alexandria* is an inſtance; for being ſuperior to all other cities, both in magnitude, and in the number of its inhabitants, prodigious numbers of perſons, from all parts of the country, come, on the invitations of their friends, and ſtay a conſiderable time among them; during which, their eſtates and lands run to decay and ruin. This made the king make an order to deter them from ſtaying any long time there, prohibiting all perſons to remain above twenty days in any foreign city. In like manner, to ſuch as had real buſineſs in theſe cities, he preſcribed a limited time to finiſh it in; for example, ſuch as law-ſuits, to get them diſpatch'd in five day's time: Beſides which, the king having a great eſteem for your corn-factors, and aſſeſſors of proviſions, he enacted a law, forbidding all husbandmen, and the governor of the city, for any private advantage, to leſſen or diminiſh the corn laid up in their barns or magazines.

We have thought fit to make this digreſſion, purely becauſe *Eleazar* gave us an exact account of every individual. This makes the country people apply themſelves to agriculture with great diligence, ſo that the country is finely ſtock'd with olive-trees, and not only ſo, but abounds with all ſorts of corn and pulſe, beſides the vaſt number of vines, and great plenty of honey, that is found there. Palms, and other fruit-bearing trees, are innumerable among them; all kinds of cattle, and ſheep, adorn their paſtures, whoſe ſoil is the richeſt in the world. Vaſt quantities of aromatick ſpices, precious ſtones, and gold, are imported hither by the *Arabians*; for the country is not only exceedingly well adapted for tillage, but, alſo, for merchandize. The city is ſupplied with artificers in abundance; neither is there any want of ſuch things as the ſea generally affords, ſince it has very convenient harbours of its own, that ſupply *Aſcalon*, *Joppa*, *Gaza*, and *Ptolomais*, a city built by the king, which ſtands in the very heart of all theſe places, and is but at a ſmall diſtance from them, having plenty of every thing of its own production; for the country is bleſs'd with innumerable ſprings, and well fortified: For *Jordan*, that everlaſting river, waſhes it round, aud anciently it contain'd no leſs than ſix millions of acres. From the neighbourhood flock'd into it threeſcore thouſand inhabitants, each of which had a hundred acres of land aſſign'd him to live upon. This river, as well as the *Nile*, flows over its banks about the beginning of harveſt-time, and lays a large tract of ground under water. It flows into another river about *Ptolomais*, and then empties it ſelf into the ſea. There are other rapid rivers, call'd torrents, who lay the places about *Gaza* and the region of the *Aſolii* under water: Beſides, the country has ſeveral good natural fortifications upon its frontiers, and what, on account of its narrow paſſes, vaſt precipices, and hollow caves, and its ragged hills that ſurround it, all irruptions are cut off; neither can any army poſſibly enter it.

'Tis ſaid, that the metals of braſs and iron were firſt dug out of the mountains of *Arabia* that are not far off from hence; but that, in proceſs of time, ſo ſoon as the *Perſians* became maſters of the world, the digging for them was interrupted, becauſe thoſe at the helm of affairs conſidered them of little ſervice, and only tending to the deſtruction of the kingdom. This pretext prevailed at that time, becauſe by the authority chiefly of thoſe who managed theſe mines, the country was put into the hands of other people, as ſoon as they found they had got a clear paſſage into it. Thus, my brother *Philocrates*, have I acquainted you, very particularly, with ſuch things and occurences as were worth to be related: I will now give you a narrative how the tranſlation was manag'd.

For this important end, *Eleazar* ſelected out from among the number of his countrymen perſons of the very beſt families, characters, and learning; who were not only endow'd with a ſuperior underſtanding in the *Jewiſh* learning, but, alſo, who had a profound knowledge of the writings and cuſtoms of the *Greeks*; men who were only fit to undertake a buſineſs of ſuch importance; who had diſtinguiſh'd themſelves by ſeveral famous embaſſies, and were ſet apart for ſuch poſts when neceſſity requir'd. They were perſons of fine talents, and had an exquiſite method in expounding the difficulties of their law. Every one embrac'd the middle ſtate of life, which is certainly the beſt. They had nothing of that roughneſs and aſperity of behaviour which diſcovers it ſelf ſo much in many. They were entirely free from arrogance and preſumption; they thought it beneath them to ſeem fond of opinions to raiſe them above their inferiors; on the contrary, a ſweetneſs conſtantly flow'd in their converſation, and they were vaſtly courteous to thoſe they addreſs'd themſelves to. They conſtantly diſcovered a ſurprizing readineſs to liſten to every thing that was ſaid to 'em, and in all the anſwers they made, expreſs'd great beauty and addreſs. They endeavour'd, at ſuch time as they ſpoke, to pronounce their words regularly and methodically. In ſhort, all of them were worthy of the dignities they enjoy'd; nor was their virtue leſs than the diſcovery they made of it. It will appear evident, how much they lov'd *Eleazar*, from hence that they took their farewel of him with extreme difficulty and reluctance: Nor will *Eleazar*'s love to them appear in inferior colours, ſince, beſides the letter which he wrote to the king, to ſee them reſtor'd back, he very much importun'd *Andreas* to uſe his intereſt therein, and begg'd us to uſe them with all the civility we were able. On our promiſing to uſe our endeavours in this reſpect, and telling him he need be under no apprehenſions of fear about them, yet he could not help diſcovering great uneaſineſs and concern. He anſwer'd, he was very well aſſur'd of the king's generoſity, and that as he was diſtinguiſh'd above the reſt of mankind, for his love of, and endeavour to promote virtue, ſo in what part ſoever of the world he found learned and prudent men to abound, there he would ſend for them. This was truly and juſtly ſpoken of the king; for if he has perſons of great depth of underſtanding, and moderation about him, he need have no better or ſurer guards about his perſon, nor other fortifications to ſecure his kingdom; becauſe they will adviſe him always to the beſt, without fear or controul, the happy effects whereof are diffuſed over the perſons ſubjects to him. And ſuch, *Eleazar* was of opinion, were they he had ſent on this important buſineſs. But he affirm'd, with an oath, he wou'd not let them proceed on their journey, if there was any other thing that might obſtruct the deſign they went about. That he ſent them, then, purely to make emendations in that which was of ſuch vaſt advantage to all mankind. For, as he ſaid, to live well, conſiſted more in a ſtrict obſervance of, and conformity to the preſcriptions of the law, then in the peruſal thereof; from which, and other circumſtances of the ſame ſtamp, it appears how he ſtood affected to theſe perſons.

It will not be amiſs to give a recital of ſome few things which he explained to us on our putting ſeveral queſtions to him about them, eſpecially ſince we think there are ſeveral who can't help ſuppoſing ſome particular items in the law are very raſh and inconſiderate; as in the paſſages concerning their meat and drink, and the animals which they held impure. On our asking him, therefore, why they accounted ſome of thoſe creatures (all whereof were the work of one creator) fit to be eaten, others not, which, beſides ſeveral other things mention'd in their law, argued groſs ſuperſtition, and were kept up with the ſame ſuperſtitious temper; he thus anſwer'd us:

You can be no ſtranger, says he, *to the influence and effects converſation and cuſtom produces, becauſe men are depraved from the converſation of wicked perſons, and receive a bad tincture the remaining parts of their lives; whereas if they aſſociate with virtuous and good company, the conſequence proves a clearing away of their ignorance, and a life conducted according to virtuous principles. Hence our firſt law-giver laid down, after a very accrate and diſtinct manner, ſeveral precepts concerning juſtice and virtue; but the non-performance of each was back'd with penal law, by ſetting before the eyes the evils and afflictions which God inflicts on thoſe who tranſgreſſed them. For the firſt thing he did, was, to ſhew, that there was but one God, whoſe power extended over all things; that all the actions of mankind were known to him, and every thing they did, or were to do, could not be hid from him.* After he had laid down theſe poſitions, he proceeded on to ſhew that the very intention of a man to commit wickedneſs, was known to God; ſo that throughout the whole ſyſtem of his laws he endeavour'd to illuſtrate the almighty power and majeſty of God. Having made this beginning, he demonſtrated, next, that all other nations, except the *Jews*, ſet up, after a fooliſh manner, a great number of gods, which were a great deal inferior to their worſhippers. That their images were of ſtone or wood, which they took for the ſtatues of ſuch as had been the inventors of uſeful things in life; and that they paid adoration to them, when they might clearly ſee, if they wou'd but open their eyes, that they were deſtitute of every ſenſe. That it was plain their adoration reſpected the time theſe inventors lived; hence, that they were to be accounted very ridiculous people, who, being themſelves the makers of their gods, could not create or produce any thing, but believ'd that things created and produc'd could anſwer all the purpoſes of a divine nature. That in giving divine worſhip to things that were but like themſelves, they acted very inconſiſtent to the dictates of human reaſon, and the more ſo, becauſe the world could produce then, ſeveral perſons of more diſtinguiſh'd ſenſe and abilities than thoſe inventors, whom they diſregarded; and yet they eſteem'd ſuch of the *Grecians* as had invented all their fictions about their gods, to be men of the moſt knowledge and wiſdom. 'But, *ſaid he*, what need I ſpeak of nations that are more ridiculous than theſe, as the *Ægyptians*, and the like, who make gods of beaſts and reptiles, and other animals, and ſacrifice as well to the living as the dead? All theſe fooliſh ſuperſtitions being diligently weighed in the mind of our legiſlator (not without the aſſiſtance of the almighty God) he fortified us with inſuperable walls, ſo that we could not any ways mix with other nations, but remaining pure in body and mind from the infection of falſe opinions, we worſhip one God, who bears univerſal ſway over all mankind. The *Ægyptian* prieſts obſerving this in our conduct, and maturely reflecting on our way of diſcipline, from which they took many things, call'd us the men of God, which title, no one has a right to but he that believes in the true God. As for other nations, they devote themſelves to nothing but a luxurious way of life, dreſſing and adorning themſelves in curious apparel. We, on the other hand, think theſe not worthy of our notice, but, all our lives, continue in a rapturous contemplation of the majeſty and omnipotence of God. From hence it comes, that no impiety infects us, no converſation of wicked men ſheds its pernicious influence over us; but we are guarded with a ſacred and pure way of eating and drinking, of touching, hearing, and ſeeing. For all the commands and precepts he has enjoin'd us, are the conſequences of natural cauſes, and are divinely maintain'd; nor are all the articles which we either uſe or abſtain from, leſs fortified; one or two of which, juſt for example ſake, I will acquaint you with, to remove your giving into any mean or low opinion of our law-giver, as if, more to pleaſe mice and ‘rats, he had been ſo over-ſolicitous in making and publiſhing his laws; but to let you ſee that every thing is gravely and piouſly inſtituted purely to promote juſtice, to rectify human life, and to inſtil into the minds of his followers, religion, devoutneſs, and purity of opinion. For as to birds we eat, every one of theſe are cuſtomary, being fed upon wheat and pulſe, and are the cleaneſt in their kinds; namely, pigeons, turtles, partridges, geeſe, and ſuch ſort. As for thoſe birds which are prohibited us, you will find them of the ravenous kind, rapacious againſt others, feeding upon the tame kind, on lambs and kids, and exerciſing their voracious appetites both on dead and living men: Theſe are by our law-giver called unclean, teaching his followers, from hence, to follow and practice juſtice, not to uſe their power and authority to the enſlaving of others who put their confidence in them, nor to commit ſpoil or depredation on others; but to ſquare the whole courſe of their life according to the dictates of right reaſon, and according to the imitation and example of thoſe tame creatures who feed upon the natural products of the earth, and who offer no violence to others of the ſame ſpecies. Theſe our law-giver uſed as ſymbols to ſhew the more intelligent among his followers that they ought to purſue righteous ways, to refrain from doing injuries, and not to oppreſs thoſe who confided in them. If *Moſes*, then, was ſo careful in prohibiting the uſe of the above-mentioned birds becauſe of their ravenous and voracious natures, which every one too manifeſtly diſcover'd; how much was his precaution to ſee our lives and manners conducted according to the rules of ſtrict ſobriety and benevolence? So what he left us at liberty to enjoy or reject, as to birds, the ſame courſe he took as to cattle: Thoſe which he commanded to be eaten, were to have the hoof cloven. This was a ſymbol to inſtruct us to ſee that we diligently and carefully clove or ſeparated our actions. Now as the ſtrength of the bodies of cattle is maintained by their legs and ſhoulders, he was pleaſed to ſhew us by this ſymbol, that we ſhould form all our actions and endeavours with diſcernment, agreeably to the ſtandard of equity; and that, particularly, for this reaſon, becauſe between us and other nations there is a vaſt difference, they abandoning themſelves to the great infringement of the laws of juſtice, to an unnatural commerce with one another. And yet this is no more than what cities and entire countries glory in, ſuffering their inhabitants with impunity not only to communicate with the males, but to pollute women with child, and their own daughters, from which abominable practices we reſtrain ourſelves. But in the place where he warns us of this diſtinction, there we meet with the precept of memory and remembrance laid down in its proper character. For when he ſays, *Whatſoever hath the hoof cloven, and chews the cud*; 'tis evident to thoſe that have any knowledge of the matter, that he points out there the characteriſtick of memory. For rumination, or *chewing the cud*, ſignifies the memory and remembrance, and principally that of our life and conſtitution; becauſe life conſiſts, and is preſerved by a requiſite taking of food. And from hence it comes, likewiſe, that in ſcripture he is exhorted, who ſays, *Memory is the remembrance of the Lord, who hath made within thee great and wonderful things*. Now theſe great and wonderful things will be made evident, when they are juſtly conſidered: For example, in the firſt place, the make of the body, the diſpoſition of the nutriment, the juſt ſymmetry and ſhape of all the members; but, laſtly, and what is more than all, the diſpoſition of the ſenſes, the force and inviſible agitation of the mind, its ſurprizing velocity to perform any thing, and its invention, which extends itſelf to infinite notions. Upon the ſcore of theſe, he lays us under an injunction to conſider them gravely and ſeriouſly, and to bring this thought to our remembrance, that as all theſe above-mentioned ſurprizing things were firſt made by a divine power, ſo they are preſerved by no leſs an operator. And, beſides, he has put a diſtinction on the times, and finely accommodated them for the entertaining this remembrance concerning the everlaſting God, by whoſe power all things are preſerved and governed. For when we are to take either meat or drink, he commands us immediately to meet all together, and perform certain libations and prayers. Nor is this all; in the very manner of our apparel he has given us illuſtrious marks and diſcoveries of this remembrance; nay, he has given us precepts to fix to our doors and gates certain commands of God, in order to keep him within our remembrance; and, likewiſe, he hath order'd us to carry in our hand the expreſs characteriſtic of the Almighty folded up. By all which it appears, that theſe are inſtitutions and commands purely to keep us in mind of our creation, and, principally, to live in fear of the author of our being, who ſhould neceſſarily be ſuppoſed always to be preſent at whatſoever we either do or tranſact. He, moreover, commands us at all times, when we lie down to reſt, and when we riſe up again, to bring to our thoughts the inconceivable alteration and viciſſitudes of things, the ſucceſſion of ſleep and reſt, and, from ſoberly reflecting on theſe changes, admire the motions and revolutions in the works of God.

‘Thus, by giving you a detail of the cloven hoofs, and of chewing the cud, I have ſhewn you the excellency of the lawful oracle, with reſpect to the diſtinction of the choice and of the memory, to let you ſee that our legiſlator did not inſtitute them raſhly, or unadviſedly, as they may be thought; but according to the ſtandard of truth and right reaſon: Beſides, as he has commanded us, with reſpect to our eating, and the meats we eat, ſo he has been no leſs accurate in the precepts he has left concerning what we either touch or hear; for he has ordered us neither to do nor to eat any thing precipitantly, neither to confide ſo much in our words, as to involve ourſelves in any injuſtice. The reaſons and cauſes of all which, may be found out in the nature

‘ of the like ſpecies, is hurtful, and therefore theſe are in the prohibition: Rats, eſpecially, make deſtruction every where in their travels, and not only ſpoil every thing that comes near them, but they corrupt ſo much as their very meat. Whereas the nature of the weezel is ſomewhat peculiar, becauſe this animal, beſides the above-mentioned quality of hurting which it naturally has, enjoys this, in particular, likewiſe, namely, to conceive with its ears, and bring its young out at its mouth; whereby is ſignified, that ſuch a nature in man is impure, which, whatſoever it receives in at the ear, exaggerates in words, to the detriment and prejudice of others, contaminating it ſelf, in doing thus, not a little, in that it involves it ſelf in an abominable and impious method. So that the king, your maſter, acts wiſely (as we are told) in inflicting juſt puniſhment on perſons of this deteſtable ſtamp.’

Upon this, I aſſum'd the diſcourſe. ‘ You ſeem, Sir, *ſaid I,* to ſpeak of tale-bearers, whom he puniſhes with the rack, and oft-times with death. *Whereupon, he made anſwer,* ‘ Theſe are thoſe I mean; for 'tis owing to the vigilance of theſe raſcals that others ſo often find their ruin; for our law commands us not to injure any man, either in word or deed. And thus, ſo much as brevity would permit me, have I acquainted you with theſe ſeveral particulars, to demonſtrate this to you, that every precept contain'd in our law is calculated exactly to the ſtandard of juſtice, and that nothing therein carries along with it the face of raſhneſs, ſeverity, or hardſhip; but that in every ſcene of our lives, and in all our actions, we execute juſtice to all men, and never let God eſcape our remembrance, who governs all things. So that what regards our meats, or what regards the beaſts, we are to chuſe or reject, was inſtituted for no other end but that juſtice might be embraced, and that man's converſation and ſociety might be alſo juſt.’

So that I think I have given you as good a narrative of every particular, as I was well able. But more than all I have taken notice of, he ſpoke concerning calves, rams, and he-goats, which were offered; all which, they choſe from the tameſt and moſt gentle herds they could find, purely that no unruly or wild creature might be ſacrificed, and that the ſacrificers might not, from *Moſes*'s appointment, take hold of any handle to excite their pride; but that each ſacrificer might offer his victim according to the affection of his mind.

Theſe were the particulars that happened in converſation, which, in my opinion, I thought were worthy to be related; becauſe, my *Philocrates*, of your ſingular deſire to be acquainted with every thing of advantage: Therefore I could not but comply with your requeſt, and ſet before you the majeſty and ſanctity of that law. But now to my deſign.

When *Eleazar* had perform'd ſacrifice, he gave us conſiderable preſents for the king, and then diſmiſs'd us, with a ſafe convoy in our journey. When we were arrived at *Alexandria*, and the king was told of our coming, *Andreas* and I were ſent for to court, where, after we had firſt paid our compliments to the king, we deliver'd the letter which *Eleazar* had ſent. The king being deſirous to confer with the perſons whom *Eleazar* had ſent, by themſelves, gave orders for every one to withdraw, who were then upon buſineſs, and to call them; which being a circumſtance ſomething uncommon, put every one into admiration: Becauſe 'twas cuſtomary for perſons upon private affairs to have audience of the king within five days, when ambaſſadors ſent from kings and cities could not gain admittance in thirty. *Ptolomy* thinking theſe perſons more worthy of honour, and regarding the dignity of the man who had ſent them, after he had commanded all to retire whom he thought unneceſſary about him, he walk'd up and down in expectation of their coming: 'Twas not long before they appear'd, bringing along with them *Eleazar*'s preſents, and ſeveral ſkins of vellum, in which the law was written in golden characters in the language of the *Jews*; the ſkins being ſo curiouſly made, and ſo artfully put together, as to deceive the niceſt eye. When the king ſaw them, he aſk'd concerning the books. Upon this, they open'd the ſkins, and diſcover'd the inſide; which made the king ſtand ſtock ſtill for ſome time in a kind of adoration: But at length he ſpoke, ‘ Gentlemen, I am oblig'd to you, but more to him who ſent you, and yet moſt to God, whoſe oracles theſe are.’ This declaration of the king was unanimouſly approv'd, both by the tongues of thoſe who were come, and of thoſe who were with the king, ſaying, ‘ 'Tis well done, O king!’ This fill'd the king with gladneſs, and he began to ſhed tears; becauſe the vaſt deſire he had to do great and glorious things, eſpecially in this caſe, which had fallen out to his wiſhes, made his ſoul burſt with joy. After this, he order'd them to lay down the books of the law; which being done, he ſaluted them all round, and ſaid, ‘ You, gentlemen, who are renown'd for your piety, 'twas but right in me to pay the firſt honours to thoſe whom I ſent for hither, and then to give you tokens of a hearty welcome. This day ſhall the remainder of my life be kept ſolemn and ſacred: And becauſe it falls out at the very time I have obtained a victory at ſea over *Antigonus*, I will, upon that account, ſup with you.’ Accordingly, he ſent orders for all the lords and great men to be preſent; among whom we came and join'd the company. At the ſame time the ſeventy elders had very commodious apartments aſſign'd them near the tower, and all things were commanded to be got ready for the entertainment.

Nicanor, the head phyſician, was commanded to fetch *Dorotheus*, who was commiſſion'd in this poſt, to ſee that care was effectually taken of all: For the king's injunctions were ſuch, that as many cities as were appointed to ſupply proviſions and other neceſſaries, ſo many offices were conſtituted, when any came to ſee the king, to get things ready with expedition, as it happened with reſpect to theſe ſtrangers. *Dorotheus*, a perſon of extraordinary diligence, was ſuperintendant over theſe, and very careful in ſuch things as were committed to his charge: His buſineſs was to ſee the *Jewiſh* elders had good entertaiment; and, according to the king's orders, he divided them into two parts: For *Ptolomy* would have one half ſit before him, and the other half behind his throne, reſolving to paſs by nothing that might contribute to honour his new gueſts.

As ſoon as they were ſat down, the king commanded *Dorotheus* to perform every thing exactly after the cuſtom of thoſe who came out of *Judæa*. Immediately he ſent for ſacred heralds, ſacrificers, and others, who were commonly uſed to make prayers. On their coming they ask'd *Eleazar*, the elder, to make a prayer, who ſtanding up, with a becoming reverence, thus ſaid: 'O king, may Almighty 'God ſhower upon you all thoſe good things 'which he hath made; and may he vouchſafe 'both you, your queen, and royal offspring, 'a firm and laſting enjoyment of them ſo 'long as you live.' As ſoon as he had thus ſpoke, a mighty ſhout was rais'd, which continued for ſome time. After this, they ſat down to the entertainment. Then all the officers, in obedience to the preſcriptions of *Dorotheus*, ſtrove to perform their ſeveral duties in the moſt agreeable manner they cou'd; among whom was the king's boys, who were in great honour.

Ptolomy, after a while, as he found an opportunity (all ſitting according to their age), took occaſion to ask him who ſat uppermoſt how he ſhou'd preſerve his kingdom always without the intervention of calamities or croſs accidents. To which, after he had made a little pauſe, he thus anſwer'd: 'If in your government you 'imitate the equity and clemency of God. 'For whilſt you treat the unworthy with mo'deration and love, the worthy ('tis probable, 'will be dealt with more honourably and 'mildly, which will ſhame the former out of 'their ill-nature, and make them repent of 'their folly.'

This anſwer was applauded, and thereupon he put the queſtion to the next, how he ſhould form his government on ſo good a foundation as never to expoſe it to danger or difficulty. To this queſtion, after he had pauſed ſome time, he made the following anſwer: 'If you, in 'every act of your government, endeavour to 'ſet before your example the equity and mo'deration of God. For in ſhewing civility 'and complacency to the unworthy, 'tis more 'than probable that the worthy will ſhare your 'favour in a much higher degree; whereby 'you will not only cure the unworthy of their 'ingratude, but bring them to a repentance 'of themſelves and their actions.'

This being approved, he then ask'd the next how he ſhould conduct himſelf in all his actions. To this he was anſwer'd, That he wou'd not act amiſe, but purſue every ſtep according to the laws of juſtice, provided he was guardian of that which all mankind look upon as juſt; becauſe he was of opinion that God was privy to all his thoughts. But that his happineſs would chiefly depend upon this, namely, in beginning every thing he went about with an awe and fear of God; whereby he wou'd have no room to think that any piece of his conduct wou'd be attended with conſequences prejudicial to his repoſe.

This anſwer met with the ſame favorable reception. Upon which, he put a queſtion to the next perſon, what means were to be uſed ſo as to obtain and retain friends of the ſame ſentiments with himſelf. To this he was anſwered, 'If they find that you take care to ſee theſe 'aſſemblies, over whom you preſide, preſerv'd. 'This will eaſily be performed, if you but con'ſider how God aſſiſts human kind, who gives 'them, at proper ſeaſons, food and all other ne'ceſſaries, whereby their health is preſerved.'

This man's words were commended, and the next was ask'd, how, in adminiſtering juſtice, and pronouncing decrees, he ſhould get thoſe to applaud and commend his actions, who were not capable of judging for themſelves. To this he was anſwer'd, 'If you diſcover your ſelf to 'all your ſubjects always in the ſame tenour, 'without keeping up to your prerogative, and 'puniſhing offenders accordingly; you will never 'miſtake your ſelf in this, provided you take 'for your example the government wherewith 'God rules over mankind, who always complies 'with the requeſts of thoſe that are worthy; 'whereas thoſe whom he deems not ſo, he lets 'them underſtand their errors by dreams; yet 'he never puniſhes them proportionably to their 'crimes, or according to the meaſure of his own 'immenſe power, but deals with them in obe'dience to the ſtandard of equity.'

This, too, was commanded, and the next ask'd how he might become invincible in the expeditions he made. To this he was anſwered, 'If you put no truſt either in the number 'of your forces, or in your own power or 'ſtrength, but, on the contrary, call for aſſiſt'ance to God, and beg of him to direct you, 'who endeavour to purſue every thing juſtly, 'in your actions and counſels.'

This meeting with the like approbation, another was ask'd how he ſhould become dreadful to his enemies. 'If you are maſter of large 'magazines, and great ſtore of arms, anſwer'd 'the elder, and keep theſe to the affair diſputed 'about is terminated, as if they had been uſe'leſs. For God himſelf makes uſe of delays, 'and by expoſing the greatneſs of his power, 'ſtrike all with terror.'

Applauſe being given to theſe words, the queſtion was put to the next, what was the beſt thing to be choſen to conduct a man's life by. To this he was anſwered, To fix this as an infallible maxim, that all things were governed by God; and that in thoſe occurrences which he looked upon as the moſt glorious, our counſels had no ſhare, but that the divine being directed all, proportionable to his power.

This perſon being alſo applauded, the next was asked how he muſt preſerve his affairs on a ſure and firm foundation, and leave them in that condition to his poſterity. To this he was anſwered, 'By praying always to God, 'that you may follow good advice in the con'ducting your affairs; and by adviſing the 'well-born not to let dignity and wealth 'ſwell their ambition, nor their thoughts ſug'geſt to them that theſe acquiſitions are owing 'to themſelves, but that their diſpenſation 'comes and proceeds from God.'

This meeting with the ſame approbation, the queſtion was put to the next, what way he muſt take to ſuſtain every caſualty of life with moderation. To this he was anſwered, 'If you can perſuade your ſelf to believe that God hath created mankind in ſuch a manner that the greateſt felicities and hardſhips are inevitable attendants on them in this life, and that there is no man living that can pretend to be void of the viciſſitude of theſe two; but that God can contribute an equal temper of mind, for which he is prayed to.'

This perſon's anſwer being received with the ſame humanity and candour, the king ſaid, 'All of you have anſwered me excellently well: But I will only aſk a ſingle queſtion more, and then leave off, that we may enjoy that mirth and feſtivity for which we are aſſembled here: And during the following ſix days I will acquaint my ſelf with other arguments.' After this, he aſked the next what end their was of valour. To which he was anſwered, 'If your deliberation and deſigns, in the proſecution of arduous and noble exploits, are according to juſtice and reaſon, you need not fear but things will anſwer your expectations. But 'tis God, O king! who is the author of ſucceſs and fortuitous occurrences, ſo long as you proſecute your deſigns juſtly and regularly.' This ſpeech met with univerſal approbation, and was followed with loud applauſe. Upon which, the king turned himſelf to the philoſophers, who were pretty numerous, and ſaid, *My opinion is, that the virtue of theſe perſons is very extaordinary, and that their underſtanding far exceeds the knowledge of other men; who can thus give* extempore *anſwers ſo properly adapted to the queſtions put to them; making God the fountain of every thing.*

Hereupon *Menedemus*, the *Eretrien* philoſopher, ſaid, *'Tis very juſt, O king! what you obſerve. For ſince all things owe their dependance to God, it is but reaſonable for us to conclude, that man is a creature of God; and as juſt to ſay, that every man derives the force and rectitude of his underſtanding principally from God.* The king ſignifying his conſent to theſe aſſertions, ceaſed ſpeaking any further at that time; upon which, the gueſts fell to the entertainment, which concluded with the day.

The next day the ſame entertainments were prepared, and the ſame order and regularity obſerved; when the king found a fit opportunity to put his queſtions, he aſked thoſe perſons who immediately ſat next to thoſe who had been interrogated the day before, beginning with the eleventh; becauſe he had paſſed the diſcourſe with ten the day before. Silence was commanded, and thereupon he aſked what way a rich man ſhould take to continue ſo? The perſon of whom this queſtion was demanded, having made a ſhort pauſe, ſaid, 'If you act nothing beyond the dignity of your kingdom, nor abandon your ſelf to a luxurious way of life; if your expences are not thrown upon fooliſh things and trifles; but if your endeavours are calculated to make your ſubjects love you by the favours and kindneſſes you confer upon them. For God is the principal bounty-giver; he is author of all good things, and him it behoves you to imitate.'

The king commended this Perſon, and put the queſtion to another, how he muſt love and embrace truth? To which he was anſwered, 'If you can firſt bring your ſelf to believe that 'tis vaſtly diſhonourable and ſcandalous to all men to utter lies, eſpecially to kings; who having power of doing what they pleaſe, why ſhould they falſify themſelves? And, next, if you but conſider that God is a lover of truth.'

This perſon's ſpeech meeting wirh applauſe, the king looked upon the next, and aſked him what was learning, and the fruit of wiſdom? To this he was anſwered, 'You hate to be ſurrounded with misfortunes, but deſire to abound in good things; ſo that you will act the part of a prudent perſon, if you ſhew an equal regard to your ſubjects: But ſtill be ſure to treat men of honeſt and approved principles with humanity and moderation: For God governs over mankind with equity and juſtice.'

The king commended this perſon, and ſaid to the next, by what means ſhould he become humane? To this he made anſwer, 'If you do but reflect ſeriouſly within your mind, the long time, and the many myſteries, to which the race of human kind is born, and that, from thus reflecting, you ought to be a long time before you proceed either to puniſh or accuſe others, becauſe the life of man is too liable of itſelf to be obnoxious to troubles and afflictions. Now if theſe ſeveral things be maturely conſidered, they will incline your ſoul to compaſſion, and the more ſo, provided you will but think that God is merciful.'

The king commended this perſon, and ſaid to the next, what qualifications were the moſt neceſſary for a king to govern himſelf by? To this he anſwer'd, 'To keep himſelf free from the contagion and corruption of bribery; to keep himſelf ſober and moderate in the higher ſtations of life; to prefer juſtice before all other conſiderations; and encourage its followers with marks of a ſingular benevolence: Becauſe God is alſo a lover of the juſt.'

The king commended this perſon, and then ſaid to the next, 'In what doth religion conſiſt?' To which he returned this anſwer: 'In a firm perſuaſion that God is omniſcient and omniagent; that nothing, which either the good or the bad perſon does, is hid from him. So that, ſeeing God cheriſhes the whole world by his bounty, if you make him your example, you may certainly expect never to err or ſtumble.'

The king commended this perſon, and then ſaid to the next, 'What is the end and duty of government?' To this anſwer was made: To govern himſelf according to equity; to put no ſuch confidence either in riches or honour, as to ſhew himſelf proud and overbearing. And this would be, provided he but ſeriouſly conſidered his own condition. For all the things you poſſeſs, comparatively ſpeaking, are as nothing; and God himſelf is far from being covetous, but is juſt and upright, which you, as a being, ſhould weigh in your mind: Neither let your ambition, or the thirſt of empire, prompt you to annex a number of provinces to the dominions which you already enjoy.

The king commended this perſon, and then ſaid to the next, which was the way to entertain the beſt ſentiments. To which this anſwer was made: *If you propoſe things that are juſt to yourſelf, and are determined that injuſtice is the bane and deſtruction of life, but think that God is always a friend to the righteous.*

The king commended this perſon, and then ſaid to the next, how he muſt do to have reſt in his dreams. To this he made anſwer: 'The thing you demand to know, is almoſt inſuperable difficulties, with regard to its being explain'd; for we are not our own maſters in thoſe things which fall out in our dreams, but are actuated by an irrational motion. For at ſuch times as they happen, we are affected with them juſt as though we actually ſaw them; and yet 'tis all performed irrationally, inaſmuch as we fancy ourſelves to be carried into the ſea, to be ſailing in ſome ſhip, to be ſelling ſomething, to be ſailing aloft, to be taking a journey, and many other freaks of the ſame kind, which we come afterwards to know were never in being. Though there is this difficulty in this point, yet, according to the meaſure of my underſtanding, I will preſume to lay before you, O king, that what I think you either ſpeak or do, be referred to religion, and have that always in view: For, to the end you may experience this, while you act and ſpeak according to the principles of virtue, you will never gratify any beyond your reaſon, nor, through any confidence in your authority, ſtretch your prerogative beyond its full limits. 'Tis obſervable, that in thoſe affairs which the man awake takes much delight in, the ſoul partakes of in a dream. And from hence it will rationally follow, that the perſon who directs his thoughts and actions, when awake, to virtuous and honeſt views, will, when aſleep, find no uneaſy or turbulent dreams moleſt him; even as you, O king, will find, who are bleſſed with ſuch an extraordinary evenneſs of mind.'

The king commended this Perſon, and then ſaid to the next, 'Becauſe it falls out for you to be the tenth man to be asked, as ſoon as you ſhall have given me your opinion, we will then turn to ſupper. Therefore I deſire to know of you how I may never ſtand in need of any thing that may be to my diſhonour.' To this he return'd him anſwer: 'Do but have a conſtant regard to your own honour, and the greatneſs of your dignity; to the end that both your words and actions may be made conformable thereto: Becauſe they who have the fortune to live under your dominion, will not ſcruple both to ſpeak and reflect of you. Of all things you are moſtly to avoid, let it be falſhood, that you may not throw a falſe cover over the perſon you repreſent. For, be aſſured, all who ſhall obſerve this in your conduct, will not be backward in imitating you. Be no ways deceitful, nor prove a king under a pretext: If you would do right to yourſelf, ſhew yourſelf a king in reality, and own the favour God, who, for the excellency of your manners, will make your government appear worthy of your adminiſtration.' All theſe things having met with the king's ſpecial commendation, and banquet having been continued its juſt time, they were ordered all, at laſt, to retire, to their reſpective beds; after which, and this banquet being ended, every thing that was thought neceſſary for the next day's entertainment, was put in a readineſs.

The next day, when all had taken their places, as before, the king finding an opportunity to put his queſtions, thus addreſs'd himſelf to the firſt of thoſe who had not, as yet, been aſk'd, what government was the beſt. To this queſtion, anſwer was made, to govern himſelf, and never to be drawn away by the current of his own affections; for 'twas the nature of man to be inclinable to purſuits in one kind or another: From whence it came, that the common vulgar were of opinion they were under a neceſſity to follow banquetting, carouſing, and other pleaſures, as they think them, of the ſame nature. While kings, on the other hand, think it their buſineſs, for the extending of their dominions, to conquer and ſubdue countries and provinces. But there is a medium which holds good in all things, which is juſt and approved by all. Do you, therefore, O king, preſerve and defend what God hath given you; but as to what is none of your property, and to which you have no juſt claim, let not your deſires aſpire.

This anſwer pleaſing the king, he addreſs'd the ſecond what he ſhould do to be free from the vice of envy, ſo as never to envy no man. The perſon, ſpoke to, having pauſed a little, returned this anſwer: 'This, Sir, will be the only way, if you can but approve thereof; to think that 'tis God alone who gives princes and kings the power and authority which they enjoy, and the riches which ſet off their dignity; and that there is no king from himſelf: Which evidently is clear from this one particular, becauſe all have ambition enough to wiſh for this honour, but are not able to obtain it, by reaſon 'tis God's ſole gift.'

The king, having commended this man, then ſpoke to the next, and aſk'd how he muſt deſpiſe his enemies. To which he receiv'd this anſwer: 'If you but endeavour to win over mankind with clemency and benevolence, you will conſequently gain their friendſhip, and no enemy ſhall then give you any diſturbance. Now to be thus in favour with mankind, is an excellent gift of God, from whom you cannot receive a better.'

The king, having approved of this anſwer, commanded the next to anſwer to this queſtion, how he ſhould do to have perpetual honour and fame among mankind. To which he received this anſwer: *If you prove liberal and munificent, and ſtrive to gain the affections of mankind by a readineſs and promptitude of mind to ſerve and do offices of friendſhip to them: For, by this means, you ſhall ſecure your glory. But, if you have a mind that what I have advanced may continually have place in your mind, be ſure at all times to call upon God.*

This meeting with the ſame approbation, the queſtion was put to the next, what way he muſt take to ſuſtain every caſualty of life with moderation. To this he was anſwered, 'If you can perſuade your ſelf to believe that God hath created mankind in ſuch a manner that the greateſt felicities and hardſhips are inevitable attendants on them in this life, and that there is no man living that can pretend to be void of the viciſſitude of theſe two; but that God can contribute an equal temper of mind, for which he is prayed to.'

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The king, having approved of this anſwer, commanded the next to anſwer to this queſtion, how he ſhould do to have perpetual honour and fame among mankind. To which he received this anſwer: *If you prove liberal and munificent, and ſtrive to gain the affections of mankind by a readineſs and promptitude of mind to ſerve and do offices of friendſhip to them: For, by this means, you ſhall ſecure your glory. But, if you have a mind that what I have advanced may continually have place in your mind, be ſure at all times to call upon God.*

The king, having commended this perſon, addreſs'd himſelf to the next, who were the perſons with whom he ſhould act gloriouſly and honourably. To this he return'd anſwer: *Some, Sir, are of opinion, that this ſhould be done to thoſe who carry friendly towards us; but I rather chuſe to think that this honourable treatment ſhould be confined to thoſe who ſeek glory and renown in times of diſtreſs, to the end we may reduce them by this means to that which becomes them, and is for their advantage. But, however, we muſt invoke God that he would be pleas'd to do this, who governs and moderates the minds and inclinations of all men.*

The king having commended this man, the ſixth was addreſs'd to, and deſired to anſwer to the following queſtion; who were they whom he ſhould gratify. To this he returned this anſwer: *Parents, at all times; and, in the firſt place, becauſe God gave a principal command, in this reſpect; concerning the honour that was to be given to parents. To friends, in the next place; becauſe he points out the ſame thing when he ſays,* Let a friend be to thee as thy own ſoul. *But you, O king, will act honourably, in ſtriving to gain over to you, all men, by your friendlineſs and royal condeſcention.*

The king, having commended this perſon, then addreſs'd himſelf to the next, what was worthy of a decent worſhip. To this anſwer was made, piety. For that was a real beauty in it ſelf, becauſe it was placed in charity, by the gift of God. Which you, O king, enjoy, and, in it, all other good things.

The king, having commended this man, turned to the next, and ſaid, how muſt he regain his character, when ſtain'd by any miſtake or inadvertancy. To this anſwer was made: ''Tis impoſſible, Sir, that you ſhou'd offend any one, who are the fountain of benevolence, and who confers upon all the act of kindneſs and friendſhip. Now as this one qualification is far above the greateſt arms, ſo 'tis a ſtrong bulwark and foundation to ſecure your glory. But if there are any who are accuſtomed to make theſe offences, let them take care to avoid, for the future, thoſe things whereby they give the offence. For 'tis the gift of God to be prone to do good, and not bad actions.

The king, having commended this man, then ſpoke to the next, and asked what way he muſt take to keep himſelf from ſorrow. To this anſwer was made, 'If you injure no man, but endeavour to love and deal juſtly with all men. For the fruit of this behaviour is no leſs a thing than the ſecurity of your perſon, and the tranquillity of your mind. However, we are to offer our prayers to God, in the mean time, that death, diſeaſes, trouble, and the like, which commonly happen without our wiſhing for, or thinking of them, may not diſcompoſe us. But it cannot be, that you, who are ſo religious a prince, can be troubled with any of theſe particulars.

The king, having commended this perſon, addreſs'd himſelf to the tenth, and asked what was the moſt glorious thing, and what was moſt worthy of man. To this anſwer was made, 'To worſhip and reverence God, not with preſents and ſacrifice, but with purity of mind and heart, and with a juſt thought beſides. That all things are made and governed by him according as he pleaſes. But this, O king, is no more than what you harbour and entertain within your own breaſt, and to which you continually conform your mind; as may eaſily be traced from thoſe actions which you have already performed, and which you continue to perform.' When this perſon had finiſh'd his anſwer, the king gave all who had ſpoke a louder mark of his applauſe, being accompanied by the acclamations of the reſt who were preſent; and eſpecially by the philoſophers, whom they far exceeded, both in the conduct of their lives, and in the uſe of their eloquence, as receiving all from God, the fountain-head.

In the very ſame manner a banquet was prepared the next day. When the king found an opportunity, he began to put his queſtions to thoſe who had not yet been ask'd, and thus began with the firſt; whether or no 'twas poſſible to acquire prudence by ſtudy and learning. To this anſwer was made, that it was an habit of the mind, which, by direction of a ſupernatural cauſe, was influenced to purſue all laudable and honeſt endeavours, and to avoid their contraries.

The king, having commended this perſon, addreſs'd himſelf to the next, and ask'd how he muſt preſerve his health. He was anſwer'd, by temperance; yet this was a thing out of his reach, unleſs God was pleaſed to prepare him for it.

And having commended this perſon, he ſpoke to the next, and ask'd how he muſt become fond of hearing. To this anſwer was made, if he but thought it advantageous to know every thing, only for this end, that he might ſelect ſomething from what he had heard, and, when opportunity offered, that he might produce and diſcover it in his actions, yet ſo as that God might always be thought the conducter and influencer thereof: Becauſe God is the cauſe that brings every thing to its event.

The king, having commended this perſon, addreſs'd himſelf to the next, and ask'd what way he muſt take to return ſuch thanks to his parents as became him. To this he was anſwer'd, not to give them any trouble or offence; but that he could not even do this of himſelf, if he made not God the director of his mind, in order to govern his actions to the beſt.

The king, having commended this perſon, he then turned to the next, and ſaid, what method muſt he take never to act in oppoſition to the laws. To this anſwer was made, that he would arrive at this, provided he could but bring himſelf to think that God ſuggeſted to the mind of the law-giver ſuch thoughts and wiſdom to make ſuch laws, as conſiſted with the preſervation of man.

The king, having commended this, addreſs'd himſelf to the next, and ask'd what was the advantage of kindred. To this anſwer was made, if we would conſider things from events, how, in the days of adverſity, we are caſt down, and afflicted proportionably to the greatneſs of the mutual alliance between us, for when this happens, not only commendation follows,

lows, but the chain of alliance is bound the firmer; becauſe this kindred or alliance, this benevolence, and this love, confirmed in this manner, becomes altogether inſeperable) : Whereas, in the ſeaſon of proſperity, nothing is required which their abilities or circumſtances cannot perform. Yet, even in this caſe, is God to be prayed to with humility, that he would pleaſe to give all things a proſperous iſſue.

The king, having commended this perſon, addreſs'd himſelf to the next, how it was poſſible for any one to live devoid of fear. To this he was anſwer'd, provided he preſerv'd his mind unconſcious of any bad or evil action, referring all to God, and always directing his thoughts to ſuch things as were virtually good in themſelves.

This perſon meeting with approbation, the next was ask'd how any one could always be certain of having his reaſon right upon all occaſions. To this anſwer was made, provided he was continually reflecting on the misfortunes that befel mankind, and from thence drew this concluſion, that God deprived ſome of their felicity and temporal happineſs, and raiſed others to grandeur and great dignity.

The king having commended this perſon, the next was ſpoken to, and ask'd how he muſt do that neither idleneſs, nor the lover of pleaſure, got the aſcendant of him. To this he was anſwered, provided he would but place before his eyes, and maturely weigh within his mind, how that he had a mighty kingdom to govern, and many under his juriſdiction; that it was not for his intereſt to let his mind be ſeduced over to other things, but that he was under a ſort of neceſſity to be careful and ſollicitous for their good government. However, that his prayers ſhould not be wanting to God, to direct him ſo as not to neglect or omit any one particular that was his duty to peform.

The king having commended this perſon, the next was ask'd how he muſt do to find out when any dealt treacherouſly with him. To this he was anſwer'd, if he would but nearly conſider how well every free and ingenuous man ought to enjoy life; what a conſtant and certainequality there was in their manners and converſation, in their benevolence, and the other duties of their life. But God, O king, will direct your mind to things that are beſt. The king having commended this man, and all the reſt who had been interrogated receiving the ſame commendations from him, and all the company that were preſent, they then turned themſelves to mirth, and the ſong began to move.

When the next day was come, the king finding the uſual opportunity, put the queſtion to the next, and ask'd what was the greateſt negligence. To this he was anſwer'd, if any perſon take not ſufficient care of his children, nor uſe the greateſt diligence he can in informing and inſtructing their minds. For we offer up our prayers to God not ſo much for our ſelves, as for our children, that they be attended with every good thing; and that they may long for, and receive, the inſtruction of temperance, which is a favour of grace and divine mercy.

The king having commended this perſon, the next was ask'd how a perſon became a lover of his country. To this anſwer was made, if the perſon was determined to think it an honourable thing to live and die in his own country, and would but conſider that poor men in foreign lands were deſpiſed, and the rich calumniated, as being thought baniſh'd their country for ſome baſe action or other. But if you O king, ſhall continue to purſue the ſame beneficent ways to mankind, as you muſt diligently diſcover your temper to be at preſent; the grace of God influencing this kind diſpoſition in you, then you will ſhew your ſelf a lover of your country.

The king having commended this perſon, the next was ask'd how a man cou'd live comfortably and agreeably with his wife. To this he was anſwer'd, that it was a caſe that was unqueſtionable, that the female ſex were confident and bold, and fit to attempt any thing: Beſides, that they were changeable, through the natural weakneſs and imbecility of their ſex. So that they were to be treated with moderation and gentleneſs, and never to be provoked to anger. That if this way be purſued with them, man may depend to live comfortably and agreeably with them, when he knows to what mark all his actions and deſigns ought to be directed. However, if the divine aſſiſtance be added, the caſe with the man will ſtill be the happier, and more ſecure.

The king having commended this perſon, he addreſs'd himſelf to the next, and ask'd how he ſhould do to live without fault. To this he was anſwer'd, if what he did was perform'd with obſervation and diligence, without giving ear to calumny, and reproach; but being convinc'd that you your ſelf are the perſon who ought to conſider every thing in your own breaſt. Now, O king, if you purſue this method with mankind, you will preſerve your ſelf from error, and ſeldom or never run into miſtakes. But to manage your ſelf well in this point, you ought to crave the divine aſſiſtance.

This anſwer pleaſing the king, he ſpoke to the next how he ſhould do to preſerve himſelf from anger. To this he made anſwer, if he only conſidered the univerſal power he was veſted with; and that if he joined anger to his authority, probably the death of many perſons might be the conſequence. For it muſt be a miſerable and melancholy circumſtance for one, veſted with ſuch an unlimitted power, to make his authority the handle to deprive ſo many of their lives. Beſides, you ought to conſider, that as all mankind are under your ſubjection, without your being troubled with any enemies, ſo you have no room to exerciſe your reſentment. And in this you will be convinc'd, if you but reflect that God governs the whole world with gentleneſs, free from paſſion and reſentment; whom, O king, you are principally to imitate.

The king confeſſing that this perſon had diſcharged himſelf handſomely, put the queſtion to the next, how he muſt do to deliberate juſtly, and take ſound advice at all times. He was anſwered, if he performed every thing with precaution and deliberation; every thing being hurtful and prejudicial that is done with haſte and precipitation. However, thoſe always are the beſt deliberations that are conducted by an invocation of the divine aſſiſtance.

This perſon was own'd to have anſwer'd pertinently. Whereupon. this queſtion was put to the next, what was philoſophy. He was anſwered, to have a juſt notion, and to determine juſtly of the ſeveral caſualties in this life; not to be borne away with the impulſes of his deſires, but ſeriouſly to reflect on the miſchiefs that attend on thoſe deſires; to perform all things ſeaſonably, and in their proper time, but to take care always that they ſquare with a juſt moderation of mind. However, God is principally to be implored to direct us in this point.

The king, having commended this perſon, addreſs'd himſelf to the next, and ask'd him, how he muſt do to obtain a generous and eaſy admittance among ſtrangers. He was anſwer'd, if he ſhould behave towards all with the ſame evenneſs and complacency of mind, and rather ſhew himſelf inferior than ſuperior among thoſe with whom he ſojourned.

The king, having commended this perſon, put the queſtion to the next, and ask'd how he muſt erect ſuch buildings as were likely to endure and remain. To this he was anſwer'd, if he built ſuch as were magnificent and ſtately; that they who beheld them might be ſo taken with their beauty, as to abſtain from hurting them; that none might venture to perform the like, and that none, who were deſirous of imitating or performing the ſame, might be able to do it without extraodinary coſt and expence. But the beſt thought you can frame to yourſelf will be to think that God governs over mankind by his providence; that he grants them health, ſound underſtanding, and all other things that are neceſſary: Yet if you, O king, ſtand in need of any ſuch thing, be ſure, however, ſtill to give the bad and unjuſt their true demerits. For thoſe thing which are performed according to the ſtandard of juſtice, are certain to remain and laſt for a long time.

The king having commended this perſon, he put the queſtion to the next, and ask'd what was the fruit of wiſdom. To this he was anſwer'd, not to be conſcious of an ill action, but in every circumſtance of life to act truly and faithfully. For by doing thus, O king, you will receive extreme pleaſure and ſatisfaction to your ſelf. Beſides, 'twill further your hopes in God, as you govern your kingdom according to the maxims of religion and piety. All the company, when they heard this, gave loud acclamations of praiſe. After which, the king being extremely glad, began to drink a health.

The next day the ſame entertainment was prepared, and the ſame order preſerved among the gueſts. The king finding his uſual opportunity, began to put his queſtions to the reſt, and addreſs'd himſelf thus to the firſt; how a man muſt do to avoid pride. To this he was anſwer'd, if he preſerv'd at all times an evenneſs of temper, and conſidered that he was a man, and governed men, and alſo reflected that God caſt down the proud, and raiſed up the humble and lowly.

And having commended this man, he ſpoke to the next, and ask'd what counſellors he ought to make uſe of. He was anſwer'd, thoſe who had been much converſant in Affairs, and who preſerved an unſhaken loyalty to him, and who were of the ſame ſentiments with himſelf. But the knowledge of theſe happens to the worthy, from a divince diſcovery.

The king having commended this perſon, the next was ask'd what was the end of eloquence. He was anſwer'd, *To perſuade, but yet ſo to diſcover your ſelf, that the arguments and thread of your adverſary's diſcourſe are pernicious, and hurtful. Thus you will gain an hearer to receive your opinion. However, take care not to advance fallacious reaſoning; otherwiſe your adverſary gains upon you, and you loſe his approbation: But always reflect, that 'tis God who governs the force of perſuaſion, and directs it always to what it aims.*

The king having commended this perſon, addreſs'd himſelf to the next, and ask'd what was the moſt valuable thing which a king ought to poſſeſs. To this he was anſwer'd, the love and affection of his ſubjects: Becauſe in this union conſiſts an indiſſoluble knot of alliance. But 'tis the handy-work of God to perform this according to one's deſires.

This perſon meeting with commendation, the next was ask'd how a king muſt do to obtain harmony among his ſubjects when cabals and differences were heighten'd among them. He was anſwer'd, to make juſtice his guide, and to give to every one ſuitable to his deſert. For if, O king, you perform this, God will bleſs you with a ſound judgment, and an upright mind.

The king, having commended this perſon, addreſs'd himſelf to the next, what a man ſhould grieve for. He was anſwer'd, for thoſe calamities which fall upon our friends, eſpecially when we ſee them of long continuance, and unavoidable. For reaſon acquaints us, that 'tis folly to mourn for the dead, or thoſe who are delivered from their misfortunes. But theſe were caſes that very frequently involved mankind in mourning and ſorrow. However, there was none who could avoid all misfortunes, unleſs by the power of God.

This perſon meeting with approbation, the next was ask'd how a man came to be deſpiſed and to loſe his honour and character. He was anſwer'd, when any perſon ſhew'd himſelf proud, and everlaſtingly confident and overbearing, then came he to be deſpiſed, and his character and reputation to ſink. But God was the governor of all honours, which he directed as he pleas'd.

The king, having commended this perſon, addreſs'd himſelf to the next, and ask'd in whom he ought to put his confidence. *In thoſe*, anſwer'd he, *who converſe with you thro' love, and not fear, or through any awe of your power. For the former of theſe is an argument* *of love, the latter of ill-will, and of artifice, to gain an opportunity of impoſing upon you. For he who has the thought of advancing and enriching himſelf, at heart, commonly proves a traitor. However, O king, you will find all about you devotees, provided God gives ſolid and grave ſentiments.*

This perſon meeting with approbation, the next was aſk'd what it was that preſerv'd a kingdom. He was anſwer'd, a conſtant and diligent precaution, that in the adminiſtration of affairs no miſconduct was ſhewn, or any hardſhips laid upon the ſubjects. Which, O king, you will certainly follow, provided God gives you ſolid and grave ſentiments.

The king, having commended this perſon, addreſs'd himſelf to the next, what it was that wou'd ſecure his honour and reputation. He was anſwer'd, *Virtue, which employs itſelf about laudable actions, and ſhun ſuch things as are vicious and pernicious; even as you do, O king, who enjoys this divine qualification.*

This perſon meeting with applauſe, the eleventh, becauſe there was two above the ſeventy, was aſk'd how he muſt do to prove ſerene and peaceable during war-time. He was anſwer'd, provided he would but perſuade himſelf to believe that he acted nothing with precipitation or negligence; and that, conſequently, all his ſubjects wou'd be induced thence to do atchievements of renown; becauſe they are perſuaded that you, when they depart this life, will have an eye to the affairs which they leave behind them. Beſides, as 'tis through God's favour that you have obtain'd a kingdom, be conſtant to promote friendſhip among your ſubjects, and let your bounty be ſeen diſplay'd amongſt them, to the end they may reap advantage thereby. Theſe words meeting with their deſerv'd approbation, the king, in a friendly manner, beſtow'd his praiſes upon each, and then drank to all in their reſpective orders, thereby to make his converſation with them the more delightful and entertaining.

The ſeventh day now was come, and a more magnificent entertainment was prepared, becauſe a greater reſort of perſons of diſtinction happened now, being the uſual time, the cities throughout the kingdom, ſending their repreſentatives to compliment the king. *Ptolomy*, upon this, put his queſtions to thoſe who had hitherto being unasked. He deſired the firſt to acquaint him how he muſt ſecure himſelf from the artifice and treachery of other people's words. He was anſwered, provided he conſidered well before-hand the perſon who ſpoke to him, what it was that he ſaid, of whom he ſpoke,and enquired of others, ſome time before, what his character or reputation was, and what the world thought of him: But to diſtinguiſh nicely and accurately in this caſe, and have a genius fit to diſcern the difference of things, was a favour which none but the ſupreme being could beſtow.

Having applauded the words of this man, he ſpoke to the next, what was the reaſon why abundance of people did not embrace virtue. He was anſwered, becauſe all men are naturally incontinent, and prone to give into a voluptuous courſe of life; whence comes nothing but injuſtice and covetouſneſs. But virtue always puts a reſtraint on precipitant deſires, and by virtue the aim after pleaſure was debarred: Virtue commanding us to devote our minds to acts of continency and forbearance, to proſecute equitable meaſures: But yet this was the favour of God.

Having given this perſon's anſwer its deſerved recommendation, the next was aſk'd what were the things that kings ought to inſiſt moſt upon. He was anſwer'd, on the juſt execution of the laws; and that ſuch ſubjects as punctually obſerved them might ſhare the fame and reputation which they deſerved. As you, O king, by an exact performance, in this reſpect, acquire to yourſelf immortal glory.

Having commended this perſon's anſwer, the next was aſk'd who thoſe were that ought to be entruſted with poſts and places in the government. He was anſwer'd thoſe who hated improbity, and loved juſtice; thoſe who ſet his bright example and conduct before them for their imitation, thereby purſuing nothing but what was lawful and juſt, which was the beſt way to ſecure their honour and glory. Now this is peculiarly your character, O king, becauſe providence hath been pleaſed to veſt you with a crown of righteouſneſs.

The king, having openly declared his approbation of this man's words, turned his eyes upon the next, and ſaid, what captains ought he to choſe to manage his campaigns. He was anſwered, thoſe who are diſtinguiſhed for their bravery and fortitude, and who had much rather be of ſervice to mankind, than through any deſire of victory boldly run into danger of their own lives. For has God extends his beneficence upon all, ſo you, O king, by a fine imitation of this attribute of his, uſe all about you with beneficence.

This perſon received applauſe for his anſwer he made, the next was asked what man he was upon whom he ſhould fix his admiration. He was anſwered, upon him who had glory, wealth, and authority on his ſide; yet, in the mean time, to diſcover an equality of temper to all. This is more than what ſquares, O king, with your character, who, having glory, wealth and authority, on your ſide, perform it, yet owing, at the ſame time, that you receive all from the bounteous hand of God.

The king, having applauded this perſon's anſwer, put the queſtion to the next, and asked what were the affairs that deſerved much time to get acquaintance with them. He was anſwered, in peruſing the annals of princes, and tranſactions of ambaſſadors, which were publiſhed, thereby to learn how to govern manking by juſtice and moderation. For by ſo doing (God in the mean time directing your endeavours to that end) you have reached a pitch of glory, to which others cannot attain.

This perſon having received commendation, the next was asked what method of living was principally to be purſued, and how a man's waſte time, and leiſure hours, ought to be employed. He was anſwered, by ſetting before him the doctrine of ſobriety, and ſuch things as require a reſerved temper, by viewing for his imitation, and putting into execution, ſuch things as are admired for their moderation, honeſty, and beauty, and by living with in the juſt limits of continency. From theſe information is to be acquired, and even in the moſt trifling things ſomething that is praiſe-worthy, and fit for one's notice, may be obtain'd. Now as for you, O king, who have experienced the graveneſs of riper years, who have made a juſt uſe of life, and been converſant in action and buſineſs, know how to improve every thing to the beſt, and to accommodate every thing to the ſtandard of perfect virtue, which only the ſupreme being hath beſtowed upon you.

The king, having expreſs'd his approbation of this anſwer, addreſs'd himſelf to the next, and ask'd what method was to be followed in the preparation and performing of entertainments. He was anſwer'd, by joining with you thoſe who are ready to be inſtructed, and who may have abilities to give you lectures on the tranſactions in your kingdom, and on the lives and morals of your ſubjects; for you have nothing that can be more pleaſant and entertaining than this. For ſuch men as theſe are pleaſing to God, who diſcover a genius for learning and inſtruction, and whoſe minds are adapted to receive the beſt of things. Even ſo are you, O king, ſurrounded by perſons eminent in this way, which makes God bleſs your undertakings, and bring all your occurrences to a fortunate iſſue.

The king having commended this perſon, the next was ask'd whether it was more for the intereſt of a nation to chuſe a king out of their own body, or one who was deſcended of royal progenitors. He was anſwer'd, that ſuch a choice ought to be made as was pleaſing and grateful to nature. For it frequently happened, when perſons of royal deſcent were choſen to ſway a kingdom, that they prov'd tyrannical. And ſo in the caſe of chuſing from the body of the people, when ſuch as had been expoſed to ſeveral hardſhips, and poverty, when they came to a throne, diſcovered themſelves more intolerable than the worſt of tyrants. But, as I took notice before, thoſe who are fitteſt to govern a kingdom, who are naturally human and good, and ready to promote the beſt offices of life; as you, famous king, who do not ſo much excel others by the dignity and riches wherewith you are veſted, as by the equity and juſtice of your government; which God hath beſtowed upon you for a long time.

This perſon's words meeting with approbation, the next was asked what was the greateſt thing in the government of a king. He was anſwered, that his ſubjects always lived in peace; that they might never meet with delays in having juſtice done them: Which things were certainly to bleſs his ſubjects, when he, who preſided over affairs, hated the unjuſt, and loved the juſt: For this was the principal way to preſerve the life of a man. Even as you, O king, always have conſidered injuſtice to be the moſt flagrant crime; by the ſtrict juſtice you have always maintained in every occurrence of your government, whereby you have acquired, by the aſſiſtance of the divine being, an immortal glory: For from hence you have received a mind tinctured with holineſs, and free from the infection of any manner of evil.

When this perſon had done ſpeaking, loud applauſe and acclamation was raiſed; which continued a conſiderable time. Now when the king had put an end to asking his queſtions, he took a goblet full of wine, and, before all the company, drank; and then addreſſing himſelf to them, ſaid, *Gentlemen, your coming hither hath given me the greateſt pleaſure imaginable, and the greateſt good. For what you have told me concerning the method of government, hath been very advantagious.* This ſaid, he made a preſent to each, of three talents, and gave, at the ſame time, to each, a boy, who offered it. All approved of this conduct, and the entertainment rung with acclamations and rejoicing; the king giving orders, immediately, for the ſame mirth to be purſued.

I have been ſomewhat more tedious, my *Philocrates*, in giving an account of theſe particulars, but I do not queſtion your excuſing me. I cannot ſay but my admiration of theſe ſeveral perſons was extraordinary, when I found them return ſuch *extempore* anſwers to queſtions that required a great deal of precious reflection. 'Twas not ſo much the dexterity of the king in contriving the ſeveral queſtions he wanted to be informed in, that pleaſed my fancy, as the prodigious and unaccountable eaſe wherewith the ſeveral perſons aptly and wiſely anſwered him. But it was not to me only that this ſurprize was confined; all the reſt of the company thought them worthy of admiration, as well as I; and, I am apt to thing, the philoſophers moſtly: Neither can I induce myſelf to think, that they who ſhall hereafter happen to read theſe, will ſuppoſe them any way monſtrous or incredible. Indeed I dare not advance any thing that is falſe, in things that have been received and remarked already; and, on the other hand, I think it very unhandſome to ſlip over any of the particulars that happened on this occaſion: But, to ſpeak the truth, I have given the facts to you juſt as they were performed, in order to clear myſelf of acting by a wrong motive. Yet though I have recounted all as it happened, yet, to do juſtice to ſome gentlemen, I muſt confeſs, that I received my information with a great deal of application, from thoſe who are employed by the king, to remark every thing that is either ſaid or done within his palace. For it is the cuſtom, of which I need not inform you, that the day the king enters upon public buſineſs, every thing is committed to writing, both what is ſpoke, and what is tranſacted: Which is a method I highly approve of; for every thing that hath been either ſaid or done, is firſt read over the next day, before any more public buſineſs is entered upon. So that if any thing be found amiſs, it is forthwith rectified and amended. Now as all things are thus accurately committed to writing ſo, as I ſaid before, I have ſent them you, juſt in the manner I read and found them; well knowing how much you deſire to be inform'd in things that are profitable and advantagious.

Three days after theſe ſeveral things were performed, *Demetrius* took the perſons and carried them over a bridge into the iſland; there he conducted them into a very beautiful houſe, near the ſhore, a-part from any din or noiſe, where every thing that was neceſſary being provided for them, he deſired them to finiſh the tranſlation of their law. Upon this, they went inſtantly about it, and endeavoured to make their ſeveral copies agree with one another; and wheresoever this agreement was obſerved, ſo as to deſerve notice, *Demetrius* conſtantly wrote it down. In this exerciſe they continued every day 'till nine of the clock, when they took breakfaſt, having a ſufficient quantity of every thing ſet before them; which *Dorotheus* took care, as he was ordered by the king, to ſee perform'd. Every morning they roſe betimes, firſt ſaluted the king, and then withdrew to their apartments; where, in going, they waſhed themſelves, according to the cuſtom of the *Jews*, in the ſea: And then, having offered up a ſhort prayer to God, they went about reading and tranſlating the law.

Some perſons taking notice how they behaved themſelves, took an opportunity to aſk them why they waſhed their hands, and then prayed. They anſwered, that they made this an argument of their innocency; ſhewing, they were clear from any pollution or wickedneſs: Becauſe the hands were the inſtruments we gradually performed our actions by. Thus juſtice was the end of all their deſigns. As I have taken notice before, they met together every day in the delightful places, where, apart from din and noiſe, they went on with the tranſlation. But what was very ſurprizing, they were juſt ſeventy-two days in performing the tranſlation, which any body would be ready to ſuppoſe was done on purpoſe.

When the tranſlation was gone through, *Demetrius* took it, and, before all the *Jews*, who met together in the place where it had been performed, and before the interpreters themſelves, who had done ſo ſignal a piece of ſervice, and were received with loud acclamations from the reſt of their countrymen; I ſay, *Demetrius* took the tranſlation before all theſe, and publickly read it over to them. *Demetrius*, alſo, ſhared a great deal of their praiſe, and was asked to allow their governors a copy of the tranſlation. As ſoon as all the law was read over, the prieſts, and interpreters, the governors of the city, and the chiefs of the people, thus pronounced: Since the tranſlation was accurately and perfectly performed throughout, it was but reaſonable that it ſhould remain in the condition in which it was performed, without any alteration.

This Speech was followed with a loud acclamation of approbation, by all preſent: Whereupon, *Demetrius* commanded them to be ſtedfaſt in that opinion, and wiſh curſes on him who endeavoured or preſumed either to make any additions, tranſpoſitions, or curtail'd any part thereof; which was a judicious ſcheme to prevent its being at any time alter'd, and to keep it perfect for length of time.

When the king was made acquainted with every occurrence, he ſeemed extremely rejoiced; ſuppoſing, as he reaſonably might, that his famous deſign would be, by this method, tranſmitted to fartheſt poſterity. When he had heard this law read over to him, he was ſtruck with admiration at the ſentiments of the law-givers; and ſaid to *Demetrius*, *How comes it that ſo fine a work hath not been taken notice of by ſome hiſtorian, or Poet.* He anſwered the king, becauſe this law was ſacred, and given from heaven; and becauſe ſeveral who had attempted it had been frightned with the divine wrath, which made them abſiſt from what they had begun. For I have been told, that *Theopompus*, being deſirous of inſerting in his hiſtory ſome paſſages out of this law, which he had but poorly tranſlanted; was ſtruck with a kind of phrenzy for a matter of thirty days, and more: And having an intermiſſion of his diſtemper, prayed God to acquaint him for what reaſon he was puniſhed ſo: When he was told in a dream, that he had been made mad for endeavouring to divulge, of himſelf, things divine, and make them known to abundance of people. And I am told, that when he left off his purſuit, his diſtemper left him, at the ſame time. Beſides this, I have been acquainted, likewiſe, that when *Theodecles*, a tragic poet, was for putting ſome paſſages of this book into one of his plays, he was ſtruck blind, 'till he bethought himſelf that he was thus made blind for his preſumption, and had appeas'd God with his prayers for ſeveral days together.

When the king had heard this, and, as we have before obſerved, received from *Demetrius* the ſacred volume of the law, he paid all the veneration that was due thereto, and gave a ſtrict command to have a particular care of it, and religiouſly keep it from injury: And deſired the interpreters that they would make their viſits oftner to him when they were got back into their own country; for it was high time they were gone: But if they had any inclination to ſtay where they were, they might depend upon his honour to uſe them as friends, and load them with his favours. On their departure, he equipped them with every thing neceſſary for their journey, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf very apparently by the liberal and generous preſents he made them; giving to each three rich garments, two talents of gold, a goblet of one talent, and a fine ſide-board of plate.

At the ſame time, he ſent *Eleazar* a preſent of ten tables with ſilver feet, with all their furniture and decorations, and a goblet weighing thirty talents; beſides ten prieſts garments, purple, and about a hundred pieces of fine linnen, baſons, and cups, and bowls to make libations in. He wrote to him, likewiſe, and begged he would not at any time hinder the interpeters to make returns, provided they were inclined thereto: For converſation, in the company of ſo learned and good men, would be the moſt pleaſing thing in the world to him; and that he had a thouſand times much rather have ſuch perſons partake of bounty and liberality, than things of leſs moment to ſhare it.

Thus, my *Philocrates*, have I given you, according to my promiſe, an account of this ſignal occurrence, with which I am in hopes of your being more pleas'd, than with the reading of books that contain nothing but fables and idle ſtories: For you make grave ſubjects the ſtudy of your vacant moments; and, to this end, you devote a great part of your time. However, I will take care and ſee to get an account of the other particulars that deſerve notice, which I will write over and ſend to you; to the end, after you have peruſed them, you may reap the fruits of what you aim at.

A
DISSERTATION
OF
CELLARIUS
AGAINST
HARDOUIN.

WHEREIN

Joſephus's Hiſtory of the *HERODS* is defended by unexceptionable Arguments, and from ancient Coins.

OUR deſign is, to treat of the *Herods*, and to make truth the ſole director of our pen throughout this diſſertation. *Flavius Joſephus*, by the teſtimony of the greateſt authors in all ages, is diſtinguiſhed in ſuch an eminent degree, that there is ſcarce any room for any encomium to be given to other hiſtorians. He has greatly enriched the *Jewiſh* hiſtory. How great is *Jerome*'s commendation of him, in his twenty-ſecond epiſtle to *Euſtochius*, chap. 15. where he compares him with the beſt writer, in calling him the *Gecian Livy*. This is the hiſtorian, whoſe genius, care, and fidelity, in compiling his hiſtory, mankind do not leſs admire, than that of *T. Livy Patavinus*; purely to ſee whom, one *Gaditanus* took a journey from a very far country, and departed almoſt the moment he had ſeen him : which is not atteſted by *Pliny*, Book 2. Epiſt. 3. but by the ſame *Jerome*, Epiſt. 103. chap. 1. Beſides, we have the teſtimony of *Euſebius*, who ſays, in his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, Lib. 3. cap. 9, that *Joſephus* is *One whoſe fidelity may be depended upon*. And, to keep company with *Euſebius*, we will place one of the moderns, who is reckon'd the prince of them; I mean the great *Scaliger*, who acquaints us, that our author is *The moſt diligent after the enquiry of truth*.

So that if it be the greater commendation to receive, by an unanimous conſent, the praiſe of perſons who have been praiſed themſelves; it muſt certainly raiſe the greater wonder, in proportion, to find ſo famous a man ſuffer in his character ſo much, by Mr. *Hardouin*, in his book of coins, lately printed at *Paris*, as to derogate from his authenticity and authority, and eſteem him a trifling, laying, and ſuppoſitious author, from what he finds, as he pretends, from the inſcriptions of coins, which occur in the hiſtory of the *Herods*. Now though we have an extreme veneration for ancient coins, and think them very conducive to correct many places in hiſtory and chronology; yet we can't be brought to throw aſide, in honour to the coins, which Mr. *Hardouin* produces, the conſent of all antiquity in relation to *Joſephus*.

The account which *Joſephus* gives us of the family of the *Herods*, hath the general conſent of all men of learning to back it, and is briefly cited, in our ancient hiſtory, from paſſages mention'd up and down in *Joſephus*: For example, that *Herod*, the ſon of *Antipater*, who was deſcended of an illuſtrious family in *Idumæa*, loſt the chief authority which his father, by the favour of *Julius Cæſar*, veſted him with, by the invaſion of *Antigonus*, the laſt of the *Haſmonæan* race, being aſſiſted by the *Parthians*; but that, in a ſhort time, by the aid of *Anthony*, he received it back again with the title of king, and conſequently, governed for ſeveral years, very rigidly and tyranically, over all *Paleſtine*, lying between *Syria Arabia*, and *Ægypt*: Which indulgence was owing to *Auguſtus*, who confirmed him in the government. That *Archelaus*, his ſon, after he had reigned nine years over *Judæa* and *Samaria*, in the name of ethuarch, was baniſhed into *France*, and his territories turned into a *Roman* province; which were, from that time, governed by *Cæſar*'s procurators. That his other ſons, *Herod*, *Antipas*, and *Philip*, ſwayed each over his own tetrarchate, the one over *Galilee* and *Peræa*, the other over *Ituræa* and *Trachonitis*. And that, one happening to die, and the other to remain in baniſhment, *Agrippa*, who was the firſt *Herod*'s nephew by his ſon *Ariſtobulus*, whom he put to death, was, by the favour of *Claudius Cæſar*, veſted in his uncle's kingdom, that emperor removing from it the name of province: But he, alſo, happening to die a few years afterwards, *Judæa* became once more a province; but that *Agrippa* the younger, his ſon, was made king of *Chalcidene*, and afterwards of *Abilene*, and of *Philip*'s tetrarchate.

Mr. *Hardouin* contradicts theſe particulars in many things. He ſays, in the firſt place, that *Julias Cæſar* contributed altogether to *Herod*'s aiming at the government. That he did not reign over all *Paleſtine*, but only *Judæa* and *Samaria*; and that he bore the title of king of theſe places. That *Archelaus* ſucceeded his father. That *Galilee*, with the other parts, was under the juriſdiction of *Zenodorus* the tetrarch, who was ſucceeded by *Herod*, while his father was yet living, and by *Philip* his brother, both of them tetrarchs, but their territories divided. That this tetrarch *Herod* was he who put to death *John the baptiſt*. That he was neither *Jew*, proſelyte, nor gentile. That he came afterwards to be made a king. That it was he that put *James* to death, and threw *Peter* into priſon; and that he badly diſtinguiſhed from a tetrarchate under the name of *Agrippa*. That from the death of *Archelaus*, *Judæa*, which was once made a province, for he alſo denies his baniſhment, never took the form of a kingdom again, as we are acquainted from *Joſephus*: And as for the other parodoxes about theſe particulars, we will take the liberty to examine each by it ſelf.

This celebrated writer expreſſes himſelf in the following manner, beginning from the reign of *Herod*, p. 24. "*Judæa*'s being given to *He-*" *rod*, was, as it ſeems now, for this reaſon," as we may gueſs from thoſe words of *Tully* to *Atticus*, Book 6. Epiſt. 1. "But heark'y me, "Sir! what have you ſqueezed out of *Cæſar*, "by means of *Herod the Great*, fifty *Athenian* "talents?" A pretty ſtory; not to call it a ridiculous one. This letter was wrote in *Aſia* by *Cæſar*, the proconſul, while *Cæſar* was in *Gaul*. How, pray, comes he, then, by this money of *Herod* the *Idumæan*? For *Cæſar* ſcarce knew him before the war of *Alexandria*. Beſides, the paſſage, pretended to be cited by this gentleman, is perplexed with ſo many various readings, that inſtead of *Herodes*, ſome read *Orodes*; ſome, again, for *jamne vos*, ſubſtitute *gennarios*. Here's a monſter of a change! whence ſome make it *genneros*, which is the name of a city of the *Allobroges*. How more accurately, and with how much more perſpicuity, does the hiſtory of *Joſephus* ſet off this point. For it informs us, that *Antipater*, *Herod*'s father, and friend of *Hyrcanus* the king, gave *Cæſar* great aſſiſtance in the expedition againſt *Peluſium*, and the reſt of his campaigns. That the reward he received for theſe helps, was, either to be joined with king *Hyrcanus* in the government, or take the adminiſtration ſolely on himſelf. And that *Hyrcanus*, who at the ſame time was high-prieſt, governed more in ſpiritual, than temporal matters. See *Joſephus of the Wars of the Jews*, Book 1. c. 18.

The next thing we are to go about, is to appoint limits to the kingdom of *Herod*. While his father lived, he was governor of *Galilee*, whence he came to be acquainted with *Sextus Cæſar*, the proconſul of *Syria*; but his father happening to be treacherouſly poiſoned by *Malichus*, the war of *Antigonus* broke out, being carried on by the aſſiſtance of the *Parthians*; wherein *Hyrcanus* being taken priſoner, and carried away, *Phaſael*, *Herod*'s brother, put an end to his life in priſon, while, with ſome difficulty, he withdrew into *Italy*; where the ſenate of *Rome*, by aid of *Anthony*, declared him king: After which, he ſpent ſome time in diſputing the kingdom with *Antigonus*, till, what with the aſſiſtance of the *Roman* arms, and *Soſius* their general, he was taken, and beheaded. This procured *Herod* the whole kingdom, part of which comprehended *Galilee* and the neighbouring countries. But the learned and famous *Hardouin* will needs confine the ethuarchy and regal power of *Herod* to *Judæa* only.

The arguments whereon he builds his conjectures, are chiefly theſe: The firſt is from *Luke* i. 5. where he is called only king of *Judæa*. But if *Judæa* be taken in a narrow ſenſe, he then did not govern over *Samaria*, which makes againſt *Hardouin*: But if in lax conſtruction, then *Galilee*, *Peræa*, and *Samaria*, will be comprehended within it. At laſt, he objects, that *Archelaus* only ſucceeded to two of theſe, though *Matthew* ii. 22. ſays that he reigned in the room of his father; which phraſe plainly ſignifies that he had an entire inheritance left him by his father. The truth is, it means that which this famous gentleman would have it, provided no will come in between, or no diſpoſition of a ſuperior maſter who was *Auguſtus*; which aſſigned only two parts, out of four, of the kingdom, to the eldeſt ſon; the reſt to his brothers, *Antipas* and *Philip*. Beſides, he ſuppoſes the dimenſions of his dominions ſuffer'd, as to their extenſion, in that he did not erect cities in *Galilee*, as monuments of his loyalty and veneration to the *Romans*, as he had done *Cæſarea* and *Sebaſte*. Now, indeed, he neither built any in *Idumæa*, nor *Judæa*, if we ſpeak juſtly; for it appears from *Acts* xii. 19. that *Cæſarea* was not within the limits of *Judæa*. 'Tis ſufficient, that he erected cities in ſome places of the kingdom; for to do ſo in all was quite needleſs and unneceſſary.

Again; he urges this as a very material point, namely, that *Galilee*, in the days of *Herod*, belonged to the tetrarchate of *Zenodorus*, which his ſons received, either by affinity, or ſome other title, without having it devolve upon them by inheritance. His confidence in this particular is grounded upon ſome coin or other, with the face of *Octavianus* upon it, and upon the reverſe that of *Zenodorus* without a diadem, with this inſcription:

ZENODORUS TETRARKA... GE.∙.

And upon the other,

ZENODOROU TETRARCHOU....

All the other letters being ſo much defaced as not to be read. On the former the *Grecian* year is thus expreſs'd, L.BHΣ, which amounts to five hundred eighty-two. But what is all this to diminiſh the boundaries of *Herod*'s dominions? *Joſephus*, in the fifteenth book of his *Jewiſh Antiquities*, chap. 9. gives *Zenodorus Galilee*, with the adjoining countries, and judiciouſly diſtinguiſhes them from *Galilee*, which *Auguſtus* confer'd on *Herod* after his death; a circumſtance which *Dio Caſſius* confirms in his 54th book, and 526th, was given to *Herod* by *Auguſtus* in the 734th year from the building of *Rome*. This was the tetrarchate which *Philip* afterwards obtained by virtue of his father's will, comprehending within it *Panæas*, which *Joſephus* annexes thereto, though every part of it is out of *Galilee*. But p. 30. this gentleman ſays, *I am induced to believe that the tetrarchate of* Galilee *belonged to* Zenodorus. But becauſe Mr. *Hardouin* aſſerts nothing but what is the reſult of his imagination, which can be called no other than conjecture, we, on the contrary, do alledge, on better authority, namely, the kingdom of the *Aſſennomeans*, to which *Herod* ſucceeded, that *Galilee* was entirely out of the dominions of *Zenodorus*. And as to what he ſays of the face upon the coin, a thing unaccuſtomed on *Jewiſh* money, we retort it upon its author; becauſe none but *Jews* inhabited *Galilee*, as is clear from the evangeliſts: So that coins with the face of *Zenodorus* upon them cannot belong to one who exerciſed dominion over *Galilee*. We have one particular to mention of *Herod*, which we cannot paſs by, before we proceed to any thing further; which is, that *Herod*, before his father died, was made tetrarch, before the *Parthian* war broke out, by means of *Anthony*. This is affirm'd by *Joſephus*, book 4. chap. 3. As ſoon as *Hyrcanus* was taken, and his brother *Phaſael* was dead, he took upon him the name of ethuarch, which the judicious and learned *Ezekiel Spanheim* (eſpecially in this branch of literature) acquaints us with in his treatiſe *De præſt. & uſ. muniſm.* p. 444. from the inſcription of a coin which he produces; whom he judiciouſly takes to be the firſt *Herod*, before ſuch time as he obtained the title of king from the hands of the *Romans*.

We will now make ſome enquiry concerning *Archelaus*, whom *Joſephus*, in his 17th book of *Antiquities*, chap. 13. tells us *Auguſtus* was made ethuarch, but no king; and that before this emperor confirmed him in the poſſeſſion of what he had given him, he relinquiſh'd the name of king, which ſolely depended on *Cæſar*'s authority to give. *Hardouin*, on the contrary, will have him to be both a king and a father; becauſe *Matthew* ſays, chap. ii. ver. 22. that *he reigned*; and aſſerts, likewiſe, that he ſucceeded his father. Pray what man is a ſtranger, or does not know that in ſcripture petty princes are frequently ſtiled by the name of kings? As in the caſe of *Herod*, who, in one and the ſame hiſtory, is, by *Matthew*, in the beginning of his fourteenth chapter, and by *Luke*, in his ninth chapter, and ſeventh verſe, called tetrarch, and that very juſtly, according to the genius and decree of the *Romans*; tho' *Mark*, in his ſixth chapter, and fourteenth verſe, ſtiles him king, according to the common form of ſpeech. We grant, indeed, that *Archelaus* ſucceeded his father, but only in that part, which was reſtrain'd to *Judæa*; it was not in the whole kingdom, neither had he any regal title conferred upon him, becauſe it was not hereditary, but grantable upon the gift and liberality of the *Romans*.

But the difference between the years *Archelaus* reigned, and the time he was baniſh'd, is not ſmall: We are inform'd, from *Joſephus*, towards the end of his ſeventeenth book, that in the tenth year of his government, that is, after he had reigned full nine years, he was accuſed by his brothers, and condemned to be baniſhed to *Vienna* in *Gaul*. *Dio Caſſius* agrees in the ſame thing, who ſays, that *Herod* of *Paleſtine* was accuſed by his brothers, and baniſhed beyond the *Alps*. From the account which *Joſephus* gives us of this affair, it could not happen more than eleven years before the birth of *Chriſt*; which Mr. *Hardouin* looks upon as a repugnance to the new teſtament, in which our Lord *Chriſt* ſays, that before he was twelve years of age he went up every year to the temple, which ſeems to make us underſtand that he did ſo before he was eight years of age, becauſe 'tis rational to ſuppoſe that he went thither four years before; becauſe he refuſed that journey ſo long as *Archelaus* was alive. But this will be difficult in proving from the context of *Luke* 11. where the phraſe, *according to cuſtom*, is not to be referred to the boy *Chriſt*, but rather to his parents, or the feaſts and their rites, unleſs from the words ver. 44. ſuppoſing him to be in the way, which ſeveral commentators do, whoſe opinion we willingly embrace. But we cannot admit that thoſe words will ſufficiently prove *Chriſt*'s avoiding *Archelaus*, or that he refuſed viſiting the temple, while he lived. When his parents returned with him out of *Ægypt*, it was not ſo much *Archelaus*, *Herod*'s ſon, whom they avoided, as the fear they had of being betrayed in the place where they had taken up their quarters.

As to the years, we are not ſo ſcrupulous, as to the numbers, which being wrote with marks, a miſtake might eaſily be committed. There are no genuine coins of *Archelaus* now extant, which he cut himſelf, that are able to terminate this controverſy; only ſo much appears from the coin in Mr. *Hardouin*'s hands, namely, that *Archelaus* was removed before the thirty-ninth year of *Aſia* regain'd, or of the battle at *Actium*. This coin hath a branch repreſenting fertility, and a palm, which was eſteemed the glory of the *Jews*, and having the mark of the year; from whence 'tis conjectur'd that it was ſtruck in *Judæa*, when a province, but not in a kingdom, or an ethuarchate. Beſides, in what year *Archelaus* was oblig'd to abdicate his government, and at what time the ceſſation began, is controverted with greater warmth than the other particulars. *Joſephus* affirms, that he was baniſhed, and *Hardouin*, that he died without iſſue male. As to the conſent between *Joſephus* and *Dio Caſſius*, in relation to what we have taken notice of above, who call him *Herod* by a common name, when others name *Archelaus*, as is cuſtomarily done, both in *Antipas* and *Agrippa*; I ſay, with reſpect to this, we are the more inclined to embrace this opinion, as the *Jews* themſelves do not refuſe to admit it. *Ben Gorion*, towards the latter end of his 61ſt chapter, ſays, *Poſt quintam diem (a ſomino Archelai) adſcendit contra Archelaum exercitus Romanorum, cujus dux illum catenis conſtruxit, nuſitque Romam, ubi mortuus eſt. The* Roman *army marched againſt* Archelaus *five years after he had had his dream, the captain whereof took and put him in chains, and ſent him to* Rome, *where he died.* This author agrees in the deportation, but miſtakes the manner and place.

But no ſmall controverſy is raiſed, as we have took notice above, about *Herod* the tetrarch, and king *Agrippa*, whom *Joſephus* diſtinguiſhes as the ſon of that *Herod*, and calls him *Antipas*, who put the baptiſt to death; making the ſame tetrarch of *Galilee*, though not a king, and baniſhed into *Gaul* by *Caius Cæſar*: But the other he names *Herod Agrippa*, nephew of *Herod the Great* by *Ariſtobulus*, whom he had before put to death. This *Agrippa* was veſted by *Caius Cæſar* in the tetrarchates of *Philip* and *Lyſanias*, and honoured with the name of king; afterwards *Claudius* gave him *Antipas*'s tetrarchate, with thoſe of *Judæa* and *Samaria*, whereby his dominions were conſiderably augmented: But his reign prov'd of ſhort continuance, he unhappily loſing his life in the third year of *Claudius*. But, with Mr. *Hardouin*, *Herod* the tetrarch is one and the ſame perſon for a long interval of time; at length he makes him a king, and conſequently the ſame perſon who put the baptiſt, and *James*, the brother of *John*, to death. Which opinion it is our time now to enquire into.

This gentleman, in his 54th page immediately following, will needs, in the firſt place, have *Herod* the tetrarch to be neither a *Jew*, nor a proſelyte, nor a *Gentile*. But he who had a *Jew* to his father, and derived his birth from that nation, which had for ninety years before been accounted proſelytes by the *Jews*, and who governed the nation of the *Jews*, as the *Galileans* were, and went up annually to *Jeruſalem* to perform the cuſtomary feaſts there, and was a willing hearer of the doctrine of *John* the baptiſt; I ſay, in all theſe caſes conſidered, ſhall we pretend to ſay that *Herod* was not brought up in the rites of the *Jews*? King *Herod* was his father, who was an obſerver of the *Judaiſm*, which is not only confirmed by *Joſephus*, but by that jeſt of *Auguſtus* found in *Macrobius*'s *Saturnalia*, book 2. chap. 4. *'Tis much better to be* Herod's *hog, than his ſon.* The holy ſcriptures, indeed, ſay nothing of this tetrarch's being king *Herod*'s ſon, which *Joſephus* poſſitively affirms; but if this hiſtorian's word is not to be taken, we have the words of an ancient inſcription, publiſhed by *James Sponius Miſcel. Erud. Antiq.* f. 338. to evince it. Neither, indeed, were the *Idumæans*, from whom king *Herod* derived his original, at that time proſelytes, but *Jews*, having been receiv'd into the pale of *Judaiſm* a great many years before; ſo that *Scaliger*, in his remarks upon *Euſebius*, p. 165. proves *Herod the Great* to be a nephew of a proſelyte. Now all this is ſufficient to convince a reaſonable man. But this gentleman lays a ſtreſs upon *John* xii. 20. and as to what he advances about his illegal marriage, with his brother's wife, which *John* the baptiſt ſpoke againſt, from which he draws another argument againſt his being a *Jew*, appears in another light to us, and not worthy to have a great many words beſtow'd in anſwering it.

In the next place he pretends to accuſe *Joſephus* of falſhood from a coin and the number of years of his tetrarchate. From which it ſeems to appear, that *Herod* was in the 43d year of his tetrarchate under *Caius Caligula*. But even this account is not repugnant to the hiſtory which *Joſephus* gives us of it; who informs us, that he was baniſhed under no other emperor than *Caius*, and that in the laſt year of his reign. See his *Antiquities of the Jews*, book 18. chap. 9. And the celebrated *Noriſius*, ſo famous for his chronology, diſpoſes the account in ſuch a manner, that he makes the forty-third year of his tetrarchate exactly tally with the laſt year of *Caligula*. But if the number of years of his tetrarchate diſagree with the vulgar computation, it will not be inconvenient to ſay that *Antipas* was made tetrarch of *Galilee* in the life-time of his father, or a few years before he died; in the ſame manner as his father *Herod* himſelf was made governor of the ſame *Galilee*, in the life-time of his father *Antipater*. This is enough to defend this calculation, provided no other account intervene that which is now received concerning this tetrarchate.

Moreover, this gentleman ſuppoſes, that tetrarch and king are ſynonymous terms, from the common name of *Herod*, ſince the ſcripture ſays nothing neither of *Antipas*, nor of *Herod the Great*. But this makes nothing. Though the ſcripture makes no uſe of the difference of their names, which *Joſephus* lays open; yet it has other clear characters that prove this difference: For in the beginning of two chapters in *Acts*, *viz.* xii. and xiii. one *Herod* is called *king*, and the other *tetrarch*, which certainly are different honours, and marks of diſtinction. And, pray, how often do other authors mention the *Antiochus's* and *Ptolemy's*, without giving us any ſirname to let us ſee the diſtinction and difference of their names? *Juſtin Martyr*, in his dialogue againſt *Trypho*, p. 330. calls *Herod*, the ſon of *Herod*, under whom *Chriſt* was born, a *king*; but in calling him *the king of the* Jews, and *his father's ſucceſſor*, he ſufficiently betrays his ignorance of hiſtory.

Our learned gentleman invites us now to another coin, p. 48. on which is this inſcription: *King* Herod, *a lover of* Claudius, *and to* Claudius Cæſar Auguſtus, *year* 111. But what is there to compel us to underſtand this of *Herod*, the ſon of *Herod*, or what is there to hinder us from interpreting this of *Agrippa the Great*, after the example of Mr. *Spanheim*, of whom we take the liberty again to make honourable mention here? According to *Joſephus*, in the latter part of his nineteenth book, he lived three years in the kingdom which *Claudius* gave him, and to return his thanks for ſo extraordinary a favour, he would needs be deem'd *Philoclaudius*, a lover of *Claudius*, and would build ſome cities in honour of his name, which he did; namely, *Gaba* and *Tiberias*, calling them *Claudii*: All which is confirm'd by the above-cited *Henry Noriſius*, in his notes upon the *Syro-Macedonian Epocha*, p. 349, and 463. But on this account we think proper to add a coin of *Luke Holſteinius*, once the honour of the *Germans* amongſt the *Italians*. The inſcription is, *King Herod*; and, upon the reverſe, *Claudia Cæſarea*.

This is that *Herod* to whom *Joſephus* gives the name of the *Greater Agrippa*, of whom mention is made in the twelfth chapter of the *Acts of the Apoſtles*. But if our learned gentleman will, after his uſual way, diſpiſe the teſtimony of this hiſtorian, yet he cannot, I think, reject the account of ſo ancient a perſon as *Syrus*, who, to remove all ſcruples, hath not only performed the office of an interpreter, but, alſo, that of a paraphraſt; tranſlating that obſcure place, chap. xii. ver. 1. with the greateſt perſpicuity imaginable; *King* Herod, *who was ſirnamed* Agrippa. What can be more evident than this, eſpecially in a circumſtance of ſuch antiquity, that we cannot have a better and clearer proof? Beſides, all books agree in this, neither can we find any various reading, which may induce us to think that either any novelty or interpolation hath been made.

Since, then, this learned gentleman is unable to overthrow, by his coins, the received opinion of *Joſephus* concerning the *Herods*, we muſt, of conſequence, take the xiith of *Act* to point out *Herod Agrippa*, the ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, upon whom *Claudius Cæſar* beſtowed the kingdom of his grandfather; who, after this, for ſpeaking diſhonourably of *Tiberius*, was put in chains, and ſet at liberty after his death by *Caius*, and conſtituted king over the tetrarchates of *Philip* and *Lyſanias*; and three years after received from the hands of the ſame emperor the tetrarchate of *Herod*. After this, *Claudius* annexed to his dominions *Samaria* and *Judæa*; ſo that by theſe ſeveral means his kingdom comprehended all *Paleſtine*, or the land of *Iſrael*, which he had but three years, which was until he died. This is witneſs'd by *Joſephus*, and by St. *Luke*, though in terms ſomewhat more obſcure. See the *Jewiſh Antiquities*, book xix. and *Dio Caſſius*, book lix. p. 645. and book lx. p. 610.

Our learned gentleman, next, produces a very ſtrong proof from *Juſtus* of *Tiberias*, a *Galilean*, between whom, and *Joſephus*, a very hot enmity ſubſiſted; yet this is no let to our adverſary, who agrees with him in the diſtinction he makes of the *Herods*. *Photius*, in his *Bibliotheque*, *cod.* 33. hath cited thus much out of his chronicle: "That *Agrippa* the younger "was the laſt of the family of the *Herods* who "ſwayed the ſcepter: That the beginning of "his reign commenced under *Claudius*, and "that he departed this life in the days of *Trajan*." Now this account tallies well with what *Joſephus* ſays of it, namely, 1. *Herod the Great*, 2. *Archelaus*, 3. *Philip*, 4. *Antipas*, 5. *Agrippa* the elder, 6. *Herod Chalcidius*, 7. *Agrippa* the younger.

Mr. *Hardouin* denies that the *Herod* mentioned in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, ruled over *Judæa*, or that it was poſſible for his kingdom to be again converted into a *Roman* province. But, pray, how many examples have we in *Aſia*, where *Cilica*, *Pontus*, *Syria*, and *Comagena*, have loſt the name of provinces, and been to that of kingdoms? The maps inſerted in our antient hiſtory put all this beyond ſcruple; but poſſibly the perſon might be a ſtranger to *Jeruſalem*, as the tetrarch *Herod* was, into whoſe cuſtody *Pilate* put our Saviour in chains: And the *Cæſar*'s procurator, poſſibly, likewiſe, ſent the apoſtles, as being *Galileans*, to the prince of that country, not for cauſe of government, but, chiefly, on account of the *Jewiſh* religion. *Hardouin*, p. 55. is very often of this opinion. But theſe are not ſufficient to give us a juſt ſenſe of what *Luke* ſays. If he was only a ſtranger, how comes he to have authority to puniſh the ſoldiers of the *Roman* governor, for neglect of duty? For in the 19th verſe of the ſame chapter he orders him to be led to puniſhment, and beheaded; which the *Latins* expreſs by the ſimple word *Duci*. *Pliny*, in his epiſtle to *Trajan*, concerning the *Chriſtians*, ſays, *perſeverantes duci juſſi*; *My orders were, that thoſe who ſtood out ſhould be puniſhed*. See our remarks upon that author. The *Syriac*, again, interprets this place very clearly, he condemned thoſe guards, and commanded them to be put to death. I add, likewiſe, that if he was only a ſtranger, what made him leave *Jeruſalem* to go to *Cæſarea*, and take up his reſidence there? While *Judæa* remain'd in the form of a province the prince of *Galilee* did not reſide at *Cæſarea*, but only the *Roman* governor; as is evident from the hiſtory of *Fælix* and *Feſtus*.

The coin, on which *Hardouin* lays ſo much ſtreſs, and which is thus inſcrib'd, *The great king* Agrippa, *friend of* Claudius; makes principally for the opinion of *Joſephus*. If he was named *The great king*, as he certainly was, and which is evinc'd from the inſcription of the coin, it ought certainly to follow, that his poſſeſſions ſhould comprehend more than the two tertrarchates of *Galilee* and *Philip*, which our learned gentleman allows him; for dominions ſo ſmall do not deſerve the name of king, much leſs of the dignity of a great king. But *Joſephus* aſſigns him a kingdom of much larger extent, which was that of his grandfather's, comprehending all *Paleſtine*.

We have obſerved above, what religion *Herod* the tetrarch profeſs'd, different to which we find king *Herod*'s mentioned in *Acts* xii. which we have endeavoured to prove. Now it will be worth our pains to make ſome enquiry into the tetrarch's faith. Mr. *Hardouin*, who makes a tetrarch and a king ſynonymous terms, denies, in the ſame paſſage, that he who put *John* to death was a *Jew*. And in p. 55. he ſays, that he was neither proſelyte nor *Jew*; which he builds upon the teſtimony of *Luke*, who ſeems to aver, rhat it was not religion which was the cauſe of his baniſhment, but becauſe, to gain favour with the *Jews*, he proclaimed war againſt the *Chriſtians*. Pray are not thoſe *Jews* who endeavour to pleaſe *Jews?* So neither were they *Romans*, who, after they had run through their fortunes, were called *populares*, to gain his and the people's favour: Neither were they *Roman* emperors, who, for the very ſame reaſon, ar *Eutropius* ſays, behaved civilly in their reſpective governments.

Herod, king of *Chalcis*, was brother of this *Agrippa*, according to *Joſephus*, l. 11. of the *Jewiſh War*, p. 1071. *Peter Seguinus* hath publiſhed his coin, thus engraven; *To* Claudius Cæſar Auguſtus, *year* 5, and upon the reverſe appears an antient head, ſurrounded with a royal foliage, with this inſcription, *King* Herod, *a lover of* Claudius. *Hardouin*, on the other hand, aſſerts thus, p. 58. *Quid ſi non tantum nullus Herodes Chulcidus, ſed neque regnum Chalcis ullum fuit. What if there was not only no* Herod *of* Chalcis, *but likewiſe no kingdom of* Chalcis? This gentleman's prejudice makes him throw his conjectures at this eaſy rate, inſiſting that every thing cited out of *Joſephus* muſt be groundleſs. This hiſtorian, lib. 19. p. 873. ſays, that *Herod*, *Agrippa*'s brother, was *Dynaſt of* Chalcis; and lib. 11. of the *Jewiſh War*, chap. 11. adds, *that he reigned in* Chalcis. Nay, he has the title of *king* given him by *Claudius*, in a letter inſerted in the ſame hiſtorian, lib. 20. c. 1. The ſtreſs of the queſtion depends upon this, whether *Herod Agrippa* was living in the fifth year of *Claudius*, which is no way likely, it being againſt *Euſebius*'s account, who tells us, in his chronicle, that he died in the fourth year of his reign; a circumſtance cited and approved of by *Scaliger* in his remarks, p. 189. What's this? What *Dio Caſſius?* A very diſintereſted author, lib. lx. pag. 670. ſays, too, of *Claudius Cæſar*, "that "he gave a certain principality to his brother" (the elder *Agrippa*). Now *Joſephus*, book xix. chap. 5. expreſly mentions him by name, and proves him to be no other than he of *Chalcis*. So that here ſeems not ſufficient reaſon to relinquiſh either the authority of the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian, or *Euſebius*, ſince we are already acquainted with the good harmony between them and *Dio*.

We have, in the thirtieth chapter of the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, mention of *Agrippa* the ſon, with his ſiſter *Berenice*. This prince was about ſeventeen years of age, and lived at *Rome* under *Claudius*, when news was brought him of his father's death: And in him *Claudius* would have veſted the ſucceſſion, had he not been adviſed by his friends to the contrary, who remonſtrated the danger in conſtituting a boy king over a limited kingdom, ſuch as *Judæa* was. In conſequence of which, *Cuſpius Fadius* was ſent into *Judæa*, who reduced that country again into the form of a province, and appointed officers and governors to reſide therein. See *Joſephus*, towards the concluſion of his twentieth book. However, our adverſary puts the negative upon us here, and avers, that *Judæa* was not again reduced to the form of a province, and remained in one conſtant ſituation from the time *Auguſtus Cæſar* made the firſt change therein. We have given our anſwer to this particular in the 19th ſection above, and have ſhewn by the examples of the countries in *Aſia*, which of the *Roman* provinces were converted into kingdoms, and which, on the other hand, were reduced to provinces. We will venture to ſubjoin to this account the teſtimony of *Tacitus* out of his fifth book, chap. 9. of his hiſtory. *Claudius defunctus regibus, aut ad modicum reductis, Judæam provinciam equilibus Romanis aut libertis permiſit.* "After "the death of the kings, or when their autho- "rity was cut ſhort, when *Claudius* inveſted "the *Roman* knights or his freedmen in the "government of the province of *Judæa*."

Neither did *Agrippa*, the ſon of *Agrippa*, want a kingdom, though he came not to that honour the inſtant his father died. *Joſeph Scaliger* upon *Euſebius*, acquaints us, *Non ſtatim ab obitu patris regnum illi traditum, ſed nemine Cæſaris tamdiu adminiſtratum, quoad rex tulelæ ſuæ fieret.* "He did not obtain the kingdom "immediately from his father's deceaſe, but "govern'd it for the time in the name of *Cæ*- "*ſar*; by that means defending himſelf in the "title of king." The ſame learned perſon, a little after, upon theſe words of *Tacitus*, *An.* xii, and xxiii. *Ituræi & Judæi, defunctis regibus Solæmo atque Agrippa, provinciæ Syriæ additi.* "After the demiſe of the kings, *Solæmus* and "*Agrippa*, *Iturœa* and *Judæa* were annex'd to

“ the province of *Syria*,” ſays thus, *Intelligendum Ituræos Syriæ perpetuo additos fuiſſe: Judæos autem, quoad Agrippa junior ad tutelam ſuam perveniret. Sed quinquennio poſt obitum Agrippæ ſenioris hoc centigiſſe quis credat, niſi qui in ratione temporum, & hiſtoria externa, Corn. Tacitum non ſemel neque leviter peccaſſe meminerit?* “ We are to know, that *Ituræa* “ was always a part of *Syria*; and the country “ of *Judæa*, likewiſe, ſo far as it conduced “ to the intereſt and preſervation of *Agrippa* “ the younger. But who can believe that “ ſuch a circumſtance ſhould befal him five “ years after the death of the elder *Agrippa*, “ without remembering, at the ſame time, that “ *Cornelius Tacitus* hath more than once com“ mitted a groſs blunder in chronology, and “ foreign hiſtory?” For my part, I could wiſh that ſo celebrated a writer had delivered his ſentiments in another manner: For *Tacitus* and *Joſephus* preſerve an harmony together. It appears, from the latter hiſtorian, and from *Euſebius*, that *Agrippa* died in the fourth year of the reign of *Claudius*, as hath been intimated already. The younger *Agrippa*, a youth of ſeventeen years of age, did not ſucceed his father, whoſe kingdom was either reduced to the form of a province, or added to that of *Syria*. 'Tis certain, that the emperor *Claudius*, in the beginning of the ninth year of his reign, *C. Pompey*, and *Q. Verannius* being conſuls, inveſted *Agrippa*, the ſon of *Agrippa*, in the kingdom of *Chalcis*, there being then no hopes of his uncle *Herod*'s ſurviving any time longer: But four years after, that is, in the twelfth year of his reign, when *Chalcis* was taken away, he deprived *Philip* and *Lyſanias* of their tetrarchates, which comprehended *Trachonitis*, *Battanea*, and *Abilena*, when all the while *Judæa*, *Samaria*, and *Galilee*, and the other parts of that juriſdiction, were governed by a *Roman* governor, till the final deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. See *Joſephus*, lib. xx. chap. 5, &c. *Agrippa* kept poſſeſſion of his kingdom a conſiderable time, from the ninth year of *Claudius* to the third year of *Trajan*; for *Photius* the patriarch, in the thirty-third book of his *Bibliotheque*, ſpeaks thus upon the words above, as he has extracted his thoughts out of *Juſtus Tiberius*, an hiſtory, cotemporary with *Joſephus*. “ *Juſtus* begins his hiſtory from *Moyſes*, “ and ends it in the death of *Agrippa*, the ſe“ venth of the family of *Herod*, and the laſt “ amongſt the *Jewiſh* kings, who was put in “ poſſeſſion of a kingdom under *Claudius*, “ which was augmented by *Nero*, and conſide“ rably more increaſed by *Veſpaſian*. But he “ died in the third year of *Trajan*.” We have ſeveral coins remaining of this king, ſtruck with the images of *Veſpaſian*, *Titus*, and *Domitian*; a ſight of which we have been favoured with from our chief patron *Ezechiel Spanheim*, in his treatiſe *De preſt. & uſa Muniſm.* p. 864. and that with the face of *Veſpaſian* has inſcrib'd round it, *In the twenty-ninth year of* Agrippa. Which is a ſufficient argument of his long reign.

Thus much of the *Herods*, and of their order and ſucceſſion. We will now proceed to defend the reſt of ſuch particulars as Mr. *Hardouin* urges againſt *Joſephus*, whoſe veracity that the ſaid gentleman may invalidate, objects againſt him, in the firſt place, that the name of *Antipas*, which we entirely owe to *Joſephus*, is no where to be met with amongſt coins. Now ſuppoſing this was true, the name of *Archelaus* would alſo labour under ſuſpicion; becauſe, as Mr. *Hardouin* himſelf confeſſes, this name is not to be trac'd with amongſt coins; and in *Caſſius* 'tis found under the name of *Herod*. *Ben Gorion*, in the beginning of his 63d chapter acquaints us what ſort of a name *Antipas* is, he calling it *Antipatrus*, by a *Greek* appellation, whence it made *Antipas*; as from *Harpocrates* comes *Harpocras*, mentioned by *Pliny*, lib. x. ep. 1. But our adverſary goes on to object falſhoods againſt the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian, in aſſerting that *Herod Antipas* was baniſhed now into *Gaul*, and now into *Spain*. Be it ſo; this may be eaſily accounted for, ſince 'tis poſſible that he might firſt be baniſhed into *Gaul*, and afterwards, to aggravate his puniſhment, ſent as far as *Spain*; being the greater diſtance, a conſiderable deal, from his native country. And that he was ſent into *Spain*, not only *Ben Gorion*, chap. 63. but, alſo, *Rabbi Gauz*, p. 36. confirm, by their teſtimonies; naming the place of his baniſhment —— which the *Jews* call *Spain*. But, further, to convince *Joſephus* of falſhood, he alledges this in favour thereof; namely, that he falſifies himſelf in ſaying that *Agrippa*, when he was at *Rome*, aſſiſted *Claudius* in obtaining the empire, when 'tis no way poſſible to ſuppoſe that a petty king over a barbarous country ſhould be the director of ſo auguſt a body of perſons as the *Romans* ſenate conſiſted of. But we are not at a loſs to find one who will aſſiſt us in this pretended difficulty; for *Dio Caſſius*, lib. x. pag. 670. ſpeaking of *Claudius*, ſays, *He made conſiderable additions to the kingdom of* Agrippa *of* Paleſtine, *who had been of ſervice to him in obtaining the empire.*

But our famous adverſary attacks *Joſephus* another way, objecting againſt him the new ſtructure of the temple of *Jeruſalem*, which our *Jew*, lib. xv. cap. 11. attributes to *Herod*, as a forged exaggeration of his magnificence. But this is falſe; for we have too fair a proof from the 11th chapter and 20th verſe of the divine penman Sr. *John*, that the new building of the temple was no forgery: For the forty-ſix years of the building cannot refer to the temple of *Zorobabel*, which was finiſhed in four years, according to *Eſdras* vi. 15. nor, indeed, when *Judæa* was in the form of a province, did the temple ceaſe to be renew'd; and yet neither was this done by the favour of the *Roman* governor: For the *Cæſars* entruſted the management of the ſolemn things, and of the temple, to the care and management of ſome *Jewiſh* chief; as for example, after *Agrippa* the elder was removed, *Claudius* committed this affair to *Herod* his brother, king of *Chalcis*, as appears from *Joſephus*, lib. xx. cap. 1. and 3. which power afterwards devolved upon *Agrippa* the younger, and remained with him until the deſtruction of the temple and city. Conſult his ſeventh chapter, but principally the eighth, fol. 899. where he thus ſpeaks of *Agrippa*; “ That *Claudius Cæſar* entruſted him with the “ management of the temple, though neither “ *Herod*, nor *Agrippa* the younger, had any “ juriſdiction either in *Judæa* or *Jeruſalem*, “ which was entirely within the power of the “ *Roman* governor.”

Mr. *Hardouin* endeavours to impute another error to *Joſephus*, and ſuppoſes to make it good from this, *Quod auctoriali Paleſtinam non conſpecta fuerit*; becauſe lib. xv. cap. 13. he ſays that *Cæſarea* of *Paleſtine* was in *Phœnicia*. This is a new and unheard-of crime, of which if *Joſephus* be actually guilty, we muſt neceſſarily involve *Strabo*, the prince of geographers, in the ſame condemnation. For he ſays, lib. xvi. p. 520. “ After we had paſs'd through “ *Cœloſyria*, we came into *Phœnicia*.” And having given a detail of the ſeveral cities, he ſhuts up his diſcourſe in theſe words: “ Thus “ much of *Phœnicia*.” In the middle of his diſcourſe, and in the middle of the *Phœnican* cities, he ſays, “ After *Ace* (which is *Ptolomais*) “ is *Straton* tower, having an harbour for “ ſhips.” This is that *Cæſarea*. *Pliny*, lib. v. cap. 13. ſays, *Stratonis turris, eadem Cæſarea, ab Herode rege condita.* Stratonis *tower, the ſame with* Cæſarea, *was built by king* Herod. Upon what foundation, then, is this accuſation againſt *Joſephus* laid, whoſe ſentiments exactly correſpond with thoſe of *Strabo*, and with what other geographers and hiſtorians have advanced upon the ſame topick? Some, indeed, carry *Phœnicia* ſomewhat farther to the ſouth, though others deſcribe it more narrowly. *Livy*, lib. xxxv. cap. 13. ſays, *Antiochus rex, ea hyeme Raphiæ in Phœniæ Ptolomea regi Ægypti filia in matrimonium data——extremo jam hyemis Epheſum pervenit.* “ King *Antiochus* ha“ ving married, that winter, his daughter at “ *Raphia*, to *Ptolomy*, king of *Ægypt*—— “ came to *Epheſus* at the end of that cold ſea“ ſon.” This *Raphia* was on the ſea-coaſt towards the frontiers of *Ægypt*.

Mr. *Hardouin* again charges *Joſephus* with a very abominable miſtake, with regard to the kingdom of the *Haſſamomeans*; but *Strabo*, a conſiderable time before *Joſephus*, acquaints us, in the account which he there lays down of *Syria* and *Judæa*, lib. xvi. p. 524. *That* Alexander *was the firſt who from the prieſthood raiſed himſelf to a kingdom*; who was, alſo, *Janneus*, the father of *Hyrcanus* and *Ariſtobulus*: Which is ſufficient to clear our *Jewiſh* hiſtorian of the fabulous account attributed falſely to him by our antagoniſt; though, to act honourably in this buſineſs, *Strabo* ſhould be amended, becauſe *Alexander* was not the laſt who wore a crown, and made uſe of the title of king; but his brother *Ariſtobulus*, who enjoy'd the ſame honours before him. I am apt to believe that this worthy gentleman was induced to think thus, becauſe, probably, he had found no coins of the *Haſſamomean* kings. But, indeed, this is a method that may put the negative upon a great many of the moſt principal paſſages of hiſtory; as for example, when the empire of *Trapezon*, which had flouriſhed for full two hundred and fifty years, having *Iſaac Connenus* for its founder, and was fallen into the hands of the *Latins* at *Conſtantinople*. Yet, for all theſe ſelf-evident circumſtances, no account or illuſtration could be drawn from any coins; neither could the moſt ingenious and learned men of the age remember that they had ever ſeen any. Yet it does not follow from hence, that we are to look upon as ſpurious and fabulous that which *Nicetas*, *Gregory*, *Paul Venetus*, and *Chalcocondyles*, have advanced upon that argument.

Laſtly, Mr. *Hardouin* charges our *Jewiſh* hiſtorian in his character, as a grammarian. *Taceo, inquit*, p. 64. *de Joſephi ſoleco, Agrippou, quod etiam in Cod.* MSS. *legitur, pro Agrippa, ut munius exhibent ipſius Agrippæ, quiam vixiſſe vult videri.* “ I omit, ſays he, p. 64. tak“ ing notice of that ſoleciſm of *Joſephus*, *A*“ *grippou*, which a manuſcript reads for *Agrip*“ *pæ*, as the coins themſelves of *Agrippa* teſti“ fy, with whom he would pretend that he li“ ved.' But hold, candid Sir, 'tis no ſoleciſm, which the writers of the pureſt *Greek* uſe: There are two ways of declining the caſes in theſe nouns; an *Agrippa* we find in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, chap. xxv. ver. 23. and in *Xiphilnius*, under the word *Veſpaſian*, not only in the edition of *Stephens*, p. 222. but, alſo, in that of *Sylburgius*, p. 322. Nor can a ſoleciſm be applied to that which ends in *ou*, which we find *Plutarch* mentioning in the life of *Anthony*, p. 946. *Dio Caſſius*, in the beginning of his ſeventieth book, *Appian Alexandrinus*, b. civ. l. 5. and *Zonaras*, an imitator of elegancy, in the life of *Auguſtus*. Will *Hardouin*, then, pretend to charge theſe ſeveral authors with a ſoleciſm? Nor is this uncommon in other proper names which terminate in *as*, as may be ſeen in *Theodore Gaza*, *Iſogog*. lib. i. p. 4. and on the coin publiſhed by *Andrew Morellius*, a profound man in this branch of antient ſtudy; and in the twenty-third table we find the ſame, and in *Dio Caſſius* himſelf. Neither, indeed, was our *Jewiſh* hiſtorian ignorant of another form, which our antagoniſt ſuppoſes was only *Greek*, to ſhew which one example may be thought neceſſary enough, and ſufficient, which is in lib. xiv. of his *Antiquities*, chap. xi. p. 649.

As for the reſt, he has purpoſely omitted taking any notice of the ſlaughter of the infants; *Ne legiſſe ſacras noviteſtamenti literas videretur*; “ That people might not think he “ had ever read the new teſtament.” This may be ſeen in page 36. And *Scaliger*, in his annotations upon *Euſebius*, page 176. ſays, *Mirum eſt, tam belluniæ credulitatis exemplum ab Joſepho preteritum eſſe, qui tanta diligentia, reliqua ſervitie Herodiane facinora proſequitur.* “ He is amazed that *Joſephus* ſhould ſay no“ thing of *Herod*'s monſtrous barbarity, who “ takes ſuch extraordinary pains to lay open “ the other cruelties of that prince.” We confeſs, indeed, that 'tis amazing to us, likewiſe: But then we ſay, again, that 'tis not ſufficient, of itſelf, to confute this writer of treachery, as Mr. *Hardouin* would needs have it. There may, poſſibly, be other reaſons at the bottom for acting in this manner; and if there be any fault, *Nicolas* of *Damaſcus* ought to bear it before *Joſephus*. *Nicolas* had no ſuch pretence for paſſing ſuch a circumſtance over, becauſe he wrote in the life-time of *Herod*, and was that prince's friend and ſpokeſman with *Auguſtus*. Now *Joſephus* ingenuouſly owns that he follows *Nicolas* briefly; and poſſibly the *Jew* may have that to plead, which we know happens to be the caſe with ſeveral others; namely, that what he has done, was not owing to any deſign on purpoſe, but that 'twas his fortune to ſlip over ſo deteſtable a circumſtance through his ſhallow memory, on the one hand, and through his too eager purſuit of his predeceſſor on the other.

The ſame learned adverſary of ours, in his 39th page, accuſes thoſe writers of ſpuriouſneſs who call the *Roman emperors kings*, and their *empire a kingdom*. We grant it, and, withal, allow, that the words *regnum* and *rex* were deteſted by the *Romans*: However, the *Greek* words labour'd not ſo hard, but were uſed more tenderly, and this by the *Romans* themſelves. *Herodian*, lib. i. cap. 11. of *Mark* the emperor, ſays, *king Mark*; and in the 7th chapter of *Commodus*, *the abſtinence of the king*; and in the ſame place of the great *Fauſtina*, *queen*. And before *Herodian Pauſanias Phoc.* chap. xiv. *king Auguſtus*, and *Dionyſius Perieg.* v. 1052. *of the* Italian *king*, under whom he compoſed his book, pointing out, by theſe, *Auguſtus Cæſar*. And *Diodorus Siculus*, in the eclogue of his 25th book, *they called him emperor, which is a king*. So that we have not ſo much reaſon to interpret, with *Hardouin*, the word mention'd 1 *Pet.* xi. 14. of *Polemon*, as we have with *Grotius* to apply it to the *Roman* emperor. Formerly the people of *Conſtantinople* underſtood this *Greek* word in the ſame ſenſe as they did it of other kings; and the *German* emperors may be proved to have been called by this appellation. And for teſtimony of what has been advanced, we need trouble our ſelves no farther, than by looking into the hiſtory of *Byzantium*.

A SUPPLEMENT, CONTAINING The Lives of the *HERODS*;

Together with

A Hiſtory of Affairs of the *Eaſt* and of the *Roman* Empire, to the Death of *Titus Veſpaſian*.

L*YSANIAS*, prince of *Colchis*, having entered into an agreement with *Barzaphernes*, a principal officer in the *Parthian* army, then commanded by *Pacorus*, that for five hundred *Jewiſh* women, and the ſum of a thouſand talents, to be inſtantly delivered to the *Parthians*, *Antigonus*, the ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, ſhou'd, by their aſſiſtance, be reſtored to his father's kingdom: A part of the *Parthian* army was, in all haſte, ſent to facilitate the execution. With theſe forces, and a number of *Jews* that voluntarily offered their ſervice, *Antigonus* took his march into *Judæa*: After ſome time he gave battle to the enemy, obtain'd the victory, and made ſo quick a purſuit, that he got into the city of *Jeruſalem* along with them. Here *Antigonus* did not meet with the ſucceſs he expected, but being defeated in ſeveral encounters, was at laſt forced to ſeek refuge in the mountain of the temple, whilſt the adverſe party took up their head quarters at the palace. From theſe two places, as opportunity favoured, they ſallied out upon each other, till the feaſt of *Pentecoſt*, when a vaſt confluence of people meeting together at *Jeruſalem* to commemorate this holy ſolemnity, and ſome of 'em adhering to one ſide, and ſome joining on the other, there followed ſuch an effuſion of blood in all corners of the city, that both parties begun to ſee the neceſſity of an accommodation.

Antigonus, in this affair, acted a very crafty part; for having obtained the oppoſite party's conſent to ſubmit all differences to the *Parthian* commander (whom he had before inſtructed how to manage, and who then lay encamped without the walls of the city), the cunning *Parthian* ſoon inſinuated himſelf into *Phaſael's* good opinion, and brought him to condeſcend to go on an embaſſy to *Barzaphernes* (who was governor of *Syria* under *Pacorus*), as the moſt certain expedient to finiſh every thing according to his wiſh.

Herod, called *the Great*, earneſtly diſſuaded his brother *Phaſael* from the journey, but to no purpoſe. Attended, therefore, by *Hyrcanus*, and under the convoy of a party of horſe, he took his way into *Galilee*; where, being received by a freſh *Parthian* guard, he was conducted by them to *Barzaphernes*. At firſt, *Phaſael* was welcomed with all demonſtrations of kindneſs; but the time was no ſooner come, which *Barzaphernes* concluded would be ſufficient to put this command in execution for the ſeizing of *Herod*, than he gave orders to put both *Phaſael* and *Hyrcanus* in chains. *Herod* having had previous intelligence of this treacherous deſign, diſappointed all their meaſures by removing from *Jeruſalem* in the night, with all his family, and as many of his own ſoldiers as ſo ſudden a march gave him leave to aſſemble together. With theſe he holds on his courſe to *Maſſada*, which was a caſtle ſituated upon a high mountain, near the lake *Aſphaltitis*, and a place of the greateſt ſtrength of any in the whole country. And though in his way thither he was often attack'd by the diſaffected *Jews*, as well as *Parthians*, yet he ſtill repell'd them, and had the advantage. But none of theſe conflicts appearing ſo conſiderable to him, as that which he fought with *Antigonus*'s party at about the diſtance of ſeven miles from *Jeruſalem*, he afterwards built there a fine palace in memory of it, and call'd it *Herodium*.

On his arrival at *Reſſa* in *Idumæa*, his brother *Joſeph* brought him a freſh ſupply of men; but *Herod*, on his coming to *Maſſada*, finding the place not large enough to accommodate ſuch a number of forces, diſbanded nine thouſand of them; and here leaving his mother and the reſt of the women, which he brought with him from *Jeruſalem*, under a guard of eight hundred men, and the conduct of *Joſeph*; he, with the ſmall remains of his army, held on his march for *Petra* in *Arabia*, of which place *Malchus* was at that time king. *Herod* conſidering with himſelf that he had formerly heap'd many favours upon *Malcus*, was therefore in ſome hope of meeting from him a ſuitable return, and to be put in a condition to retrieve his affairs. But though adverſity is, without doubt, the only infallible teſt of friendſhip, and the ſeaſon, too, in which gratitude makes the brighteſt figure; yet rare are the inſtances that can bear being examined before that touch-ſtone, or make an account of this virtue. *Herod*'s expectation quickly fail'd him, and he had orders ſent him by *Malchus*, forthwith to depart his dominions.

Herod having, upon this unwelcome meſſage, turn'd off the greater part of his attendants, purpoſed to himſelf to make the beſt of his way for *Ægypt*: And being got no farther than *Rhinocurura*, he had the mortification to hear of his brother *Phaſael*'s death, which fell out thus: *Barzaphernes* having had notice of *Herod*'s retreat from *Jeruſalem*, ſent an order to the *Parthian* officer who commanded there, firſt to pillage the country round, and next to make *Antigonus* king of *Judæa*, delivering to him, withal, *Phaſael* and *Hyrcanus*, in chains. Whereupon, *Phaſael* forecaſting that his death was inevitable, in deſpair, daſh'd out his own brains againſt the walls of the priſon. As to *Hyrcanus*; *Antigonus*, indeed, ſpared his life; but to the end he might not for the future be capable of bearing the dignity of high-prieſt, he made the executioner cut off his ears: And, laſtly, concluding that people at a diſtance had but little power to do miſchief, he returned *Hyrcanus* to the *Parthians*, to be carried back with them into their own country.

In the mean time, *Herod* made his way to *Alexandria*, where, taking ſhip, he directed his courſe by the way of *Rhodes* and *Brunduſium*, to *Rome*. And here fortune made him ample amends for all his former ſufferings, and even exceeded his expectation; for all his ambition at this time was, to have procured the kingdom of *Judæa* for *Ariſtobulus*, the brother of *Mariamne*, his beloved wife, without any other proſpect than that of governing the country under him, as *Antipater* had done under *Hyrcanus*, his grandſather. But *M. Anthony* and *Octavianus* commiſerating his caſe, and prevailing with two of the moſt eloquent ſenators to introduce him into the ſenate, and there repreſent the heroic merits of him and his anceſtors towards the *Roman* people. This was accompanied wlth ſo general an influence upon the ſenate, that they unanimouſly decreed the crown of *Judæa* to *Herod*, and declared *Antigonus* an enemy to the commonwealth. After which, being from the ſenate reconducted by *Octavianus* on one hand of him, and *Anthony* on the other, he was magnificently attended by all the magiſtrates, to the capitol, and there iuaugurated into the kingdom, according to the uſual formalities of that auguſt ſtate.

Herod ſtay'd but ſeven days at *Rome*, and then returning to his fleet at *Brunduſium*, he immediately put to ſea, and got ſafe to *Ptolemais*, towards the end of ſummer. He was no ſooner arrived, but he applied his thoughts towards the relief of *Maſſada*, which place had been ſo cloſely blocked up by *Antigonus* during *Herod*'s abſence, that *Joſeph* deſpairing of ſuccours, and finding himſelf unable to hold out any longer, had determined, at all hazards, to flee to *Malchus* in *Arabia*: But *Herod* came in time enough to make him alter his deſign, and wait patiently till he was able to relieve him. *Joſeph* being likewiſe ſenſible, that as *Mariamne* was amongſt the beſieged, *Herod* would leave no ſtone unturned that might any ways contribute to raiſe the ſiege: And having lately all his ciſterns plentifully filled with a copious fall of rain, no other thoughts remained in his breaſt, but ſuch as invited him to make a vigorous reſiſtance.

Herod, with what forces he was able to raiſe himſelf, and the addition of ſuch auxiliaries as were ſent him by the *Romans*, ſoon recovered all *Galilee*, a few places only exepted; then marching to *Joppa*, and having made himſelf maſter of it, he proceeded to *Maſſada*, which he immediately freed from the ſiege of the enemy. Afterwards he had *Roſſa*, a ſtrong fortreſs in *Idumæa*, ſurrender'd to him; and having thus happily begun, he went back to *Silo*, whom *Ventidius* had left in *Judæa*, and ſate down with his army before the walls of *Jeruſalem*.

A little before this time, *Ventidius*, one of *Anthony*'s lieutenants, came up ſo unexpectedly with *Labienus*, as obliged him to retire with precipitation to mount *Taurus*, where he ſtrongly entrench'd his army, that, under theſe advantages, he might decline a battle, till he had ſent to *Pacorus* for aſſiſtance. The *Parthian* army that was commanded to his aid, falling in with the *Roman* forces before they cou'd join him, were put to flight by *Ventidius*, and moſt of them cut to pieces. Hereupon, *Labienus*'s ſoldiers being diſpirited with this ſlaughter of the *Parthians*, all threw down their arms, and fled. But *Ventidius* purſuing them, ſlew ſome of them, and having made the reſt priſoners, liſted them among his own forces.

Ventidius having thus reconquered all *Cilicia*, led his army to mount *Amanus*, where was another army of *Parthians* under the command of *Pharnapates*, one of *Pacorus*'s lieutenants, and there poſted them, to ſecure the paſſes leading into *Syria*, to hinder his further progreſs. But *Ventidius* giving them battle, killed their general upon the ſpot, and gained a compleat victory over them, and ſo marched unmoleſted into *Syria*. This news ſoon reaching the ears of *Pacorus*, he ſummon'd all his forces together, and with all haſte poſſible repaſs'd the *Euphrates*, leaving *Syria*, and all on this ſide that river, wholly to the *Romans*: By which means all thoſe countries returned to their former obedience, the *Arcadians* only excepted; whom deſpair of pardon kept up in rebellion till they were reduced by force.

Theſe things being thus ſucceſsfully atchieved, *Ventidius* led his army into *Paleſtine* with no other view but to make as much money as he cou'd; which purpoſe, that he might the more eaſily effect, he encamp'd with his army before *Jeruſalem*. This appearance terrified *Antigonus* in ſuch a manner, that he gave him all the money he could ſcrape together, in order to get rid of his company. *Ventidius* having now made himſelf maſter of what he wanted, repaſſed into *Syria* with the bulk of his army, committing the troops that he left to the care of *Silo*.

Herod, as we have ſaid before, having join'd *Silo* at *Jeruſalem*, with a view to bring matters to a ſpeedy concluſion, found himſelf wretchedly diſappointed; for *Silo* copying after the example that *Ventidius* had ſet him, had regard to no one thing, but the filling of his own pocket: On one hand, taking large ſums of money from *Herod* to forward his ſucceſs; and on the other, greater from *Antigonus* to obſtruct it. The ſiege of *Jeruſalem* being by theſe means render'd ineffectual, the confederate forces turn'd their arms againſt *Jericho*, which place they utterly ruined; and then *Silo* thinking it time to ſend his army into winter-quarters, *Herod*, upon whom this trouble was devolved, ſaw them provided for in *Idumea*, *Samaria*, and *Galilee*.

One of the ſibyl oracles, in that year wherein *Pompey* took *Jeruſalem*, having inform'd the world that nature was about to bring forth a king to the *Romans*, *Virgil*, in his celebrated *Forth Eclogue*, takes occaſion to compliment the conſul *Pollio* upon this propheſy, by preſuming that it might refer to his ſon *Saloninus*, who was this year born, *viz.* in the beginning of the reign of *Herod the Great*. But the words are too bright to be applied to any mere man, repreſenting ſuch a golden age, and renovation of all things, as cannot happen in the reign of any earthly king. And *Virgil*, in expreſſing it, comes very near the words of the holy ſcriptures, wherein they deſcribe the glorious age of the meſſiah; new heavens, and a new earth, which will then begin, and be finally compleated at the end of the world, *Iſa.* lxv. 17. Then the poet runs a diviſion upon the peaceable ſtate of that reign, perfectly a paraphraſe of *Iſaiah* lxv. from verſe 17. which ends verſe 25. *The wolf and the lamb ſhall feed together, and the lion ſhall eat ſtraw as the bullock; and duſt ſhall be the ſerpent's meat. They ſhall not hurt, nor deſtroy, in all my holy mountain, ſaith the Lord.*

——Nec magnus metuent armenta leones.
Occidet & ſerpens, & fallax herba veneni
occidet.

——*Nor ſhall the flocks fierce lions fear.*
No ſerpent ſhall be there, or herb of poiſonous
juice.

And, which is ſtill more remarkable, the real atonement for our ſins, which *Daniel* attributes to the meſſiah, chap. ix. 24. *To finiſh the tranſgreſſion, to make an end of ſins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity*, is thus ſet forth in this *Eclogue*.

Te duce, ſi qua manent ſceleris veſtigia noſtri,
Irrita perpetua ſolvent formidine terras.

By thee, what footſteps of our ſins remain,
Are blotted out, and the whole world ſet free
From her perpetual bondage, and her fear.

Again, the very words of *Haggai*, chap. xi. ver. 6. ſeem to be literally tranſlated by *Virgil*. Thus ſpeaks the prophet of the coming of the meſſiah; *Yet once, it is a little while, and I will ſhake the heavens, and the earth, and the ſea, and the dry land: And I will ſhake all nations, and the deſire of all nations ſhall come.* Now here *Virgil*.

Aggredere O magnos (aderit jam tempus) honores,
Chara Deum Soboles, magnum Jovis incrementum
Aſpice convexo nutantem pondere mundum.
Terraſque, tractuſque maris, cœlumque profundum.
Aſpice venturo lætentur ut omnia ſeclo.

Enter on thy high honour, now's the time,
Offspring of God, O thou great gift of Jove.
Behold, the world, heav'n, earth, and ſeas, do ſhake.
Behold how all rejoice to greet that glorious age.

The propheſies of the ſibyls having perſonally and particularly deſcribed our bleſſed Saviour, and pointed out the time of his birth to be then at hand, is the weak preſumption which has determined ſome of the moderns to reject their authority, as if they had been interpolated, or forged by the *Jews*. But *Origen*, who defied *Celſus* and all the heathens to produce any one inſtance of ſuch a forgery or addition, and for that purpoſe referr'd them to the ancient copies themſelves, and has not to this day receiv'd an anſwer to that argument; *Origen*, I ſay, who put the whole iſſue upon ſuch an obvious matter of fact, which might have been eaſily refuted, if it had not been true, certainly deſerves more credit than *Celſus* and his followers, who maintain the contrary, without bringing any reaſon ſufficient either to convince themſelves or others.

Herod, notwithſtanding the rigour of the ſeaſon, kept his own army in action, giving orders to his brother *Joſeph* with one part of it to ſecure the country of *Idumæa*, whilſt he, with the reſt, marched into *Galilee*, and took in *Sepphoris* and all other fortreſſes, which were there remaining in the intereſt of *Antigonus*. Then he applied himſelf to cleanſe the country from thoſe neſts of thieves and robbers which at that time ſpoiled and waſted it. Againſt theſe he marched with all his forces, and having with ſome difficulty overthrown them in the firſt battle, he purſued his intentions of rooting them out, with ſuch ſucceſs, as at laſt reſtored full peace and tranquillity to all *Galilee*.

During this winter, *Anthony* was at *Athens*, rioting away the time, with his new-married wife *Octavia*, in all kinds of profuſion and exceſs, as he had ſpent the preceding winter with *Cleopatra* at *Alexandria*. Here he receiv'd the news of *Ventidius*'s ſucceſsful expedition againſt the *Parthians*; but underſtanding, likewiſe, that *Pacorus* intended another inroad inro *Syria*, he begun to reflect how little it would redound to his honour to ſuffer his lieutenant to deprive him of all the laurels of this war; and therefore, about the beginning of the ſpring, he ſet out with all his army on a journey towards the eaſt; but before he could put his deſign in execution, an account came to him that *Ventidius* had obtained a third victory more glorious than both the former, and ſuch an one as ſeemed fully to revenge the death of *Craſſus*, and thoſe that periſhed with him at the battle of *Carrhæ*. For here *Pacorus* himſelf, with above twenty thouſand of his choiceſt troops, were left dead upon the ſpot.

Ventidius being appriz'd of the *Parthian* deſign to pay him another viſit in *Syria*, and ſuſpecting that they might come upon him before he could be in readineſs to receive them, he betook himſelf to this ſtratagem: There was, at this time, in his camp, an eaſtern prince, who pretended to be a friend to the *Romans*, but in reality kept a conſtant correſpondence with the *Parthians*: Him, therefore, *Ventidius* pitched upon for ſpringing the mine that he had prepared in his breaſt. To this end, with a ſhew of repoſing vaſt confidence in him, he lays before the prince all his premeditated fears; telling him, withal, that he had certain intelligence that the *Parthians* were now reſolved not to paſs the *Euphrates*, as uſually, at *Zeugma*, but at another place of the river, a great way below it. For, continued he, ſhould they croſs the *Euphrates* at *Zeugma*, the country being on this ſide mountainous, their horſe, in which lies all their ſtrength, will be of no ſervice to them; but as they have determined to take the lower paſſage, the country there is all plain, and their horſe will have free liberty to exert themſelves, and the *Romans* will ſcarce be able to face them. The perfidious prince, according as *Ventidius* foreſaw, took care to hand this intelligence to the *Parthians*, where it produced all the influence deſired; for *Pacorus* immediately forſaking his intended rout to *Zeugma*, directed his march to the very place where *Ventidius* wiſh'd he ſhou'd. But as this occaſioned a tedious countermarch, and called for new preparations to facilitate their paſſage at the place now projected, *Ventidius* the while had a reſpite of forty days; during which, being reinforced with *Silo*'s troops from *Judæa*, and his other legions from beyond *Taurus*, he found himſelf now in a capacity to give the *Parthians* a warm reception: Nor did his expectation deceive him; for in a few days after he engaged and mowed them down with that extraordinary ſlaughter which I have above related. This battle was fought in the month of *June*, and on the ſame day of the year on which the action at *Carrhæ* happen'd, juſt fourteen years before.

The news of this overthrow, and the death of his ſon in it, was no ſooner communicated to *Orodes*, king of *Parthia*, than it unbraced all the faculties of his mind, and made him diſtracted. For ſeveral days he uttered not a word, or ſhew'd any inclination to victuals; and when ſorrow had at laſt aſſwaged ſo far as to permit his tongue to deſcribe it, nothing elſe could be heard from him but the name of *Pacorus*. Sometimes he would ſeem to think he was in his company, and in that view call upon him, converſe with him, and receive an anſwer from him; and at other times recalling to mind that he was dead, he would empty his eyes in a deluge of tears for him.

Ventidius, from an apprehenſion that theſe victories had but too much weakened the envy of *Anthony* againſt him, neglected the opportunity that had fallen into his hands of driving the *Parthians* out of *Meſopotamia* and *Babylonia*, and carrying the *Roman* eagles beyond the banks of the *Tigris*; and therefore turned his thoughts to the reduction of thoſe ſtrengths in *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, which had renounced their duty in the late war: And in this employment *Anthony* found him when he came to *Commagena*. For *Antiochus*, king of that country, having aſſiſted the *Parthians* againſt the *Romans*, *Ventidius* had a mind to be even with him for it, and, in purſuit hereof, having blocked him up in *Samoſata*, the capital of his kingdom, was then cloſely beſieging him. *Anthony* on his arrival outed *Ventidius* of all his commands, under the ſpecious pretence that he might be at liberty to go *Rome*, and demand a triumph for his victories. But the real cauſe lay hid; he was impotently jealous of the growing merit of the man, and therefore diſmiſs'd him, nor ever made uſe of him afterwards, though his future circumſtances might have taught him wit enough to caſt an eye upon ſuch an able general.

Ventidius, on his coming to *Rome*, was received with all the marks of eſteem that ſo glorious a conduct deſerved; being not only allow'd the honour of a triumph in common form, but importuned to it by the general voice of the whole *Roman* people; and with this particular diſtinction attending it, that no one beſides himſelf had ever the good fortune to triumph over the *Parthians*. There was another thing, too, equally ſingular, which never before or after him happen'd to any one elſe, *viz.* he at laſt attain'd to the glory of triumphing, who in the former part of his life had been ſo unfortunate as to be led in triumph himſelf; and this fell out in the ſocial war carried on againſt *Rome* for the freedom of the city: For he was made a captive at the taking of *Aſculum*, by *Strabo*, the father of *Pompey*, and, though then very young, led before that general in his triumph, upon that occaſion: Which fatal accident having reduced him to extreme poverty, he was neceſſiated, when grown up, to gain his bread by a low and ſordid occupation. The buſineſs he follow'd, was that of a common mule-tier, and in this mean capacity being uſed to get ready the Mules for conveying the equipage of ſuch governors as were ſent to foreign princes, *Julius Cæſar* made the ſame uſe of him when he ſet out firſt into *Gallia*; and obſerving the cloſe manner and ſollid judgment of the man, carried him with him into his *Gallic* wars, where his military genius ſhining in a proper light, he advanc'd ſo faſt through all the offices of the camp, that *Cæſar* promoted him to be one of his principal generals in all the expeditions he afterwards undertook. Nor was *Ventidius* leſs fortunate when he return'd to *Rome*, riſing there as faſt as he had done in the army; for he was firſt made a tribune, then a prætor, and afterwards one of the conſuls. Upon *Cæſar*'s death, he eſpouſed the part of *Anthony*, and behav'd himſelf gallantly both at *Mutina* and *Peruſia*; and what he perform'd as his lieutenant in the eaſt, has been already mention'd. After the *Parthian* triumph, he continu'd at *Rome* till his death; and his funeral was magnificently celebrated, at the publick charge.

In the mean time, *Herod* was puſhing on the war in *Judæa* againſt *Antigonus*; and being reinforced by *Anthony* with two legions and a thouſand horſe, under the command of *Machæras*, he ventured up too near to the walls of *Jeruſalem*, with a deſign to ſpeak with *Antigonus*; whence, being ſhamefully repulſed by thoſe that defended the rampart, *Machæras*, who had ſhared in his fate, fell into ſuch a fit of rage, that he put to the ſword all that came in his way, without once reflecting whether they were friends or foes; in which helliſh fury of his, many of *Herod*'s particular friends being cut off, he immediately quitted the place, making what haſte he could towards *Anthony* to beg ſatisfaction for this inhuman act of *Machæras*. But *Mackæras* being inform'd of his intention, overtook him before he had executed his purpoſe, and prevail'd upon him to forget what was paſt, and renew his friendſhip with him. *Herod* being arrived at *Samoſata*, where *Anthony* ſtill was, had the pleaſure to meet with a very honourable welcome, and in return performed eminent ſervice at the ſiege of that place. While *Ventidius* lay before it, king *Antiochus* made him the offer of a thouſand talents for his peace: But *Anthony* being there at the time, would hearken to no terms. However, after he had parted with *Ventidius*, when he found upon trial that the event was not like to anſwer his wiſh, and how reſolutely the beſieged defended themſelves, he grew exceeding humble in his demands, and with joy accepted the third of the ſum he had refuſed before. By this means, having rais'd the ſiege with ſome ſhew of honour, and left his army with *Soſius*, whom he conſtituted lieutenant in *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Paleſtine*, he took ſhipping for *Athens*, and from thence paſs'd to *Brunduſium* to wait upon *Octavianus*; but being there diſappointed, came back to *Athens*, and from thence ſail'd to *Alexandria*, where he proſtituted his time to the ſame infamous recreations with *Cleopatra*, as he had the winter two years before.

Whilſt *Herod* abode with *Anthony*, *Joſeph* made an inconſiderate attempt upon *Jericho*, and being outwitted by the enemy, was himſelf ſlain, and moſt of his followers; which caus'd a general revolt of all who ſtood ill affected to *Herod*, both in *Galilee* and *Idumæa*. *Herod*, on his return, march'd into *Galilee*, and very ſoon reduc'd thoſe rebels to obedience; after this, in an attempt at *Jericho* to revenge his brother *Joſeph*'s death, he was wounded in the skirmiſh, and his whole army put to flight. But having expeditiouſly recruited his forces, and hearing that general *Pappus* was marching againſt him with the main body of *Antigonus*'s army, he engag'd him in battle, ſlew him upon the ſpot, and cut off moſt of his forces; and now nothing hinder'd him from putting a ſpeedy end to the war, by the taking of *Jeruſalem*, but the winter ſeaſon, which made it neceſſary to diſpoſe of his troops into winter quarters till the next campaign.

The ſpring beginning to ſpread out its colours, *Anthony* paſs'd from *Alexandria* to *Athens*, where, he had left his wife *Octavia* ever ſince his laſt journey to *Syria*; and having call'd her on board his ſhip, ſail'd from thence for *Italy*, and land with a fleet of three hundred ſail at *Tarentum*, reſolving with this armament to aid *Octavianus* againſt *Sextus Pompeius*. But *Octavianus* refuſing his aſſiſtance out of jealouſy of him, this would have certainly produc'd a freſh rupture between them, had not *Octavia* interpos'd, and made up the difference. And now conſidering with themſelves, that as the term limited by the people for putting an end to the ſovereign power of the triumvirs was faſt approaching, it would be more ſafe to truſt to their own authority than the good will of the *Roman* ſtate; they publickly declar'd their intention to continue at the head of affairs for five years more. Things being thus ſettled to their mind, *Anthony* took his journey into *Syria* to carry on the *Parthian* war; but being attended by *Octavia* as far as *Corcyra*, and dreading the dangers and fatigues his wife might be expos'd to in that expedition, he there took his leave of her, and ſhe immediately return'd into *Italy*.

Upon *Anthony*'s arrival in *Syria*, *Octavianus* join'd himſelf in marriage to *Livia Druſilla*, the daughter of *Livius Druſus*, who being one of thoſe that were inſerted in the bloody proſcription of the triumvirs, was therefore forc'd to ſeek refuge from *Brutus* and *Caſſius*; and who, after the battle of *Philippi*, out of deſpair of finding ſhelter any where elſe, fell upon his own ſword, and murder'd himſelf. *Livia* had before been the wife of *Tiberius Nero*, to whom ſhe bore that monſter *Tiberius Cæſar*, who after *Auguſtus*'s death was rais'd to the empire. *Livia*'s firſt husband had, upon the quarrel that broke out between *Octavianus* and *Anthony*, eſpouſed the part of the latter, and was, conſequently, forced, after the ſurrender of *Peruſia*, to abandon *Italy*; but being comprehended in the articles of peace that ſoon followed, between *Octavianus* and *Anthony*, he came back to *Rome*, where *Octavianus* taking a fancy to his wife, *Tiberius* frankly renounc'd her to him, and he married her, though big with child, and near the time of her delivery.

Joſeph (whom *Herod* had left regent of the kingdom, and charged with a private order to put *Mariamne* to death, if *Anthony* ſhould condemn him) taking it as a part of his duty to wait often upon *Mariamne*, all his diſcourſe generally run upon the violence of *Herod*'s paſſion for her; which being always receiv'd by her upon the foot of a jeſt, *Joſeph*'s impatience to convince her, made him let fall the ſecret that *Herod* had lodg'd in his breaſt. But this, far from having the effect intended, recall'd *Herod* to her mind in the light only of a tyrant and a murderer. And ſoon after a flying report being noiſed abroad that *Herod* had been adjudg'd to death by the command of *Anthony*, *Alexandra* artfully magnified her fears to *Joſeph*, praying a ſafe conduct for her ſelf and *Mariamne* to the camp of *Julius*, who then lay without the city. *A rebellion*, ſaid ſhe, *muſt be the conſequence of this event, and protection for us can be ſecured no where but among the* Romans.

While this project was a deliberating, letters came from *Herod*, ſignifying the honourable reception he had met with from *Anthony*, and an aſſurance that he would quickly return to his kingdom in a condition that had enabled him to ſettle it upon a foundation that his enemies could not ſhake. *Alexandra*'s deſign being thus broke, *Herod* in a few days arriv'd; when getting inform'd of what had paſs'd by that firebrand of his houſe *Salome*, his own ſiſter, who, piqued by ſome perſonal reflections caſt upon her by *Mariamne*, accus'd even her own husband, to make her malice cut with a quicker edge; he immediately tax'd, upbraided and reproach'd *Mariamne*, upon her familiarity and ſecret correſpondence with his uncle *Joſeph*. But her innocence, which wanted no diſguiſe, and conſequently was a ſufficient vindication, appearing plain and open to him, he proceeded to endearments, and careſſes, and proteſtations of his love to her. In the mean time, *Mariamne* making but a ſudden judgment of paſt injuries, as well as preſent embraces, could not help putting this queſtion to him, Whether the ſecret he had repos'd in *Joſeph* was not more a proof of his deteſtation, than love to her?

This incident rebounded upon him like a dagger plung'd in his heart; nor would jealouſy, in its riſing fervour, give him leave to take it for any other than a ſtrong evidence of their guilty commerce: And, during that flow of rage, it was with extreme difficulty that he kept back his hands from murdering her. But though his ſuſpicions were ſoon loſt in a returning tide of affection, and the breach was perfectly made up between them, yet he gave immediate orders for the death of his uncle *Joſeph*.

The queen of *Ægypt* (whom avarice had firſt inclin'd to renounce virtue, and intereſt ſtill continu'd a ſlave to ſin) having, among many other grants from *Anthony*, obtain'd the country of *Jericho*, to the great detriment of *Herod*, the better part of whoſe revenue conſiſted in balſam-trees, which grew there: *Cleopatra*, I ſay, notwithſtanding ſhe had already been put in poſſeſſion of all *Cyprus*, *Phœnicia*, *Cælo-Syria*, *Ituræa*, *Cyrene*, and the beſt part, too, of *Cilicia* and *Crete*; yet farther inſiſted to have the kingdoms of *Arabia* and *Judæa* annex'd to her dominions: And this purpoſe, ſhe told *Anthony*, might eaſily be brought about, if he would reſign the preſent poſſeſſors to the cognizance of the law. But *Anthony*, ſhock'd at the rapacious demand, would confirm her in no more than the above fertile territories of *Jericho*, and that part of *Arabia* which lay contiguous to *Ægypt*.

Pliny is pleas'd to inform us, that theſe balſam-trees are no where to be ſeen but in *Judæa*, and there only in two gardens, one comprehending about twenty *jugera* (or *Roman* acres), and the other not ſo large. But *Pliny*, in deſcribing theſe gardens, has been led into a miſtake, by not thoroughly underſtanding a *Greek* word in *Theophraſtus* (from whom he borrow'd this account); for he renders it by *jugerum*, which includes two *Greek plethra*, the *Greek* acre being only an hundred foot ſquare: Whereas the *Roman* exceeded it by one half. *Pliny* ſhould therefore have ſaid, the larger garden contain'd about ten *jugera*, and the other not ſo much.

This balſam-tree is a ſhrub, that, in height, never reaches above three cubits, and, from an inciſion, parts with its balſam in *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*. It is the natural product of *Arabia the happy*, but will grow in no place elſe, without the force of art. Among other preſents (according to *Joſephus*) which the queen of *Sheba* made to *Solomon*, one was a plant of the balſam-tree; and from hence, probably, ſprung all the reſt that came afterwards to be of ſo great a value at *Jericho*. But whether the balm of *Gilead* (mention'd in *Geneſis* as one of the moſt precious commodities of *Canaan*) be the very ſame with this balſam before us, I cannot poſitively affirm: For from the *Hebrew* word *Zori*, which ſignifies any gum of the turpentine ſort, nothing can be concluded to the contrary; in regard even this balſam it ſelf (otherwiſe called the balſam of *Mecca*) though of extremely ſubtil parts, and very fragrant, yet ſtill bears a near relation to the reſinous kind.

But be that as it will, the genuine ſort, which is the moſt noble pectoral the world knows, can now only be depended on from *Mecca*, and even there it bears ſo high an eſteem, that the prince of that country looks upon it as the moſt valuable preſent within his power, to make his acknowledgment with to the *Grand Seigneur*. This conſideration adding to its price and ſcarcity, makes it a hard matter for us to meet with any of it unadulterated: For being falſely call'd, alſo, *Opobalſamum*, which is but a mixture of the balm of *Gilead* and *Capivi* together, as may be known from the ſmell of it, this, *viz. Opobalſamum*, is generally paſſed off in its ſtead. However, where the right ſort can be had, there is not a more ſovereign remedy, in all affections or decays of the *viſcera*, being, particularly, of wonderful uſe in aſthma's, and other ailments of the breaſt. And the yolk of an egg, beat up with it, will make it embody with any common vehicle.

Cleopatra having ſeen *Anthony* to the *Euphrates*, in her return made a viſit to *Herod* at *Jeruſalem*. *Herod* received her with all poſſible teſtimonies of reſpect and grandeur, and entered into a contract to farm of her, at a certain rate, the lands of *Jericho*, as well as thoſe of *Arabia* that *Anthony* had given her. During her ſtay here, *Mammon*, who ſtill directed all her actions, put it into her head to make ſtrong love to *Herod*; an intrigue of this nature, ſhe thought, carried on but a little way, would, with a proper effect, alarm *Anthony*, and, of conſequence, ſoon bring about the deſtruction of *Herod*, whoſe kingdom ſhe ſo earneſtly coveted. But *Herod* was not to be caught in ſuch a trap; ambition had ever been the principal impulſe of his mind, all other paſſions being conſidered by him in an inferior way, *viz.* ſo far only as they gave pain to himſelf. This declaration of her *Ægyptian* majeſty produced in *Herod* all the horror imaginable, for ſuch a piece of impudence; inſomuch, that he proceeded to conſult ſome of his officers of ſtate, whether he might not ſafely put her to death. But they repreſenting the danger of that attempt, he was fain to drop it, and go on as he had begun, making her daily large preſents, and entertaining her magnificently, while ſhe ſtay'd; and, when ſhe went away, he perſonally conducted her to *Peluſium*, ſituated on a branch of the *Nile*, which lies next to *Judæa* and *Syria*.

Herod, revolving in his own mind the ſeveral ill offices *Cleopatra* had done him, and ſuſpecting that ſomething ſtill worſe might come from the ſame quarter; he fortifies a-new the caſtle of *Maſſada*, and therein depoſited a compleat ſet of arms for ten thouſand men. In the mean time, he continued punctually to remit her the tribute agreed on for the fields of *Jericho*, being very ſenſible it was his certain intereſt not to diſoblige her.

Anthony being now in *Armenia*, and recollecting how treacherouſly *Artabazes* had acted by him in his former march through that country, ſet all his thoughts to work, that he might effect an adequate revenge: And, for this inglorious end, having with moſt ſpecious promiſes, and ſolemn oaths, got the king into his cuſtody, he immediately loaded him with chains, and made him a priſoner. The *Armenians*, fir'd at this indignity done to the perſon of their king, came ſpeedily with all their forces to his relief; but being totally routed by *Anthony*, and their general, who was the king's eldeſt ſon, forc'd to retire into *Parthia*, the whole country was ſoon after oblig'd to receive the conqueror.

Affairs being thus ſettled in *Armenia*, and a ſufficient number of men left to command an obedience from the people, *Anthony* returned with all ſpeed to *Alexandria*, which city he enter'd in a triumphal chariot, king *Artabazes*, his wife and children, and other captives, being carried bound and fetter'd before him, and with the ſame ſplendor and formalities that were of uſe to adorn a *Roman* triumph. The capitol, indeed, was not here to make a final ſtop at; but *Cleopatra*, ſeated on a throne of gold, which had been previouſly erected on a ſpacious ſcaffold pav'd with ſilver, and environ'd by her nobility, and a multitude of people, abundantly ſupplied, in *Anthony*'s opinion, that defect. King *Artabazes*, his queen, and children, being preſented in chains to her, and commanded to fall down upon their knees, with contempt beheld the harlot, nor could be brought to a condeſcention ſo inconſiſtent with their quality.

And within a few days, the people being again aſſembled, and always royally entertain'd, *Anthony* and *Cleopatra* made their appearance on a throne of gold each; when *Anthony* ſignify'd his will and pleaſure, that *Cæſarion*, the ſon whom *Cleopatra* had by *Julius Cæſar*, ſhould inſtantly be acknowledg'd king of *Cyprus* and *Ægypt*, and have an equal ſhare of authority with his mother. As to his own children, *viz.* two at one birth, and one at another, whom he had by the ſame *Cleopatra*, his donations were dealt out to them in a far more liberal manner than his poſſeſſions could anſwer, and therefore it is not worth while to mention them. At the ſame time, the mighty man gave orders, that, for the future, *Cleopatra* and himſelf ſhould be known only by the names of *Iſis* and *Oſiris*, the *Pagan* god and goddeſs of the *Ægyptians*. And to the end this ridiculous injunction might not wear out of their memory, he and ſhe were often afterwards ſeen in the peculiar dreſs that us'd to diſtinguiſh them.

Theſe frolicks of *Anthony* tending all to alienate the hearts of the *Romans* from him, *Octavianus* (to whom the thought of a competitor in power aggravated every trifle into a mountain) did not fail to make his own uſe of them he had under a great variety of maſques, endeavoured to incenſe the *Romans* againſt *Anthony*, without ever once letting them into the real cauſe of his ſpleen; and, at laſt, brought matters to bear. News coming to *Anthony* (when he was got as far the *Araxis*, and upon the point of beginning a war with the *Parthians*) of the preparations that were forthwith to be put in execution againſt him; he immediately clapp'd up a peace with the

Midian king, and repair'd to *Epheſus*, to ward off the blow that he expected.

In this journey, *Cleopatra*, much againſt his inclination, would needs follow him. She had at this time furniſh'd twenty thouſand talents (which amount to more than four millions of *Sterling* money), and therefore preſumed upon a right to aſſiſt in the management of the war. From *Epheſus* they went to *Samos*, where, having review'd their forces, they ſail'd to *Athens*, and ſpent the remainder of the year. And though at both places profuſion and exceſs, as uſual, were the only dial-plates by which they kept a reckoning of time, yet no poſſible expedient was neglected that might contribute to forward their intereſt, either by ſea or land.

Domitius Ænobarbus and *Soſius* being choſen, about this time, conſuls at *Rome*, and eſpouſing the part of *Anthony*, got a decree paſſed againſt *Octavianus* in his abſence. *Octavianus*, inform'd hereof, came ſpeedily back to *Rome*; and having, in the ſenate, defended himſelf, as well as forwarded a long charge againſt *Anthony* and the conſuls, he appointed them a day when they ſhou'd appear and give in their anſwer; promiſing that he would then, by letters, and other invincible proofs, aſcertain and confirm what he had now laid before them.

The conſuls, ſenators, and others, that ſided with *Anthony*, knowing it would be to no purpoſe to ſtay and conteſt the matter in a place where number, not reaſon, was to determine the iſſue, they retired from the city, and went over to *Anthony*. *Octavianus* was ſo far from taking any diſpleaſure at their flight, that he publickly gave licenſe for all, whoſe occaſions might call them elſewhere, to depart the city: And by this means having effectually purg'd the ſenate, and cleared the city, too, of all that were diſaffected to him, he was left in full liberty to do every thing that might ſink his adverſary, and raiſe himſelf.

When this quarrel firſt broke out, *Anthony*'s diligence in getting all things in a readineſs to proſecute the war, was ſo far ſuperior to the preparations made by *Octavianus*, that, had he then begun it, ſucceſs would in all probability have crown'd his day: But a long ſeries of luxury and other criminal ſatisfactions had ſo enervated the man, that attention to his real intereſt was regarded only as a diſturbance to his ſofter thoughts.

Whilſt he thus loiter'd away the time, many of his friends and party forſook him, and repair'd to *Octavianus*; among whom, the moſt conſiderable were *Titus* and *Plancus*, who being diſoblig'd by *Cleopatra*, fail'd not in taking all opportunities of ruining the credit of *Anthony* with the people. They had been let into a few of his moſt intimate ſecrets, the principal of which was his will, depoſited in the hands of the veſtal virgins at *Rome*. And this being publickly read, and containing ſeveral things derogatory to the honour of the *Roman* ſtate, it inſtantly produced a general averſion to *Anthony*; for the *Romans* ſeeing *Titus* and *Plancus* give them ſo manifeſt a proof of *Anthony*'s ſcandalous behaviour, it had likewiſe this ill conſequence, that all future aſperſions, how falſe ſoever, were receiv'd as authentick truths.

Anthony, in this will, had certified the world that *Cleopatra* had been the lawful wife of *Julius Cæſar*, and that *Cæſarion*, whom ſhe had by him, was his lawful ſon; which gave ſuch a ſtroke to *Octavianus*'s right, as he knew not well how to bear: For this was to introduce a lawful heir, that muſt have the preference to him who could fetch his claim only from the title of an adopted ſon. And he had, by the ſame will, bequeathed to *Cleopatra* and her children moſt of the *Roman* dominions then under his command, and declared his pleaſure, that wherever he might happen to die, his body ſhould be ſent to *Cleopatra* at *Alexandria*, there to be diſpos'd of as ſhe ſhould think fit.

Nothing being now wanting upon the ſide of *Octavianus*, but a colourable title for the vigorous proſecution of the war, he therefore made it to be declared only againſt *Cleopatra*; and, in order forthwith to begin the war, he reviewed both his fleet and army at *Brunduſium*, his land forces conſiſting of fourſcore thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſe; and his naval ſtrength amounting to two hundred and fifty men of war. *Anthony*, whoſe preparations extended to an hundred thouſand foot, twelve thouſand horſe, and five hundred ſhips of war, being forward to meet him, proceeded to *Corcyra*; but nothing could be done on either ſide, the near approach of the winter making it neceſſary to ſuſpend their bloody meaſures till another ſeaſon.

Herod being indiſpenſibly tied by gratitude to take the part of *Anthony*, had, to that end, got ready a numerous army, which he deſign'd to command in perſon. But *Anthony* having ſent him word that he did not need his aſſiſtance, and withal deſir'd him to turn his arms againſt *Malchus*, king of *Arabia*, who now declined paying the tribute ſtipulated to *Cleopatra*; *Herod*, accordingly, marched into the country, gave battle to the *Arabians*, and carried the day. Upon this, the *Arabians* getting together a freſh army, attack'd him again near *Cana* in *Cœlo-Syria*. *Herod*'s ſoldiers, animated with their former ſucceſs, entered the field of action with a great ſhout, and fought with ſuch reſolution, as muſt have ended in a compleat victory, had not *Athenion*, general of the troops of *Cleopatra*, acted here a treacherous part.

Athenion bore an invincible ſpite to *Herod*, and therefore kept off with his troops, attending the iſſue of the battle: Neuter he had determined to continue, if the *Arabians* obtain'd the advantage. But finding they were put to flight, he immediately charged the *Jews* (who concluding themſelves to be maſters of the field, were in a cloſe purſuit without any order of battle), and cut down a great number of them. Upon this unexpected ſuccour, thoſe that before fled reſuming new courage, fell, alſo, upon their conquerors, and laid about them ſo ſtrenuouſly, that the greater part of *Herod*'s army was here ſlain, and he himſelf but very narrowly eſcaped with the reſt.

Herod, after this diſaſter, made it his buſineſs not to come to downright blows with the *Arabians*; and, to that end, keeping encamp'd upon the hills, he would now and then make a ſudden inroad upon the country, and carry off with him a conſiderable prey. By this means, without running any hazard, he enured his men to military fatigue and exerciſe, as well as obtain'd frequent advantages of the enemy.

About this time there happen'd in *Judæa* the moſt dreadful earthquake that was ever before ſeen. It gave a lamentable ſhake to the whole country, and under the ruin of the houſes buried about thirty thouſand people. *Herod*'s army, however, eſcap'd; but being encamp'd abroad, it only overturn'd their tents, without doing them any harm.

The report of this calamity being, with additions, told to *Malchus*, he immediately put to death the *Jewiſh* ambaſſadors (whom *Herod* had ſent to ſue for peace), and, with all his forces, marched to invade *Judæa*. The *Jews* had been ſtruck with ſuch a conſternation at the late terrible accident, that, abandoning themſelves to deſpair, they were reſolved to fly the country: But *Herod*, by a ſpeech firſt addreſs'd to their chiefs, and then to his own army, ſo rouz'd their vigour, and renew'd their hopes, that no other deſire remain'd, than to be led on by him to victory and honour.

Herod, delighted with this alacrity in his men, made a ſpeedy march with his army, and having paſs'd *Jordan*, came within view of the enemy, where he made an halt, in order to refreſh his men. There ſtood a caſtle ſituated between the two armies, which would, in his opinion, be of great importance to him; he therefore ſet his thoughts a working how he might obtain it. The *Arabians*, on the other hand,had formed a deſign to ſurprize it. Whilſt theſe things were in agitation, ſome light ſkirmiſhes followed, which at laſt drew on a general battle. The *Arabians*, after a ſhort reſiſtance,took to their heels; but ſeeing themſelves furiouſly purſued by the *Jews*, they rallied again, and renew'd the fight, which they reſolutely maintain'd for ſome time; till being no longer able to combat the ſuperior force of the *Jews*, they quitted their ranks, threw down their arms, and fled. Five thouſand of them were left dead upon the field, and the remainder took ſhelter in their camp, where *Herod* beſieging them, they were ſoon neceſſitated, through want of ſuſtenance and other neceſſaries, to ſend him word they were willing to accept of any terms he ſhould impoſe upon them, provided he would indulge them the liberty to walk out of their camp, and refreſh themſelves.

But *Herod* would neither give audience to their ambaſſadors, nor receive the preſent of money brought him, inſiſting peremptorily they muſt ſurrender at mercy. Hereupon, about the fifth day of the ſiege, four thouſand of 'em ſurrender'd, and were immediately clapp'd into chains; and the day following the reſt of the army marched, ſword in hand, out of their camp, with a reſolv'd mind to die rather than ſubject themſelves to a ſtate of ſervitude. But the poor creatures had been ſo emaciated and weaken'd with famine and thirſt, that they could do no more than make an appearance, in defence of their liberty. At the firſt ſhock, ſeven thouſand of them were laid dead upon the ground, and the reſt immediately ſurrender'd at diſcretion. This ſignal victory obliged the *Arabians* to a peace upon very diſhonourable terms; which was no ſooner ratified on both ſides, than *Herod*, with all the marks of a conqueror, return'd to *Jeruſalem*.

Whilſt *Herod* was thus ſignalizing himſelf, thoſe rivals for ſupreme power at *Rome*, *Octavianus* and *Anthony*, were not idle. The ſpring did not begin to ſhew it ſelf, when both fleets put to ſea, and their land forces enter'd upon action; and many little diſputes happened, which always ended to the advantage of the former.

This dawn of fortune, in favour of *Octavianus*, being accompanied with a great deſertion from *Anthony*'s party, made *Anthony* eagerly ſollicitous to bring matters to a ſignal iſſue as ſoon as he could. In ſhort, no delay being on either hand, both armies ſoon met at *Actium*, a little town ſtanding upon the ſouth ſide of the mouth of the *Ambracian* gulph in *Epirus*.

On the north ſide of the ſtreights entering this gulph, lay encamp'd *Octavianus*'s army, which place, in remembrance of his victory, he afterwards erected into a city, and called it *Nicopolis*, that is *The city of victory*; and on the ſouth ſide were drawn up the main body of *Anthony*'s army, both their fleets being ſtationed within a mile's diſtance of one another, and within ſight of the land.

Canidus, who commanded all *Anthony*'s forces by land, begg'd him not to hazard the trial of the day by ſea, where, being inferior to *Octavianus* in the number of his ſhips, many of which he had been obliged to burn for want of hands, as well as expert ſailors to navigate them; it would be a difficult matter to aſcertain the victory. His counſel, therefore, was, to decamp from *Actium*, and take the road into *Thrace* or *Macedonia*, where, ſhould they come to a battle by land, their ſuperior force might entirely defeat the enemy. This advice (which was certainly the beſt that could be given at that juncture) ſeemed very plauſible to *Anthony*; but *Cleopatra*, in whom, to his ruin, he repoſed all his confidence, over-ruled it, and would have the conteſt decided at ſea.

Accordingly, on the ſecond of *September*, in the year of the world 3973, both fleets came to a cloſe engagement, and ſo gallantly debated it, that ſucceſs ſeem'd to hang even, till the ſtrumpet *Cleopatra* deſerted him, and kick'd up the beam.

The confuſion and din of a battle ſpread ſuch a dread before her (who had never been accuſtomed to any thing but the ſoftneſſes of a court),that ſhe immediately commanded all her own ſquadron, conſiſting of ſixty ſtout men of war, to draw off for a convoy, and make all the ſail they cou'd with her towards *Peloponneſus*. *Anthony* ſeeing his miſtreſs make ſo quick a rea retreat, threw himſelf into the arms of deſpair, and follow'd her.

Though this flight of *Anthony* had left no room for *Octavianus* to doubt of obtaining the victory, yet he found he was, inch by inch, to gain it; for *Anthony*'s navy, however cowardly deſerted by their maſter, diſputed it, notwithſtanding, valiantly, till dark night made them deſiſt. Nor did *Octavianus* know, till next morning, that he had obtain'd a thorough victory: Then, indeed, he ſent a part of his fleet in queſt of *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*. But the ſquadron commanded out in purſuit of thoſe fugitives, finding it was not poſſible to overtake them, ſoon tack'd about, and came back again to *Octavianus*.

Anthony and *Cleopatra* arrived in three days time at *Tænarus* in *Laconia*; during all which ſpace, though on board her ſhip, yet he did not ſee her, but ſeating himſelf in the prow of the veſſel, with his head reclined upon his knees, muſed away the voyage in cutting thoughts, the retinue of a guilty mind. However, when at this place he came to renew his acquaintance with her, the ſight of her made him ſoon forget his wretchedneſs,and they continued to live at bed and board together, as before.

Whilſt he ſtay'd at *Tænarus*, many of his friends reſorted to him; at the ſame time, ſeveral of his ſhips, that got clear from the fight at *Actium*, came in ſafe to the port, bringing an account of the final overthrow of his fleet. But as they informed him, likewiſe, that his land-forces were ſtill entire, he ſent orders to their commanding officer to conduct them, by the neareſt way, into *Aſia*, where he had formed a reſolution to continue the war.

Canidius forthwith obey'd the meſſage, marching with all the ſpeed that the preſent caſe requir'd; but *Octavianus* coming up with him by the evening of the ſeventh day, he infamouſly repair'd by night to *Anthony*. The forces ſeeing themſelves thus abandoned by their leader, made a general ſubmiſſion to *Octavianus*, and were kindly received by him, as an additional ſtrength to his own army.

Among the *Romans* that eſpouſed *Anthony*'s ſide, ſome were taken into mercy, ſome had mulcts impoſed upon them, and others were adjudged to death, as paſt behaviour upon their part, and intereſt upon his own, ſeemed to direct. In the number of the latter was *Caſſius Parmenſis*, the laſt ſurviving perſon of all the ſixty aſſaſſins that had dipp'd their ſwords in the bowels of *Cæſar*, and it came to his turn now to die in as miſerable and violent a manner as the others had done ſome time before. *Caſſius Parmenſis*, after the defeat at *Actium*, retired to *Athens*, where, having ſeen a ghoſt in the ſame dreadful figure,as appeared to *Brutus* at *Philippi*, he was ſoon after diſcovered, and ſeized, by an order from *Octavianus*, and ignominiouſly put to death.

As to the foreign troops that had embarked in the cauſe of *Anthony*, after the determination of his fate at *Actium*, they all fled with precipitation to their reſpective countries, and from thence moſt of them ſued for peace, and had it, of *Octavianus*. Several of their princes, however, he diveſted of authority,and put others in their room; but on all of them, as well as the *Roman* cities that had oppoſed him, he inflicted conſiderable fines, and by this means enabled himſelf to defray the charges of the war.

In the interim, *Cleopatra*, impatient to reviſit her own country, took to her ſhips, and ſailed to *Alexandria*, where, being arriv'd, ſhe made her entry into the harbour with ſuch a ſplendid appearance, and ſhining enſigns of honour, as fully weedled the people into an opinion that ſhe was returned with victory. This ſtratagem had the deſired effect: The city, with joy, opened their gates to her, and ſhe found herſelf reinſtated in the ſovereign dominion of *Ægypt*; and ſoon after revolving in her own wicked heart, that the calamitous ſtate of her affairs could not be long a ſecret, and that thence ſuch a diſturbance might ariſe as would ſhake the foundations of her kingdom, ſhe cauſed ſentence of death to be inſtantly executed upon all thoſe of the grandees whom ſhe knew, or but apprehended, to be diſaffected to her.

During theſe machinations of *Cleopatra*, *Anthony* had convey'd himſelf into *Lybia*; where having formerly left an army under the conduct of *Pinarius Scarpus*, as a ſafeguard to the weſtern limits of *Ægypt*, he propoſed to make uſe of theſe forces for his preſent occaſions. But as adverſity ſeldom meets with either friendſhip or gratitude, he found, upon his arrival thither, that *Scarpus* and all his men had deſerted to *Octavianus*. This unexpected accident gave ſuch a blow to all the powers of his mind, that had not ſome of his moſt truſty dependants come in ſpeedily to his relief, he would have fallen upon his own ſword, and killed himſelf.

Anthony, convinced that every thing now tended to his ruin, made what haſte he could to *Alexandria*, all the proſpect he had left being center'd in *Cleopatra*. Upon his coming to *Alexandria*, he would not, at firſt, be perſuaded to ſee the queen; but, retiring to a little houſe near *Pharus* (which he call'd *Timonium*, from *Timon*,the man-hater), and renouncing all intercourſe with mankind, he there endeavoured to beguile his melancholick hours, by pouring out execrations againſt the whole race, for the fault of a few that had been traitors to him.

Whilſt *Anthony* continued in this ſolitary mood, *Cleopatra* had been forming a deſign how to convey her ſhips from the *Mediterranean* over an iſthmus (or neck of land) of ſeventy miles, to the *Red Sea*; for ſhe was reſolved to embark all her riches, and contrive an eſcape from *Octavianus*. But the *Arabians*, at the inſtance of *Didius* (who then held *Syria* as governor, under *Octavianus*), prevented the execution of this grand project, by ſetting fire to all her ſhips.

Anthony having by this time ſpit out all his malice and ſpleen againſt the world, and finding no remaining appetite to detain him in the abovementioned lovely way of life, he therefore

fore returned to the court of *Cleopatra,* where he ſpent the broken reſidue of it in the ſame infamous diverſions that had before alienated from him the hearts of all his friends.

During theſe revellings in *Ægypt*, *Octavianus* was worthily employ'd in putting *Greece* and *Leſſer Aſia* in a poſture of defence; which done, he went to *Samos*, where he concluded to paſs the winter: But having, after the victory at *Actium,* diſbanded a great part of his forces without paying them their arrears, this produced a tumult when they came into *Italy*, which *Agrippa* (whom he had appointed to quaſh it) found himſelf in no capacity to appeaſe. *Octavianus* was therefore forced, in the midſt of a tempeſtuous winter, to make all the ſpeed he cou'd to *Brunduſium*.

Octavianus was here welcomed by the ſenate and moſt of the quality of *Rome*. As ſoon as he had diſpatch'd theſe ceremonies and things of courſe, the mutineers were immediately aſſembled, and (by a ſeaſonable application of money to ſome, diſtribution of lands to others, and a faithful promiſe of ſpeedy payment to the reſt) ſoon quieted and brought to a better mind. And *Octavianus* kept his word to them (this I mention to his honour, becauſe it is a thing not very common with great men); for, after the reduction of *Ægypt*, he paid them, out of the plunder of that country, not only what he had promiſed them, but gave them many other gifts beſides. Affairs being thus ſet to rights in *Italy*, where he ſtay'd but thirty days, he entered into a reſolution to direct his voyage into the gulph of *Corinth*, which would at once give him a quicker return, and ſave him from the tempeſts of the ſea round *Peloponneſus*. On his arrival thither, he had his ſhip to draw over the iſthmus of *Peloponneſus*, and thence repaſſed, by the neareſt way, into *Aſia*.

In the mean time, the miſconduct of *Anthony* at *Actium* had thrown *Herod* into great perplexities. He reflected, that he owed his all to him, and had therefore ſtill faithfully ſerved him; but when he conſidered, on the other hand, that *Anthony*'s cauſe was ſunk below a poſſibility of retrieving, this thought ſtagger'd the ſtrongeſt beams of his reſolution. However, that he might not be wanting in a ſpecious excuſe to the world for any thing that was on his part to follow, he ſignified by a letter to *Anthony*, that if he would ſave himſelf from ruin, he muſt inſtantly put *Cleopatra* to death. *This expedient*, continued he, *will poſſeſs you of all her treaſures, and of conſequence enable you to make an honourable peace.* But *Anthony*, according to *Herod*'s forecaſt, could not bring himſelf to a reliſh of ſuch a cruel advice; and ſoon after *Herod* declared openly for *Octavianus*, by intercepting ſome ſuccours that were going to the aſſiſtance of *Anthony*. Which ſtep, he judged, would ſucceſſively pave his way to the friendſhip of *Octavianus*.

While this was a doing, *Alexandria*, the daughter of *Hyrcanus*, and mother of *Mariamne*, limning to her ſelf, from the ſucceſs of *Octavianus*, a near proſpect of revenge againſt *Herod*, or, at leaſt, an opportunity to deliver her family from the thraldom in which the tyrant kept it, *Alexandra*, I ſay, agitated with theſe thoughts, intreated *Hyrcanus* her father to retire to ſome place of ſecurity, and there reſerve himſelf for better days. And, to this purpoſe, her advice was, that he ſhould write to *Malchus*, king of *Arabia Petræa*, ſolliciting a ſafe retreat within his kingdom. *Hyrcanus*, who was by nature indolent, and averſe to trouble, rejected, at firſt, her propoſitions; but, at laſt, yielding to her importunities, he writ to *Malchus*, by *Doſitheus*, brother to *Joſeph*, whom *Herod* had put to death.

This *Doſitheus*, whoſe fidelity prince *Hyrcanus* had no reaſon to doubt, thinking that a proper occaſion was now come into his hands to reconcile himſelf to *Herod*, went and deliver'd the letter to him. Upon opening the letter, *Herod* found, his deſire was, that *Machus* ſhould ſend a guard to conduct him to a place agreed on. This done, he ſealed up the letter again, and, returning it to *Doſitheus*, bid him carry it to *Malchus*.

Doſitheus having perform'd as directed, ſoon came back with an anſwer from *Malchus*, importing, that he would receive *Hyrcanus* with pleaſure, and, alſo, all his friends; and a ſufficient party of men ſhould be forthwith ſent, to bring them ſafe into his country. Which anſwer of *Malchus* being read by *Herod*, *Hyrcanus* was ſent for, and demanded what agreement he made with *Machus*. At the ſame inſtant *Herod* deliver'd him the letter, and ordered him to be put to death.

This end had *Hyrcanus*, by a fictitious plot, after having paſs'd the eightieth year of his age, and a more uncommon ſcene of viciſſitude than moſt princes meet with. He was exalted to the office of high-prieſt of the *Jews* under the reign of *Alexandra* his mother, and ſucceeded her afterwards in the kingdom; but being diſpoſſeſs'd by his brother *Ariſtobulus*, he was, after an abdication of three months, reinſtated in the throne by *Pompey*, and from hence, downwards, enjoyed it forty years. Laſt of all, he was outed of the crown by *Antigonus*, who cut off his ears, and ſent him, in baniſhment, to *Parthia*; from which place, being artfully perſuaded by *Herod* to return into *Judæa*, he was by him finally cut off, becauſe he had a title to the regal dignity that ſeemed to throw ſhame upon his own.

Herod having thus rid himſelf of *Hyrcanus*, turned his thoughts towards making a viſit to *Octavianus* at *Rhodes*; and, to that end, becauſe he could not fortel what might be the iſſue of his journey, omitted no precaution neceſſary to ſettle the quiet, and eſtabliſh the ſucceſſion of the kingdom. The government of all affairs was entruſted with his brother *Pheroras*. *Cypros*, his mother, and *Salome*, his ſiſter, he committed to the fortreſs of *Maſſada*; and *Mariamne*, together with her mother *Alexandra*, were ſent to the caſtle of *Alexandrion*, under the care of *Joſeph*, treaſurer of his houſhold, and *Sohemus*, two men in whom he had always repoſed an entire confidence. With theſe he left a poſitive order, if miſchief ſhou'd befal himſelf, to put *Mariamne* and *Alexandra* to death, the moment ſuch news arrived, and to aſſiſt *Pheroras* in ſecuring the kingdom to his children.

Affairs being thus regulated in the moſt firm manner he could think of, he ſet out for *Rhodes*; where, being arrived, he waited upon *Octavianus*, diſtinguiſhing with every royal ornament, the diadem excepted; and, with the moſt conſummate aſſurance, talked to him in this manner: ‘I have, *ſaid he*, always obſerved an inviolable attachment for the perſon and real intereſt of *Anthony*; and I would, to the utmoſt of my power, have preſerved to the empire of the world for him: But his command ſent me againſt the *Arabians*, when my inclination led me to join my forces his, and oppoſe you. And being thus unable to ſerve his cauſe in perſon, I have continued to ſupply him with both arms and money. After the blow at *Actium*, I gave him the beſt advice his deſperate ſtate could bear: I bid him remove *Cleopatra*, ſeize her kingdom, and make peace. But *Anthony* diſregarded my counſel. Be, therefore, ſo good as to forget what has formerly paſſed between him and me, and bring your ſelf to make an experience of my friendſhip; you will ſoon find I am a man who take all opportunities to oblige my benefactor. *Anthony* is undone; his name obliterated in years. Be kindneſs and love your part, and duty and obedience mine.

Octavianus was ſo moved with this free addreſs and generoſity of *Herod*, that he took him into his intimate friendſhip,bid him reſume his crown, and demanded of him no other teſtimonies of reſpect and adherence, then he had formerly ſhewn to *Anthony*. After which, he entertain'd him with all poſſible marks of honour, and, as a farther demonſtration of ſincere eſteem, got him, by a decree of the ſenate, confirm'd in the ſovereignty of *Judæa*.

Herod having, in acknowledgment of the great reſpect ſhew'd him,made *Octavianus* and his courtiers ſuch vaſt preſents as ſeem'd even to ſurpaſs his power, haſted back into his own country to give his friends an account of an event full of joy, ſucceſs, and honour. But, on his arrival, inſtead of the pleaſure he expected, anguiſh and vexation redoubled upon him from the reflections of *Mariamne* and *Alexandra*. Theſe princeſſes concluded they had for a long time been kept in priſon unde a colourable pretext; nor could all *Herod*'s gloſſes extinguiſh their reſentment.

Mariamne, in his abſence, having often, and with horror, reflected upon the former order he had left with his brother *Joſeph*, was diſpoſed to believe that a command of the ſame cruel nature lay now conceal'd in the breaſt of *Sohemus*; and being a woman of great wit and generoſity, ſhe ſoon found a way, by preſents, and other obliging offices, to diſlodge it: Which freſh diſcovery added to the other tragedies he had acted upon her family, made her forget the huſband, and look upon ruffian, who took delight only in him as a murder.

And this was one reaſon that when *Herod* embraced her with all the tranſports of an enflamed affection, and related to her the ſucceſsful iſſue of his affairs, ſhe received him with the utmoſt indifference,and appear'd more dejected than pleaſed, at the account he gave her. Hereupon, followed a viciſſitude of turbulent paſſions in his mind, one minute burning with love to her, and the next worked up into ſuch a rage, that he could hardly with-hold himſelf from ſlaying her.

Whilſt *Herod* was thus alternately toſs'd between love and fury, *Cypros* and *Salome*, his mother and ſiſter, who had ever embraced all opportunities thar might diſtreſs *Mariamne*, greedily faſtened upon this occaſion to compleat her ruin. They blacken'd her with all the calumnies and aſperſions that could, in their opinion, be of moſt weight, to conſummate their purpoſe; and, at laſt, ſo far prevail'd; that, from an exceſs of love, they brought him to hate and deteſt her heartily.

Octavianus reſolving with all ſpeed to finiſh the war againſt *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*, had ſent orders to *Cornelius Gallus*, his lieutenant in *Lybia* and *Cyrene*, to enter *Ægypt* with his army on that hand, whilſt he himſelf, paſſing through *Leſſor Aſia* into *Syria*, was to invade it on the other. *Herod* receiv'd him at *Ptolemais*, with inexpreſſible magnificence, accommodating the whole army with plenty of proviſions; inſomuch, that his liberality ſuſtained them till they came into *Ægypt*: Beſides, he made *Octavianus* a preſent of eight hundred talents. And by theſe acts of hoſpitality and munificence he acquired the reputation of being the moſt liberal and generous prince in all *Aſia*.

In the mean time, *Anthony* and *Cleopatra* were not deficient to themſelves in trying all expedients that ſeem'd of uſe to reconcile 'em to *Octavianus*. Thrice they ſent an embaſſy to mediate a peace with him, but ſtill without ſucceſs. They made him an offer to accept of any terms he ſhould impoſe upon them, and, provided he would condeſcend to leave *Cleopatra*'s children in the peaceable poſſeſſion of *Ægypt*, they expreſs'd a readineſs to reſign themſelves to an obſcure life in any part of the world he ſhould appoint. *Octavianus*, as far as concerned *Anthony*, would hearken to no propoſals; but, with regard to *Cleopatra*, he artfully gave out ſome room for hope. He conſidered with himſelf, that, ſhould he drive her to deſpair, ſuch a conſequence would deprive him both of her perſon and treaſure, the latter of which he eagerly longed for, to enable him ſatisfy the debts contracted by the war; and her perſon he wanted, to do honour to his triumph at *Rome*.

Self-intereſt, therefore, obliging *Octvianus* to beware of making *Cleopatra* deſperate, he ſent her many kind meſſages, and, among the reſt, an aſſurance of his friendſhip if ſhe would diſpatch *Anthony*. But though *Cleopatra* could not be induced to put *Anthony* to death, yet, after this overture from *Octavianus*, ſhe went on to betray him in every thing elſe.

Upon *Octavianus*'s arrival at *Peluſium* (which was a very ſtrong place, and might have held out a long time), it was, by *Cleopatra*'s order, ſurrender'd to him, without one blow ſtruck in its defence. *Peluſium* and *Peritonium* were the two keys of *Ægypt*, and no land-army could make an impreſſion upon the country but thro' one of them. *Anthony*, confiding the in ſtrength of the firſt, which guarded the eaſtern part of *Ægypt*, was gone to the weſtern ſide, with a view to recover and ſecure *Peritonium*. The army, which defended the Place, had before been under the command of *Anthony*, till drawn away from him by the treachery of *Scarpus*. He therfore flatter'd himſelf, that, upon ſight of him, they would return to their duty, and give up the city to him. But *Cornelius Gallus* (which *Octavianus* had appointed to command there inſtead of *Scarpus*) foreſeeing that *Anthony* would endeavour to make a ſpeech to the ſoldiers, had given orders, in caſe of ſuch an attempt, to keep blowing with all their trumpets, till he himſelf had by main force drove him from the walls. Accordingly, *Anthony* made the experiment, and was beat back with a great ſlaughter of his men; and, to haſten on the deſtruction of *Anthony*, *Gallus* having over night ſunk chains in the mouth of his port, he let all *Anthony*'s fleet come into it without making any reſiſtance. But, on their being ſailed in, having pulled up the chains, and forced them to a ſtretch upon the ſurface of the water, ſo as to prevent their eſcape, he immediately fell upon them both by ſea and land, and took, or deſtroy'd every one of them.

After this defeat, *Anthony* went back to ſecure *Alexandria* againſt *Octavianus*; where encountering with *Octavianus*'s horſe, that had been tir'd out with a long march, he put 'em preſently to flight: But falling in afterwards with the foot, he loſt the day, and was compelled to fly into the city for refuge. Nothing now remained for him to do, but to make one virgorous puſh at ſea, where, ſhould he be vanquiſhed, he determined with the remainder to ſail to *Spain*. But the two fleets were no ſooner drawn up in the line of battle, than *Anthony*'s fleet deſerted to the enemy. Hereupon, *Anthony* returning into the city, the firſt news that met him was, that all his army, both horſe and foot, were gone over to *Octavianus*.

Anthony being by this time made ſenſible that this general revolt of his men was owing to the clandeſtine dealings of *Cleopatra*, and recollecting, too, that all his miſcarriages, from firſt to laſt, could be traced no higher than the ſame origin; he poured his heart out in ſtrong exclamations againſt her. Upon this, *Cleopatra*, dreading his reſentment, repaired to a curious monument, that had been, at her own charge, erected near the temple of *Iſis*. In the ſame place, ſhe had, before, depoſited the moſt valuable part of her treaſure; and thither having now convey'd her ſelf, together with one eunuch, and two maids, ſhe made a report go that ſhe was dead.

As ſoon as this news was told to *Anthony*, he fell upon his ſword; but that not diſpatching him inſtantly, and getting notice that *Cleopatra* was alive, he was, at his own earneſt deſire, carried to the monument; where, being with ropes pulled up to her, by her ſelf, her eunuch, and the two maids, he ſoon after expired in her arms, on the firſt of *Auguſt*; ſurviving the fight at *Actium* no more than eleven months.

He was a man of great eloquence, of a courteous and munificent nature, moſt facetious in converſation, and expert in military affairs, but extremely debauch'd and addicted to women. By this low paſſion, he was drove by *Cleopatra* to his ruin, like an ox to the ſlaughter. Out of ſelf intereſt, ſhe firſt ſubmitted her body to his libidinous will; and ſelf-intereſt, at laſt, made her give him up to deſtruction, that ſhe might have a probability to ſerve her ſelf. But hope and expectation failed her: For as ſoon as *Octavianus* had made himſelf maſter of her wealth, and perſon, he immediately neglected her.

Cleopatra, who had formerly with her art and charms bound the hearts of mighty conquerors, was warm'd at firſt into indignation at this indifference of *Octavianus*; but when ſhe found, by a private hand, that ſhe was to be ſent, within three days, to *Rome*, in order to be made a ſight at the triumphal proceſſion of *Octavianus*, her ſpirit fell too low to ſupport the thought. A brave mind can never ſink under affliction, or dream of ſeeking a remedy for it in death: It is the coward, alone, that can renounce humanity ſo far as to be its own executioner.

To prevent a trifling diſgrace, which, by the bye, would not have added much honour to *Octavianus*, *Cleopatra* formed a deſign to murder her ſelf; and, to this purpoſe, having provided ſome aſps, which are a ſort of ſnakes no where to be met with but in *Lybia* and *Ægypt*, whoſe bite inſtantly throws the patient into a lethargy, and kills within three hours; ſhe provoked one of them to bite her, and ſo died in the thirty-ninth year of her age, and twenty-ſecond of her reign.

She was a princeſs of rare wit, and many ſuperior qualities, but, at the ſame, time, ſo rid and commanded by covetouſneſs, that there was no one vice ſhe would not readily go into to gratify it. Avarice was the bawd that made her firſt turn merchant of her body, and the root from whence ſprung all the other branches of her wickedneſs. She was a perfect miſtreſs of *Greek* and *Latin*, and well ſeen, too, in the *Jewiſh*, *Æthiopick*, and *Arabian* languages: In ſhort, ſhe could give audience to the people of ten different nations, without making uſe of an interpreter, and return each of them an anſwer readily, in their own language. Her death put an end to the houſe of the *Ptolmoy's*, which had ſwayed the ſcepter in *Ægypt* two hundred and ninety-four years.

The conqueſt of *Ægypt* being thus eaſily compleated, *Octavianus* aboliſhed its ancient form of government, and made it a *Roman* province; in which ſtate it afterwards continu'd for the ſpace of ſix hundred and ſeventy years, when the *Saracens* diſpoſſeſs'd the *Romans*, in the year of our Lord 641.

The civil wars being now brought to a final period; ſuſpicion and fear, that commonly aſſiſt at the cabinet of moſt great men, were not backward, at this juncture, to remind *Octavianus* of removing out of the way all ſuch of the contrary ſide, as might afterwards give him any diſturbance. The principal men of all that he put to death, were *Cæſarion*, *Julius Cæſar*'s ſon by *Cleopatra*, *Antyllus*, *Anthony*'s eldeſt ſon by *Fulvia*, and *Octavianus*'s own ſon in law, and *Canidius*, the general of *Anthony*'s forces. Thoſe who were leſs formidable, but yet of note enough to deſerve ſome regard, had only their eſtates taken from them, and their perſons delivered over to poverty; and to the reſt, and greateſt part of them, being altogether below his notice, he gave a general pardon.

Though *Anthony*'s deſtruction was the ſtep by which *Octavianus* mounted into the *Roman* monarchy, yet three emperors, deſcended from *Anthony*, afterwards obtain'd it. *For Anthony* having by *Octavia* two daughters, *Antonia major*, and *Antonia minor*, the latter was the grandmother of *Caligula*, and mother of *Claudius*, who ſucceeded *Caligula*; and the former was the grandmother of *Nero*.

Octavianus acted by the reſt of *Anthony*'s children with great humanity. He made *Antonius*, the younger brother of *Antyllus*, one of his principal favourites, and beſtowed upon him in marriage one of his own nieces: Nor did he withdraw his friendſhip from him, till ingratitude hurried him into a criminal correſpondence with *Julia*, his benefactor's only daughter, and made *Octavianus* conſign him over to death.

Octavianus being in this country, deſired to do *Apis*, whom the *Ægyptians* worſhipped in the form of an ox, the honour of a viſit; *I have*, ſaid he, *always preſerved a due regard and reverence for the gods, but I will never be brought to worſhip beaſts.* Neither could they get him perſuaded to take a view of the monuments of their former kings. But he expreſs'd a great forwardneſs to ſee the ſepulchre of *Alexander the Great*; and, accordingly, going, ſurvey'd the body, as it lay embalm'd, and kept in a cover of glaſs. It had, at firſt, been depoſited in a golden caſe; but that being ſacrilegiouſly ſtolen, in the manner under-mentioned, the glaſs coffin was afterwards made to ſupply the place. And theſe poor remains of *Alexander* were by *Octavianus* ſprinkled with all poſſible marks of honour.

Ptolemy Auletes, king of *Ægypt*, being by the people expell'd the kingdom on account of his tyranny and oppreſſion, the ſtates of *Ægypt* ſet *Berenice*, his daughter, upon the throne; and, to confirm her therein, they ſent an invitation into *Syria* to *Antiochus Aſiaticus*, who was the neareſt male heir of the royal houſe of *Ægypt*, to come to *Alexandria*, and eſpouſe *Berenice*, and there reign in conjunction with her. But finding that *Antiochus* was dead, they made the ſame propoſal to *Seleucus Cibioſactes*, his younger brother, which he gladly accepting, forthwith came into *Ægypt*, and married her. However, his own ſordid temper would not long permit him to congratulate himſelf upon this new acceſſion of honour, for being covetous and baſe-ſpirited to an exceſs, and by this low biaſs drove to ſtick at nothing, he at laſt open'd the ſepulchre of *Alexander*, and wickedly deſpoil'd the body of its golden caſe: Which infamous act, ſuperadded to his other crimes, ſo incens'd his wife *Berenice* againſt him, that ſhe put him to death.

As ſoon as *Herod* had intelligence of the death of *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*, and that the conqueror *Octavianus* was determin'd to paſs through *Syria*, *Leſſer Aſia*, and *Greece*, and thence return to *Rome*; he immediately ſet out, (having, as before, recommended *Mariamne* to the cuſtody of *Sohemus*) on a journey for *Ægypt*, where *Octavianus* welcomed him with much honour and benefaction. He preſented him with four hundred men, that had formerly ſerv'd as guards to the perſon of *Cleopatra*, and reſtor'd him the rich plains of *Jericho*, which *Anthony* had wreſted from him for the ſake of *Cleopatra*. He alſo gave him *Gadara*, *Hippon*, and *Samaria*, with all their dependencies; and, towards the ſea-coaſt, the fortreſſes of *Gaza*, *Anthedon*, *Joppa*, and the tower of *Straton*; which were an addition of very great weight to the power and ſtrength of his dominions.

Herod attended *Octavianus* as far as *Antioch*, and from thence return'd to *Jeruſalem*, where having, in complaiſance to the call of his own heart, made another viſit to *Mariamne*, he found, that time, which ſerves as a cure to ſome other maladies, had, notwithſtanding, increas'd her ſpite and averſion to him. His love was made the theme of her raillery, and the moſt endearing method he could take, anſwer'd with nothing but loud complaints. This treatment, however cutting to him, he had for ſome time bore patiently, flattering himſelf ſhe wou'd one day or other drop her reſentment, and be friends with him. At length, being, on a certain occaſion, retir'd into his bed-chamber to repoſe himſelf, he ſent his humble requeſt to *Mariamne*, to come and place herſelf by him. She, indeed, gave him her company, but then, inſtead of admitting his careſſes, loaded him with bitter reproaches for the murder of her father and brother. Rage had now engroſs'd the man to ſuch an extravagant pitch, that he was juſt going to ſlay her, when one of his own domeſticks, for this purpoſe hir'd by *Salome*, his ſiſter, ruſh'd into the room, accuſing *Mariamne* of having proffer'd him a large ſum of money to poiſon his majeſty. And *Herod* demanding what ſort of poiſon it was, *The queen*, ſaid the fellow, *intended it ſhould be adminiſter'd in a draught; but what was to be infuſed in this draught, ſhe did not ſay, deſiring me only to preſent it. And now*, continued he, *having diſcharged my duty, I leave it with your majeſty to take proper meaſures to prevent the conſequence.*

Hereupon, the tyrant immediately call'd for her favourite eunuch, in whom, he was ſenſible, *Mariamne* repos'd all her confidence, and ordering him to be put to the rack, in the midſt of extreme torment he confeſs'd, that *Mariamne*'s diſdain proceeded from ſomething *Sohemus* had told her. At theſe words, *Herod* roar'd out, Sohemus *muſt* *have violated my bed before he could diſcloſe my ſecret*; and then gave an order for his immediate execution. Nor would the death of *Sohemus* quench his rage; but, having aſſembled ſuch of his judges as he knew were ſuſceptible of a proper impreſſion, and brought *Mariamne* upon her defence, he there in perſon charged her, with ſo much wrath and vehemence, that all the world ſaw there was no conteſting with power, nor means to ſave her life.

After ſentence had paſs'd upon her, the people could not bring themſelves to believe that he would precipitate the execution. But *Salome*, his uſual bellows in all acts of miſchief, would hearken to no reprieve. To detain her in priſon, ſhe inſiſted, would excite a rebellion in her behalf, and of conſequence ſhake his throne. She therefore earneſtly pray'd him to let the law have its courſe. Hereupon, the tyrant (to whom fear had always been prime counſellor) ſign'd an order to put her inſtantly to death.

Length of time having abated that depth of grief which had thrown *Orodes*, king of *Parthia*, into a ſtate of diſtraction, and conſequently reſtor'd him, in ſome degree, to his ſenſes; he remain'd, for ſome days, in great ſuſpence, and unable to determine whom of his ſurviving ſons he ſhould nominate to ſucceed him: And the choice falling, at laſt, upon *Phrates*, the firſt-born of thirty ſons, who were all at this time grown up, this moſt flagitious fellow, the moment he was inveſted with the royal authority, murder'd ſuch of his brothers as were the grand-children of the king of *Syria*, becauſe their high birth, and ſuperior merit, offended him. This monſter proceeded, next, to put to death his father, by giving him an infuſion of hemlock; but *Orodes* happening then to be ill of a dropſy, it had quite another effect than what the rogue intended; for, inſtead of proving deadly, it firſt affected him with a giddineſs in his head, and ſoon after operated ſo violently, both by vomit and ſtool, that it rid him thoroughly of his diſeaſe. This project failing him, he gave orders to ſmother him in his bed. He next diſpatch'd all the reſt of his brothers, and, laſtly, after numberleſs other cruelties, ſlew his own ſon, fear ſuggeſting to him that the people, who hated him, would advance the young man to his throne.

In the interim, *Anthony* being inform'd that *Phraates* had incurr'd the odium of all his ſubjects, and animated, too, by the ſucceſsful expedition of one of his lieutenants againſt the *Armenians*, *Iberians*, and *Abanians*, he begun to promiſe himſelf a thorough conqueſt of the *Parthians*. Having, therefore, got all things in readineſs for the expedition, he march'd his army to the neareſt paſſage over the *Euphrates*; but, on his arrival there, finding the enemy prepared to diſpute it with him, he immediately alter'd his rout, and led his forces into *America*, whither he had been before invited by *Artabazes*, king of that country. His view in this journey was to make war upon the *Medes*; and, had not *Artabazes* dealt treacherouſly by him, might undoubtedly have ſucceeded: For this traitor, in whom *Anthony*'s want of ſkill in the geography of the road oblig'd him to confide, put him upon a march of at leaſt a thouſand miles, before he brought him to the confines of *Media*: By which means, the ſeaſon was too far advanced, as well as the ſoldiers were too much diſpirited, to undertake any thing. Notwithſtanding theſe difficulties, he would needs march three hundred miles farther, and lay ſiege to the capital of *Media*. Being arrived at *Vera*, which was a very ſtrong city, he could do no more than throw his wiſhes at it: For the love-ſick fool, whoſe thoughts were all center'd in the breaſt of *Cleopatra*, had left all his military engines behind, under the conduct of *Statianus*, and a guard of ten thouſand men, to the end he might make the more quick haſte, and return the ſooner to his beloved.

The enemy underſtanding the incapacity he had thruſt himſelf into, without minding him, marched on to intercept the convoy that guarded the battering rams, and other implements of uſe in a ſiege, and falling upon *Statianus* and his men, put them all to the ſword, except a few, who ask'd and receiv'd mercy, and carried off with them all the rams, and other engines, which *Anthony* had deſigned for the ſiege.

Anthony having had an information that the enemy was upon a march to ſurprize *Statianus*, did all that lay in his power to prevent them; but as they had taken opportunity by her forelock, when *Anthony* came up, poor *Statianus* and all his men lay breathleſs upon the ſcene of action. The enemy having met here with a very conſiderable booty, had retir'd, in order to diſpoſe of it; which event being taken by *Anthony* as a reſult of cowardice, he again applied his mind to renew the ſiege, but with no better ſucceſs than before: For between the repeated incurſions of the beſieged, and the daily loſſes ſuſtained by foraging, he found his army very faſt mouldered away. And though, whilſt he lay before the place, he had twice brought the enemy to a general battle, and as often defeated them; yet, as all their troops conſiſted of light horſemen, that always retir'd with incredible ſwiftneſs, experience convinced him that a victory was attended with greater loſs upon his ſide, than a diſcomfiture upon theirs.

Theſe inconveniencies being followed by a great want of proviſions, *Anthony* was put upon a neceſſity to leave the ſiege. And having now three hundred miles to travel in an enemy's country, before he could reach *Armenia*, this was the only part of the whole undertaking wherein he ſhewed any thing of the conduct of a ſoldier. For having ſpar'd no coſt to get true intelligence of all the motions of the enemy, he by this means eſcap'd all their ambuſhes, and was always in a military poſture to receive them when they came to give battle. Eighteen times in his retreat they engaged him with their whole army, in all which actions he put them to flight.

Theſe difficulties being all ſurmounted, and not without very conſiderable damages to his army, he repaſs'd the *Araxis*, and came into *Armenia*, through which mountainous country, notwithſtanding that it lay at that time drenched in ſnow, he would yet, in ſpite of common ſenſe and reaſon, hold on his march; which raſh management added the death of eight thouſand men more to his other loſſes. He ſet out upon this unfortunate adventure with an hundred thouſand men, and did not return with above a third part of them, ſixty thouſand men, if not more, having periſhed by his folly.

Whilſt theſe things were a doing, *Herod* prefers one *Ananelus*, a perſon of mean birth, and of no intereſt at *Jeruſalem*, to the dignity of high-prieſt, that, being a creature of his own, he might have nothing to fear from any influence of his upon affairs of ſtate. But *Alexandra* and *Mariamne*, the mother and ſiſter of *Ariſtobulus*, ſoon obliged him to recede from his choice. For having, by the good offices of one of *Anthony*'s ſycophants, attained the favour of *Cleopatra*, neceſſity of affairs made *Herod* remove *Ananelus*, and put *Ariſtobulus* in his room. *Alexanda* having gained this point, would unluckily proceed farther, and puſh by her intereſt with *Cleopatra* to make her ſon king; but *Herod* getting timely notice of her deſign, ſoon broke the neck of it, by procuring the death of *Ariſtobulus*, which he effected in this manner: After the feſtival of tabernacles, *Herod* invited him to an entertainment at *Jericho*, and dinner being over, ſome of *Herod*'s officers perſuaded him to walk out with them to a fiſh-pond, where they intended to bathe themſelves. The young man, who ſuſpected no treachery, went down into the bath with them, but was no ſooner entered into the water, than his companions (according to an order previouſly received from *Herod*) immerſed him under water till they put an end to his life.

Herod endeavoured to ſmooth this murder, in the eye of the world, under the ſpecious form of an accident that could not be avoided, and for this end appeared very ſorrowful at his death, and honoured him with a moſt ſumptuous funeral. But all this colouring ſerved to no purpoſe; the people ſaw through it, and deteſted his cruelty.

Upon *Phraates* his coming to the throne of *Parthia*, *Hyrcanus* was diſcharged out of priſon, and permitted to reſide among his own countrymen the *Jews*; who being very rich and numerous in thoſe parts, did him all the honours due to a king, and allowed him an houſhold ſuitable to the title. But all this good uſage was nothing in the balance againſt his paſſionate deſire to return to *Judæa*; and reflecting with himſelf that he had not only made *Herod*'s fortune, but ſav'd his life, he for theſe reaſons flatter'd his own mind that *Herod* could not but chuſe to receive him with gratitude and humanity.

With this view, *Hyrcanus*, having ſent his deſire to *Herod* for his leave to return, that cunning veteran in murder not only granted his requeſt, but prevail'd with *Phraates* to give him liberty to come. And thus all things ſucceeding to his wiſh, *Hyrcanus*, though earneſtly diſſuaded by all that wiſh'd him well in *Babylonia*, left his friends for an enemy, and came to *Jeruſalem*.

Anthony had no ſooner made his retreat good into *Syria*, but he ſculk'd towards a caſtle in *Phœnicia*, where he had appointed *Cleopatra* to meet him. On her arrival, ſhe new-cloathed the remains of his army, and divided a large ſum of money among them, given her by *Anthony* for that purpoſe. After which, they took their way into *Ægypt*, where they whil'd away the time according to their old libidinous manner.

In the mean time, *Sextus Pompeius* being by the united power of *Octavianus* and *Lepidus* expell'd *Sicily*, and reduced to the neceſſity of ſeeking a retreat in *Aſia*; this piece of ſucceſs ſo rais'd the vanity of *Lepidus*, that he aſcrib'd all to himſelf, and wanted to debar *Octavianus* from having any thing to do with *Sicily*. *Octavianus*, provok'd at this ill uſage, by cunning management got all *Lepidus*'s army to forſake their general, and come over to him; by which means, he who but the minute before enjoyed the dignity and power of a king, was at once pull'd down to a level with a private man, and ſervilely compell'd to beg his life of his maſter, who gave it him, but not without a ſentence of condemning him to baniſhment.

Sextus Pompeius (who had for ſome time lived in a retir'd manner among the *Mituleans*) promiſing himſelf ſucceſs from *Anthony*'s late unfortunate expedition, went over into *Leſſer Aſia*, where, having gathered up a ſmall body of men, he made an eſſay to retrieve his condition. But fortune croſſing all his enterprizes, he was at laſt taken priſoner by *Titius*, and ſoon after put to death. And in him ended the family of *Pompey the Great*.

A fit opportunity preſented itſelf now to *Anthony* of being reveng'd upon the *Parthians*, but his adulterous love let it ſlip through his fingers. The king of the *Parthians* had defrauded the king of *Media* of his part of the booty which had been ſeiz'd from *Anthony*'s convoy. And this produc'd to *Anthony* an offer from the king of *Media* to aid him with all his power againſt the *Parthians*. He likewiſe ſent him word, that a great part of the country was up in rebellion againſt their king. *Anthony* receiv'd this news with great joy, becauſe he knew that the ſtrength of *Media*, in conjunction with his own forces, would be an over-match for the *Parthians*. Accordingly, he begun his march for *Syria*, in order to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions for the war. In the interm, *Cleopatra* having got notice that *Anthony*'s wife was arriv'd at *Athens* with a deſign to wait on her huſband, and dreading that an interview between them would be of fatal conſequence to herſelf, ſhe immediately took to her bed, ſending him notice, that being unable to ſupport life without him, the pain of her mind had thrown her into a fit of ſickneſs, of which ſhe muſt inevitably die, unleſs his good nature would condeſcend to return and ſave her.

This meſſage from *Cleopatra* preſently unmann'd the heart of *Anthony*, making him at once renounce his honour, which call'd him into *Parthia*, and forget his affection which was only due to his wife; yet both theſe he would forego, rather than diſoblige a ſalacious harlot, that made him the jeſt of mankind, and regarded him no farther than as a tool to ſerve her own ends. Having thus ſhamefully ended his expedition, and ſent his commands to his wife *Octavia* not to come near him, he return'd to *Alexandria*, where he ſacrificed an whole year to the company of *Cleopatra*.

Alexandra, to whom (after the murder of her ſon *Ariſtobulus*) life ſeem'd no otherwiſe deſireable, than as it might one day furniſh her with an opportunity to revenge his death, having in ſtrong colours drawn and tranſmitted to *Cleopatra* all the circumſtances of the death of her ſon, her *Ægyptian* majeſty, mov'd by a view of ſucceeding *Herod*'s kingdom, more than of doing juſtice to an injured lady, got *Anthony* at laſt prevail'd upon to ſend for *Herod*, and put him upon his trial. *Herod* obey'd the ſummons, and waited upon *Anthony* and *Cleopatra* in *Syria*, where, having preſented his defence to *Anthony* in a round ſum of money, and pacified *Cleopatra*'s inclination to juſtice with ſurrendering *Cœlo-Syria* to her, he was declar'd innocent, and permitted to return to his own country.

Theſe things being thus ſettled, let us return again to the unhappy *Mariamne*, who lay under the ſentence of death.

Alexandra, *Mariamne*'s mother, who had hitherto acted a fearleſs and intrepid part, ſunk of a ſudden into a moſt cowardly and unparallell'd piece of behaviour: Weakneſs ſuggeſted to her, that *Herod*'s malice would fall next upon her, if ſhe did not do ſomething now to regain his favour. Poſſeſs'd with this thought, ſhe follow'd *Mariamne* all the way to her execution, publickly taxing her with ingratitude to the beſt of husbands, and exaggerating her guilt with ſuch a burſt of clamour and outrage, as gave the ſpectators an apprehenſion ſhe would at laſt come to blows. But *Mariamne*, without making any anſwer, or ſhewing the leaſt emotion of ſpirit, paſs'd on to encounter death, and thereto reſign'd with the ſame dignity of mind, and greatneſs of heart, that had all along been viſible in her life.

Thus fell that admirable princeſs; a lady, in virtue equal, in beauty ſuperior to all the women of her time: Againſt whom, the keeneſt malice could ſay no more, than that ſhe was out a little in point of diſcretion. She well knew ſhe had married a lawleſs tyrant, that delighted in blood; and ſelf-preſervation ſhould have made her cover up thoſe grievances that ſo frequently broke out into opprobrious words. But when it is remember'd, that he had waded through the bowels of her grandfather, her father, her brother, and her uncle, to the crown, and had twice commanded her death, if any ſuch violence was offered to himſelf, one would be at a loſs how to accuſe her prudence, or blame her reſentment.

Herod, whoſe paſſion for *Mariamne* knew no bounds, held on in the ſame violent manner after her death. Her departure did but augment his love. Guilt ſtood continually imaged before his eyes, at the ſame time that all her train of executioners devour'd his heart. He ſigh'd and complain'd aloud, and call'd for *Mariamne*; wherever he went, and in all places, whether awake or aſleep, her blood ſeem'd to ring his ears, and demand vengeance. He fled to wine, merry meetings, and other diverſions, for a cure, but to no purpoſe; for theſe only bound up his anguiſh for a minute, to return afterwards with double force. Being thus ſcourg'd from above, he fell into a ſtate of diſtraction, and would often in its paroxiſms, or fits, roar out for *Mariamne*, and chide his ſervants for not bringing her.

And, ſoon after, there followed a terrible plague, which ſwept away great numbers, not only of the common people, but, alſo, of the quality; which was by the world regarded as a juſt judgment from heaven for the murder of *Mariamne*. Hereupon, the tyrant, ſtruck with inſupportable remorſe, renounced all thoughts of his kingdom, and ſequeſtering himſelf from company, retired firſt into the deſert, and then to *Samaria*; where being ſeized with a dangerous inflammation of his bowels, attended with a very ſharp pain, and his phyſicians finding that the medicines they gave him did but exaggerate the ail (for he would be kept to no regimen or rule), they were obliged to leave him, and let the diſeaſe have its courſe.

Alexandra being ſoon informed that *Herod* lay dangerouſly ill, put her invention to the ſtretch for making herſelf miſtreſs of the two fortreſſes of *Jeruſalem*, one ſtanding within the city, and the other on the mountain of the temple. Could ſhe bring this to bear, ſhe was ſure of having *Jeruſalem* and all *Judæa* at her devotion. She therefore made preſſing inſtances to the commanding officers, of thoſe two caſtles, to reſign them up to her in behalf of the children of *Herod* and *Mariamne*. But the governors, inſtead of being won by her propoſals, gave intelligence of her deſign to *Herod*, which threw the tyrant into ſuch a fit of rage, that he immediately ordered her to be put to death.

The ſenate of *Rome* having decreed the 29th of *Auguſt* (which was then the firſt day of the month *Thoth*, and the new-year's-day among the *Ægyptians*), on which *Octavius* compleated the conqueſt of *Ægypt*, ſhould be declared a fortunate day, and that from thence all ſucceeding years in *Ægypt* ſhould, as from an inviolable epoch, or memorable event, be computed; the *Ægyptians* were, againſt their will, obliged to accept a new regulation of their years, as well as a new *Æra*, or account, for calculating them, under the penalty of diſobedience. And this continued to be called the *Æra* of the *Actiac* victory (which happened near a full year before) till the furious perſecution of the *Chriſtians*, under *Diocleſian*, gave it the name of the *Æra* of the martyrs.

The *Egyptians* had, before this conqueſt, made their annual calculations, or yearly accounts, by the *Philippic Æra*, which begun from the death of *Alexander* and the reign of *Philip Aridæus*, his ſucceſſor. Their year, being the ſame with the *Chaldæan*, conſiſted of 365 days without a leap year; and this inconvenience occaſioning every fourth year to begin a day ſooner than the preceding, from thence it came to paſs, that in 1460 years the firſt day of the year kept revolving, or travelling, through all the various ſeaſons, of autumn, winter, ſpring, and ſummer, till it had arriv'd again at its antient place, with the loſs of a full year in the cycle, or circuit.

Phraates, king of *Parthia*, having, during the conteſt between *Anthony* and *Octavius*, carried his victorious arms over all *Media* and *Armenia*, he repoſſeſs'd *Artaxias* in his father's kingdom, which *Anthony* had taken from him. But then turning inſolent, and oppreſſing his people with all manner of exactions and cruelty, he was obliged to fly the country, and *Tiridates* obtained the throne. However, *Phraates*, who could by no means digeſt the thought of living in exile, ſoon after got together an army, and putting his caſe to the deciſion of a battle, the event declared for him, and outed the uſurper. Both parties ſued to *Octavius* at *Antioch*, for his aſſiſtance; but he wiſely conſidering in what channel his own intereſt run, that it was his buſineſs to ſupport the competition, and thereby break the power of *Parthia*, would give nothing but fine words to either of them. *Tiridates* was permitted to remain in *Syria* till an opportunity offered, that ſhould enable him to return; and *Phraates* congratulated upon his ſucceſs that had reſtor'd him to the crown.

Octavius having finiſh'd every thing, with regard to the peace and quiet of his eaſtern provinces, returned by the way of *Greece* to *Rome*; where, in commemoration of his victories, he triumphed for three days together. In the firſt was celebrated his ſucceſs over the *Dalmatians*, *Pannonians*, &c. the ſecond repreſented *Anthony*'s overthrow at *Actium*; and the third brought in review the conqueſt of *Egypt*. In this laſt (which was much the fineſt ſight of all) were carried before him the children of *Cleopatra*, and *Cleopatra* herſelf, in effigy, with an aſp figured on her arm, to ſignify after what manner ſhe died. The ſpoils of *Egypt* made *Rome* at this time ſo overflow with money, that the value of it ſunk one half, and all ſorts of commodities roſe in proportion.

And now *Octavius* having crowded the ſenate with ſuch perſons as he knew muſt ſtand and fall with him, made an humble overture to diveſt himſelf of all power, and reſtore the people to their antient form of government. But the ſenate who were all his own creatures, and knew well his meaning, however artfully diſguiſed, would by no means accept this inſtance of condeſcenſion from him. For having learnedly argued the caſe with him, and convinced him that the preſent neceſſity of affairs demanded the authority of a ſingle perſon; he was at laſt, with much ado, prevail'd on to take that burthen upon him for the ſpace of ten years.

And thus, at one blow, fell the *Roman* commonwealth, the whole power reſiding ever after in a monarch, till the final period of their empire. For though *C. Julius Cæſar Auguſtus* (ſo we muſt for the future call him, according to a decree of the ſenate, in order to ſet off his new dignity) cantoned out the empire into two parts, leaving to the ſenate the peaceable diviſion, wherein were no troops, and taking the other to himſelf; yet, as he reſerved the whole army in his own hands, the favour conferr'd upon them proved in effect but an honorary title. They had the name; he the profit.

Herod had by this time recovered his health; but his temper, inſtead of being humbled and ſoftened by paſt calamities, hardened, and roſe into ſuch an implacable enmity to mankind, that it became meat and drink to him to play the tyrant upon all occaſions. He ſpared not even his moſt intimate friends. Among thoſe he now put to death, were *Coſtobarus*, *Lyſimachus*, *Gadias Antipater*, and *Doſitheus*. *Coſtobarus* was deſcended of one of the moſt antient and honourable families in *Idumæa*, and *Herod*, on his acceſſion to the throne, had beſtowed upon him the government of *Idumæa* and *Gaza*, giving him, afterwards, in marriage, his ſiſter *Salome*. *Coſtobarus* being elated with theſe advantages, fancied he might eaſily obtain the crown of *Idumæa*; and, to this purpoſe, having dealt under-hand with *Cleopatra* to ſue out a grant of it from *Anthony* to herſelf, he thought that in ſuch an event it would be no hard matter to regain it from her. Accordingly, *Cleopatra* tried to bring this affair about; but *Anthony* would not give his conſent: And *Herod* coming to the notice of this treaſon, would then have order'd his execution, but that he ſpared his life at the requeſt of his ſiſter.

But now the caſe was alter'd; *Coſtobarus* had offended *Salome*: She therefore ſent him a bill of divorce, in oppoſition to the known law of the *Jews*, which does not allow women to divorce their huſbands; and retiring immediately to her brother, to him ſhe had renounced her huſband for no other reaſon than his carrying on a plot againſt him in conjunction with *Antipater*, *Lyſimachus*, and *Doſitheus*: *And to convince you of the truth of what I ſay,* continued ſhe, Coſtobarus *has theſe twelve years concealed and kept alive the children of* Babas, *notwithſtanding your expreſs orders to the contrary.* Theſe ſons of *Babas* had been very active againſt *Herod*, whilſt he beſieged *Jeruſalem*, which was the cauſe that upon taking of the city he gave *Coſtobarus* ſo poſitive a command to execute them. But he not only let them eſcape, but provided alſo for their future ſafety. This one proof being thus made out, every thing elſe that *Salome* ſaid was taken upon truſt, and *Coſtobarus*, *Lyſimachus*, *Antipater*, *Doſitheus*, and ſeveral others, together with all the ſons of *Babas*, were inſtantly ſent to death.

Though *Herod* had all along ſhewn but an indifferent regard to religion, being wholly led by his own wayward fancy and ambition; yet he did not fully appear in his natural colours till he found himſelf deliver'd by the death of *Hyrcanus*, and all his family from any farther apprehenſions, with relation to the crown. They and all their adherents being cut off, he thought he might now, without harm, indulge his own pleaſure, and let the world ſee he minded not the religion of the *Jews*, or was attached to the ceremonies of that nation. In purſuit hereof, he aboliſhed many of their antient rites, and introduced foreign cuſtoms in their room.

This change in their antient diſcipline, produced a general diſlike, and worked ſo powerfully with a ſmall number of the *Jews*, that they ſign'd an aſſociation to cut him off. But before the time appointed came, wherein they ſhould have done the deed, they were diſcover'd by one of *Herod*'s ſpies (a ſort of vermin that he ſcatter'd thick over all the country), and all of them deſtroy'd by exceſſive torments. The ſpie, however, was but allow'd a ſhort time to rejoice in the diſcovery; for being ſoon after met by ſome of the enraged populace, they fell upon him, and hewed him to pieces. This accident gave *Herod* a more than common concern; nor did he reſt till he had found out all the authors, and put them to death.

Herod being very ſenſible he could not, in a favourable ſenſe, plead any thing of merit towards the people, begun now to ſecure and defend himſelf againſt their hatred. He firſt ſet his thoughts upon *Samaria*, which being only a day's journey from *Jeruſalem*, would, if well fortified, be a check to the city, as well as the country. It had been formerly ruined by *Hyrcanus*, and afterwards raiſed by *Gabinius* into a village; but now *Herod* made it a beautiful city, giving it the name of *Sebaſte*, in honour of *Auguſtus* (the reader will be pleas'd to remember, that he, whom we before call'd *Octavius*, ſhall for the future be only diſtinguiſh'd by the name of *Auguſtus*); for the *Greek* word *Sebaſtos* ſignifies the ſame thing with *Auguſtus* in *Latin*: And therefore *Herod*, by *Sebaſte*, meant the city of *Auguſtus*. The country round it being extremely fertile, it invited thither numbers of people from all quarters, foreigners as well as natives; by which means, it ſoon became a very wealthy and populous place. He new-fortified, likewiſe, the tower of *Straton* (to which he gave the name of *Cæſarea*, out of reſpect to *Auguſtus*), and *Gabala*, and many other places; throwing into each of them a ſufficient complement of men. And theſe fortreſſes he thus artfully ſettled, that they might ſerve as bridles to retain the whole country under due ſubjection and obedience.

Petronius being ſent to ſucceed *Cornelius Gallus*, in the province of *Ægypt*, *Gallus*, on his return to *Rome*, broke out into ſome indecent reflections againſt *Auguſtus*. Hereupon, he was forbid the court, and, alſo, noted with infamy. And as it is an eaſy matter, when a man is viſited with one misfortune, to load him with more, and make out but one trifle againſt him, and all the reſt will be believ'd of courſe. Accuſations immediately thicken'd upon him from all hands, and he was unanimouſly voted guilty, and ſentenced to baniſhment: But it ſeems the puniſhment was greater than his cowardly heart could bear, for he fell upon his ſword, and kill'd himſelf. He was an excellent poet, and one of *Virgil*'s intimate friends.

The great actions of *Auguſtus* having diffuſed his fame throughout all the then known world, ambaſſadors came to him from the fartheſt bounds of the eaſt, as well as north, ſolliciting his friendſhip. Among the former were the *Seres*, whom we now diſtinguiſh by the name of *Chineſe*.

The *Seres* were the firſt people that invented the manufacture of Silk, and from them the way of making it from the web of the ſilk-worm was derived to the *Perſians*; but it was not known in any part of *Europe* till after *Alexander*'s conqueſt of *Perſia*, which brought it into *Greece*, and from *Greece* it did not come into *Italy* till *Rome* begun to be the terror of all her neighbours; and even then it continued for a long time to bear a very high price in the weſt, weight of gold for weight of ſilk being the only way to purchaſe it, a pound of one coſting a pound of the other. And thus it held till the reign of *Juſtinian* the emperor, who died in the year of our Lord 565.

The emperor *Juſtinian*, to give a final blow to this monopoly, or excluſive trade of the *Perſians* (who would let his ſubjects have no ſilk without exorbitant prices), ſent two monks into *India*, in order to learn the art, and bring back ſilkworms with them, to the end his own people might be enriched with ſo valuable a manufacture. The monks on their return, told him, that the ſilk-worms were too tender to undergo the fatigue of ſo long a journey; but informing him that their eggs might be brought with an equal advantage, he inſtantly ordered them again into *India*, for a ſufficient quantity of the ſilkworms eggs. And this ſecond commiſſion being executed to his ſatisfaction, from thoſe eggs, then brought to *Conſtantinople*, have iſſued all the ſilkworms and ſilk trade which has ſince been ſo beneficial a traffick in *Europe*.

The thirteenth year of the reign of *Herod* involv'd *Judæa* in a general calamity. An extraordinary drought had preceded, which having ſo parch'd up the earth that it could yield none of its accuſtomed products, put the people upon a neceſſity to uſe ſuch things for food as both were uncommon and diſagreeable to their health; and thence being thrown into violent illneſſes, a peſtilence follow'd, which made a dreadful havock over all the country. The ſick were neither tended as they ſhould have been, nor had they neceſſaries. Thoſe that continued in any tolerable health, having ſcarce enough to ſupport their own life, judg'd it in vain to give themſelves any trouble about their neighbours. The famine preſs'd ſo ſore, and the mortality grew ſo great, that ſelf-conſideration, that meaneſt of all principles, ſwallow'd up all other regards.

In this intolerable diſtreſs *Herod* ſhewed a magnanimity that would have added a luſtre to the greateſt earthly man that ever wore a crown; *Herod*, I ſay, on a review of his exchequer, finding he had expended all his caſh, and conſidering there was no room now to think of levying new taxes, or applying to his neighbours, becauſe they then ſhared in the ſame misfortune; he gave an immediate order to melt down all the plate of his palace, without ſparing even ſuch figures as had been the workmanſhip of the greateſt maſters. And having thus got together an immenſe ſum of money, he ſent it to *Petronius*, governor of *Ægypt*, to have the value of it returned in corn. *Petronius*, though then addreſs'd to by many others upon the ſame account, gave the preference to *Herod*'s requeſt, and ſent him the ſupply wanted.

Herod, on receipt of the corn, laid his people under a new obligation, by taking care to deal it out with no other than a generous regard to their wants and neceſſities. He likewiſe diſtributed among them great quantities of wool, which he had before imported from foreigns parts, in order to new-clothe themſelves againſt the approaching winter. After having thus liberally provided for his own ſubjects, he next ſent a ſufficient relief to the *Syrians*, his neighbours.

This beneficence of *Herod* coming in ſo fit a ſeaſon, made the countries far and near reſound with his praiſes; and could he have had grace enough to have travelled on in a road of virtue, he might, notwithſtanding his former cruelties, have regain'd the love of his ſubjects, and reign'd in their hearts to his dying day. But theſe charities being only due to a tranſitory change in his own temper, without proceeding from the firm and right motive of religion and goodneſs, he ſoon return'd, with the dog and the ſow, to his old deteſtable courſe.

Auguſtus being about this time informed that *Arabia* was rich in mines of gold and ſilver, ſent *Ælius Gallus* with ten thouſand men againſt the ſouthern part of it, giving him an order either to conquer it, or make an advantageous treaty of commerce with them. *Herod* contributed, towards this undertaking, five hundred choſen men, out of his own guards, who were of excellent ſervice to *Gallus* in a country where every thing conſpired to make him unfortunate. To theſe were added a thouſand more, conducted by *Syllæus* from *Obodas*, king of the *Nabathæan Arabians*.

Ælius Gallus had reſolv'd to lead his men through the territories of *Obodas*, but the crafty *Syllæus* making him to believe that there was no getting thither ſafely but by ſea, he therefore (after much time loſt in preparing a fleet) embark'd his army at *Cleopatris*, a port lying at the bottom of the *Arabian* gulph, or *Red Sea*, and thence ſail'd to *Leucocome*, a town of the *Nabathæans*, ſituated on the eaſtern ſide of the ſame ſea. On his arrival (after this dangerous voyage, which had deſtroyed ſeveral of his ſhips), his whole army fell into a diſeaſe incident to that country, which obliged him to defer the expedition to another ſeaſon.

About the cloſe of winter *Gallus* took his rout, and after having journey'd ſix tedious months, through the treacherous contrivance of *Syllæus*, came at laſt into that part of *Arabia* which was the ſubject of his commiſſion: But the better part of his army being, by fatigue, heat, unwholeſome air, water, and fruits of the earth, cut off, and deſtroyed, he could perform nothing for want of men to ſupport him. Hereupon, returning under the direction of other guides, he got back to *Leucocome* in ſixty days, and thence putting to ſea, arrived in eleven days more on the coaſt of *Ægypt*. And thus ended this expedition, after a fruitleſs purſuit of it for two years together.

Whilſt theſe things were thus unſucceſsful in *Arabia*, *Canadace*, queen of *Æthiopia*, made an inroad into *Ægypt*; and taking *Syena*, with many other places on the borders, carried back all ſhe met with into captivity. On notice hereof, *Petronius* forthwith purſued her, and marching upwards of eight hundred miles within *Æthiopia*, conquered wherever he came, deſtroying *Napata*, the chief city of the kingdom, and making himſelf maſter of every place that he paſs'd. But, at laſt, meeting with unpaſſable ſands, and being already wearied out with the intolerable heat of the weather, he was obliged to think of a retreat. He left, however, four hundred men in *Premnis*, which is a very ſtrong fortreſs, in order to ſecure ſome poſſeſſion in the country; and then returning with many thouſands of captives, came to *Alexandria*, where he ſold all the priſoners for his own uſe, except a thouſand of their chiefs, whom he ſent as a preſent to *Auguſtus*.

In the mean time, the ſenate of *Rome* had been complimenting *Auguſtus* at a very ſtrange rate: They paſs'd a decree, which exalted him above the laws, and made his own will and pleaſure alone the rule and meaſure of his government. And this, and many other decrees, were unanimouſly now conferr'd upon him with a real view rather to flatter than honour him, by thoſe who were his own ſycophants, as well as thoſe that in their hearts oppoſed him; ſelf-intereſt made the firſt his ſlaves, and ſelf-preſervation bid the latter (which were but a few in number) be ſilent in a caſe that exceeded their power to remedy.

During theſe ſweetenings at *Rome*, *Herod* fell in love with a moſt beautiful young woman (whoſe name was *Mariamne*), daughter to one *Simon*, an ordinary prieſt at *Jeruſalem*; but in regard *Simon* was not in a rank that might entitle him to ſo great an alliance, he turn'd out the high-prieſt, and then putting *Simon* in his room, eſpouſed his daughter. And having now got another *Mariamne* to help to wear out the memory of her that he had unjuſtly murder'd, and enjoying, likewiſe, a profound quiet, both at home and abroad, he diverted himſelf with erecting a moſt noble and lofty palace upon the higheſt ground of the city. In it were contriv'd two grand apartments of ſurprizing magnificence, to one of which he gave the name of *Auguſtus*, and to the other that of *Agrippa*.

Phraates, king of *Parthia*, who had a ſecond time been expell'd the country by *Tiridates*, having, by the help of the *Scythians*, recover'd his kingdom; *Tiridates* was again forced to run for ſhelter to *Auguſtus*. At the ſame time, ambaſſadors came from *Phraates*, requiring *Auguſtus* to deliver up to him his rebel ſubjects, and to ſend him back his own ſon. *Auguſtus* could not be induc'd to the delivery of *Tiridates* and his adherents, who had put themſelves into his protection; but he agreed to ſend home *Phraates* his ſon, provided he would condeſcend to reſtore the captives and enſigns which the *Parthians* had ſeiz'd in battle from *Craſſus* and *Anthony*. *Phraates*'s love to his ſon made him accept the condition, but he did not fulfil it till three years after; that, *Auguſtus* being in *Syria*, the terror of his name frighten'd him into compliance.

Auguſtus being taken dangerouſly ill, and having tried numbers of ſlops to no purpoſe, was at laſt cur'd by *Antonius Muſa*, his own phyſician, with the help of the cold bath, and cooling potions; for which eminent ſervice, the ſenate did him great honours, as well as gave him great rewards. And this extraordinary ſucceſs emboldening the doctor to renew the ſame practice upon others, the next that fell under his hands was *Marcellus*, nephew and ſon-in-law to *Auguſtus*, a young gentleman of great merit, and deſign'd by *Auguſtus* to ſucceed him in the empire: *Antonius Muſa*, I ſay, tried the ſame experiment upon *Marcellus*, and precipitated his death, to the inexpreſſible loſs of the *Roman* ſtate, as well as *Auguſtus*.

Herod having ſent the two ſons, that he had by the late *Mariamne*, to *Rome* for their education, *Auguſtus*, in reſpect to their father, gave them apartments in his own palace, and, beſides, made him a preſent of the territories of *Trachonitis*, *Auranitis*, and *Batanæa*, which have, for their boundary, mount *Libanus* on the north, and the country of *Peræa* on the ſouth; authorizing him, likewiſe, to ſettle the right to his dominions upon any one of his ſons that he liked beſt. *Herod*, on this new addition to his eſtates, marched with a ſufficient number of men againſt the robbers, who grievouſly diſtreſs'd and plunder'd thoſe provinces which *Auguſtus* had given him: And there having found out their hiding places, taken and kill'd many of them, and drove the reſt out of the country, he ſoon reſtor'd peace and quiet to all thoſe parts.

Herod, in acknowledment of the many favours he had receiv'd of *Auguſtus*, built ſeveral towns, and erected temples in honour of him; but theſe latter, becauſe he had no mind to give farther offence to the *Jews*, were rais'd in the provinces annex'd to *Judæa*. He likewiſe built, at the place where the tower of *Straton* ſtood, a moſt ſtately city, together with an extraordinary palace all of white marble, and the richeſt architecture. Every particular houſe in it was adorned with nicety of art; and, becauſe it was ſituated upon the coaſt of the *Mediterranean* ſea, between *Joppa* and *Dora*, he furniſh'd the city with many noble warehouſes, for the conveniency of merchants: And whereas that port had before been of dangerous conſequence to ſhipping, he contrived it ſo as to make it a fit harbour for a great fleet to ride ſafe in. Here, upon a riſing ground, in the midſt of the city, he built a temple of great height, and in it put two ſtatues, one repreſenting the city of *Rome*, and the other *Auguſtus*. He made, likewiſe, a theatre and an amphitheatre, for the entertainment of the people. This city (which he called *Cæſarea*, out of reſpect to *Auguſtus*), and the works about it, were twelve years a finiſhing, and coſt him an incredible ſum of money.

Auguſtus's daughter *Julia* being now a widow by the death of *Marcellus*, *Mæcenas*, in a private conference with *Auguſtus*, ſpoke to him in theſe words: *You have, Sir,* ſaid he, *raiſed your chief favourite* Agrippa *to ſo high a ſtation, that you have reduced yourſelf to the unavoidable neceſſity of chuſing one of theſe two things; either to marry him to your daughter, or condemn him to death.* *Auguſtus* contented himſelf with the firſt branch of that alternative, or one of two; and therefore ſending for *Agrippa*, and ordering him to divorce his wife, who was the daughter of *Octavia*, *Auguſtus*'s own ſiſter, he gave him in marriage *Julia*, his daughter.

After this, *Auguſtus* paſſing from *Sicily* into *Greece*, and from thence taking his way into the iſles, ſpent his winter at *Samos*. Here he received an embaſſy from her majeſty of *Æthiopia*. She had ineffectually endeavoured to recover *Premnis* out of the hands of the *Roman* garriſon, and therefore ſent her ambaſſadors to *Petronius* to intreat a peace. He told them he could do nothing in it; they muſt go to *Cæſar*. But they making anſwer, that they did not know who *Cæſar* was, he gave them a ſafe conduct to *Auguſtus*, who granted them the peace they wanted, and ſent them home into their own country.

Auguſtus having early in the ſpring arriv'd in *Syria*, had a petition preſented to him by many of the inhabitants of *Gadara*, wherein they accus'd *Herod* of tyranny and oppreſſion. *Herod*, without ſhewing the leaſt mark of concern, or alteration in his countenance, was coming forward to make his defence, when *Auguſtus* (who ſeem'd to take but an indifferent notice of their complaints) roſe up to receive *Herod*, with great teſtimonies of friendſhip; which had ſuch an effect upon his accuſers, that the very ſame night they all kill'd themſelves. Strange madneſs! that the fear of death ſhould make men run into the arms of death.

Theſe people having thus murder'd themſelves, *Auguſtus* look'd upon that abominable act as a ſelf-condemnation, and a publick acknowledgment of their guilt; and therefore honourably acquitted *Herod*. And becauſe *Zenodorus* had been the chief promoter of this accuſation, *Auguſtus* beſtow'd upon *Herod* all the lands and goods that he died poſſeſs'd of; and, to add yet farther honour to him, rais'd him into an equal authority with the preſident of *Syria*, commanding that no affairs within that province ſhould be tranſacted without his particular direction and advice. Beſides, at *Herod*'s earneſt deſire, he gave to *Pheroras*, his brother, a government in thoſe parts. And *Herod* (who would let no part of *Auguſtus*'s bounty to him go without ſome traces of his gratitude) built on *Zenodorus*'s lands a ſpacious temple, and ſeveral other heatheniſh monuments, in honour of *Auguſtus*, but to the great offence of all the nation of the *Jews*.

Herod being very ſenſible that theſe his doings were a downright contradiction to the religion of the *Jews*, took great pains to convince them that they did not proceed from his own inclination, but the poſitive command of *Auguſtus*; and, to ſweeten this bitter draught the more, he diſcharged a third part of all taxes, pretending to be moved thereto out of a compaſſionate regard to the miſeries that the late famine had brought upon his people. He likewiſe kept frequent aſſembles, and made great entertainments at *Jeruſalem*, in order to play away their grievances, and divert their minds from thinking upon affairs of ſtate.

But ſtill ſuſpicion, which was ever an inſeparable companion to *Herod*, would not let him reſt in the above methods, till it made him add ſome proofs of a little mind, which undid the whole. He diſpers'd ſpies in every corner of *Jeruſalem*, as well as in all other places ſubject to his authority, with a power to take into cuſtody ſuch perſons as reflected upon his government. He would often, likewiſe, diſguiſe himſelf of a night, and mix with the people, that he might the eaſier learn their ſentiments, with relation to the ſtate; and finding, by this low cunning, that the diſaffection againſt him was almoſt general, he then forbid all clubs, feaſts, and meetings, whatſoever. Such as condemn'd his conduct, were with great ſeverity puniſh'd; and thoſe whom he but ſuſpected, he bound up with an oath of fidelity.

Auguſtus being now in *Syria*, he was waited upon by an embaſſy from the king of *Parthia*, who had it in charge to reſtore to him all the captives and enſigns which had formerly been taken from *Craſſus* and *Anthony*; and, beſides, to deliver to him four of king *Phraates*'s ſons, with all their families, as a teſtimony that he meant faithfully to obſerve the terms of peace he now required of him. The conditions were accordingly accepted, and mutually ſign'd.

Phraates, king of *Parthia*, who had no reaſon to fear *Auguſtus*, could he have only liv'd in a good underſtanding with his own ſubjects, was principally moved to this peace by *Thermuſa*, a beautiful woman, whom *Auguſtus* had ſome time before ſent him; which lady having brought him a ſon, and being hereupon raiſed to be his wife, became afterwards ſo much the better perſon of the two, that ſhe would needs interpoſe in all affairs of ſtate, and rule them, too, as ſhe thought fit. To the end, therefore, that ſhe might effectually debar *Phraates*'s four ſons, and their iſſue, from the crown, and ſettle it upon her own ſon, ſhe induced *Phraates* to the above diſhonourable expedient of delivering them up to *Auguſtus*. And to reward her huſband for this infamous condeſcenſion, her ſon, whoſe name was *Phraatices*, no ſooner grew up, but ſhe wickedly poiſon'd her huſband, to promote *Phraatices* to the throne.

The people of *Armenia* having at this time ſollicited *Auguſtus* to ſend them a ſufficient power, that might enable them to drive *Artaxias*, who then reigned over them with great cruelty and oppreſſion, out of the kingdom, and advance *Tigranes*, his younger brother, to the throne; *Auguſtus*, in compliance with their requeſt, ſent *Tiberius*, the ſon of his wife *Livia* by her firſt huſband, with an army, to their aſſiſtance. But before *Tiberius* could arrive, the *Armenians* had done the buſineſs, by cutting off the king, and conferring the crown upon his younger brother.

Auguſtus being now return'd to *Samos*, where he paſs'd another winter, on his leaving the place, he made them a preſent of their liberty, complimenting them with the freedom of the city of *Rome*, in conſideration of the liberal and hearty entertainment they had given him.

Auguſtus, on his arrival at *Rome*, was welcomed with a general affection; and what heightened their joy was, that they ſaw the priſoners and enſigns, which had long been in the hands of the *Parthians*, now at laſt reſtor'd to *Rome*. Theſe they valued at a very high rate, and therefore they built and devoted a temple to *Mars*, and in it hung up thoſe enſigns. Nor was *Auguſtus* himſelf a little proud upon this occaſion, as appears from abundance of his coins, which may ſtill be met with, carrying upon them theſe words, *Signis receptis*, that is to ſay, *Enſigns recover'd*.

Herod, with all his art, tried at this time to have an oath of fidelity impoſed upon all his ſubjects; but meeting with a general oppoſition, and, particularly, from the ſect of the *Eſſens*, he gave himſelf no farther trouble about it. He had a particular regard to the ſect of the *Eſſens*, becauſe one of them, whoſe name was *Manahem*, had foretold him, when he was a boy, that he ſhould be king. *Herod*, in thoſe days, thought it was a thing impoſſible, and therefore received the news with a ſmile; but when he ſaw himſelf afterwards exalted to the throne, he called for *Manahem*, and demanded of him if he ſhould reign ten years; and *Manahem* having made anſwer, *Yea, twenty, yea, thirty*; *Herod* ſeemed mightily pleaſed, and, for the future, had the ſect of the *Eſſens* in great eſteem.

The eighteenth year of *Herod*'s reign was greatly diſtinguiſhed by the reſolution he took to rebuild the temple at *Jeruſalem*. This deſign, he thought, would at once make his name immortal, and re-eſtabliſh him in the love of the people. But fearing leſt the *Jews*, aſtoniſhed at the greatneſs of the enterprize, ſhould throw ſome obſtacles in the way, he call'd a general aſſembly of them, and open'd his mind to the following purpoſe: *After the many great things I have done towards advancing the real intereſt and glory of the nation, there remains one thing to do, which is yet of greater importance than all the reſt, becauſe it immediately regards the worſhip of God, and the advancement of religion. You are ſenſible that the temple our anceſtors built on their return from* Babylon, *was infinitely exceeded by that of* Solomon, *in height, beauty, and magnificence; nor can this* *defect of our preſent temple be charged upon 'em: They wanted neither zeal nor good-will to render it equal to the firſt. But being then the ſubjects of* Cyrus *and* Darius, *they were under a force not to go beyond the rules preſcribed them. The caſe is quite different now; we enjoy a ſerene peace with all the world, we abound in riches, we are invincible, through the friendſhip of the* Romans. *Permit me, therefore, to give the finiſhing ſtroke to this great work; and, as a pledge of my ſincerity, I aſſure you I will not touch the old temple, till I have got all things in readineſs for building the new one.*

Having thus obtained the conſent of the *Jews*, nothing was omitted that could in any manner forward the work. A thouſand waggons were forthwith hired to carry ſtones and wood, and a thouſand prieſts, who were knowing men in the art of the maſon, as well as the carpenter, had their expences defrayed by *Herod* for the ſake of overſeeing ten thouſand workmen that were buſied in preparations neceſſary for the building. And ſuch was his diligence in this affair, that in two years time he had got every thing ready to begin the work. He therefore pull'd down the old temple, and laid the foundations of the new one, juſt about forty-ſix years before the firſt paſſover of our bleſſed Saviour's perſonal miniſtry, when the *Jeus* told him, *Forty and ſix years hath this temple been* (for ſo it ought to be tranſlated) *in building*. For though the temple, in nine years and a half, was made in ſome meaſure fit for divine ſervice, yet during all the time that our Saviour remained here on earth, numbers of workmen and labourers were employ'd in finiſhing the out-buildings of it; nor were they diſcontinued till *Geſſius Florus* was made governor of *Judæa*.

Julia, the daughter of *Auguſtus*, having, in three year's time, born two ſons to *Agrippa*, *viz. Caius* and *Lucius*, *Auguſtus*, on the birth of the latter, adopted them both for his ſons, and ſettled the ſucceſſion upon them. The declaring of them heirs of his empire, would, he thought, be an effectual means to keep all things in quiet, as well as prevent all conſpiracies againſt his perſon.

About this time, *Herod* came to *Rome* to make his compliments to *Auguſtus*, and ſee his ſons, who were now pretty much improved in their learning. *Auguſtus* welcomed him with great marks of eſteem, and deliver'd his ſons to him, to be carried back into *Judæa*. Theſe two princes, *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, on their arrival, receiv'd all poſſible expreſſions of joy and reſpect from the people. In their features, and in the beauty, air, and majeſty of their perſons, they much reſembled their unfortunate mother *Mariamne*; and their inward worth, and dignity of ſpirit, equall'd their outward aſpect. *Herod*'s ſiſter *Salome*, and thoſe others her accomplices who had contributed to the death of their mother, were overwhelmed with fear at the ſight of theſe two princes: They could not help thinking, for guilt and ſuſpicion look always through a magnifying glaſs, that they would one day revenge the death of their mother. They therefore reſolved to bring about their ruin, by the ſame methods which they had tried, and found effectual, againſt *Mariamne*. They induſtriouſly ſpread a report, that *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus* bore an inveterate ſpite to the king, for having dipp'd his hands in the blood of his own wife, their mother. It would not be proper, they thought, for any of themſelves to accoſt *Herod* with ſuch a ſtory; but, when it came from a multitude of other hands, it would inſenſibly pierce into his heart, and at laſt diſpoſe him to work their deſtruction.

In the mean time *Herod* provided wives for theſe two princes. He married *Alexander* to *Glaphyra*, the daughter of *Archelaus*, king of *Cappadocia*; and gave *Ariſtobulus* in marriage *Berenice*, the daughter of his ſiſter *Salome*. After this, hearing that *Agrippa* had arrived in *Aſia*, he inſtantly ſet out upon a viſit to him; where having, with a becoming importunity, prevail'd upon *Agrippa* to come into *Judæa*, and receive the honours of his kingdom, on his arrival, he treated him and his retinue with all imaginable grandeur and magnificence. He firſt gave him a view of all the new cities and fortreſſes he had built, and then conducted him to *Jeruſalem*, where the whole city, in their fineſt apparel, came out to receive him, and, in a grand proceſſion, attended him, with ſhouts and acclamations, to the palace. *Agrippa*, by the hands of the *Jewiſh* prieſts, offer'd an hecatomb (which is a ſacrifice of an hundred victims) at the temple, and made a general entertainment for the people; and was ſo highly delighted with the frank and hearty welcome he met with, that he expreſs'd a great deſire to have continued longer with them. But the near approach of the winter making that impracticable, he was in a few days obliged to repair to his ſhips, and ſail back again to *Ionia*.

Polemon, upon whom the *Romans* had beſtowed the crown of *Pontus*, and the *Leſſer Armenia*, being ſent by *Agrippa* againſt *Scribonius*, who had, by a falſe title, uſurped the kingdom of the *Cimmarian Boſporus*; on his arrival thither, he found the people had put *Scribonius* to death; notwithſtanding this, they could not be brought to ſubmit to *Polemon*. Hereupon, *Agrippa* begun his journey againſt them with all his forces; in the mean time, *Herod*, inform'd of his deſign, immediately ſet out with all his fleet and power, to aſſiſt him; and having join'd him at *Sinope*, a city in *Pontus*, gave *Agrippa* a moſt agreeable ſurprize at ſeeing himſelf reinforced with ſuch a ſeaſonable relief. For, till *Herod* arriv'd, he was in ſome doubt whether his ſtrength would be ſufficient to reduce the country: And *Agrippa* was ſo pleas'd with this freſh teſtimony of *Herod*'s love and gratitude to the *Romans*, that he engag'd in nothing without his advice, admitted him to all his counſels, and likewiſe made him a ſharer in his pleaſures.

Agrippa having ſoon after conquer'd the *Boſphorans*, he caus'd *Polemon* to take to wife *Dynamis*, who was the rightful heir of that kingdom; and then, with the conſent of *Auguſtus*, added *Boſphorus* to his other dominions. After *Agrippa* had finiſh'd the affairs of *Pontus*, he reſolved to hold on his journey by land for *Epheſus* in *Ionia*. He therefore order'd his rout through *Paphlagonia*, *Cappadocia*, and the higher *Phrygia*. *Herod*, wherever he paſs'd, ſhew'd great inſtances of generoſity. Such cities as were in decay, he made rich preſents to; and, for thoſe that either wanted new privileges, or a redreſs of grievances, he procur'd the friendſhip of *Agrippa*.

Herod and *Agrippa* being arriv'd in *Ionia*, a great number of *Jews* ſettled in that province and the parts adjoining (theſe were the deſcendants of the two thouſand *Jewiſh* families that *Antiochus the Great* had planted hereabouts), made an humble application to *Herod*, that they might no longer ſuffer an oppreſſion in the places where they lived, but be allowed the free exerciſe of their own law and religion, and enjoy the ſame rights and immunities which they had formerly obtain'd from the kings of *Syria*, and were afterwards renewed to them by the *Romans*. *For*, continued they, *as the caſe ſtands with us at preſent, we are under moſt extreme hardſhips, being not only forced to keep the feſtival days of the* Heathens, *and ſubmit to all their laws, but alſo to go on all military expeditions, and contribute to publick charges: And theſe wrongs effectually diſable us from ſending to* Jeruſalem *the money we are in duty bound to lay out upon holy uſes.*

Herod ſtrenuouſly took the part of the *Jews*, and having appointed them an advocate, who learnedly pleaded their right, and baffled the objections of their enemies, hereupon got *Agrippa* to confirm the *Jews* in their ancient rights and liberties, and, alſo, to paſs an order that no one ſhould moleſt them for the future. After this, *Herod* took his leave of *Agrippa*, and ſetting out for *Lesbos*, arrived at *Cæſarea*, where, having ſtayed a few days, he then returned to *Jeruſalem*. On his coming thither, he call'd an aſſembly of the people, and having there given them an account of what he had ſucceſsfully atchieved, whilſt abroad, he broke up the meeting with releaſing them from one fourth part of their taxes; which was an act of benevolence that did not fail of being received with great joy and gratitude.

Herod having rooted out the old ſanhedrim, erected a new one of ſuch perſons as he thought he could depend upon, conſtituting *Hillel* preſident, and *Shammai* vice-preſident of it. This *Hillel*, or *Pollio*, as *Joſephus* calls him, was a man that ſhined very much among the *Jewiſh* doctors, for birth, learning, ſway, and poſterity. By the mother's ſide he was lineally deſcended of the royal houſe of *David*; his learning is by the *Jewiſh* writers advanced into the firſt rank of all their ancient doctors. He continued firſt magiſtrate of that nation for forty years together, and was ſo particularly fortunate, as to have his family inherit his great parts for ſeveral generations, as well as ſucceed to the ſame degree of honour; they becoming preſidents of the ſanhedrim from father to ſon, to the tenth deſcent: For to him ſucceeded his ſon *Simeon*, who was the ſame who took our Saviour in his arms on his being firſt preſented in the temple, and ſung over him his *Nunc dimittis*. After *Simeon*, preſided his ſon *Gamaliel*, about the time that *Peter* and the apoſtles were ſummoned before that council, *Acts* v. 34. being the very man at whoſe feet *Paul* was educated in the traditions and literature of the *Phariſees*, *Acts* xxii. 3. The *Jewiſh* writers call him *Gamaliel* the old, becauſe he attained to a great age, dying but eighteen years before the final deſolation of *Jeruſalem*. After him came *Simeon* his ſon; then *Gamaliel*, the ſecond, his ſon; to whom ſucceeded *Simeon*, the third of that name: The next ſucceſſor was *R. Judah Hakkadoſh*, his ſon, who was the author of the *Miſhna*, and it is therefore greatly reſpected by the *Jewiſh* nation: To him ſucceeded *Gemaliel* the third, his ſon; and, next, his ſon *Judah Gemaricus*; and, after him, his ſon *Hillel* the ſecond, who compos'd the preſent calendar of the *Jewiſh* year. But how long after this laſt man the office remain'd in that family, we have no where an account.

Hillel having educated above a thouſand ſcholars in the ſtudy of the law, thirty of 'em are allow'd, by the *Jewiſh* writers, to be worthy on whom the divine glory ſhould reſt, as it did upon *Moſes*. And of theſe thirty, the perſons moſt eminent were *Jonathan Ben Uzziel*, and *Onkelos*; the former compiled the *Chaldæan* paraphaſe upon the prophets, and the latter compoſed the *Chaldæan* paraphraſe upon the law: Which two performances are the moſt ancient books the *Jews* have, next the *Hebrew* ſcriptures, and contribute very much towards the opening and explaining of many paſſages, both in the old teſtament, and in the new one. In the firſt place, they prove the preſent *Hebrew* text, of the old teſtament, to be genuine, by convincing us that it is the very ſame which was in uſe when theſe *Targums*, or tranſlations, were made. They likewiſe gave a light into many particular words and phraſes, which we ſhould otherwiſe be at a loſs to underſtand; and tranſmit to us many *Jewiſh* rites and cuſtoms, which are of ſervice to the clearer underſtanding of thoſe ſcriptures on which they were written. And theſe, at the ſame time, by the peculiar forms of expreſſion contain'd in them, ſerve alſo for the illuſtrating many things in the new teſtament: For the *Jeruſalem*, *Chaldæan* dialect, in which they are compiled, having been the vulgar *Jewiſh* language in our Saviour's time, and abundance of its idioms and proper ways of ſpeech being then tranſfuſed into the new teſtament; theſe *Targums*, which abound with the ſame phraſiologies, muſt of conſequence afford the beſt helps to explain them.

I make no account of their other *Targums*, in regard they are of a much later date, and patched together in a very barbarous ſtyle; but theſe pharapraſes of *Onkelos*, on the law, and *Jonathan* on the prophets, which were writen but a little ſpace before the incarnation of our Saviour, ought to be valued by every *Chriſtian*, and loudly appealed to in all conferences about the meſſiah, againſt the infidel *Jews*. For theſe two writers have been always

ways own'd, by the moſt learned amongſt them, to be of equal authority with the ſacred word it ſelf.

And for this reaſon I ſhall produce a few inſtances, out of many, wherein theſe *Targums* give ſuch convincing proofs of the truth of *Chriſtianity*, as none can withſtand, but thoſe who ſhut their eyes that they may not ſee the light.

The ſentence that the great God pronounceth againſt the ſerpent, *Gen.* iii. 15. *It ſhall bruiſe thy head, and thou ſhalt bruiſe his heal*; is interpreted, by *Chriſtians*, of the meſſiah and his kingdom; and *Jonathan*'s *Targum* on the law explains it in the ſame manner.

Jacob's propheſy, *Gen.* xlix. 10. *The ſcepter ſhall not depart from* Judah, *nor a law giver from between his feet, until* Shiloh *come; and unto him ſhall the gathering of the people be*---- is, to us *Chriſtans*, an irrefragable proof of the meſſiah's being long ſince come, in regard that from the days of *Jeſus Chriſt*, the true meſſiah, the royal ſcepter hath been diſcontinued among them, and no one from between their feet, that is, deſcended of that people, has ever ſince been legally authoriz'd to adminiſter juſtice among them: Being from the time of our bleſſed Saviour depriv'd of their princes and their laws, and govern'd only by ſtrangers, and the laws of ſtrangers. And to the ſame expreſs purpoſe are the words of *Onkelos* upon this text: *There ſhall not*, ſaith he, *be taken away from* Judah *one having the principality, nor the* Scribe *from the ſons of his children, till the meſſiah ſhall come.* *Jonathan*'s *Targum* gives the ſame explication; for both of them render *ſhebet* by the word principality, and declare *ſhiloh* to be the meſſiah.

Balaam's prophecy, *There ſhall come a ſtar out of* Jacob, *and a ſcepter ſhall riſe out of* Iſrael, *and ſhall bear rule* (*deſtroy*, our *Engliſh* bible has it; but it is wrong tranſlated) *over all the children of* Seth: Is explained by *Onkelos* in his *Targum*, after the ſame manner that we *Chriſtians* underſtand it, *viz.* of the meſſiah. His words are, *A king ſhall riſe out of the houſe of* Jacob, *and the meſſiah ſhall be anointed out of the houſe of* Iſrael, *who ſhall rule over all the ſons of men.* *Jonathan* in his *Targum*, or verſion, gives alſo the ſame interpretation, and both of them rightly tranſlate the words, *all the children of* Seth, by the phraſe *all the ſons of men*: Which is an infallible evidence that the kingdom of the meſſiah was not deſcribed by this propheſy as a partial dominion that ſhould extend no farther than the *Jews*; but as a monarchy that excluded no man that would but believe, and accept ſalvation.

Iſaiah's prophecy, chap. ix. 6,7. which runs in theſe words, *Unto us a child is born, unto us a ſon is given, and the government ſhall be upon his ſhoulder, and his name ſhall be called wonderful, counſellor, the mighty God, the everlaſting father, the prince of peace; of the increaſe of his government there ſhall be no end, upon the throne of* David, *and upon his kingdom to order it, and to eſtabliſh it with judgment, and with juſtice, from hence forth, even for ever*: Is by *Jonathan*, in his *Targum*, as we *Chriſtians* maintain, poſitively aſcribed to the meſſiah.

In like manner, the 11th chapter of *Iſaiah*, which, in the judgment of us *Chriſtians*, ſpeaks of the meſſiah, and the ſerene ſtate and bleſſedneſs of his kingdom; is twice, that is, on the firſt verſe, and on the ſixth, by *Jonathan* literally attributed to the meſſiah.

And the whole tenor of the 52d chapter of *Iſaiah*, from the 7th verſe of it to the end of the 53d chapter, being a manifeſt and uninterrupted prediction of *Jeſus Chriſt* our Lord, as St. *John* in his goſpel, chap. xii. ver. 38. and St. *Paul* to the *Romans*, chap. x. ver. 16. have inſtructed us; *Jonathan* in his *Targum*, which was writ before our Saviour's time, and therefore is an invincible evidence againſt the *Jews*, explains it of the meſſiah at the 13th verſe of the 52d chapter, and alſo at the 10th verſe of the 53d.

The prophecy of *Micah*, chap. v. ver. 2. *But thou* Beth-lehem Ephratah, *though thou be little among the thouſands of* Judah, *yet out of thee ſhall he come forth unto me, that is, to be ruler in* Iſrael; *whoſe going forth have been from of old, from everlaſting*; all *Chriſtians* have ever referr'd to the meſſiah: As did the chief prieſts and ſcribes of the *Jews*, when commanded by *Herod the Great* to give their opinion upon this text. And *Jonathan*, who made one among thoſe doctors whom *Herod* conſulted upon this occaſion, has render'd the text thus: *Out of thee ſhall come forth before me the meſſiah, who ſhall exerciſe ſovereign rule over* Iſrael.

Pſalm lxxii, and xlv, and particularly the ſecond *Pſalm*, is by all *Chriſtians* ancient as well as modern, applied to the meſſiah, whoſe kingdom, according to *David*'s prophecy, has been gloriouſly eſtabliſhed, notwithſtanding all the perſecution it met with from the *Jews* and other infidel powers of the earth. And the *Targums* underſtand theſe *Pſalms* in the ſame ſenſe that we do.

The *Jews*, in order to evade the force of theſe arguments deduc'd from the abovemention'd *Targums*, which they all acknowledge to be of equal authority with the ſacred writ; have recourſe to ſuch low ſhifts, as even a ſchool-boy would be aſham'd of: And therefore I ſhall not trouble the reader with a repetition of them. The truth of the matter is, all the diſlike that the preſent *Jews* entertain againſt *Chriſtianity*, proceeds from the ſame reaſon, which their anceſtors objected againſt *Moſes*, *viz.* Where is the inheritance of fields and vineyards that was promiſed to us? *Numb.* xvi. 14. their groveling hearts are nail'd to the earth, and the periſhing enjoyments in it, whilſt they deſpiſe an eternal reality, of which theſe things were but the figure. But would they conſider their law in that ſpiritual and heavenly ſenſe for which it was originally intended, they would ſoon be brought to acknowledge, with us, that every title, and *Iota* of it, has been compleatly verified and fulfilled in the glorious reign of our meſſiah, our *Iſaac* that was offered up in ſacrifice for us; our *Joſeph*, that was ſold for our ſpiritual preſervation;

our *Moſes*, that has redeem'd us from the worſe than *Ægyptian* bondage of ſin and hell, and continues to guide us ſafely through the wilderneſs of this miſerable life; and our *Joſhua*, who alone can give us an happy entrance into the heavenly *Canaan*. In a word, the wonderful harmony between the law and the goſpel, is of it ſelf a conviction to any one that allows his reaſon the liberty to examine it.

The high-prieſt of *Rome* dying about this time, *Auguſtus* thought fit to poſſeſs himſelf of that office. Among other things that fell under his care and examination, were the ſibylline oracles, which now made a very great noiſe, and were in the hands of every body. The authors of theſe propheſies were ten women, and called ſibyls, from the eldeſt of them, whoſe name was *Sibylla*. And there was nothing amongſt the *Romans* which they kept with a more religious care, than their prophetick books. But theſe books, during the civil wars of *Marius* and *Sylla*, being deſtroy'd and burnt with the capitol about eighty-three years before the birth of our Saviour; this accident put the ſenate upon a reſolution to reſtore them in the beſt manner they could. To this purpoſe, therefore, they ſent three ambaſſadors to *Erythræ* in *Ionia*, where the moſt noted woman of all the ſibyls was born; who having collected from private hands all the propheſies they could get, return'd with them to *Rome*. The ſenate, likewiſe, ſent to numbers of other places in the iſles, *Greece*, and *Africa*, as well as in *Italy*, and thence had brought them all propheſies that paſs'd under the names of ſibyls.

This care of the ſenate, to repair the loſs of the ſibylline books, gave ſuch a character and weight to their propheſies, that all the world enquired after them, and purchaſed copies of them. And thus it was that *Virgil* had his ſibylline propheſy of the coming of our Saviour, which propheſy we gave an account of ſome pages before.

But, in regard the uſe the ſenate intended to make of them, was much defeated by their being common, *Auguſtus*, on his entering into the office of high-prieſt, call'd in ſo many copies of thoſe books, as amounted to a multitude of volumes; and having burnt two thouſand of them, reſerved only ſuch as were reckoned genuine, and bore the name of one or other of the moſt famous ſibyls. And theſe oracles, while *Rome* continued heathen, were always conſulted in their caſes of difficulty; for after the coming of our Saviour, the great ſovereign and abſolute governor of truth, all other oracles being put to ſilence, they could have recourſe to nothing elſe for divination but the above ſibylline books, *Virgil*'s lots, or other heatheniſh abſurdities of the like nature.

And thus, for the ſpace of eighty years before the birth of *Chriſt*, theſe prophecies had continued in the hands of the vulgar. Among ſeveral of them, which foretold the coming of the meſſiah, and the glory of his kingdom, we have, in the preceeding part of this work, taken notice of two, *viz.* one mentioned by *Virgil*, and the other by *Julius Marathus*, in theſe words, That nature was about to bring forth a ſon that ſhould be king of the *Romans*. Here nature it ſelf, that is to ſay, the great author of nature, is acknowledged to be the ſole cauſe of the birth. Theſe two propheſies run in general terms, but there were others that pointed out the people, of whom the meſſiah ſhould deſcend, as well as the country where he ſhould be born; as appears from *Tacitus*, who, ſpeaking of *Veſpaſian*'s making war againſt the *Jews*, tell us, that a firm belief had obtained among very many, that, according to the ancient books of the prieſts, it ſhould about this time come to paſs that the eaſt ſhould carry the day, and there ſhould ſpring out of *Judæa* thoſe who would become maſters of the whole world. And *Suetonius*, in his account of the ſame time, expreſſes himſelf in theſe words, A ſettled and firm opinion had prevail'd all over the eaſt, that it was an unalterable decree of fate that the eaſt ſhould prevail, and that thoſe who ſhould ariſe out of *Judæa*, ſhould obtain the monarchy of the world. Theſe propheſies are by the abovementioned *Roman* hiſtorians ſaid to be fulfill'd in *Veſpaſian*, but without any manner of foundation; they being only applicable to the beginning of our Saviour's kingdom, the glory of which commenced to diffuſe it ſelf ſome years before the call of *Veſpaſian* out of *Judæa* to ſit at the helm of *Rome*, which was but a petty part of the world; and, beſides, *Veſpaſian* was not a native of *Judæa*.

It was the pleaſure of the great king of kings, that the perſonal appearance of his almighty ſon ſhould by theſe propheſies be proclaimed, and come to the knowledge of the *Heathens*; the devils themſelves, who preſided in theſe *Pagan* oracles, being, before they quitted their habitations, compell'd to declare him.

Whilſt *Auguſtus* was employ'd in reviſing and examining the ſibylline books, there was nothing but diſtraction and trouble in the family of *Herod*; guilt would not let *Salome* reſt, till ſhe had brought *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus* under the diſpleaſure of *Herod*. Theſe two princes, when in company with *Salome*, or *Pheroras* her brother, could not help dropping a few words, from which might by a ſmall inference be gather'd that they were reſolved one day to revenge the death of their mother; and they would ſometimes, when the diſcourſe led them to remember their mother, be hurried into indecent reflections againſt *Herod*, and with great bitterneſs accuſe his cruelty for having without cauſe put her to death.

Salome and *Pheroras*, who well knew the inward burnings of their heart, took all the opportunities they could meet with to raiſe and inflame their paſſion, to the end they might force them to vent it in ſuch a manner, as, when repeated with an additional gloſs of their own, would bring *Herod* to an opinion that they aimed at his life. *Herod*, for a curb to their inſolence, and to bring them to more wiſe thoughts, brought *Antipater*, whom he had by his wife *Doris*, to *Jeruſalem*; but this expedient, inſtead of working the effect deſir'd, made the youths more implacable than ever, and break out into higher expreſſions of anger.

Antipater, on the other hand, made it his buſineſs to ſeize all the avenues that led to his father's affection, and left nothing untried that ſeemed to him in any degree capable to ſpirit up *Herod* againſt them. He had too much cunning to fall a railing at them himſelf,and therefore kept private and unexpected agents about the king, who were continually buzzing in his ears what the young princes had ſaid, and, for one truth reported, told twenty lies of their own.

Herod being thus beſieged by the ſly artifices of *Salome*, *Pheroras* and *Antipater* was ſoon brought to treat *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus* with great indifference and contempt. *Antipater* was loaded with new honours, and his mother *Doris* (whom *Herod* had divorced to make way for his late marriage with *Mariamne*, the prieſt's daughter), recalled to court. All *Herod*'s letters to *Auguſtus* begun now to breathe nothing but the praiſes of *Antipater*; and when *Herod* went to pay his reſpects to *Agrippa*, who had been ten years governor of *Aſia*, *Antipater* alone, of all his children, had the pleaſure to go along with him: Beſides, he prevail'd with *Agrippa* to carry *Antipater* with him to *Rome*, and introduce him into the love and friendſhip of *Auguſtus*. Which teſtimony of *Herod*'s love to him, made every body think that he deſign'd *Antipater* for his ſucceſſor in the throne.

Antipater, in whoſe hands *Herod* had lodged many rich and valuable preſents, for the uſe of *Auguſtus*, being in the company of *Agrippa*, arrived at *Rome* with ample letters of recommendation from his father to *Auguſtus*, and all others, in whom he cou'd repoſe a confidence, was every where receiv'd with all demonſtrations of honour. In the mean time, *Antipater* taking under ſerious conſideration the conſequences that might ariſe from his abſence, ceaſed not, by frequent letters, to admoniſh his father to be upon conſtant guard againſt the wicked plots of *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, and interweaving them with many invectives againſt the brothers, which he wrapp'd up under the cover of extraordinary love, concern, and duty. He at laſt brought his purpoſe to bear, and ſo incenſed *Herod* againſt them, that he no longer look'd upon them as his ſons, but as his greateſt enemies.

However, theſe diſturbances did not ſo entirely engroſs *Herod*'s thoughts, but he ſtill went on with the buildings of the temple. He had in about a year and a half from the time that the firſt ſtone was laid, built the main body of the temple, that is to ſay, the holy place, the holy of holies, and the porch or entrance which led to them; and eight years more compleated the work, according to *Herod*'s plan. And this temple continu'd ſtill to be call'd the ſecond temple, till its final ruin and deſtruction by *Titus*. For *Herod* was in this point ſo modeſt to ſay, that he had only repair'd the ſecond temple.

Titus Volumnius, and *Sentius Saturninus*, were, by *Auguſtus*, jointly nominated to ſucceed *Agrippa* in the government of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*; and *Agrippa* had orders to march againſt the *Pannonians*; who were then in rebellion againſt the ſtate. But no conſiderable action follow'd; for the military fame of *Agrippa* ſo cow'd the hearts of the rebels, that they came ſoon to an accommodation upon ſuch a footing as he thought fit to allow them.

Agrippa having thus happily ſettled affairs in *Pannonia*, ſicken'd, on his return to *Campania*, and died. He had always preſerved the principal place in *Auguſtus*'s affection, and, which was more, faithfully ſerved him. He had ever kept *Auguſtus* eaſy, with regard to the adminiſtration; his death, therefore, could not otherwiſe be receiv'd than with a ſenſible affliction. He earneſtly wiſh'd for another man like *Agrippa*, who might divide the fatigues of government with him: But his own choice being over-rul'd by his wife *Livia* (who would hear of no ſucceſſor to *Agrippa* but the lewd *Tiberius*, her own ſon by a former huſband), *Auguſtus* found himſelf obliged to accept *Tiberius*, and give him his daughter *Julia*, the widow of *Agrippa*, to wife.

Herod being now wrought up to ſuch a pitch, that he wiſh'd for nothing more than the death of *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, took a reſolution to go to *Rome*, and there give in his charge againſt them before *Auguſtus*. Having, therefore, in the year of the world 3993, embark'd with his ſons in one veſſel, he ſet out on his voyage for *Italy*; but not finding *Auguſtus* at *Rome*,he was oblig'd to follow him to *Aquileia*. And having there brought his ſons into the preſence of *Auguſtus*, he warmly accuſed them of being in a conſpiracy to poiſon him. The innocent youths were greatly ſhock'd to hear themſelves charg'd with a crime they had never once thought of, and could not help letting fall a flood of tears. At length, *Alexander*, reſuming himſelf, ſpoke out a defence in ſuch a modeſt, ſtrong, and handſome manner, as fully convinc'd *Auguſtus* of their innocence, and made him acquit them. After this, he healed up the breach between *Herod* and his ſons, and laid his commands upon them to live for the future in mutual love and union.

Herod having in acknowledgement of the emperor's kind offices begg'd him to accept three hundred talents towards defraying the large expences he was then making at *Rome*; *Auguſtus*, who could not bear to be out-done in generoſity, in return beſtow'd upon him half the revenue ariſing from the mines of *Cyprus*, together with the ſupreme direction of the whole. After this, *Herod* and his ſons made their compliments of leave to *Auguſtus*, and ſet out for *Eleuſa* in *Cilicia*, where being arrived, they had the good fortune to meet *Archelaus*, king of *Cappadocia*, who honourably received them, and expreſs'd great joy at the news of *Herod*'s being reconciled to his children.

Herod, on his coming to *Jeruſalem*, aſſembled the people, as uſual, and having laid before them the ſucceſs of his voyage,preceeded next to ſettle the ſucceſſion of the kingdom, beginning with *Antipater*, and after him entailling it on *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, the ſons of *Mariamne*. Then he concluded with an exhortation to thoſe of his own court and party, that they would in their ſeveral ſtations endeavour to procure to him the good-will and affection of his people, as the only means to promote at once his ſecurity, and their own intereſt and wealth. The wiſer and beſt part of the audience were not at all pleas'd with that branch of his diſcourſe which regarded the ſucceſſion; an ambitious hope, they thought, would unavoidably cauſe a rupture between the youths, and one time or other end in the deſtruction of ſome of them.

The city of *Cæſarea* being now finiſh'd, *Herod* made the dedication of it to *Auguſtus* with all poſſible ſplendor and magnificence, and thither invited all ſuch as excelled in any kind of feſtival exerciſes. He gave ſumptuous entertainments to the populace, and inſtituted publick games to be held there once a year, in memory of *Auguſtus*. Herod's generoſity on this occaſion appear'd in ſo extraordinary a manner, that *Auguſtus* was pleas'd to ſay, the grandeur of his mind ſo far exceeded the ſtrength and power of his crown, that he deſerved to reign over all *Syria* and *Ægypt*.

After this, he built in that part of the country which is call'd *Caphar-Saba*, a city, to which he gave the name of *Antipatris*, in memory of his father *Antipater*; and in the territories of *Jericho* he caus'd to be erected a caſtle named *Cypron*, to commemorate his mother, and a city called *Phaſaelis*, as a teſtimony of reſpect to his brother *Phaſael*. It would be endleſs to enumerate the many particulars of that munificence, or rather vanity of ſpirit, which he ſhewed in his own dominions, as well as in *Syria*, *Greece*, and all other places where he travell'd. He laid out a vaſt ſum towards finiſhing the public works at *Nicopolis*, which *Auguſtus* had founded near *Actium*. He built, repair'd, or beautify'd many *Heathen* temples, and allow'd an annual revenue for celebrating the *Olympick* games, which were much ſunk in their reputation for want of caſh to ſet them forth with ſolemnity and honour.

Theſe and other his innumerable extravagancies, reduced him below the innocent condition of the beggar; for nothing but force could relieve his wants. Daily taxes, heavy impoſitions, oppreſſion, and tyranny, were the ways and means he made uſe of to fill an empty pocket, and terror and dread, habited like ſoldiers, made the collection.

Herod had in many things before diſobliged the *Jews*. His manner of life put it paſt a diſpute that he neglected both their law and their religion. The excuſe he brought for erecting temples, and placing images in them to forward idolatrous worſhip, was too thin a maſque to keep out the ſun, and therefore aggravated his guilt, and but the more incenſed the people: And having now, upon the above foundation, raiſed a ſuperſtructure of cruelty and grinding exaction, there was nothing left for him to do, but to contrive the ſtrongeſt aſſociation he could againſt their hatred.

In purſuit hereof, he firſt ſketch'd out the following ſcheme in his own mind: 'A new ſect ſhall, from among the *Jews*, be in my name incorporated, and called *Herodians*. I will ingraft it upon the tenets of the *Sadducees*, and of conſequence ſhall not want enow to eſpouſe it. An endeavour to give a looſe to the paſſions, and ſet the mind free from the apprehenſions of a future ſtate, will find a ready acceptance among all thoſe whom vice and irregular deſires have hurried into a deteſtation of virtue. The court, including all their relations and dependents, make up the moſt flouriſhing and wealthy part of the nation, and at preſent either are entirely devoted to my intereſt, or may ſoon be brought to ſuch a reform as will not diſpute my command; and a leading example, for ſome time ſet, will not long go without the deſired effect. I have incurr'd the odium of the people, by ſubjecting myſelf and my dominions to the power of *Rome*; and have ſtill more offended them, by complying with *Roman* cuſtoms: A ſect, therefore, in defence of theſe two points, muſt be conſtituted, that may keep me in countenance, and divide and ſhare with me, if not totally break, the malice of the people.'

Herod having thus plann'd his intention, proceeded next to put it in execution, impoſing no greater burthen upon his followers, than to believe that it was, in a caſe of neceſſity, lawful to give obedience, and pay taxes to a foreign power; and, laſtly, that occaſional conformity to *Heathen* uſages was prudent, as well as neceſſary. The firſt of theſe tenets was ſtoutly oppoſed by the *Phariſees*; for it being ſaid, Deut. xvii. 15. *One from among thy brethren ſhalt thou ſet king over thee; thou mayeſt not ſet a ſtranger over thee, which is not thy brother.* The *Phariſees* from thence concluded, it was a thing inconſiſtent with their religion to ſubmit or pay taxes to the *Romans*. But the *Herodians* nicely diſtinguiſhed away the text; maintaining, it only prohibited the voluntary election of a foreigner to reign over them, and therefore did not exclude ſubmiſſion in an event of force. The *Sadducees*, to a man, came over to this new ſect, as may be gather'd from *Mat.* xvi. 6. and *Mark* viii. 15. where thoſe who are call'd *Sadducees* in one of the goſpels, are noted with the name of *Herodians* in the other. But this pernicious ſect did not long hold up its head, being ſoon extirpated by the preaching of the apoſtles.

One would be at a loſs to think how ſuch a monſtrous abſurdity, as the disbelief of a future ſtate, ſhould enter into the breaſt of any man, eſpecially thoſe who had an expreſs revelation from the prophets, and other holy writers, to the contrary: But thoſe *Sadducees*, or *Herodians*, being perſons of moſt abandon'd and diſſolute lives, were glad of any ſhift, however mean, to keep from the ſight of day the wounds of a troubled conſcience. Guilt made them ſhudder at the thought of an after-reckoning; they therefore renounced it with all their might: Yet ſtill they found that ſolitude and darkneſs, or cool reaſon, always recall'd to their view the certainty of an after-ſtate of retribution. Their utmoſt exertion and labour was able to riſe no higher than a common opiate; that is to ſay, it only procured them a temporary truce. They likewiſe denied all the ſcriptures, excepting only the five books of *Moyſes*, which was the reaſon that our Lord

Jeſus in that conference, *Mat.* xxii. *Mark* xii. *Luke* xx. which he had with them touching the reſurrection, made uſe of no argument but what might by an obvious inference be deduc'd from the law itſelf.

The belief of an hereafter is ſo wrought into our very nature, that even the *Heathens* themſelves aſſented to the truth of it. I therefore ſhall, in oppoſition to the *Herodians* or *Sadducees*, only beg leave to call in the natural ſuggeſtions of *Cicero*, who, in the perſon of *Cato*, ſpeaks to the following purpoſe:

'Oh how does my ſoul earn to viſit and enjoy the company of thoſe friends of mine departed, whom I had here reſpected with ſo much love, and honour! Nor are my thoughts confined only to my acquaintance; I deſire, alſo, to ſee thoſe heroes, of whom I have heard, and read, and writ. Was I once upon my way thither, no one ſhould pull me back. If the ſupreme being ſhould make me a propoſal to renew my youth, and put me to begin the world again, I would, with a firm and compoſed mind, refuſe it: For what emolument is there in this life, or, rather, what anguiſh and ſolicitude is there not? Oh! thrice happy day, that ſhall deliver me from this ſink of earth, from this reſtleſs and ſeditious company, and tranſlate me to thoſe bleſs'd abodes which exalt, the reſidence of divine ſpirits!'

Theſe opinions of the *Herodians* being ſtifly reſiſted by the *Phariſees*, gave an after-occaſion to thoſe who made it their buſineſs to lay ſnares for our Lord *Jeſus*, to chuſe a few out of each ſect, in order to go together and aſk him the following perplex'd queſtion: *Is it lawful to give tribute unto* Cæſar, *or no?* Mat. xiii. 10. They had flatter'd themſelves into a confident hope, that which way ſoever the anſwer ſhould be given, he would bring himſelf into inevitable danger: For, ſhould he anſwer in the affirmative, the *Phariſees* were at hand to rouze the people againſt him for invading their rights, which they thought could not otherwiſe be ſupported than by refuſing tribute to a foreign power. And, ſhould he reſolve it in the negative, the *Herodians* were upon the catch to traduce him as an enemy to *Cæſar*. But our Lord, who well knew the inmoſt purpoſes of their deceitful hearts, gave ſuch a noble reſolution to their captious interrogatory, as quite diſarm'd the premeditated malice of both of them.

Antipater, who had not, as yet, loſt the ſcent of his old project for deſtroying the two brothers, indefatigably went on to make the whole right to the crown center in his own perſon. The principal artifice he made uſe of, was the giving frequent teſtimonies of his great affection and eſteem for the youths, and often pleading their cauſe in the preſence of *Herod*; but in ſuch an oblique manner, as again awakened the old tyrant's ſuſpicion, and conſequently prepared his ears for a greedy reception of whatever elſe might afterwards be laid to their charge. At the ſame time, he had his emiſſaries ready to throw upon them all the black calumnies that ſpite and envy could invent. *Herod*'s ſoul came by degrees to be bound up in him; he entirely relied upon him; and therefore gave orders to his prime miniſter to do nothing, with regard to national concerns, without his direction and counſel. On the other hand, *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, whoſe minds were as great as their births, were extremely chagrined to find themſelves thus treated by him, who was their inferior in both. Their wives, too, fell in with their reſentment, but, particularly, *Glaphyra*, who mortally hated *Salome*, on account of her preſuming to raiſe her daughter, the wife of *Ariſtobulus*, to an equal honour with her that was the daughter of a king.

Pheroras, *Herod*'s brother, at the inſtigation of *Salome*, did all that lay in his power to finiſh their ruin; and therefore he told *Alexander*, that he had certain information *Herod* was become ſo paſſionately in love with his wife *Glaphyra*, that nothing leſs than enjoyment would ſerve his turn. *Alexander* immediately grew jealous of his father, and common civilities were afterwards interpreted into full evidences of a ſtrong paſſion. At length, being no longer able to conceal his ſorrow, he waited upon the king, and, with tears, repeated to him what *Pheroras* had ſaid. *Herod* ſtood for ſome time aſtoniſhed at the malice of the report; but as ſoon as he could recover himſelf, ſending for *Pheroras*, he vehemently reproach'd him, and in a manner as deſerved ſo vile a behaviour. *Pheroras*, who could not deny the fact, transferr'd the blame of it upon *Salome*; ſhe again denied it heartily, crying out, that all the world had entered into a conſpiracy to ſet her at variance with her brother. After this, *Herod* bid *Pheroras* and *Salome* get out of his ſight, and ſeemed perfectly pleas'd with the diſcrete conduct of *Alexander*.

But this good underſtanding between *Herod* and *Alexander* was of a very ſhort duration; the wicked heart of *Salome* could not lie fallow: She ſuborned witneſſes to inform the king that *Alexander* had by the ſtrength of a large ſum of money corrupted his two favourite eunuchs, and brought them into an agreement to poiſon him. The eunuchs were inſtantly put upon the rack, together with all ſuch as the tyrant ſuſpected might be privy to the deſign. Some of them boldly ſtood the torture without confeſſing any thing, nay, ſome of them went to death proteſting their innocence all the while, notwithſtanding the extremity of their torments; but others, of a weaker frame, confeſs'd things they knew nothing of, in order to be releas'd from the ſeverity of pain.

Theſe ſham evidences of a plot, were, however, ſufficient to multiply the ſuſpicions of *Herod*; he begun to diſtruſt every body; each revolving day open'd with the ſeizure of one or other; and theſe perſons, to ſave themſelves, falſely accuſed others. Calumnies and lies grew into faſhion, and the monſter ſeem'd to take a particular ſatisfaction in condemning people to death. He was, during this fever of his mind, conſtant in nothing but inconſtancy: One moment he would grievouſly mourn for having put people to death, and in an hour or two after give a freſh order to execute others.

Hereupon, *Alexander* was thrown into priſon, and loaded with fetters. In this plunge of affairs, which did not in the leaſt deject him, he ſent a few papers to his father, importing, there was no farther neceſſity to make uſe of torture for attaining to the truth, in regard the conſpiracy was in it ſelf ſo plain as to admit no doubt: That all his moſt intimate confidents, together with *Pheroras* and *Salome*, were engaged in it; and, in fine, that the whole body of the nation had reſolved to have his life, in hopes of leading a quiet and peaceable time after his death.

Upon this mock-diſcovery from *Alexander*, the whole court was caſt into a great conſternation. *Herod*'s guilty conſcience made him ſwallow every thing, and threw him into a diffidence even of his beſt friends. He lived in the midſt of racking apprehenſions, that made being it ſelf a puniſhment to him. The viſions on his bed aggravated the terrors of the preceeding day, and new light only returned to make him remember both.

Archelaus, king of *Cappadocia*, the father-in-law of *Alexander*, on notice of theſe diviſions, haſtened into *Judæa*, to try his utmoſt efforts towards reinſtating *Alexander* in the good graces of *Herod*. On his arrival, having ſifted affairs to the bottom, though he found all the reaſon in the world to blame *Herod*'s credulous temper, and acquit *Alexander*; yet prudence ſuggeſted to him another method: He fell into an extreme fit of rage with his ſon-in-law, and highly extoll'd the conduct of *Herod*. Nothing would pacify him, but to diſſolve the marriage, and carry home his daughter: Nay, he proteſted he would even renounce her, if he could learn that ſhe had been acceſſory to the wicked devices of her huſband; and yet did not diſcover them to her father-in-law.

Herod was confounded at this unexpected behaviour in *Archelaus*; and, letting drop all his ſpleen at once, he found the father return warm into his veins, moving him to ſentiments of charity and compaſſion. He could then intreat *Archelaus* not to puſh things into an extremity, and with tears in his eyes beſeech him not to undo the marriage.

Archelaus ſeeing affairs reduced to that iſſue he had deſired, immediately let go his fury againſt *Alexander*; and, turning it all upon *Pheroras*, accuſed him as the principal author of all the troubles in his family. *Pheroras* coming to underſtand how things went, made his humble ſupplication, in the moſt penitent manner he could think of, to *Archelaus*, that he would endeavour to reſtore him to his brother's favour. *Archelaus* gave him his promiſe that he would, but firſt oblige him to throw himſelf at *Herod*'s feet, make an ample acknowledgment of his fault, and beg pardon.

Herod, being over-joy'd at the good offices *Archelaus* had done him in reſtoring peace to his family, omitted no mark of eſteem that might publiſh his gratitude. He made him many valuable preſents, and, when *Archelaus* ſet out on his return for *Cappadocia*, *Herod* attended him to *Antioch*, where he adjuſted a difference that had long ſubſiſted between him and *Titus*, governor of *Syria*. Then *Herod* took his leave of him, and came back to *Judæa*. This *Archelaus*, from the ſtation of high-prieſt of *Comana* in *Pontus*, was, by *Anthony*, raiſed to be king of *Cappadocia*, in conſideration of ſome nightly ſervices that *Anthony* had received from his mother.

Whilſt animoſities run high in *Herod*'s court, he had not fail'd to lay new complaints before *Auguſtus*; for which reaſon, he could do no leſs now, than make him a viſit, to acquaint him that the breach was made up. In the mean time, the thieves of *Thrachonitis* thinking his abſence had put a fit opportunity into their hands to revenge themſelves, renew'd their depredations through all the territories of *Herod*, as well as the lower *Syria*. *Herod*, on his return from *Rome*, march'd into *Trachonitis*, and put to the ſword all the robbers he could meet with. But this ſeverity of *Herod* only render'd the thieves more inſolent, and made them carry on their pillaging with greater fury. *Herod* had in vain ſued to the *Arabians* to deliver up the thieves to him, and repay him the money he had formerly lent to their king; for *Syllæus*, who had uſurped the crown, and alſo was his profeſs'd enemy, poſitively refuſ'd both.

Hereupon, *Herod*, with the conſent of the two governors of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, entered *Arabia* with an army, and ſitting down before the caſtle of *Repta*, which was the receptacle of thoſe thieves, he ſoon took it, and laid it even with the ground. He next gave battle to the troops of the *Arabians* who came out againſt him, and put them to flight, with the loſs of their general, and ſeveral private men. After this, he ſent three thouſand *Idumæans* into *Trachonitis*, as a future ſecurity and protection to the country, againſt the inroads of thoſe thieves: Then diſpatching a meſſenger to *Rome*, with advice of what he had ſucceſsfully done, he returned with his forces to *Judæa*.

In the interim, the *Arabians*, by *Syllæus*'s order, having for ſome days ſtopp'd *Herod*'s courier, *Syllæus*, by this means, got to *Rome* before him; where, caſting himſelf down at *Auguſtus*'s feet, he, with great expreſſions of ſorrow, gave him an account, that *Herod* had with an army invaded *Arabia*, laid the whole country under ruin, plunder'd the caſtle of *Repta* of all its riches, amounting to an incredible ſum, and ſlain *Nacebus*, their general, his friend and ally, together with two thouſand five hundred perſons of the nobility of the nation.

Auguſtus, on hearing this complaint, ſent for ſome of *Herod*'s friends, and others, who had lately arrived from *Syria*, to know the truth of the matter; and being aſſured by them that *Herod* had actually made an expedition into *Arabia*, he put himſelf to the trouble of no farther enquiries, but, taking the reſt of the ſtory to be true, as well as that, writ to *Herod* in a very menacing manner; concluding, that, though he had hitherto reſpected him as a friend, he muſt for the future expect only to be treated as a ſubject.

This news ſo animated the *Arabians*, that they would not ſtand to any of thoſe terms they had formerly engaged in with *Herod*. On the other ſide, the *Thrachonite* thieves, taking an advantage of his misfortune, committed all ſorts of hoſtilities, pillaging the country round, and laying all places under contribution. *Herod*, in this ebb of *Auguſtus*'s favour, thought it the ſafeſt courſe to ſit ſtill, applying to preſent evils no remedy but patience. He had ſent two embaſſies to *Auguſtus*, but neither the one nor the other was allowed an audience; nor could this repeated proof of *Auguſtus*'s diſpleaſure hinder him from making a third experiment, by the help of friends, to recover favour. He therefore made choice of *Nicolaus*, his old and aſſured friend, no one elſe being, in his opinion, fit to manage an affair of ſo nice and delicate a nature.

Auguſtus, obſerving the ſeveral abuſes that had, through the negligence of the pontifs, or chief prieſts, crept into the *Julian* ſtyle, applied himſelf this year to ſet it to rights. But before we give an account of this affair, it will not be amiſs to premiſe the manner, in which was ſettled the *Julian* form.

The *Roman* year, at firſt, conſiſted of ten months, making, in all, but 304 days: *Numa* afterwards enlarged it to twelve months, containing 354 days: But this method of reckoning falling yearly ſhort of the length of an exact year, by ten days, and ſix hours, it put them to the trouble, every eighth year, of interpoſing three entire months; and this they called their leap-year. And the beginning of *January* being, by this erroneous computation, drove back to the time of our preſent *Michaelmas*, and the leap-year always either antedated or poſtponed, according to the arbitrary humour of the pontiffs, a general diſorder followed, which *Julius Cæſar* rectified, in this manner:

He, inſtead of twelve *Lunar* months, which was the ſum of the old year, introduced the *Solar* year, making it to conſiſt of 365 days, and ſix hours; which odd ſix hours, in four years time, amounting to a day, were then added between the twenty-third and the twenty-fourth day of *February* following, and ſo conſtituted what we call the leap-year, containing 366 days. And becauſe this inſertion was made by placing the ſixth of the calends of *March* (which is the twenty-fourth day of *February*) twice in the *Roman* calendar for that year, therefore was it named the biſſextile year.

Julius Cæſar having thus regulated and ſettled the year upon a fix'd and durable baſis, he made it, likewiſe, begin from the firſt of *January*, which he then fixed to the winter ſolſtice. But now it hath exceeded that time by ſeveral days, in regard the natural *Solar* year falls eleven minutes ſhort of the *Julian*. And this overplus of eleven minutes in the *Julian* year, coming, in the ſpace of an hundred and thirty years, to form a day, from thence it ariſes, that on every ſuch expiration of years, the firſt of *January* ſteps one day forward more than it ought to do, and conſequently tranſgreſſes the bounds of the natural *Solar* year.

This inconvenience, pope *Gregory* the thirteenth endeavoured to rectify, by omitting one leap-year in the beginning of every hundred years, for three hundred years ſucceſſively, and allowing every forth century to paſs on, as before.

But to return to *Auguſtus*. Thoſe who had the inſpection of the *Roman* calender, having, for the ſpace of thirty-ſix years, appointed every third year to be leap-year, inſtead of the fourth, three ſupernumerary days were, by this means added to the *Roman* year. *Auguſtus*, therefore, ſignified his pleaſure, that, for the twelve ſucceeding years, no leap-year ſhould come in at all: And having thus hit upon a method to diſcharge the year of its redundancies, he order'd, for the future, that is to ſay, from the thirteenth year next enſuing, that the leap-year ſhould ever after take place according to the *Julian* form. At the ſame time, the ſenate of *Rome* iſſued out a decree, that the month formerly call'd *Sextilis*, ſhould, in all ages following, in honour of *Auguſtus*, bear his name, which, to this very day, it continues to do.

Herod having fully executed all that he propos'd to do, with regard to the rebuilding and beautifying the temple, proceeded next to celebrate the dedication of it in a moſt ſolemn, ſumptuous, and magnificent manner: And highly fit it was that the temple ſhould now have been made to ſhine out in all its moſt illuſtrious ornaments, when it had in leſs than four years after, the great lord and maſter of it to receive.

About this time died *Horace*, and *Mecænas* his patron, who, after the death of *Agrippa*, till the day of his own, held the firſt place in *Auguſtus*'s eſteem. And in this ſame year was *Obodas*, king of the *Nabathæan Arabians*, poiſoned, by the command of *Syllæus*. The death of the king, he thought, would be an inducement to *Auguſtus* to confirm him in the throne, But the *Nabathæans*, who were deſcended of *Nebaioth*, the ſon of *Iſhmael*, took the hint from *Syllæus*'s abſence, to beſtow the crown upon *Æneas*, whom they afterwards called *Hareth*. Nor did they ſtay to conſult *Auguſtus* about the matter, thinking an opportunity was not to be loſt, that might reſtore them to their natural rights.

Tiberius, the ſhameleſs ſon-in-law of *Auguſtus*, being now diſcontended at ſome things that paſs'd in *Rome*, quitted the city, and ſet out for *Rhodes*, where he afterwards liv'd privately for the ſpace of ſeven years. He pretended, at his leaving *Rome*, that the deſire of knowledge was the motive alone that ſwayed him; and therefore *Auguſtus*, after ſome pauſe, gave his conſent. But when, at the expiration of the above term of years, he wanted to return, *Auguſtus*, who well underſtood the man, was not without repeated importunity brought to condeſcend.

In the mean time, the domeſtick calamities of *Herod* multiplied daily: *Pheroras* and *Salome* were upon conſtant duty to fill his tyrannical head with new ſuſpicions, and, by a numberleſs

berleſs train of artful contrivances, got him at laſt ſkrew'd up to hate his ſons as much as ever. Hereupon, *Herod* threw them both into priſon, loaded them with chains, and, confining them to ſeparate rooms, gave orders that they ſhould ſend him their confeſſion in writing. *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, in conſequence of his command, ſent him a paper, importing, that they had never entertain'd the leaſt thought of forming a conſpiracy againſt the life of their father; but that the miſerable ſtate they were in, had really induced them to concert ſome meaſures for making an eſcape.

Nicolaus Damaſcenus, on his arrival at *Rome*, being inform'd that ambaſſadors were there arriv'd on the part of the new king of *Arabia Petræa*, with poſitive inſtructions to accuſe *Syllæus*; he immediately join'd them, and undertaking to be their advocate, formed the articles of the charge. They produc'd letters under *Syllæus*'s own hand, whereby it plainly appear'd that he had contriv'd and authoriz'd the murder of *Obodas*, king of *Arabia*, and many other perſons of the firſt rank. They likewiſe brought proofs for aſcertaining the reſt of the articles that made up the charge. When the day appointed came for the hearing of the cauſe, *Nicolaus*, after a long and eloquent pleading, wherein he ſet to view all *Syllæus*'s crimes, begg'd leave, at laſt, to ſum up the whole with giving one inſtance of his treachery, which would ſerve for a corroborating evidence to bring him in guilty of all: *And it is this* (concluded he); *He has made it his buſineſs to affront and vilify the majeſty of* Auguſtus *with innumerable lies and forgeries, hereby gratifying his own malice againſt* Herod, *and ſhameleſly impoſing upon you.*

Auguſtus then as'd him whether *Herod* had not enter'd into rabia with an army, and there kill'd two thouſand five hundred men, carried away a great number of captives, and pillaged the country. *Nicolaus* made anſwer, *None of thoſe men*, Syllæus *talked of, had ever any being but in his own brain.* Herod *having lent five hundred talents to the* Arabians, *made it one of the conditions of the contract, that if the money was not repaid within the term limited, he ſhould be at liberty to levy it by diſtreſs, after what manner he pleas'd.* Herod, *accordingly, on the expiration of the term, did march into* Arabia; *nor did he lead back any captives, excepting only the thieves of* Trachonitis, *his own ſubjects, whom* Syllæus *had wickedly protected. As to the number of men kill'd, there fell but twenty-ſix in all, and among them was* Nacebus, *the general. This is the true ſtate of the caſe, which has hitherto been ſo magnified and diſguis'd to the emperor.*

Auguſtus, with ſome emotion of ſpirit, turning towards *Syllæus*, demanded of him how many *Arabs* had been ſlain in the combat. *Syllæus*, in a faultering tone, anſwer'd, he had committed a miſtake, with regard to the number. Then the papers were read, which juſtified every thing that had been advanced by *Nicolaus*. Hereupon, the emperor paſs'd ſentence of death upon *Syllæus*, which, however, was not to be executed upon him till he had firſt been carried back to *Arabia*, and there ſatisfied all his creditors, and from thence reconducted to *Rome*. And accordingly, at *Rome*, he was put to death. This was the very *Syllæus* whoſe abominable treachery (as we have ſome time before related) deſtroy'd the better part of the *Roman* army, which had by *Auguſtus* been commiſſion'd under the captainſhip of *Ælius Gallus* to carry their arms againſt *Arabia*.

So true it is, that though the ways of infinite providence far ſurpaſs the reach of finite thought, and, of conſequence, the devil's ſervants alone dare invidiouſly ſcrutinize them; yet it ſeldom happens (though it always might, and conſiſtently too with much perfect juſtice and compaſſion, conſidering there is an after-tribunal, that will ſet every thing to rights) that over-grown wickedneſs eſcapes the divine vengeance, even for ſo ſhort a time as this poor minute of life.

Auguſtus begun now to be heartily grieved that he had ſo eaſily given ear to the falſe ſuggeſtions of *Syllæus*, and therefore, to make *Herod* a full ſatisfaction, had determined to give him the kingdom of *Arabia Petræa*. But whilſt theſe thoughts were a ripening in his breaſt, letters from *Herod* came to him, which ſwept away the proſpect of an harveſt; for *Auguſtus*, on peruſal of the letters, finding how lamentably *Herod*'s affairs were involv'd, thought the old jealous fool had already enough to do to regulate the inſide of his own houſe; and therefore would not add any thing from without to his preſent load of care. Whereupon, ſending for *Harith*, the king of *Arabia*'s ambaſſadors, he immediately receiv'd the rich preſents they had brought, though he had a few days before refuſed them, and confirmed their maſter in the poſſeſſion of the kingdom.

Auguſtus, in anſwer to *Herod*, ſent him word he was extremely concern'd to hear of the revival of his domeſtick afflictions; an undutiful behaviour in his ſons could not but give him a very ſenſible pain. He therefore permitted him to proceed againſt them in a manner that their crimes might deſerve. If full evidence appear'd, that they had actually embark'd in a conſpiracy againſt the life of their father, he reſign'd them to the puniſhment allotted for parricides; but, if nothing elſe could be made out againſt them, than a deſign to ſecure themſelves by flights, he ought to carry his reſentment no higher than a moderate correction. And, to the end deſire of revenge might not hurry him beyond all due bounds, he enjoined him to ſummon a council at *Berytus*, and there, in the preſence of the *Roman* governors, *Archelaus*, king of *Cappadocia*, and his own principal friends, examine and decide the affair.

Herod, on receipt of this letter, cited a council to meet him at *Berytus*, inviting all to it whom *Auguſtus* had nominated, except *Archelaus*, king of *Cappadocia*. Him he left out, fearing his relation to one of the unhappy youths would put him upon endeavouring to fruſtrate the whole deſign. The council being met, *Herod* ſpoke againſt his own ſons in ſuch an intemperate manner, and with ſuch eager rage aggravated their offences, that all the ſpectators there preſent ſaw his deſign was to have them, right or wrong, condemn'd and put to death. He chiefly inſiſted, before the judges, upon that law of the *Jews*, *Deut.* xxi. 18, 19, 20, 21. which in, the caſe of a rebellious ſon, authorizes a father to have him ſtoned to death. 'This ſentence, therefore, *continu'd he*, might legally, and without any form of proceſs, have been executed within my own dominions; but being unwilling to do any thing in an affair of ſuch a nature without advice, I have, for that end, brought it here, and to ſatisfy poſterity that juſtice was the meaſure of my will.'

Saturninus, and the wiſer part of the council, were of opinion, that a little correction would be a ſufficient puniſhment for the young princes; but *Volumnius*, the other *Roman* governor, being by large preſents inveighed into the bloody ſentiments of *Herod*, warmly oppoſed their motion, concluding there was no way left to ſecure the life of the father, but by condemning the ſons. And the majority happening to ſide with him, ſentence of death was decreed againſt them. In conſequence whereof, *Herod* immediately ſent them to *Sebaſte*, and ſoon after had them ſtrangled.

About the latter end of the year of the world 3998, an angel of the Lord of hoſts appeared to *Zacharias*, and foretold him the birth of his ſon *John the Baptiſt*. *Zacharias* was married to a woman of great virtue, of the race of *Aaron*, whoſe name was *Elizabeth*. They were both of them upright in the ſight of God, placing their whole delight in the path of his commandments. But they had no children, nor expected any, in regard *Elizabeth* had from her youth been barren, and was now arrived beyond that ſtage of life which gives hope of childing.

Zacharias being of the claſs of prieſts of the family of *Abia*, came up to *Jeruſalem* in the week of his courſe, to do the functions of his miniſtry in conjunction with the others of the ſame claſs; and when the day of his officiating approach'd, the lot fell upon him to offer incenſe upon the golden altar of incenſe in the holy place. Whilſt he was thus upon his duty, the archangel *Gabriel* appear'd to him on the right hand of the altar of incenſe, and ſpoke to him in theſe words; 'Let not fear trouble the, thy ſupplication is accepted; *Elizabeth* thy wife ſhall bring thee a ſon, and thou muſt give him the name of *John*. His birth will be the ſubject of extraordinary joy both to thee and many others; for he ſhall be mighty before the Lord. He will neither taſte wine, nor any other inebriating liquor, and ſhall from his earlieſt bud of life be illuminated with the holy ſpirit. He ſhall be an occaſion of converting many of the houſe of *Iſrael* to the Lord their God, and ſhall lead the way before him in the ſpirit and might of *Elias*; re-uniting the hearts of parents to their children, and obſtinate rebels to the profeſſion of their faith; to the end he may ſet out a people in garments proper to receive their Lord.'

'How ſhall I (*anſwer'd* Zacharias) be ſatisfied of the truth of this? For I and my wife are both of us much advanced in years. I am *Gabriel, replied the angel*, one of thoſe miniſtring ſpirits who ſerve continually before the Lord, and was commanded to bring thee this joyful meſſage. But in regard thou haſt ſhewn an incredulity ro the words I have told thee, thou ſhalt from this moment loſe the uſe of thy ſpeech, nor be able to recover it till the day wherein theſe promiſes come to be fulfill'd.'

In the mean time, the people that waited for *Zacharias* were aſtoniſhed to find him ſtay ſo long. And when he came out, he only made ſigns to them, by which they underſtood he had met with ſome apparition in the temple. The days of his ſervice being expir'd he repair'd to his own houſe, and, in a little time after, *Elizabeth* conceiv'd, and conceal'd her pregnancy for five months, ſaying, *The mercy of the Lord hath ſhined upon me, and made my reproach to ceaſe among men.*

Whilſt *Elizabeth* was in the ſixth month of her pregnancy, the angel *Gabriel* was ſent to *Nazareth*, a city of the tribe of *Zabulon*, ſituated at the foot of mount *Thabor*, to *Mary*, a virgin deſcended of the royal houſe of *David*. The angel, on his entering the houſe, ſaluted her in theſe words: *Hail! thou that art mightily eſteemed, thee Lord is with the; bleſſed art thou among all women.* And whilſt *Mary* was with ſome anxiety revolving in her thoughts what thoſe words might mean; *Be not afraid, Mary*, continu'd the angel, *for thou art highly favoured of God. Thou ſhalt conceive, and be delivered of a ſon, who ſhall receive the name of* Jeſus. *He ſhall be great, and called the ſon of the moſt high. The Lord ſhall ſet him in the throne of his father* David, *and he ſhall eternally reign over the houſe of* Iſrael.

'Mary *return'd anſwer*, How can this come about to me, who converſe with no man? *The angel replied*, The power of the Holy Ghoſt ſhall make thee a mother, and therefore the holy fruit which ariſeth from thee ſhall be called the ſon of God. *He next proceeded to tell her, that her couſin* Elizabeth *was ſix months gone with child. Then ſaid* Mary *to him*, Behold the lowly ſervant of the Lord! may the event come forward according to thy promiſe.'

Mary, in a tranſport of joy, took her journey to *Hebron* to congratulate her couſin *Elizabeth* on the ſingular mercy ſhe had received from God. As ſoon as *Elizabeth* heard the voice of *Mary* ſaluting her, ſhe ſenſibly perceiv'd the child leap; and being inſtantly inſpir'd with the Holy Ghoſt, ſhe ſaid aloud, *Bleſſed art thou among all women, and bleſſed is the fruit of thy womb. And what great happineſs is this, that the mother of my Lord ſhould viſit me? For thy voice no ſooner reached my ears, than the infant triumphed within me. And bleſſed art thou that haſt believed the Lord, for what he hath promiſed will ſurely be accompliſhed.* Then *Mary* in an extaſy of joy, ſung the *Magnificat* of her own compoſing. After this, *Mary* ſtay'd three months, attending the delivery of her couſin, and then return'd to her own houſe.

Antipater having at laſt ſucceeded in his wicked attempts againſt *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*,

bulus, that were his competitors for the crown, nothing farther, he thought, remain'd for him to do, but the removing *Herod* himſelf. He begun with endeavouring to gain the hearts of ſuch of *Herod*'s ſubjects as he knew mortally hated him; he likewiſe made it his care to win over to his ſide ſuch friends as his father had at *Rome*. Large preſents, in his opinion, were ſeldom known to fail in clearing the underſtanding, and paving the way to ſucceſs; theſe, therefore, he plentifully ſcattered among all that cou'd in any degree promote his intereſt. He laſt of all made an effort to bring *Salome* her ſelf into the conſpiracy, but ſhe was not to be caught with the common bait of love and friendſhip.

At this time there was a little miſunderſtanding between *Pheroras* and *Herod*; for *Pheroras* had lately fallen in love with one of his own maid-ſervants, and married her, much againſt the will of the king, who then offered him one of his daughters which he had by *Mariamne*. *Herod* ſtill went on ſolliciting him to put away his new wife, and marry his daughter. At laſt, *Pheroras*, overcome by his importunities, bound himſelf, by an oath, that he would do as deſired, and marry *Mariamne*'s daughter, within a month. But, on the expiration of the time, he abſolutely refuſed to fulfil the bargain.

Antipater laying hold of this variance between the two brothers, got *Pheroras* to engage with him in a conſpiracy againſt the life of *Herod*. At this time came an edict from *Auguſtus*, commanding all the *Jews* to make an oath of allegiance to him, as well as *Herod*; which being unanimouſly refuſed by ſeven thouſand of the *Phariſees*, as a thing contrary to their law; *Herod*, to puniſh their diſobedience, ſet a heavy mulct upon them. *Pheroras*'s wife paid down the fine for all of them, and they, by way of gratitude, pretended to a divine revelation, which informed them, that her iſſue by *Pheroras*, ſhould, in bar of *Herod*'s family, ſucceed to the crown.

Herod, coming to the notice of this their ſham propheſy, had many of the *Phariſees* ſeized, and condemned to death; and ſuſpecting that *Pheroras*'s wife had been the author of the whole contrivance, he vehemently accuſed her before an aſſembly of his friends; then turning to *Pheroras*, bid him chuſe which part of this alternative he liked beſt, to renounce his wife, or be renounced by him as a brother. *Nothing*, anſwer'd *Pheroras*, *ſhall ever ſeparate me from my wife: I could die, but I cannot live without her*. Upon this, *Herod* forbid him the court, and laid a ſtrict command on *Antipater*, and all his houſhold, not to converſe with him.

Pheroras being now wrought up into a thorough averſion to *Herod*, cloſed in greedily with all *Antipater*'s meaſures for the deſtruction of the king; and having come to a reſolution that their eaſieſt way was to diſpatch him by poiſon, and likewiſe concerted the manner; *Pheroras* retired to his government, and *Antipater* went to wait upon *Auguſtus*, to the end that when the plot came to take effect, their abſence might juſtify and excuſe them.

But *Pheroras*'s wicked intention was ſoon after prevented, by his own death. *Herod*, on an information made him by two of *Pheroras*'s freed men, that his death was occaſioned by poiſon, put many to the queſtion, who under the agonies of the torture burſt out into a confeſſion of the whole conſpiracy that had been carried on by *Antipater*, *Pheroras*, and others, againſt himſelf. The poiſon, by which *Herod* was to be taken off, was lodg'd, they told him, in the hands of *Pheroras*'s wife, had been purchaſed at *Alexandria*, and from thence tranſmitted to *Jeruſalem*, where *Theudion*, *Antipater*'s uncle, receiv'd it, and by a ſecret conveyance had it deliver'd to *Pheroras*, who was the perſon that had undertaken the management of the blow.

The plot being thus made out by undoubted evidence, *Herod* himſelf examined the wife of *Pheroras*. She at firſt denied all; but being threatened with the rack, an ample diſcovery immediately followed. *True it is*, ſaid ſhe, *the poiſon was committed to my keeping, and my husband reſolved once to give it, but your viſiting him in his late ſickneſs had ſuch an influence upon him, that, with horror, he forſook his purpoſe, and commanded me to throw the powder into the flames. I readily obey'd, reſerving only a ſmall quantity for my own uſe, if neceſſity ſhould ſo require.* Hereupon, anguiſh, remorſe, and deſpair, with all the other plants that in a minute riſe from the nurſery of guilt, ſtared full in the face of *Herod*. He ſaw now, when it was too late, that *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus* had unjuſtly been put to death, and a conſpiracy from the ſame fountain to deſtroy himſelf.

There being at this time a general peace over all the world, which laſted for twelve years together, and conſequently a proper period for the prince of peace, *Chriſt* our Lord, to make his publick entry into it, the temple of *Janus* begun now to be ſhut up. The reader well knows that the *Romans* were accuſtomed to ſhut the gates of this temple in time of peace, and keep them open in times of war. From the foundation of *Rome*, to the period we are now upon, this temple had been ſhut up but five times, *viz.* under the reign of *Numa*, on concluding the firſt *Carthaginian* war; on *Auguſtus*'s becoming ſole maſter of the *Roman* empire; on *Auguſtus*'s reducing of the *Cantabrians* in *Spain*; and, laſtly, about the beginning of this year, at the end of which *Chriſt* our Lord was born.

On the eighth day after the delivery of *Elizabeth*, which happened towards the cloſe of the third month of this year, her child being, according to the law of the *Jews*, to be circumciſed, and have a name given him, a friendly conteſt aroſe between *Elizabeth* and her relations, about naming the child. Theſe would have him called *Zacharias*, after his father; but ſhe inſiſted he ſhould be called *John*. And this amicable difference being ſubmitted to the father, and, withal, a writing-table brought him, he on the table writ down theſe words: *His name is* John. Then he inſtantly recover'd his ſpeech, and gave glory to God in that beautiful prophetic ſong which is contain'd in the firſt chapter of the goſpel according to Saint *Luke*.

Auguſtus having about three years ago publiſhed an edict for the taking a ſurvey of the whole *Roman* empire, in order to ſupply himſelf with proper helps for finiſhing a book which he was then compoſing upon the ſubject of the *Roman* dominions, that deſcription did not begin till this year to be made in *Judæa*. Nor is this to be wonder'd at; for as that regiſtration was to include an exact account of the number of men, women, and children, together with the age, condition, manner of life, and eſtates, real and perſonal, of all of them; and the province of *Syria* was a great deal larger than *England*, which yet took *William the conqueror* ſix years to deſcribe; theſe things, I ſay, conſider'd, it cannot appear ſtrange that the deſcription of *Syria*, which conſiſted of theſe countries, *viz.* the proper *Syria*, *Cœlo-Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Judæa*, ſhould be three years a making.

But this regiſtration was not now made in *Judæa* with a view to levy taxes upon the people; for whilſt monarchy continued among them, taxes were only paid to their kings. *Auguſtus*, indeed, had an annual tribute from *Herod*, and every other prince that depended upon him; but he did not pretend to exact any thing from the ſubjects of ſuch princes. However, about the twelfth year after the kingly government of *Judæa* being aboliſhed, and the country annexed to the *Roman* province of *Syria*, under the command of *Publius Sulpitius Quirinius*, whoſe name in *Greek* is *Cyrenius*, then it was that taxes came firſt to be paid to the *Roman* emperor. There being, therefore, upwards of eleven years between the general deſcription, and the levy that was afterwards paid to the emperor, we are hereby furniſh'd with an explanation of the two firſt verſes of the ſecond chapter of St. *Luke*. The firſt verſe is to be underſtood of the general regiſtration or ſurvey of the country; and the ſecond verſe relates to the time wherein the tax was impos'd and levied.

When this deſcription of people, and eſtates perſonal, as well as real, came to be executed in *Judæa*, the virgin *Mary*, and *Joſeph*, her future ſpouſe, were obliged to leave *Nazareth*, their own city and habitation in *Galilee*, and go to *Bethlehem*, the city of *David*; to which, on account of their deſcent from him, they belong'd; that there they might give in their names and circumſtances, along with the reſt that were of the ſame royal houſe and lineage with them.

The virgin, on her arrival at *Bethlehem*, being poor, and a ſtranger, and the city crowded with people, was forced to make the ſtable of an inn her lodging, and, in theſe circumſtances, ſoon after brought forth, and, in a manger, laid the Lord of glory, the *Chriſt* the meſſiah, that anointed king, and prieſt, and prophet, who had, from the creation of the world, been promiſed for the redemption of mankind, in whom the patriarchs repoſed their faith, whom the law typified, and the prophets foretold, and whoſe coming was by the whole nation of the *Jews* ardently long'd for, and at this time expected, too, by many of the heathen world.

It was the pleaſure of omnipotence that lowly circumſtances ſhould uſher in the birth, to inform the world (who are generally captivated with grandeur, outſide, and ſhow) that riches, ſplendor, and magnificence, are in no account with him. However, God was pleas'd to give other inſtances, of a much more illuſtrious nature, to demonſtrate the glory of the perſon that was now born. The ſhepherds that watch'd their flocks in the fields by night, were aſtoniſh'd with the glory of the Lord ſhining round about them, and an angel, that thus ſpoke to them: *Fear not, for behold I bring you good tidings of great joy, which ſhall be to all people. For unto you is born this day, in the city of* David, *a ſaviour, which is* Chriſt *the Lord. And this ſhall be a ſign unto you, ye ſhall find the babe wrapped in ſwadling clothes, lying in a manger.* And ſuddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly hoſt, praiſing God, and ſaying, *Glory to God in the higheſt, and on earth peace, good will towards men*, St. *Luke*, chap. xi. And, a little time after, came the magi, or wiſe men, from the eaſt (being conducted by a new ſtar), with their offerings, and fell down and worſhipped the king of the world, then lying in a manger.

This year being the four thouſandth of the world, the birth of our Saviour happened exactly at the time, to which an ancient tradition of the *Jews* refers the beginning of the days of the meſſiah: For the *Talmud*, in *Tract. Sanhedrin, cap.* 11. ſays, that the world was to continue ſix thouſand years; two thouſand of which preceded the law; two thouſand ſhould be under the law; and the remaining two thouſand years were to be under the meſſiah. This tradition over-ſhoots it ſelf, with regard to the end of the world; for that (according to holy writ) is a ſecret which God hath reſerved to himſelf. However, as the *Jews* lay great ſtreſs upon it, and reckon it one of the moſt authentick of all their traditions, it is an evidence againſt them, of the time wherein the meſſiah was to come, and of conſequence renders their infidelity inexcuſable. They all allow that the four thouſanth year of the world was to begin the reign of the meſſiah, and that this was the preciſe period declared by the prophets for the time of his coming. How weak, then, is that excuſe of theirs which throws the delay of his coming upon their own iniquities? Which requires no other anſwer, than to remind them of an avow'd principle among 'em, *viz.* when God denounces threats againſt wicked doers, he often, on their repentance, reſtrain the evil threatened, and receives them into favour; but when he foretells good things, or promiſes bleſſings, he always brings them to paſs. And yet this greateſt of bleſſings, the Saviour of the world, ſo long before promiſed, and ſo long expected, and at laſt graciouſly given, did the *Jews* contrary to their own doctrine, reject, and have therefore continued ever ſince a ſtanding monument of God's diſpleaſure and vengeance.

Antipater having receiv'd an order from *Herod* to return forthwith to *Judæa*, was pleas'd with the meſſage (for he did not then know that his treaſon was no longer a ſecret), and immediately ſet out for *Jeruſalem*. On his arrival, he waited on the king, and made an eſſay to embrace him; but *Herod* puſh'd him back, ſeverely reproaching him with the death of his brothers. *Go, ſirrah,* ſaid he, *you ſhall to morrow have* Varus *for your judge. Herod* then ſent him to priſon.

Next day, a council being call'd *Quintilius Varus* (who had ſucceeded *Saturninus* in the government of *Syria*), at the deſire of *Herod*, preſided in it; and the court having taken the depoſitions of the witneſſes, whereby the guilt of *Antipater* was evidently made out, were then going to pronounce ſentence, when the priſoner upon leave asked and granted, ſpoke as follows: *It carries not the leaſt probability that I ſhould ever have formed a deſign againſt the life of my father, who has of a long time obliged me with moſt ſingular marks of his favour and confidence. How can it be thought that I ſhould imagine the precipitation of my father's death, who am already deſtin'd his ſucceſſor? As to the death of my brothers, that happen'd deſervedly, ſince they could riſe to that pitch of wickedneſs, as to conſpire againſt ſo good a father. I cannot help ſhedding tears at the accuſations that are brought againſt me; but ſtill I hope the court will have more honour than to condemn me upon ſuch evidences as have been extorted by the force of torments.*

Nicholas Damaſcenus made anſwer, in behalf of *Herod*, ſhewing the validity of the proof, as to every article of the charge. He likewiſe inſiſted on the many irregularities of his life, and, particularly, his baſe ingratitude to an indulgent father; and concluded with reminding him that he had even been mean enough to conſult idle aſtrologers, and offer ſacrifices, in order to know the time of his father's death.

After this, *Varus* told *Antipater*, the court would willingly hear him, if he had any thing more to ſay for vindicating himſelf: *For nothing*, continued he, *could give all here preſent a greater ſatisfaction, than to find you innocent. Antipater*, inſtead of replying, turned his face to the ground, taking heaven to witneſs that he was innocent; and, with an unparallell'd aſſurance, pray'd that a miracle might follow, in juſtification of the truth he now averr'd. Then *Varus* ordered the poiſon to be produced, which had in evidence been laid againſt him, and, giving it to a condemned malefactor, who died in a few minutes after the experiment, he immediately diſſolved the meeting, and bid *Herod* execute the criminal after what manner he pleas'd.

Varus immediately took his journey for *Antioch*, which was the uſual ſeat of the governors of *Syria*; nor was the people apprized of what ſentence he had paſs'd in this affair, *Herod* being only made the depoſitory of the ſecret. *Antipater* was, however, remanded to priſon, and an account ſent to *Auguſtus* of the crimes that had indiſputably been prov'd againſt him.

Whilſt theſe ambaſſadors were upon their way to *Auguſtus*, *Herod* fell ſick, and made his teſtament, naming *Antipas*, the youngeſt of his ſons, for his ſucceſſor in the kingdom. In this will he left a thouſand talents to *Auguſtus*, and five hundred to the empreſs his ſpouſe, dividing the reſt of his money, eſtates, and revenues, between his children and grand-children. And in regard his diſtemper ſenſibly increaſed, and advanced age told him there was no hope of recovery; ſuch deſpair and remorſe followed, as made him inſupportable to himſelf, as well as others.

At this time *Judas* and *Matthias*, who were two leading men at *Jeruſalem*, on account of their zeal, and profound knowledge in the laws of their country, and therefore had a great number of followers; apprehending that the malady of the king would terminate in death, earneſtly exhorted all their diſciples to unite together in defence of religion, and pull down and deſtroy whatever *Herod* had done contrary to it.

Among many other things, which gave great offence, *Herod* had fixed on the temple a curious eagle of gold; this, they ſaid, was a direct breach of the law of *Moyſes*: They therefore took it down, and hewed it to pieces. The commanding officer of *Herod*'s troops hearing of the tumult, march'd thither, and diſpers'd the mob; and having made about forty of them priſoners, with *Judas* and *Matthias*, their ring-leaders, he ſtrait carried them before *Herod*; where, being demanded what could move them to ſo raſh an attempt? *We have*, anſwer'd they, *of a long time thought it our duty to revenge the outrage that had been done to our laws; and it is our greateſt reproach, that we have deferr'd the execution of it till now. As to any reſentment that may be taken againſt us, we mind it not; we fear neither puniſhment, nor death, ſince what we have acted was in vindication of a law that came down from heaven.* After this, *Herod* ſent them in chains to *Jericho*, and going thither himſelf in a litter, had them all try'd, condemn'd, and executed.

About this time arriv'd the wiſe men, or philoſophers, from the eaſt; which incident put *Herod* on calling an aſſembly of the chief prieſts and doctors of the law to reſolve him where *Chriſt* ſhould be born. And they making anſwer that it was in *Bethlehem* of *Judæa*, according to the prophecy of *Micah*, ch. v. 2. he ſent an order to *Jeruſalem* for the magi to wait upon him at *Jericho*. On their coming thither, he gave them a ſtrict command to find out the young child, and then to come back and inform him, that he, alſo, might have the pleaſure to ſee and adore him.

Upon this, the wiſe men, ſtill directed by the new ſtar that had before appeared to them in the eaſt, held on their journey to *Bethlehem*, and there entering the houſe over-againſt which the ſtar made a ſtop, they found the young child, with *Mary* his mother; and falling down upon their faces, worſhipped him: Then opening their treaſures, they made him an offering of myrrh, gold, and frankincenſe. And being advertiſed in a dream of the wicked intention of *Herod*, they took a reſolution not to go back to him, but to return to their own country by another way.

When the days of *Mary*'s purification were expir'd, ſhe and *Joſeph* went with the child to *Jeruſalem*, to preſent him to the Lord; and being entered into the temple, *Simeon*, a moſt juſt and upright man, on whom the Holy Ghoſt reſted, one who had long expected the meſſiah, the conſolation of *Iſrael*, and to whom it had been reveal'd that he ſhould not die till he had ſeen the *Chriſt* of God; *Simeon*, I ſay, came up to them, and taking the child in his arms, praiſed God, and ſaid, *Lord now letteſt thou thy ſervant depart in peace, according to thy word, for mine eyes have ſeen thy ſalvation: Which thou haſt prepared before the face of all people; a light to lighten the* Gentiles, *and the glory of thy people* Iſrael, Luke xi.

Anna, the propheteſs, having, on the death of her huſband, who lived with her but ſeven years, devoted herſelf entirely to the ſervice of God; ſhe, therefore, for the ſpace of eighty-four years departed not from the temple, but continued worſhipping God night and day: *Anna* had, during all that time, propheſied to the *Jews* concerning the glory of the meſſiah's kingdom, and likewiſe foretold his coming in the very manner as it afterwards happened. And now ſeeing him in the temple, ſhe gave thanks to God, and ſpoke of him to all thoſe who expected the ſalvation of *Iſrael*.

Joſeph and *Mary* having finiſhed their obedience to the law, had thoughts of returning to their own city in *Galilee*; but an angel of the Lord appeared to *Joſeph* in a dream, ſaying, *Ariſe, take the young child and his mother, and flee into* Ægypt, *and be thou there until I bring thee word: For* Herod *will ſeek the young child to deſtroy him.* *Joſeph*, the ſame night, took the child and his mother, and retir'd with them into *Ægypt*, where they continued till after *Herod*'s death. An ancient tradition of the *Greeks* ſays, that on our Saviour's arrival in *Ægypt*, all the idols of the country were immediately tumbled to the ground.

Herod being by this time convinced that the wiſe men had ſlighted him, fell into a violent fit of rage, giving out an order to ſlay all the children that were in *Bethlehem*, and in all the coaſts thereof, from two years old and under, according to the time which he had diligently enquired of the wiſe men. The bloody monſter had a mind to make ſure work, by turning it into a general maſſacre of innocents, and not even ſparing thoſe who were a conſiderable time born before the arrival of the magi. And we are told by *Macrobius*, a writer of the fifth century, that, among thoſe infants that were thus inhumanly murder'd, the tyrant ſlew a little child of his own; which made *Auguſtus* ſay, it was much the better, of the two, to be *Herod*'s hog, than his ſon. Nor is it improbable, for he was ſuch a monſter as placed a delight in acts of cruelty and wickedneſs.

Vengeance begun now to be poured out from heaven upon *Herod*; his ſoul, as well as body, lying under the weight of inexpreſſible agonies. The innumerable crimes he had committed, were the torturers of his mind, whilſt a ſlow and cancerous diſeaſe, inch by inch, gnaw'd and conſum'd his body: And this was attended with a fever, which violently burned him within, though outwardly it was ſcarce perceptible; together with ſuch a dog-like appetite, as no victuals could ſatisfy. A corroding ulcer extended itſelf over all his *viſcera*, but with a more than ordinary exertion fed upon the ſecond of the great guts, which put him to inſufferable pain. The ulcer, by degrees, eat its way down to his genitals, and there making a breach, from thence, in ſwarms, iſſued both worms and lice.

Antipater hearing in what a lamentable condition *Herod* lay, he immediately promiſ'd himſelf a ſpeedy releaſe from chains; nay, he had vanity enough to think his priſon would be ſoon exchanged for a crown. Full of theſe hopes, he ſtrongly ſollicited his goaler to ſet him at liberty; but the fellow, inſtead of being worked upon by his promiſes, went and acquainted *Herod* with the whole matter. Hereupon, the tyrant, notwithſtanding he then groaned under a complication of diſtempers, and as miſerable a caſe as can afflict mortality, fell a raving and beating his own head; and calling one of his guards, bid him go that inſtant and put *Antipater* to death.

Herod now alter'd his will; he had before left *Herod Antipas* his ſucceſſor in the kingdom, but in this he gave him only *Galilee* and *Peræa*, bequeathing the kingdom to *Archelaus*, and the countries of *Trachonitis*, *Auranitis*, *Paneas*, and *Batanæa*, to *Philip*.

Whilſt *Herod* was thus gradually rotting away, the tyger in his nature ſet him on ſuch a cruel expedient for throwing the country into a general mourning after his death, as hiſtory can't parallel. He ſent circular letters over all the kingdom, commanding all the *Jews*, of any quality and rank, under pain of death, to ſurrender themſelves immediately at *Jericho*. And having, on their arrival, made them all priſoners within the *Circus* (or place of public exerciſe), 'I well know, *ſaid he to* Salome, '*his ſiſter, and* Alexas, *her huſband*, that my 'death is faſt advancing, and the *Jews* hate me 'ſo heartily, that they will rejoice at my departure: But I have thought of an infallible 'method, that will oblige them to pay me funeral 'honours, as well as remember me with as ſincere 'marks of ſorrow as were ever expreſs'd for any 'man. For there ſhall not be a corner, nor a 'family of any note in the kingdom, but will 'have reaſon to ſhed tears at my death. For 'which cauſe, I leave a poſitive order with 'you, empowering and adjuring you, as ſoon 'as the breath is out of my body, to make my 'ſoldiers enter the *circus*, and ſlay all of them 'that are there ſhut up.'

All that ſaw *Herod* in this his laſt illneſs, were convinced that the terrors of the Lord were ſet in array againſt him, even in this life, in order to give him an earneſt of what he was to ſuffer in the next. His malady being accompanied with an extraordinary ſhortneſs of breath, and ſuch an offenſive ſmell, as ſhock'd and aſtoniſh'd his beſt friends, as well as other ordinary waiters, together with uncommon twitchings and vellications upon the fibrous and membranous parts of his body, which, like ſharp razors, cut and wounded him within; the pain, thence ariſing, ſoon over-power'd him with cold ſweats, tremblings, and convulſions, and let him into the ſecret, that a throne was no more than a dunghil in the hands of death.

Herod ſurvived the execution of his ſon *Antipater* but five days, departing this life in the ſeventieth year of his age, and in the thirty-ſeventh of his reign, about thirty-four years after the death of *Antigonus*. As ſoon as he was deed, *Salome* (not that ſhe had any regard to humanity more than her brother, but out of fear that an obedience to his laſt cruel order would end in the deſtruction of her and all her family) ſet open the gates of the *circus*, where the unhappy gentlemen had been kept priſoners, and let them return ſafe to their own houſes.

As the flatterer is a creature very ready at that ſort of eloquence which both pleaſes and perſuades the man of vanity; it was an extreme ſatisfaction to *Herod* to have his family traced back to the *Babyloniſh* captivity, and made one of the moſt antient and honourable among the *Jews* that returned to *Jeruſalem*. But he was no ſooner dead, than hatred, which had before walked with his teeth ſhut, degraded him into the grandſon of a mean fellow, whoſe name was *Herod*, and office that of ſexton of *Apollo*'s temple at *Askalon*; adding, further, that his father *Antipater* being, while a child, made priſoner by the thieves of *Idumæa*, and the ſexton, through poverty, unable to relieve him; he, for a long time, remained a ſlave among them, with no other education than thieves could give him: And from this poor beginning ſprung all his future grandeur. Theſe things being ſet aſide as what deſerve no credit, *Joſephus* tells us that the family was originally *Idumæan*, and of an antient and illuſtrious deſcent, and that *Herod*'s grandfather was himſelf governor of *Idumæa* under the reign of *Alexander Jannæus*, and *Alexandra* his queen. And it is of all hands agreed, that his anceſtors had for many generations, as proſelytes, been incorporated into the nation of the *Jews*, and of conſequence had a right to all the privileges that belong'd to the tribe of *Judah*.

He was daring in the field, but not brave; magnanimity is always equal and conſtant, and, with contempt, looks down on ſuſpicion and fear. But *Herod'* courage was no more than a ſudden impulſe, that took fire at the ſight of a battle, and ended with the action. However, he might covet to appear a lion abroad, he affected no dreſs at home, but that of a fox. He was of a timorous and diſtruſtful temper, which made him renounce the father to be the hangman of his people, and pollute his reign with a continual effuſion of blood. Ambition and vain-glory were the fountain from whence proceeded all his acts of generoſity, ſelf-love being the only motive that could determine him. His liberality and munificence (if we except what was laid out on repairing the temple, and ſupplying the neceſſities of the poor under a ſore famine) was no other than a down-right profuſion, and, beſides, a barbarous piece of inhumanity, becauſe he had no way to recruit his funds, but by laying open the bowels of his people. In the latter part of his life he put off the man entirely, and commenced devil, making the whole country overflow with tears for the loſs of their relations that he had murder'd. He put to death *Zacharias*, the father of *John the Baptiſt*, and at one blow deſtroyed fourteen thouſand innocent babes in *Bethlehem* and the parts adjacent; and, immediately after, the vengeance of God (who had long patiently bore with him) ſeized and conſumed the tyrant in the manner above related.

And here I cannot help inſiſting a little on a remark that has been made by all the hiſtorians who have writ on this ſubject, *viz*, that moſt of thoſe princes who took a delight in blood and perſecution, have been arreſted by a meſſenger from heaven, and ended their days with a like violence of pain, and in the ſame miſerable manner, as did *Herod*.

Antiochus Epiphanes, the ſon of *Antiochus the Great*, having at *Jeruſalem* ſlain forty thouſand *Jews*, and ſold as many more captives for ſlaves to other nations, made next a forcible entry into the temple, where, omitting no kind of outrage and profanation that his wicked heart could ſuggeſt, he afterwards robb'd and plunder'd it, to the value of eighteen hundred talents of gold; then ſtripping the city, and all the country, of whatever was valuable, return'd into *Aſia*, loaded with ſpoils. On his arrival at *Ecbatana* in *Media*, news coming to him of the defeat of ſome of his troops in *Judæa*, he begun to breathe nothing but revenge and final deſtruction to the *Jews*, and therefore inſtantly ſet out on a re-march for *Judæa*; but being ſoon after informed by another meſſenger that his army, conſiſting of ſixty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe, had been totally routed by ten thouſand *Jews*, and that the *Jews* had recovered the city and temple of *Jeruſalem*, broke down his images and altars, and reſtored all things to their former ſacred uſe; he fell into ſuch a fit of rage, that nothing leſs would ſatisfy him, but the turning of *Jeruſalem* into a burial-place for every man, woman, and child, that he found in *Judæa*. Whilſt theſe words were yet ſticking in his mouth, vengeance from above laid hold on him: An intolerable gnawing pain extended itſelf over all his entrails, and put him upon a rack that no medicines could aſſwage. He would not for all this ſlacken his haſte, till, by driving furiouſly, he was, at laſt, overſet, and miſerably bruis'd. He was now forc'd to quit his chariot, and retire in a litter to a town call'd *Tabæ*, on the confines of *Babylonia*, where the torments of his ſoul bore a proportion to the ſtrokes upon his body. An incurable ulcer burſt out in his hidden parts, whence troops of vermin iſſued, together with ſuch an offenſive ſmell, as over-power'd himſelf, as well as the bye-ſtanders.

This heavy preſſure made him ſenſible that his afflictions were juſtly merited, and openly acknowledge that they proceeded from the hand of God. And now he could make many ſolemn promiſes of reſtoring every thing that he had taken from *Jeruſalem*, in caſe it pleas'd God he ſhould recover. But his death-bed-repentance was rejected, and himſelf under all manner of tortures, both ſpiritual and corporal, kept ſeveral days a waſting and mouldering, as a terror and example to future princes to beware of the rock he ſplit againſt. Thus leiſurely did the ulcer feed upon him, till the ſinews of his body failing, he was cruſh'd under the weight, and died.

Galerius Maximinus, the author and promoter of the tenth and greateſt perſecution againſt the *Chriſtians*, who had, by all ſorts of torments that rage or hell could invent, put to death innumerable martyrs, burning a whole city, with all its inhabitants and magiſtrates, at one time, and had, by the ſevereſt cruelties, endeavour'd to ſeduce others from their faith in our omnipotent Lord, but to no purpoſe (for the brave *Chriſtians* were ſo far from being intimidated or ſhocked by thoſe proceedings, that they then more eagerly contended for the crown of martyrdom than others have done ſince for a mitre), was at laſt ſtruck with a wound from an inviſible hand, which gradually devour'd him, and over-running his body with worms and lice, occaſion'd ſuch an intolerable ſmell, as his phyſicians were not able to bear; and, for this reaſon, he put many of them to death. But when the pain and miſery of his condition had brought him to know himſelf, and they told him that his rage againſt the *Chriſtians* had render'd his malady incurable; he thought fit then to own the juſtice of God, recal his edicts againſt them, reſtore the *Chriſtians* to their liberty, and beg their prayers. But his repentance being late, and an effect of torment, avail'd him not: He languiſh'd under extreme agonies till he died.

In like manner did *Philip* II. king of *Spain*, who had furiouſly perſecuted and deſtroyed many thouſands of *Proteſtant Chriſtians*: For though heaven long deferr'd his puniſhment, yet he was not ſuffer'd to eſcape. In the year of our Lord 1598, and the 72d of his age, after having ſuffer'd extraordinary conflicts, both in mind and body, and ſeen himſelf cut out into morſels by his executioners, the worms; he gave up the ghoſt in all the circumſtances of dread and horror that can attend the worſt of criminals.

Theſe four perſons above-mentioned died of a diſeaſe for which there is no name in phyſic. It is true, the hiſtorians that deſcribe their death, have been pleas'd to call it the *Ptheiriaſis*, or *Louſy Diſeaſe*, and under the ſame diſguiſe the phyſicians of *Philip* (but what will not ſycophants ſay, whoſe bread depends upon a ſalary?) threw his upon natural cauſes. Indeed, the *Ptheiriaſis*, conſidered in itſelf, is both eaſy of cure, and common among children that are not well looked to; and may therefore be naturally accounted for: But when it ſuperadds itſelf in the nature only of a ſymptom, on a combination of ails, as in the caſe of the four wretches above-recited; I muſt own, and yet I am no foreigner to the language of medicine, I can ſee no other ſolution for it, than that which the magicians ſaid to *Pharaoh*, *viz. This is the finger of God.*

To theſe undoubted evidences of an immediate vengeance from heaven, which are each of them infallible demonſtrations of an infinite providence directing the helm of this world; I ſhall, with the reader's leave, ſubjoin another, in regard it is alſo an unanſwerable argument of the ſoul's independance on the body, and conſequently of its immortality.

Mauritius Cappadox, emperor of the eaſt, was a man of bravery, ingenious, and honeſt, but, at the ſame time, ſo covetous, that his good qualities could ſcarce be ſeen; for whereever avarice ſwims at top, every thing elſe that is great and valuable, muſt ſink to the bottom. He had ſent an army againſt *Caganus*, king of the *Avares* (a people of *Scythia*), which being totally defeated, and twelve thouſand of his men made priſoners, and carried into a miſerable ſlavery by the *Barbarians*, *Caganus*, the *Pagan* king, offered to releaſe them, provided *Mauritius* would for their redemption pay down half a piece an head. But this demand, tho' very reaſonable, conſidering the number of men, the emperor was too cloſe-fiſted to comply with. Hereupon, *Caganus*, in a burſt of fury, put every one of them to the ſword. After this, a very large comet appearing for many days, and ſeveral other uncommon accidents happening, which ſtruck the matter home to the emperor's conſcience; he returned to a thorough ſenſe of his guilt, in being the cauſe of ſuch a general ſlaughter: And therefore ſending circular letters to all the churches, he required they would aſſiſt his own petitions, and beg of God that he might have all his puniſhment in this life. Accordingly, prayers were put up for him, and ſoon after ſeeming in a dream to be call'd before the tribunal of *Jeſus Chriſt* our Lord, where ſtood the twelve thouſand murdered *Chriſtian* ſoldiers, vehemently accuſing him; he thought our Lord ſpoke to him in theſe words: Mauritius, *whether wilt thou that vengeance be executed on thee in this life, or in the next? Mauritius* made anſwer, 'Infinite lover, and juſt judge of mankind, my Lord and my God, puniſh me here, and not hereafter.' *Then our Saviour ſeem'd to ſay to him*, 'I will therefore deliver thee into the hands of *Phocas*, who ſhall put thee to death, and all thy family.'

Mauritius, awaking in great aſtoniſhment at his dream, ſent for *Philippicus*, a man whom he had formerly ſuſpected of a deſign againſt both his crown and life. On his arrival, the emperor, throwing himſelf at his feet, addreſſed him in theſe words: '*Philippicus*, I have for ſome time looked upon thee with an eye of diſtruſt; but I am now ſenſible I have injured thee: For I had it laſt night revealed to me in a dream, that I am to be murder'd by *Phocas*. Pray do you know any one of that name among my troops?' *Yes*, anſwer'd *Philippicus*, *I am* *quainted with the character of the man. He was ſome while ago only a groom to* Priſcus Patricius, *but has ſince been rais'd to the ſtation of a centurion in the army. However,* continued he, *as he is young and raſh, and, withal, a very great coward, your majeſty has no reaſon to be afraid of him.* The emperor immediately rejoined, *If he is a coward, then is he a murderer.*

In the mean time, the army, who ſorrowfully laid to heart the murder of their comrades, had proclaimed *Phocas* emperor, and were on their march againſt *Mauritius*. On notice thereof, *Mauritius* endeavoured, with his family, to ſecure a retreat; but being all of 'em taken, and brought back, *viz.* himſelf, his empreſs *Auguſta Conſtantina*, five ſons, and three daughters, the traitor *Phocas* ſtood by till each of them was put to death. The nurſe of the emperor's youngeſt child having ſecretly hid it, and reſign'd her own infant to the hangman, in the room of it, *Mauritius* called out to *Phocas*, *Spare innocent blood; that child, under the executioner's hands, is not mine: Let mine be ſent for.* When his own was brought, the hangman run it through with a ſword, and out of the wound came both blood and milk, which fetch'd tears from all the ſpectators, *Phocas* himſelf excepted. Whilſt this tragedy was a tranſacting, it was remarkable, that the emperor neither uttered word nor ſigh, till he ſaw the blow given to his virtuous wife *Auguſta*; then he aloud made this confeſſion of his ſins: *Righteous art thou, O Lord, and upright are thy judgments,* Pſal. cxix. 137. And, laſt of all, was executed *Mauritius* himſelf.

The ſee of *Rome*, till the time of this monſter *Phocas*, was too humble to pretend to an authority over all other churches: But now pope *Boniface* III. reflecting with himſelf that a cruel uſurper was the fitteſt and likelieſt perſon to promote his ambition, ſent an humble requeſt to *Phocas*, to declare him univerſal biſhop of the church. *Phocas* inſtantly granted the favour; and from this honourable acquiſition of power, has *Rome*'s uſurper ſince dared to diſpoſe of crowns, and inſolently treat even emperors themſelves. This beaſtly regicide, *Phocas*, was, after an infamous tyranny of eight years, brought bound and fetter'd to *Heraclitus*, who ſucceeded him in the empire, and iſſued out an order that he ſhould firſt have his genitals tore off, becauſe of his many adulteries, and be afterwards burnt alive: Which ſentence was accordingly executed upon him. And it is a thing worthy of notice, that of all that army, which had aſſiſted *Phocas* to dethrone and murder his maſter, two of them, only, ſurviv'd himſelf; the Lord of hoſts, to whom alone vengeance belongeth, having, by a multitude of inlets to death, cut off the reſt.

Thus, whilſt we reflect that many of the ſcourges of mankind, and other notorious ſinners, have been reduced to ſuffer vengeance, even in this life; we are naturally led to acknowledge the hand of providence: And, again, when we ſee many over-grown ſinners proſpering and triumphing in their guilt, at the ſame time that many righteous and pious perſons are ſtruggling hard under a variety of woe, pain, and wretchedneſs; the idea we have of a being infinitely juſt and perfect, immediately informs and convinces us there needs muſt be a future judgment, that will bring an amendment, and eternally puniſh vice, and eternally crown virtue. And this is a truth ſo ſelf-evident, and ſo much a part of our ſelves, that even the hearts of the ſconrer dares not deny it, when he ſoberly repairs to bed of a night, and is without company.

Herod, by his nine wives (others ſay he had ten all at one time), was the farther of many children; but we ſhall only take notice of ſuch of them as occur in the holy new teſtament. *Malthace*, one of his wives, brought him *Archelaus*, mentioned in *Mat.* xi. who ſucceeded him in the throne; and *Herod Antipas*, mentioned *Mat.* xiv. *Mark* vi. *Luke* iii, viii, ix, xiii, xxiii. *Acts* iv. 27. who infamouſly married his own niece *Herodias*, whilſt *Herod Philip*, her firſt huſband, and his own brother, was yet alive. This was the motive that made *John the Baptiſt* reprimand *Herod Antipas*, and the being tax'd with an inceſtuous adultery provoked the ſtrumpet *Herodias* to bid her little coquet daughter *Salome*, mentioned *Mat.* xiv. 6, ---11. *Mark* vi. 21,---28. as a premium of her dancing, require his head. *Ariſtobulus*, the ſon of *Mariamne*, the daughter of *Hyrcanus*, each of whom the tyrant put to death, left behind him *Agrippa*, who was afterwards raiſed to be a king, changing his name for that of *Herod*. He murder'd *James*, the brother of *John*, and ſoon after was ſmitten of God at *Cæſarea*, as appears from *Acts* xii. 1,2,---20,---23. *Ariſtobulus* was likewiſe the farther of *Herodias*, whom we have already taken notice of. To the above king *Agrippa*, alias *Herod*, ſucceeded king *Agrippa* the ſecond, before whom St. *Paul* ſo elegantly defended himſelf. This *Agrippa* had two ſiſters, *Berenice*, mentioned as preſent with *Agrippa* at St. *Paul*'s hearing, *Acts* xxv. 23. and *Druſilla*, the wife of *Felix*, governor of *Judæa*. *Herod* the tyrant had, by *Mariamne*, the daughter of *Simon*, a ſon, called *Herod Philip*, ſpecified in *Mat.* xiv. 3. *Mark* vi. 17. and by a wife, whoſe name was *Cleopatra*, a ſon named *Philip*, whom St. *Luke* takes notice of in the firſt verſe of his third chapter.

Archelaus, after having enterr'd his father with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence, returned to *Jeruſalem*, where, ſeating himſelf in a throne of gold, he was ſaluted by the people with acclamations, wiſhes of proſperity, and all other demonſtrations of joy, that uſually attended new kings: Nor was he behind-hand with them in a profuſion of fine compliments and promiſes. However, he told them, that it would not be proper for him to receive the crown at their hands, till *Auguſtus* had confirmed and ratified his father's teſtament. *In the mean time,* continu'd he, *it ſhall be the burthen of all my thoughts to deſerve your affection, and ſhew you happier days than ever you enjoyed under the reign of my father.* The people, charm'd with his diſcourſe, redoubled their huzza's, and now thought they might with aſſurance aſk him ſome favours. One party of them humbly hop'd he would leſſen their taxes; another requeſted a general releaſe for priſoners; ſome aſk'd an abolition of all foreign uſages that had been introduced among them, and others earneſtly beſought him that no impoſitions might for the future be levied on the goods of the merchant. *Archelaus* had more wit than to ſend any of them away with a ſorrowful heart, and therefore, after having finiſh'd the ſacrifices proper for ſo ſolemn an occaſion, he renew'd his diſcourſe to them in a ſtrain that he knew would be acceptable; then breaking up the aſſembly, retir'd to an entertainment he had provided for his friends.

Soon after the death of *Herod*, the angel of the lord appear'd in a dream to *Joſeph* in *Ægypt*, and thus admoniſh'd him: *Take the child, and his mother, and return to the inheritance of* Iſrael; *for thoſe are no more who greedily ſought his life.* Hereupon, *Joſeph* took the child, and his mother, and ſet out for *Judæa*. On his arrival, underſtanding that *Archelaus*, the ſon of *Herod*, was declar'd his ſucceſſor, he remained for ſome while in ſuſpence whether he ſhould proceed any farther: But the ſame night, having by a divine impreſſion receiv'd full ſatisfaction in a dream; he immediately retired into *Galilee* to the city of *Nazareth*. And there *Jeſus Chriſt* our Lord took up his abode, till the day that he entered upon his moſt glorious office, and manifeſted himſelf to the houſe of *Iſrael*.

The publick rejoicings for the acceſſion of *Archelaus* to the crown of *Judæa*, were ſcarce over, when a ſedition and violent tumult aroſe on account of the death of *Matthias* and thoſe others who had ſuffer'd with him for taking down and demoliſhing the golden eagle which had been plac'd upon the portal of the temple. They furiouſly inveighed againſt the cruelty and injuſtice of *Herod*, and demanded of *Archelaus* that he would inſtantly revenge the death of thoſe great men, by the deſtruction of an equal number of the known friends of the late furious king, and diſpoſſeſs the high-prieſt whom that miſadventure had promoted to the honourable office.

Archelaus found it a difficult matter, in this caſe, to conceal his reſentment; he therefore cauſed ſome of his general officers to wait upon them, and in ſmooth terms tell them that the puniſhment of *Matthias*, and thoſe who ſided with him, was no other than what the laws authorized, and that their demand was inconſiſtent with the preſent ſituation of affairs; in regard *Archelaus* could make no innovation till he had his grant from *Auguſtus*. *Patience*, inſiſted they, *can do you no hurt; and as ſoon as an anſwer comes back from* Auguſtus, *we give you our word every thing ſhall be ſettled upon the beſt and ſureſt bottom.*

But the faction being more incenſed than pleaſed with theſe fine words, betook themſelves to the temple, whither the feaſt of the paſſover had at this time brought a vaſt confluence of people. And here they choſe rather to ſtay and ſupport themſelves by begging, than leave the place for the ſake of going home to get victuals. Hereupon, *Archelaus*, fearing they would communicate the ſpirit of rebellion to the multitude, ſent his officers with ſome troops to diſſipate them. The malecontents, on ſeeing the ſoldiers advancing, ſo influenced the people, by their complaints and lamentations, that all of them joined iſſue in the quarrel, and gave the military men ſuch an hearty welcome, that but enow of them eſcaped to report the news of the diſaſter. After this, the king commanded his whole army to march againſt them, to kill all who came out of the temple, and take a particular care that no ſtrangers joined them. Three thouſand of the mutineers were by this means kill'd, and the reſt fled to the neighbouring mountains; and an order being, in conſequence of this ſucceſs, publiſhed, that all perſons ſhould forthwith leave the city who were not natives of *Jeruſalem*; the ſedition did but a few days only ſurvive its birth.

The tumult being thus happily appeaſed, *Archelaus* made the neceſſary preparations for a journey to *Rome*. He left the conduct of his houſe and kingdom to his brother *Philip*, and taking with him his mother *Maltace*, *Nicolaus Damaſcenus*, the approved friend and councellor of *Herod*, and ſeveral others whom his heart informed him deſerved a truſt; he ſet forward to bowe the knee to *Auguſtus*, and get the inveſtiture of the kingdom. *Salome*, his aunt, accompanied him, with all her family; as did ſeveral others of the principal *Jews*, under a pretence of aſſiſting him with their intereſt, but with a real view to give in an accuſation againſt him for having commanded the maſſacre that had lately been committed in the temple.

At the ſame time, *Antipas*, another of *Herod*'s ſons, by the advice of *Salome*, went alſo to *Rome*. He had in *Herod*'s firſt will been appointed heir and ſucceſſor; and that, ſhe repreſented to him, would give him a preference to *Archelaus*, whoſe claim was only founded on a latter will. On his arrival thither, many of the *Jews*, and abundance, too, of his own relations, ſtood firmly to his ſide, promiſing to themſelves a milder adminiſtration under him than *Archelaus*, and that they ſhould not, in time coming, ſubmit to the *Roman* yoke.

This year being the firſt of our Lord, and three years before the vulgar *Æra* commenc'd, *Auguſtus*, to determine the claims of the contending parties, ſummon'd a council, nominating *Caius Cæſar*, the ſon of the late *Agrippa* and *Julia* his daughter, to be preſident for the day. The council being ſat, *Antipater*, the ſon of *Salome*, made a long and eloquent ſpeech againſt *Archelaus*, wherein he boldly charged him as an uſurper of the kingdom, becauſe he had taken poſſeſſion, without regarding the approbation and concurrence of the empeor, and of having, during the celebration of the paſſover, and within the temple it ſelf, put to the ſword a great number of *Jews*. *He has, likewiſe*, added he, *aſſumed an inſolent liberty, to diſmiſs ſeveral officers of the army, conferr'd favours arbitrarily, heard cauſes, releas'd priſoners, and, in all his other behaviour, exerciſed the office of a king. Beſides, he, inſtead of ſhewing*

ing any concern at the death of the king, paſs'd the night following in a manner that declared his joy. Hereupon, enſued a mutiny, which aroſe from no other cauſe, than a horror at his inſenſibility for the loſs of a father that had ſo eminently favour'd him. *Herod* himſelf perfectly knew the mean and ſordid qualities of *Archelaus*; and therefore, during his health and ſtrength of judgment, *Antipas* was the ſon he mark'd out for his ſucceſſor. *Antipas* is a man of ſpirit, of a noble and liberal heart, and deſerves a crown; *Archelaus* is quite the reverſe, and a mind impaired by ſickneſs could only have made him king.

Nicolaus Damaſcenus, called by ſome *Nicolas* of *Damaſcus*, anſwered on the part of *Archelaus*, juſtifying him as to the murder of the *Jews*, who had, during the time of an inſurrection, been ſlaughtered in the temple. 'Force, '*ſaid he*, was neceſſary to quell thoſe who would 'not hearken and ſubmit to reaſon: Where mild 'methods avail not, wholeſome ſeverity muſt end 'the diſpute. Sedition had invaded his authori'ty, and what followed was neceſſarily done in 'his own defence. As to the teſtament which is 'here controverted, *Herod* was ſound in mind 'when he ſigned it, and therefore it cannot o'therwiſe be thought but he had weighty rea'ſons for making this alteration.'

This ſaid, *Archelaus* immediately threw himſelf at the feet of *Auguſtus*, who, with an hearty expreſſion of beneficence, bidding him get up, told him he would do nothing in contradiction to the will of his father. *It is my opinion*, continued he, *you are worthy of the crown, and therefore you may depend upon my favour*. However, at this meeting, he did not come to a final deciſion, heſitating within himſelf whether he ſhould give the whole kingdom to *Archelaus*, or parcel it out among the ſons of *Herod*, who had all of them devolv'd themſelves upon his clemency.

Whilſt theſe things were a doing at *Rome*, the *Jews* revolted in *Judæa*; but *Varus*, governor of *Syria*, having by a ſpeedy march unexpectedly fallen upon them, ſoon diſſipated the tumult, and reſtored peace to the country. After this, taking a neceſſary precaution that the mutineers might not riſe again to a head, he left a legion of *Roman* ſoldiers, under the conduct of *Sabinus*, in order to attend at *Jeruſalem* the return of *Archelaus*, and then marched back to *Antioch*.

Varus was no ſoonor gone, than *Sabinus*, promiſing himſelf mountains of gold, endeavoured to make himſelf maſter of the fortreſſes of the city. This being a ſure way, he thought, to diſcover all the treaſures of *Herod*. But he met with ſuch a warm oppoſition, as quite defeated, for ſome while, the execution of his project: For the *Jews* getting intelligence of his deſign, came in great multitudes from all parts of the country to the feaſt of *Pentecoſt*, and dividing themſelves into three bodies, one party took poſſeſſion of the *Circus*, or place of games, a ſecond environed the temple on the eaſt, as well as north ſide of it, and the third body inveſted the weſt part, near which ſtood the royal palace, where *Sabinus* quarter'd with all his troops. And thus ſhutting up the *Romans*, they were a preparing the proper means to begin a general aſſault.

Sabinus, on this dangerous criſis, diſpatch'd a courier to *Varus*, with an earneſt requeſt that he would immediately ſend a competent number of forces to his relief; in the mean time giving the ſignal to his troops to make an incurſion upon the *Jews*. The fight was obſtinately maintain'd on both hands; and though more *Jews* fell than *Romans*, yet that did not at all abate their courage. A party of them mounted the paſſages that lead to the temple, and from thence much gall'd the *Romans* with ſtones, as well as darts and arrows. The *Romans* ſeeing themſelves thus preſſed at a diſadvantage, had recourſe to a ſtratagem to undo the *Jews*. They got ready a great quantity of wood, and piling it up with a mixture of wax and pitch, ſo that the flames might reach high enough to annoy the *Jews*, they ſet fire to it, and the flame in an inſtant anſwered their deſign. Many of the *Jews* periſhed in the flames, ſome ventur'd to jump down, but died in the fall, and others kill'd themſelves; and thoſe that ſurrender'd to the *Romans*, were all of them put to the ſword.

Hereupon, *Sabinus* took his way directly to the place, where was lodg'd the treaſure of the temple, and finding four hundred talents, he gave one half to his ſoldiers, and reſerv'd the other to himſelf. This ſacrilege, join'd to the death of ſo many of their countrymen, violently afflicted the *Jews*, yet ſtill they would go on, being firmly reſolved to hazard all for the reſtoration of liberty. Fortified with theſe thoughts, they beſieged the palace, threatening to burn *Sabinus* alive, with all the men that were with him, if they did not inſtantly come out; but, withal, promiſing, that if they complied with their deſire, the leaſt injury ſhould not be offer'd to any of them. *Sabinus* conſidering how roughly he had hitherto treated the *Jews*, could not, by all their promiſes, be brought to rely upon their word; and therefore kept where he was, till ſuccour ſhould arrive from *Varus*.

Theſe troubles at *Jeruſalem* were follow'd with divers commotions in other places of the country; many disbanded ſoldiers aſſembled together, and, forming themſelves into a regular body, marched with a deſign to fall upon the king's forces, that were commanded by *Achiab*, the ſon of *Herod*; but he wiſely reflecting that a ſhort delay would bring them to a better temper, choſe rather to retire with his troops, than hazard a battle with them.

About the ſame time, *Judas*, one of the chiefs of thoſe thieves, who had formerly put *Herod* to many difficulties, gathering together a company of ſtout and reſolute fellows, invaded the kingdom, ſeized the arſenal, and, arming his men, pillag'd the country round. And as a good deal of the king's money, by this way of purchaſe, fell into his hands, he begun to flatter himſelf with a hope of being one day able to aſcend the throne. This *Judas* I take to be the ſame with him who is called *Theudas* in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, of who *Gamaliel* ſpeaks in this manner: *For before theſe days roſe up* Theudas, *boaſting himſelf to be ſome body, to whom a number of men, about four hundred, joined themſelves; who was ſlain, and all, as many as obeyed him, were ſcattered, and brought to nought*, Acts v. 36.

Beſides, one *Simon*, a man ſingularly beſriended with the gifts of nature, and who had ſerv'd *Herod* in ſeveral poſts of importance, ſet his mind now a gadding upon ways and means to uſurp the crown. Numbers of people reſorted to him, and gave him the title of king; and this was no more, he ſaid, than what he deſerv'd. But, it ſeems, he wanted to diſtinguiſh himſelf in another manner than is uſual with moſt monarchs on acceſſion to their throne. For he begun his reign with ſetting fire to the royal palace of *Jericho*. Nor did this ſuffice him; he burnt ſeveral others, and would have gone on to do much more harm, had not *Gratus*, general of the king's forces, timely come up with him, given him battle, made him a priſoner, and cut off his head.

A mean fellow, whoſe name was *Anthronges*, aſſiſted by four of his brothers, each of whom commanded a party of men, aſpir'd, alſo, to the crown, and for no ſmall ſpace ravaged the country with impunity. They cut to pieces all ſuch of the *Romans*, or of the king's troops, that came in their way, without giving quarter to any body. But, at laſt, by the diligence of *Gratus*, they were all of them taken, and put to the ſword.

Whilſt *Judæa* was thus quarter'd out among a great number of petty tyrants that deſtroyed the country, *Varus*, on receiving notice how things ſtood with *Sabinus*, haſtened with all his army to his aid. As ſoon as the *Jews* heard that he was within a few hours march of the city, they rais'd the ſiege; and then the beſieged, together with the principal men of *Jeruſalem*, and *Joſeph*, a younger ſon of *Herod*, went out to meet and welcome him. But *Sabinus* privately retir'd into the country.

Varus, on his coming to *Jeruſalem*, ſeverely check'd the inhabitants; but in regard they ſoon made it appear that they had no hand in fomenting the diviſions, one way or other, he generouſly accepted their excuſe. After this, ſending ſeveral detachments out of his army with ſtrict orders to make a careful ſearch thorough the whole kingdom for the authors of the revolt; he had the ſatisfaction to ſee vaſt numbers of them brought to *Jeruſalem*; of which, two thouſand were fix'd upon gibbets, and the reſt ſuffered peaceably to return home. Affairs being thus quieted in *Judæa*, and the ſame legion, as before, left in garriſon to ſecure the peace in *Jeruſalem*; *Varus*, after giving directions to carry ſome of the chiefs of the rebellion to *Auguſtus*, went back with his army to *Antioch*.

Archelaus was all this while ſolliciting painfully at the court of *Auguſtus* to get his father's will confirm'd, and himſelf declar'd king of *Judæa*. And now fifty ambaſſadors, authorized by *Varus*, came from *Judæa* to ſupplicate *Auguſtus* to let them live according to their own laws, and more than eight thouſand of the *Jews* that dwelt at *Rome* concurr'd in the petition. Thither, alſo, at the ſame time, arrived *Philip*, the brother of *Archelaus*, out of affection, as was pretended, to his brother, but, in reality, to ſee if he could for himſelf obtain ſome proviſion out of *Herod*'s eſtates.

A council being ſummon'd to conſider this ſubject, and order'd to meet in the temple of *Apollo*, which *Auguſtus* himſelf had built, the *Jewiſh* ambaſſadors fail'd not, at the day appointed, to give their attendance. They there pray'd *Auguſtus* to reflect, that *Herod* had violated all their laws by his intemperate conduct; that he had treated his people like a tyrant, and not like a king; that he had injuriouſly murder'd a prodigious number of the *Jews*, and always behaved himſelf in ſuch an outragious manner, that they could not have ſuffer'd more had they been govern'd by one of the moſt furious among the brutes; that he had found *Judæa* wealthy, flouriſhing, and rich; but left it in poverty, contempt, and wretchedneſs: That he had committed innumerable abuſes upon married women, as well as young ladies of faſhion. 'And, notwithſtanding, *inſiſted they*, we were not hardened into an inſenſibility at his death, but paid his funeral all imaginable reſpect. We likewiſe honoured *Archelaus* as his ſucceſſor, in expectation that he would turn over a new leaf: But, alas! he ſoon diſappointed our hope, and revived old *Herod*, by the murder of three thouſand of his ſubject; and, to aggravate the crime, their blood was ſpilt in the temple, which thing even *Herod* himſelf would have trembled at. Our moſt earneſt requeſt, therefore, is, that the emperor *Auguſtus* would in mercy condeſcend to altar the form of our government, and, inſtead of ſubjecting us to kings of our own, incorporate and embody us with the province of *Syria*, to the end that we may have no farther plague than to obey one governor.'

Nicolaus Damaſcenus roſe up and ſpoke for *Archelaus* in theſe words: 'May it pleaſe the emperor, I cannot but think it extraordinary to find crimes accumulated upon a dead man, who, when alive, had never the leaſt charge brought againſt him. This very circumſtance is enough to demonſtrate the injuſtice of the accuſation: *Archelaus*, as the emperor's deputy, was obliged to preſerve the peace of the country, and if that could not be brought about without force, they that made it neceſſary, are accountable, but not he. If his diſobedience to the ſovereignty of *Auguſtus* occaſioned the death of thoſe who condemned it, then let me ſee the man who has courage enough to declare which ſide he deſires noted, and whom he would acquit. This embaſſy, I am afraid, ſpeaks at the bottom a defiance to power, and lays open before us the character of a people who no longer are reſolved to obey.'

Hereupon, *Auguſtus* diſmiſs'd the aſſembly, and, a little while after, ſending for *Archelaus*, he confirm'd him, not in the whole dominions of *Herod*, but in half, under the title of ethnarch, or prince of the nation; promiſing to make him king as ſoon as he came to know that his virtue merited the diſtinction. The remaining half *Auguſtus* divided between *Philip* and *Antipas*,

Antipas, two other ſons of *Herod*. The firſt had for his ſhare *Batanæa*, *Trachonitis*, and *Auranitis*, with a part of the lands that were formerly poſſeſs'd by *Zenodorus*, the annual revenue of which amounted to an hundred talents: *Antipas*'s portion was *Galilee*, with the country on the further ſide of *Jordan*, being two hundred talents of yearly revenue. And *Archelaus* had *Judæa*, *Idumæa*, and *Samaria*, which annually yielded him ſix hundred talents.

Auguſtus, to reward the loyalty of the people of *Samaria*, who, during the late troubles, had given him many proofs of their affection, eaſed them of a fourth part of the taxes they had formerly paid; and in regard the cities of *Gaza*, *Gadara*, and *Hippon*, lived as the *Greeks* did, he rent them from their dependance on *Judæa*, and re-annex'd them to the province of *Syria*. *Auguſtus* alſo ratified the ſeveral legacies that *Herod* had left, adding, beſides, of his own bounty, two hundred and fifty thouſand ſilver pieces to each of *Herod*'s daughters. As to the money that *Herod* had deſtin'd for him, *Auguſtus* generouſly returned it to his children, reſerving to himſelf only a few curious works, out of the large quantity of plate that *Herod* had bequeathed him.

At this time, an impoſtor, preſuming, on his near reſemblance, in features, as well as ſtature, to *Alexander*, whom *Herod* had put to death, made an eſſay to obtain the crown of *Judæa*. The likeneſs between this counterfeit and the deceaſed prince was ſo very great, that his deceit paſs'd upon many, even of thoſe who had ſeen the prince. He therefore pretended to be *Alexander*, the ſon of *Herod*, and that thoſe, to whom the commiſſion was given to ſlay him and his brother, had compaſſionately ſav'd 'em both, and blinded the eyes of *Herod*, by executing two other men in their room. Going to *Crete*, he there brought all the *Jews* he converſed with into an opinion that he really was *Alexander*, and under this diſguiſe received great ſums of money from them; and from thence paſſing to the iſland of *Melos*, he there had the ſame ſucceſs. Theſe lucky hits emboldening him to think of making an application to *Auguſtus*, he from *Melos* ſet out for *Italy*.

On his arrival, the *Jews* from all parts of the country waited on him, expreſſing their joy with all poſſible teſtimonies of reſpect. The hatred which they had long entertained againſt the tyrant *Herod* and his family, and the love and reverence they bore to the royal *Aſmonæan* race, were moſt powerful motives to incline them to treat him with all manner of honour.

Auguſtus gave orders to bring this impoſtor before him, and in a minute diſcerned the cheat. *This fellow*, ſaid he to the by-ſtanders, *does, indeed, reſemble* Alexander, *but not ſo as to impoſe upon any man of penetration and judgment. Do but examine his hands, and you will ſoon find out the trick.* After this, *Auguſtus* jocoſely ask'd him what was become of his brother *Ariſtobulus*, and why he did not come along with him to receive a treatment ſuitable to his birth. The fellow impudently anſwer'd, his brother was in the iſle of *Cyprus*; *but, in regard of all the iſſue of* Mariamne, continued he, *there are but two of us alive, it was proper for one of us to ſtay behind, to the end he might make good the claim, if an accident ſhould happen to me.* *Auguſtus* ſmiled, and taking him aſide, *Tell me, young man*, ſaid he, *who was the villain that put you on perſonating* Alexander; *ingenuouſly confeſs the truth, and, I give you my word, I'll not touch your life.* The impoſtor immediately owned both the cheat, and its inventor. *Auguſtus* ſent the impoſtor to the gallies, and puniſh'd the latter as ſuch a forgery deſerv'd.

Auguſtus having, the year before this, in a great paſſion, laid open his domeſtick ſores to the ſenate, and thereby procured their conſent for baniſhing the impudent ſtrumpet *Julia*, his daughter, and *Tiberius*'s wife, to the iſland of *Pandataria*, he was afterwards much offended at his own indiſcretion, and would often ſay, had *Agrippa* or *Mæcenas* been alive, ſuch an act of imprudence could not have happened to expoſe his ſhame. And, indeed, thoſe his two favourites uſed often to take a pretty rough liberty with him, of which I ſhall only give one inſtance: As *Auguſtus* was one day ſitting in judgment, and going to condemn a great many unhappy wretches to death, *Mæcenas* luckily chanced to come in; and ſeeing him in a paſſion, wrote down and ſent him theſe words: *It is high time for thee to get up executioner.* And *Auguſtus* inſtantly quitted the place, without paſſing ſentence upon any of them.

The *Armenians* being now in a rebellion, in which they were aſſiſted by the *Parthians*, *Auguſtus* ſent his grandſon *Caius* to reduce them. *Caius* had married *Lollia Paulina*, the daughter of *M. Lollius*; and becauſe *Caius* was not nineteen years of age, *Auguſtus* ordered *Lollius* to go with him as his governor.

Tiberius, who had left *Rome*, either becauſe he could not bear the notorious adulteries of his wife *Julia*, or out of jealouſy of *Caius* and *Lucius*, whom *Auguſtus* reſpected more than he did him; being arrived in the iſle of *Chio*, and there meeting *Caius*, who was going to compoſe the troubles in *Armenia*, did him extraordinary honours, and not only gave him, but every one of his retinue, all imaginable marks of a profound ſubmiſſion.

In the mean time *Phraates*, king of *Parthia*, coming to underſtand *Auguſtus*'s preparations againſt him, writ a letter to him, deſiring honourable conditions of peace. And *Auguſtus*, in his anſwer, having not ſo much as vouchſafed him the title of king, and peremptorily, too, commanded him to leave *Armenia*; *Phraates* was ſo provok'd at this uſage, that he ſent *Auguſtus* a ſecond letter, full of inſolence and defiance; ſtiling himſelf *The king of kings*, and calling *Auguſtus* only *Cæſar*.

Caius being, on his arrival in *Armenia*, ſucceſsful to think of terms of agreement; but having receiv'd a wound, he grew afterwards indolent, add took a reſolution to continue in the eaſt, and lead a private life. *Auguſtus* hearing of this his deſign, earneſtly begg'd him to return, promiſing a compliance with all his deſires. Hereupon, *Caius* gave his conſent to go back to *Rome*, but, in his way thither, died at

Limyra, a city of *Lycia*, ſurviving his brother *Lucius*, who was dead in *Spain*, but eighteen months.

Archelaus, on his arrival in *Judæa*, took the high-prieſthood from *Joazar*, becauſe he had countenanced the rebels, and promoted his brother *Eleazar* in his room. He then rebuilt the palace of *Jericho*, and employed workmen to build a town, which he afterwards diſtinguiſh'd with his own name. This year being the ſecond of our Lord, *Archelaus* ſent a bill of divorce to his wife, and married *Glaphyra*, the widow of his own brother *Alexander*, to whom ſhe had borne children; and, by this falſe ſtep, he violated the law of *Moſes* in two particulars: Firſt, in eſpouſing a ſtranger, the daughter of the king of *Cappadocia*, who was not of the *Jewiſh* religion; and, ſecondly, by taking to wife the relict of his brother, who before had children by her.

Auguſtus having, on the death of *Caius*, ſent an ambaſſador to the prieſteſs of *Apollo* to enquire who ſhould ſucceed him in the empire; had an anſwer return'd him in theſe words: *An* Hebrew *child, the great ſovereign of the higher powers, has commanded me to leave this place, and retire into hell; therefore you muſt henceforth go unſatiſfied from our altars.*

Tiberius, on the news of *Caius*'s death, made joyful preparations to re-viſit *Rome*. Whilſt he ſtayed at *Rhodes*, he applied himſelf moſtly to the ſimple and ridiculous ſtudy of divination, and, to aſſiſt him in it, liberally entertain'd an aſtrologer, whoſe name was *Thraſillus*. It is ſaid, that *Thraſillus* foretold him that *Caius* and *Lucius* would die, and make way for him to ſucceed to the empire. And this he might tell him, without being obliged either to the ſtars, or the devil; for *Thraſillus* might form this conjecture from the reſtleſs and wicked temper of *Livia*, the wife of *Auguſtus*, who, he thought, would leave no ſtone unturn'd to ſecure the empire for her ſon; it being the opinion of ſome, that both the youths were poiſoned by her means.

Tiberius and *Thraſillus* being at *Rhodes* upon the top of an high wall, which fronted to the ſea, the former had for ſome minutes been contriving in his mind how to throw maſter aſtrologer headlong into the ſea; and then looking gravely at *Thraſillus*, he ask'd him if he knew the time and manner of his own death. *That*, anſwer'd he, *I can't particularly reſolve you; but this I am ſure of, I was never in ſo much danger as I am at preſent.* This mark of his ſufficiency, though, in all likelihood, it proceeded from a judgment made on *Tiberius*'s face, hinder'd *Tiberius*'s bad intention, and gave the aſtrologer a chief place in his eſteem.

Thoſe that pretend, from the ſtars, or any other way, to tell people's fortunes, or reſtore loſt goods, are all cheats, to a man; and yet the credulity of ſome is ſo great, that they do, in contradiction to our moſt holy religion, common ſenſe, and experience, conſult them. The devil himſelf cannot tell future events otherwiſe than by a ſhrew'd gueſs; and being an old ſpirit, a long acquaintance with natural cauſes, makes him ſometimes hit the mark, though, for one truth he ever ſpoke, he has been guilty of a thouſand lies: For which reaſon, it is my firm opinion, than when any truth comes from him, he has his inſtructions from above, and is commanded to tell it.

In vain do aſtrologers endeavour to juſtify their calculating nativities, and their other impoſitions of the like ſort, by theſe words: *And let them be for ſigns*, Gen. i. 14. for that they were never deſigned for ſuch an uſe as they make of them, is plain from the law given againſt it, *Deut.* xviii. 10. *There ſhall not be found among you any one——that uſeth divination*, &c. And *Iſaiah* viii. 19.——*Should not a people ſeek unto their God?* But thoſe that conſult aſtrologers, or any other cunning rogues, about the future accidents of their lives, ſtray goods, *&c.* do, as much as in them lies, forſake their God, and put their confidence in the devil. It is a common, as well as juſt remark, that not three of an hundred of thoſe who fly to ſuch unlawful curioſities, did ever live to ſee the ordinary age of man; the great ruler of events ſo diſpoſing it, that they fall a ſacrifice to their own fears.

Tiberius having finiſh'd his eight years ſtudy at *Rhodes*, was, on his coming to *Rome*, made the adopted ſon of *Auguſtus*, and thereby ſettled in the proſpect of ſucceeding to the empire; but, at the ſame time, as a check upon him, *Auguſtus* obliged him to adopt *Germanicus*, who was a perſon of great worth and merit, and the granſon of *Livia* by her ſon *Druſus*, that died about ten years before in the *German* wars.

The people having one day call'd *Auguſtus* lord, he not only then refuſed that appellation, but continu'd ever after on a guard to prevent it. And now his cuſtomary farm of ten years, which granted him an abſolute power over the lives and fortunes of his ſubjects, being for the third time expired, the good man was with ſome intreaties brought at length to accept the ſame burthen for ten years more. As age had pretty much ſubdued the rough ſallies of paſſion, and ſweeten'd his natural temper, he thought it the wiſeſt courſe to live in amity and friendſhip with his people, and avoid the having any difference with his ſenate.

The palace being at this time burnt to the ground, *Auguſtus* only impos'd a piece of gold (which is twenty-five *Attick* drams) upon every nation, and one dram (which is two groats of our money) upon each particular perſon, towards the re-building it: And, when it was finiſhed, he ſaid, it ought to be common to the people, as well as him, ſince it was at their charge built. At ſome preſſing inſtances to recal his daughter *Julia*, he made anſwer, they might with the ſame eaſe reconcile fire and water together, as bring him to condeſcend to ſuch a requeſt. They then threw ſome combuſtible matter into the *Tiber*, which made him ſmile, and, continuing their importunities, prevailed with him ſo far, that ſhe ſhould leave the iſle, whither ſhe had been baniſhed, and take up her reſidence in the firm land.

There being a conſpiracy detected, in which was engaged *Cornelius*, the grandſon, by a daughter, of *Pompey the Great*, *Auguſtus* fell into ſuch a perplexed ſtate, as filled his head with apprehenſions by day, and deprived him of his reſt by night. Should he pardon them, it would but encourage others to form new deſigns; and was he to put them to death, he could not from thence promiſe himſelf an untroubled ſecurity. *Livia* perceiving the anxious condition of his mind, ask'd what was the matter with him. ‘How can I be eaſy, *ſaid he*, in the midſt of ſo many enemies, who are continually plotting my deſtruction? Seeſt thou not how many perſons are embarked in an attempt againſt my life and dignity? And the example that has been made of ſome, inſtead of deterring others, makes them run more greedily to their ruin. You ſhould not, anſwer'd *Livia*, be ſurprized at ſuch a conjuncture; it is but a common effect in the courſe of the things of this world. One cannot expect to govern ſo large an empire, and pleaſe every body. How juſt and honourable ſoever an adminiſtration may be, there are numbers of thoſe who will take an occaſion to complain. The reſtleſs and the wicked are by far the greater part of your people, and to think of gratifying them, would be a labour vain and unprofitable. There are others, who, on the ſtrength of a few good qualities, thruſt themſelves forward, and aſpire to poſts for which they are not fit; and when they ſee men of more merit preferred to them, they immediately deſert your intereſt, and add to the crowd of the diſaffected. It is not an averſion to you, but love to themſelves, that ſets them a working. Sovereign power, and the advantages that attend it, diffuſe ſuch a luſtre, and ſo captivate the minds of men, that I wonder not to find ſome affecting it, and others ambitious to refreſh themſelves under its ſhade; and however extravagant or unjuſt this temper may be, yet, as it ſeems to be the reſult and work of nature itſelf, force and puniſhment will never be able to cure the bias. Reſolve, therefore, to diſappoint and ſcatter their intrigues, but ſcorn to maintain your authority by rigour.

‘I own, reparteed *Auguſtus*, that envy is the neceſſary conſequence of an exalted ſtation, and that, of all others, abſolute dominion is the moſt expoſed. Our happineſs would come near to that of the ſupreme power and arbiter of all things, was it not intricately chequer'd with painful care, terror, and vexation. I am now under ſuch a caſe, as will not admit a remedy; and thence iſſues all my pain.

‘Since, replied *Livia*, there are many who take a delight in wicked enterprizes, let us not be wanting to ourſelves in precautions againſt them. We have an army ſufficient to bridle their violence, as well as ſecure us. I I have no need, ſaid *Auguſtus*, to call in inſtances of kings who have periſh'd by the hands of thoſe in whom they repos'd a confidence. How wretched is our circumſtance, that obliges us to dread, and, with an eye of care, ſurvey our friends, as well as our enemies? The firſt are the more dangerous of the two; we arm againſt our enemies, but againſt thoſe we have no defence. Whether alone, or in company, death is ſtill hovering over our heads. We often make a wrong judgment of men, taking thoſe for friends who in reality are at work to undo us. Oh! when will that day arrive, which will bring me ſuch friends, as I could truſt in?

‘It is my opinion, reſumed *Livia*, that a monarch can find abſolute ſafety no where but in the love and affection of his people. Friends, I will allow, are often treacherous, and an army may eaſily be corrupted. But let us go on to merit the good-will of the people, and neither the one nor the other will dare to hurt us. I would have you, in the preſent exigence, imitate the phyſicians, who never make uſe of inciſion and fire where a diſtemper may be drove away with gentle means. The mind, all ſpiritual as it is, has its paſſions, which reſemble the infirmities of the body: Fear makes it contract itſelf, anger inflames it; ſhe ſinks under melancholy, and magnanimity revives her. Sweeteners, therefore, are, in both caſes, the moſt proper medicines. Mercy is an opiate that will inſtantly quiet the moſt turbulent humours; but correction is a method that has often provoked the ſweeteſt diſpoſitions. A moderate and clement conduct will at laſt overcome hatred, and gain univerſal approbation. We find, that even the fierceſt of brutes may be tamed by good uſage, and that the moſt fearful among them will reſiſt violence. But when I have ſaid this, it is not with a deſign that you ſhould indifferently pardon all; the malady in ſome of them, has, perhaps, got to ſuch a height, that nothing but perpetual exile can perform the cure. As to the reſt, whom youth, ignorance, want of thought, or misfortunes, have led into a ſnare, a kind reproof or two will be ſufficient; and if this will not retain them in their duty, you may then proceed without running any danger, to the lighter puniſhments; as infamy, exile for a few years, and confiſcation of goods. But when we take away the life for a tale or treaſon, the world is apt to think we were either afraid of the man, or envied his virtue. And, indeed, the glory of a prince conſiſts in preſerving, and not deſtroying his people. Cruelty to one ſeldom fails to alienate the hearts of many. Force and terror, as they produce fear, ſo they beget hatred; but perſuaſion is only capable to conquer the heart. Let us, therefore, alter our conduct, and try, by mildneſs, to win their affection. An intemperate behaviour in them, follow'd by kind offices in us, will ſoon make them aſhamed, and compel them to love us. If you can be ſo kind to yourſelf as to follow this advice, which comes from her that is obliged to be a part both in your joy and ſorrow, the great quantity of blood you have ſpilt, as well as the fury of your proſcriptions, will no longer be imputed to your own inclination, but the neceſſity of the times.’

Auguſtus enter'd into the ſentiments of *Livia*, and generouſly forgave all the conſpirators. He made the grandſon of *Pompey* conſul, and by this, and other obliging offices, ſo won the hearts of the citizens, that nothing like an attempt appear'd afterwards to diſturb his reign. So true it is, that people may be led, but will never be drove.

Tiberius being, ſoon after his arrival from *Rhodes*, ſent into *Germany* to give the finiſhing blow to the war that had for three years plagued the *Romans*; *Velleius Paterculus*, the hiſtorian, who attended him in the quality of general of the horſe, is pleaſed to tell us, *That for nine whole years he was a ſpectator of his glorious actions, and alſo aſſiſted in each of 'em, to the utmoſt of his power.*

Tiberius having penetrated upwards of four hundred miles into the country, and reduced all of it, excepting only the *Marcomanni*, who had lately, under the conduct of *Maroboduus*, ſettled in thoſe grounds which are ſurrounded by the *Hyrcanian* wood, was now preparing to fall upon them, but news, in the interim, arriving, that all *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia* were up in arms, made him lay aſide his purpoſe. Theſe rebels had enjoyed a long peace, and, being in a rich and flouriſhing condition, got moſt of the nations round them to join in a League to throw off the *Roman* yoke.

The rebels having gather'd together an exceeding great army, divided it into three bodies, ordering one party to march againſt *Macedonia*, the ſecond to break into *Italy*, and reſerving the third for their own defence. This rebellion appear'd ſo formidable to *Auguſtus*, that he ſaid, to the ſenate, "If we do not make ſpeedy and extraordinary precautions, the enemy may have it in their power to come, within ten days, to the walls of *Rome*." Levies, therefore, were expeditiouſly made, and ſuch diligence us'd, that *Tiberius* ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of the moſt numerous army that had appeared in the field ſince the concluſion of the civil wars.

The terror of this army brought *Pannonia* to a quick ſubmiſſion; but the *Dalmatians*, truſting to the faſtneſſes and ſituation of their country, continued the war till they were almoſt totally ruined. Experience made them then accept of a peace upon any terms. *Baton*, who had been the principal author of this revolt, being on an accommodation asked by *Tiberius* what was the motive that gave riſe to their rebellion againſt the *Romans*; 'To you, alone, ſaid he, that accident is owing; who, inſtead of employing ſhepherds and their dogs to watch and guard your flocks, only ſend wolves to tear and devour them.'

In the mean time, *Varus*, who in needy circumſtances was ſent to govern rich *Syria*, and return'd in an opulent condition out of poor *Syria*, being at the helm of affairs in *Germany*, took it into his mind to treat them in the ſame rigorous manner as was his practice in *Syria*: But the *Germans*, who had been accuſtomed to milder uſage under former governors, grew quickly tired of arbitrary power. It was not adviſeable, they thought, to come to an open rupture; policy was the ſafeſt method to reſiſt force. They, therefore, under a deep cloak of diſſimulation, concealed their reſentment, and, whilſt they were hourly giving him extraordinary tokens of friendſhip, their principal deſign was to complete his ruin. And an occaſion ſoon offered that brought it to paſs.

A commotion happening which obliged *Varus* to march with his troops, they followed him, under a pretence of aſſiſting him againſt the enemy; and laying hold of an opportunity which had entirely put him into their hands, they ſurrounded him on all ſides, and, having his army at ſuch a diſadvantage that they could neither defend themſelves, nor retire; immediately proſtrated and cut off three legions, or eighteen thouſand men, and three cohorts, or companies conſiſting of ſix hundred men each.

Varus being ſenſible that this terrible accident was wholly owing to his own negligence and ſecurity (for *Segeſtes* had given him previous information that the *Germans* were a plotting to deſtroy him), ſhame and deſpair ſo battered the powers of his weak mind, that he fell upon his own ſword, and killed himſelf. In this general diſtreſs of the *Roman* troops, *Volumnius*, the lieutenant of *Varus*, fled, with all the horſe, baſely leaving the foot to the mercy of the enemy. *Lucius Aſprenas*, who had the command of two legions under his uncle *Varus*, acted at this time a very brave part, ſecuring the retreat of his men, and by the help of *L. Seditius*, the camp-maſter, who ſoon after joined him with the ſhattered remains of the *Roman* forces, preſerving a good part of the country in their obedience to the emperor.

Though *Varus* had pillaged and ſpoiled the *Germans* at an infamous rate, yet all was coloured over with a ſpecious form of law: Every rolling day of his government opened with freſh proceedings againſt ſome innocent perſon or other; wealth could by no means eſcape an accuſation: And as he preſided in this court himſelf, a ſhort pleading was enough to convince him of the guilt of the defendant. Nor did any go from his bar without having the mortification to ſee, at leaſt, their goods confiſcated. The *Roman* lawyers having been very diligent and active to ſerve *Varus* in theſe proceſſes, was the reaſon that a *German* ſoldier, on ſeizing an eminent advocate at the above defeat, cut out his tongue, and holding it up in his hand, ſaid, with a loud voice, 'Oh! thou viper, I have at laſt put it out of thy power to hiſs.'

Auguſtus was ſo aſtoniſhed at the news of this diſaſter, that, for a while, ſuſpended in mind, he walk'd about, tearing his dreſs, beating his head againſt the wall, and often uttering theſe words: '*Quintilius Varus*, bring me back the legions.' The whole city was in a dreadful conſternation; for the firſt account had ſo magnified the loſs, that they hourly expected the *Germans* at the gates of *Rome*. In the mean time, no method was left untried that might ſpeedily raiſe a new army. All ſuch as were of a proper age to ſerve in the wars, had immediate orders to liſt themſelves, and the recuſants were ſtripp'd of their goods, and noted with infamy. And when *Auguſtus* found that even this would not do, he iſſued out a command, that all who refuſed ſhould inſtantly be put to death. But underſtanding, ſoon after, that the poſture of his affairs in *Germany* was not ſo deplorable as had been repreſented, he recalled that ſevere edict, and, contenting himſelf with the troops already raiſed, ſent *Tiberius* at the head of them to reduce the country.

Archelaus had, during the firſt years of his ethnarchy, or principality, behaved with tolerable mildneſs, and conſequently kept *Judæa* in a ſtate of peace, which diſpoſed *Auguſtus* to let him pleaſe himſelf with the title of king; but by the time that he had reigned ten years in *Judæa*, his tyranny grew ſo heavily ſenſible, as to call up old *Herod* in their memory, and put them on applying to *Auguſtus* for relief. The *Jews*, therefore, as well as the *Samaritans*, coming unanimouſly into a project to redreſs themſelves, ſent an honourable embaſſy to *Rome*, with inſtructions to lay before *Auguſtus* the many hardſhips, and acts of violence, they had ſuffered from their king.

Auguſtus, who had in a very expreſs manner enjoined *Archelaus* to treat his people with great clemency and juſtice, was ſo provoked at his unjuſt adminiſtration, that he gave an immediate order to have him brought to *Rome*. *Archelaus* was at a magnificent entertainment, ſurrounded by flatterers, jollity, and mirth, when *Auguſtus*'s meſſenger came in upon him, ſignifying he muſt go to *Rome*.

On *Archelaus*'s arrival at *Rome*, *Auguſtus* call'd a council, and having there given free audience to his accuſers, as well as permiſſion to the criminal to defend himſelf; every article of the charge was too evidently made out againſt him, to be ſet aſide by any thing he could ſay in juſtification. Whereupon, *Auguſtus* paſs'd ſentence upon him, ordering all his effects to be confiſcated, and himſelf to go into baniſhment to *Vienne* in *Gallia*, now called *France*.

After this, *Auguſtus* ſent a command to *Publius Sulpitius Cyrenius*, who was at this time governor of *Syria*, to take poſſeſſion, in his name, of the kingdom of *Judæa*, and annex it to the province of *Syria*. *Coponeus*, a *Roman* of the *Equeſtrian* rank, carried him *Auguſtus*'s pleaſure, and, withal, acquainted him, that he was authoriz'd to go along with him, and continue governor of *Judæa*, but ſubordinate to him who was preſident of *Syria*. On their coming to *Jeruſalem*, they ſold the houſes of *Archelaus*, leaving nothing unſeized that had belonged to him.

Cyrenius having finiſhed that part of his commiſſion which related to *Archelaus*, proceeded next to ſettle and eſtabliſh the tax, according to the deſcription and account of eſtates, real and perſonal, that had been made eleven years before by *Sentinus Saturninus*. He raiſed *Annas*, the ſon of *Seth*, to the high-prieſthood, depoſing *Joazar*, the ſon of *Boethus*, from that dignity, in regard he had univerſally diſobliged the people. He likewiſe in a great meaſure, aboliſhed the *Jewiſh* polity, ſubſtituting that of the *Romans* in its ſtead. And the power of life and death was now entirely taken from the *Jews*, and lodged only in the *Roman* procurator and his under-juſtices. This done, *Cyrenius* returned into *Syria*, leaving *Coponius* in the government of *Judæa*.

Whilſt theſe things were a tranſacting in *Judæa*, our bleſſed Lord and Saviour being then in the twelfth year of his age, according to humanity, accompanied *Joſeph* and *Mary* to the paſſover at *Jeruſalem*, where he ſhone forth in his prophetick office, aſſerted the temple to be the houſe of his father, declared the truth of God, and for three full days, in the temple, diſputed with the greateſt doctors of the *Jewiſh* church. This was his firſt time of appearing as the great miniſter and mediator of the new covenant, whereby life and ſalvation were offered and revealed to men. And this his coming was foretold by the prophet *Malachi*, in theſe words: *Behold, I will ſend my meſſenger, and he ſhall prepare the way before me: And the Lord whom ye ſeek, ſhall ſuddenly come to his temple: Even the meſſenger of the covenant, whom ye delight in. Behold, he ſhall come, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts*, Malac. iii. 1. And hereby, too, was the ſplendor and glory of this latter temple made infinitely greater than that of the former, as had been propheſied by *Haggai*, ch. ii. ver. 9.

At this time, alſo, begun to be fulfill'd that moſt remarkable and glorious propheſy of *Jacob*; *The ſcepter ſhall not depart from* Judah, *nor a law-giver from between his feet, until* Shiloh *come*, Gen. xlix. 10. By *Shiloh* is underſtood the meſſiah, in the judgment of *Jewiſh* doctors, as well as all *Chriſtians*. The ſcepter in *Judah* denotes the ſupreme power which was firſt exerciſed by *Moyſes*, *Joſhua*, and the judges, and afterwards reſided in their kings. By *The law-giver from between his feet* is meant an adminiſtration of juſtice by their own countrymen, and according to their own laws.

And theſe undoubted marks of ſovereignty all the houſe of *Iſrael* enjoyed from the time of their departure out of *Ægypt*, till the *Aſſyrian* monarchy ſwallowed up ten of their tribes in ſuch a manner as they have not ſince been heard of: For theſe ten tribes being carried into captivity, and diſperſed among the *Heathen* inhabitants of the eaſt, they were immediately deprived of both the ſcepter and their laws; and their intermarriages, and neceſſary fellowſhip with the *Pagans*, made them ſoon after forget and renounce their name, as well as nation.

But as to the tribe of *Judah*, though they had, likewiſe, the misfortune to be driven into captivity, they yet retained their name and laws, and were afterwards permitted to return to their own country, and reinſtated in all their former royal privileges. And from that their reſtoration downwards (except the three years and an half of *Antiochus*'s perſecution), to the preſent period we are upon, they continued without any breach on their conſtitution, to be governed by their own princes, and their own laws.

Herod having reigned one year after the birth of our Saviour, and *Archelaus* ſucceeding him for ten years more, ſo long then had the ſcepter and law-giver kept their footing in *Judah*: But now that *Cyrenius* had ſubjected *Judæa* to the province of *Syria*, and left *Coponius* as governor of it under him, the ſcepter totally ceaſed from among them, and but a ſmall, and ſcarce perceptible veſtige of the law-giver, remained. For though they were allowed to have a Sanhedrim, or national council, together with an high-prieſt; yet both theſe amounted to no more than a picture and carcaſs of their former grandeur, and in ſixty-two years after this prophetick manifeſtation of our Saviour in the temple, their Sanhedrim, as well as high-prieſthood, were finally rooted out of the world by *Titus*, and have never been revived ſince.

This great change in the *Jewiſh* œconomy, or diſpenſation, happened exactly according to the above propheſy, at the time when our Saviour firſt appear'd, as St. *Paul* deſcribeth it; that is, *in the laſt of the ages*, Heb. ix. 26. for our *Engliſh* bible miſtook the meaning of the original words, and therefore thus renders them, *in the end of the world*. And that this is the genuine import of St. *Paul*'s words, will appear to any one, who is not quite a ſtranger to the *Jewiſh* idiom, or manner of ſpeech; it being a common thing among them to talk of the ſeveral œconomies, or diſpenſations, that had ſucceſſively been in the world, as of ſo many ages. This time, therefore, or appearance of our Lord, was accounted by St. *Paul*, and all the reſt of the converted *Jews*, the conſumation and full accompliſhment of all ages, beyond which there could not, in time coming, ariſe any farther age or œconomy.

Hence it is, that in the ſame idiomatick, or *Jewiſh* way of ſpeech, the times of the evangelick or goſpel-diſpenſation are often call'd in the inſpir'd writings, *the fulneſs of the times*, *the laſt days*, *the laſt times*; and, by St. *Paul*, *the completion of the ages*. Which ſeveral phraſes gives us to underſtand that the times of the goſpel, or, which is the ſame thing, the appearance and revelation of our Saviour, ſhould be the laſt age, and conclude and finiſh all times. Whatever diſpenſations had obtained in the world before him, ſhould immediately, on his coming, ceaſe, and make way for his kingdom, which would never be ſucceeded by any other.

The *Jews* grievouſly reſented this new face of affairs; one party gave out that their being ſubjected to *Roman* laws and tribute, was an open and publick badge of ſervitude, and ſuch a violation of their principles, which led them to acknowledge God alone for their king and maſter, as neceſſarily required them to cut their way to liberty by the ſword. A ſecond faction pretended it was a manifeſt breach of their law (which commanded them *not to ſet a ſtranger, which is not of their brethren, to be king over them*), Deut. xvii. 15. to ſubmit ſo far to a foreign king, as to pay taxes to him.

Judas, a *Gaulonite*, of the city of *Gamala*, in *Galilee*, was the leading man of the firſt party, and, with his ſmooth cant, ſo prevail'd upon and animated the thoughtleſs minds of many of the people, that a very conſiderable body follow'd him; and the effects of it were immediately felt in all parts of the country. Robbery and murder walked bare-fac'd in all places; they ſpared neither friends nor enemies; and though liberty was all the while made their excuſe and pretext, yet ſpoil and plunder appear'd to be their only motive at bottom. I ſhall finiſh the account of him and his party in the words of *Gamaliel*, Acts v. 37. *After this man roſe up* Judas *of* Galilee, *in the days of the taxing, and drew away much people after him: He alſo periſhed, and all, even as many as obeyed him, were diſpers'd.*

The other faction was headed by one *Sadoc*, a *Phariſee*, to whom joined all the *Phariſees*, as well as many others; but they, likewiſe, were ſoon brought to ſubmit. They continued, indeed, to deny the lawfulneſs of paying taxes to a king that was not of their own nation, and, for the ſame reaſon, look'd with great contempt and abhorence upon ſuch *Jews* as condeſcended to take, under the *Romans*, the employment of *Publicans*, or collectors of the taxes. They conſidered the *Publicans* as a ſet of men that daily violated and broke their law; nay, they carried their averſion to them ſo far, that they regarded them with an eye of being renegadoes from their religion, and therefore renounced all manner of fellowſhip with them. And this is the cauſe that in the goſpels we meet with *Publicans* and ſinners ſo frequently ranked together. Yet, notwithſtanding all this their odium againſt taxes, and thoſe that gathered them, their proud ſtomachs were now, at laſt, taught to bend thereto.

In the mean time, *Tiberius* paſſing into *Germany*, carried his victories wherever he went. Experience had inform'd him that *Varus*'s misfortunes was the reſult of negligence and raſhneſs; he therefore, during the two years he ſtayed, undertook no enterprize without good advice, and alſo kept his ſoldiers to a moſt exact military diſcipline. And having thus reſtored peace to the country, he return'd to *Rome*, where he triumph'd three times.

Coponius being recall'd, *Marcus Ambivius* was ſent to ſucceed him in the government of *Judæa*, and, about the ſame time, died that wicked woman *Salome*, the ſiſter of *Herod*. She had, in her laſt will, left to *Livia* (whom *Joſephus* commonly calls *Julia*), the wife of *Auguſtus*, the city of *Jamnia*, with its toparchy, or government, *Phazaelis*, ſituated in the plain, and *Archelais*, where grew a great number of date-trees, that bore excellent fruit.

Auguſtus was ſo highly pleaſed with the conduct and ſucceſs of *Tiberius* in *Germany*, that, on his return to *Rome*, he raiſed him into an equal ſhare of abſolute power and authority with himſelf over all the dominions that belong'd to the *Roman* empire; which partnerſhip in the ſupreme command was likewiſe ratified and confirmed by the ſenate and people of *Rome*. And from this event is to be computed that fifteenth year of *Tiberius*, which is taken notice of in the third chapter and firſt verſe of the goſpel according to St. *Luke*.

Auguſtus's uſual leaſe of ten years being now for the fourth time expired, he was again prevailed on, by the ſtrong importunities of the people, to accept of the government for another ten years. And coming to underſtand that the twentieth part, which was rigorouſly levied upon the eſtates real, as well as perſonal, of his ſubjects, was an unſupportable burthen to the empire, and might in time cauſe an inſurrection; he, by a letter, ſignified his pleaſure to the ſenate, that they ſhould find out and impoſe another tax in the room of it. This expedient, he knew, would at once determine the ſenate to approve and ſettle the above tax, and, at the ſame time, free him from the odium and hatred that attended it. Nor was he miſtaken in his judgment; for they ratified the old tax, in regard they could eſtabliſh no other that would be leſs incommodious to the people, and by this means delivered him from all his fears.

The laſt year of *Auguſtus* being arrived (which was the ſeventeenth of our Lord, and the fourteenth of the vulgar *Æra*), *Marcus Ambivius* was ordered to return to *Rome*, and *Annius Rufus* ſent governor of *Judæa* in his ſtead.

As *Auguſtus* was at this time buſied with *Tiberius*, his collegue, in taking a deſcription or ſurvey of the people, which amounted to the number of 4137000 *Roman* citizens, an eagle flew about him ſeveral times, then taking her way to a chapel in the neighbourhood, ſat down at the firſt letter of the name of *Agrippa*. For which reaſon, *Auguſtus*, who was more than abundantly ſuperſtitious, left *Tiberius*, to celebrate thoſe vows which cuſtom required for the following term of five years. The firmament had appeared in a ſhew of fire, and a comet was ſeen, of a menacing and bloody colour. The ſenate, therefore, iſſued out an order that publick prayers ſhould be made for the health of the emperor.

And, ſoon after, a thunderbolt falling upon his ſtatue in the capitol, and daſhing out the firſt letter of his name *Cæſar*, the ſhameleſs diviners, who were conſulted on this occaſion, made anſwer, *Auguſtus* ſhould within an hundred days be added to the number of the Gods. confirming it with the following reaſon, *viz.* the letter C, which was ſtruck out by the thunderbolt, repreſented among arithmetical figures the number one hundred; and *æſar*, the remaining part of the name in the *Hetruſcan* tongue, ſignified a God. But the true ground they proceeded on, was the age and infirmities of the man, which they concluded would probably finiſh him before the expiration of an hundred days.

In the mean time, *Auguſtus*, finding himſelf grow daily weaker, writ down a ſhort account of all his memorable actions, and giving orders that the above breviary of his exploits ſhould be regiſter'd upon braſs, and placed before his mauſoleum, or tomb, he accompanied *Tiberius* (whom he had before commiſſioned to go to *Illyricum*) to *Beneventum*, where they parted, and *Tiberius* begun his journey. But *Auguſtus* being ſoon after ſeized with a violent diarrhæa, or looſeneſs, he had *Tiberius* called back again, and, after a long converſation with him in private, he took his leave of him at *Nola*, bidding him make what expedition he could to ſettle *Illyricum*, that he might return the ſooner.

When his diſtemper had come to ſuch a head, as made him ſenſible he could live but a very ſhort while, he ſent for his moſt particular friends, and telling them that he left them *Rome* all of marble, which before his time was nothing but brick (alluding not to the magnificence of the buildings, but the power of the empire), he laſt of all, by way of jeſt, on the vanity of human life, asked them if they thought he had played his part well; and, upon receiving an extraordinary approbation, he then deſired them to give him the ſame teſtimony of applauſe that the *Roman* actors uſually requeſted of their audience at the end of a dramatick piece. And ſo he died in the arms of his wife *Livia*, pronouncing theſe words: *Remember our marriage, and farewel.*

He had liv'd ſeventy-ſix years, lacking thirty-five days, dying on the nineteenth of *Auguſt*, which was the ſame day on which he had obtain'd his firſt conſuſhip. If we begin his reign from that conſulſhip, we then extend it to fifty-ſix years; but, reducing it to the *Actiac* victory, which is the moſt reaſonable method of the two, his reign will include only the ſpace of forty-four years, wanting fourteen days; it being that victory which alone ſet him at the head of the *Roman* empire.

There run a ſuſpicion that he was poiſoned by his beloved wife *Livia*. He had adopted *Agrippa Poſthumus*, the ſon of his daughter *Julia*, at the ſame time that he conferred the rights of ſonſhip upon *Tiberius*; but that young man chancing ſoon after to let fall ſome ſimple expreſſions, which were aggravated by *Livia* in ſuch a manner as made *Auguſtus* renounce him; *Agrippa* was immediately ſent into baniſhment. And as *Auguſtus* had a little while ago paid him a viſit, which might ſtrike a dread into *Livia* that he deſigned to leave *Agrippa* his heir, and exclude her ſon *Tiberius*; ſome were of opinion, that ſhe ſprinkled a poiſonous powder on ſome figs, which hung upon a tree, from whence he uſed often to pick that fruit, and taking care to reſerve a few for her ſelf, that were ſound and good, to the end her example might encourage him to eat; ſhe then gave him the poiſon'd ones, which threw him into a diarrhæa, and kill'd him. Whether this be fact, or no, I cannot tell; ſhe was a cunning woman. However, *Agrippa Poſthumus* was diſpatch'd out of the way before the people of *Rome* receiv'd an account of *Auguſtus*'s death.

By his teſtament, two thirds of his eſtate were aſſign'd to *Tiberius*, and one third to his wife *Livia*; and becauſe ſo large a donation from a man to his wife was not allowable by the civil law, he had previouſly got the ſenate to diſpenſe with that law, as far as it regarded him. He likewiſe deſtin'd ſeveral heritages, and many moveables of great value, to his relations, to ſtrangers, to ſenators, to knights, and to kings. He left the people of *Rome* ten millions of drams, to be thus divided, to each ſoldier of his guards two hundred and fifty drams, to each ſoldier in garriſon one hundred and twenty-five, and to the bulk of the people ſeventy-five drams *per* man. Beſides, he ordained, that what eſtates or legacies ſoever had been at any time left him, ſhould, with all their profits, be reſtored to the children of the teſtators, as ſoon as they ſhould arrive to full age. And the ſame generoſity he had always made appear in his life-time, returning the right of ſucceſſion to the lawful heirs, either when they came to age, or ſoon after. He had ever ſhewn a very great tenderneſs for other men's children, but yet he was not brave enough to forgive his own daughter; nay, ſo far from that, he gave a poſitive order that her aſhes ſhould not be depoſited in his tomb, leaving her only a triffling preſent.

Furthermore, he left a paper, wherein he earneſtly preſs'd the *Romans* not to beſtow the rights and privileges of *Roman* citizens upon any body without great circumſpection; for it was neceſſary, he told them, to keep up a diſtinction between themſelves and thoſe who depended upon their power. He bid them take care how they truſted weak men with the charge of publick affairs, and beware of committing an abſolute power into the hands of any one man, for fear he ſhould take it into his head to act the tyrant; or, if he was a good man, his death might imvolve the empire in great calamities. He moreover begged them to ſet aſide all thoughts of enlarging the limits of the empire, becauſe it would inevitably follow, that every new acquiſition would bring a freſh load of care and pain to preſerve it, and be, perhaps, attended, at length, with the loſs of all.

He was a man, whom only a few of the *Romans* regretted at his death, but all ſorrowfully deplored in a ſhort time after. He had by numberleſs acts of injuſtice, and an extreme torrent of blood, mounted the throne, but afterwards acted, for the moſt part, with ſuch moderation, prudence, and juſtice, as inclined the world to believe, that youth and neceſſity were in fault, but not his natural temper. His name had ſcarce been remember'd to day, but for the generous *Cicero*; yet even his life he threw into the general execution that he, and *Anthony*, and *Lapidus*, had agreed on. To *Cicero* it was owing, that he made a figure that afterwards exalted him into a partnerſhip with *Anthony*; and therefore nothing can excuſe the cowardly ſacrifice of his friend. He was an excellent ſoldier, and yet inferior to *Anthony*. The battle of *Philippi*, which finally put a period to the liberty of *Rome*, owed its conduct and ſucceſs to *Anthony*, and not him; for he was there defeated, and muſt, likewiſe, have loſt his life, had he not been wiſe enough to take the precaution which was ſuggeſted to him by his phyſician in a dream. *Anthony*'s parts were every way equal to his, but the misfortune was, though they were both abominably hen-peck'd, and abſolutely at the devotion of their ſeveral loves, yet the former having fallen into the hands of a ſtrumpet, who valued no one thing but money, and the latter married a woman whoſe intereſt obliged her to conſult his reputation; the conſequence kept an exact proportion, that is to ſay, *Anthony* was ruined, and *Auguſtus* held up his head to his dying day. But had it been poſſible to have changed the women upon them, *Anthony* would have been *Auguſtus*, and *Octavius* would have fallen like *Anthony*.

Auguſtus, of the two, was moſt addicted to women, and, as long as his ſtrength continued, honour and honeſty were never conſidered in his way to luſt. He would have thought it, in the middle ſtage of his life, an act of great injuſtice, to have taken away any man's eſtate; yet he made no ſcruple of debauching his wife, which was a hardſhip, an injury, and a robbery, infinitely greater. *Anthony*, after his acquaintance with *Cleopatra*, minded no women but her; but *Auguſtus* labour'd under an unſettled bias; which *Livia*, his wife, perceiving, endeavour'd to gratify from every corner of the then known world.

Auguſtus was eaſy of acceſs, of a liberal nature, civil to his friends, and always delighted when they talked moſt freely with him. *Athenodorus* coming to him one day in ſuch a cover'd chair as women uſed to be carried in, he, of a ſudden, jumped out upon him with a ſword in his hand, ſaying, *Are you not afraid*, Auguſtus, *that ſomebody ſhould take ſuch an opportunity as this to kill you?* *Auguſtus* only thanked him for his advice. And being once inflamed into a violent paſſion at a robber, whoſe name was *Caracotta*, he publickly ſignified his pleaſure, that whoever kill'd the fellow ſhould have twenty and five thouſand drams for a reward; but *Caracotta* no ſooner ſurrendered himſelf, than *Auguſtus* forgave him.

Auguſtus, in one illuſtrious reſpect, was vaſtly ſuperior to *Anthony*: He lov'd, eſteem'd, honour'd, and rewarded, all men of worth, merit, and learning; whereas *Anthony* ever feared and hated them, and made it his daily buſineſs to ruin them. And that one noble quality has perfumed, and will celebrate the name of *Auguſtus* to diſtant ages; whilſt what was agreeable in *Anthony* will hardly be ſeen, by reaſon of the many dark ſhades that obſcure his picture.

Auguſtus had, alſo, this advantage in his favour: Having lived to a good old age, he had long ſurvived all thoſe who had ſeen the happy days of the republick; and their children growing up under his reign, and calling to mind the violent ſcene of blood, rapine, and injuſtice, that their parents had told them was the common fare of the civil wars; begun on a compariſon to be highly ſatisfied with their preſent condition. And as the real value of what we poſſeſs never ſtrikes our fancy in ſo lively a manner, as when we come to loſe it, the ſucceeding infamous reign of *Tiberius* recalled *Auguſtus* to their memory with a double luſtre. It was thought by many (but I hope it is not true); that he ſettled the ſucceſſion upon *Tiberius* for no other reaſon but to elevate and increaſe his own reputation among the people.

He was a prince that regarded not vanity, pomp, and ſtate, being modeſt in his equipage and dreſs, and wearing nothing but what had been manufactured by his wife, ſiſter, daughter, or grand-child. He deteſted luxury, and was ſo temperate, with relation to meat and drink, that he ſeldom admitted above three diſhes to his table, and never exceeded ſix glaſſes of wine. He was exceſſively afraid of thunder and lightning, and therefore made uſe of the ſkin of a ſea-calf to preſerve himſelf: Nor could he ſo far root the old woman out of his heart, as to contemn trifling omens and preſages.

The *Roman* language, in his time, came to its utmoſt pitch of purity and perfection, and learned men, in all ſciences, ſignaliz'd themſelves in a moſt eminent manner: But what added the greateſt honour and glory to his reign, was, the nativity of our Lord and Saviour, who then appeared to diffuſe his light over all the world.

Tiberius, A. D. 17. *of the vulg.* Æra 14.

Tiberius, the ſon of *Livia* by her firſt huſband, and ſon-in-law to *Auguſtus*, was fifty five years old when he ſucceeded to the empire. At the beginning of his reign he put on a maſk of great humility and virtue, and dreſs'd up his thoughts in ſuch an artful way, as made him unfathomable. When he had a mind to any thing, he would aſſume an indifference, and ſeem to refuſe it; and, where his diſlike lay, he would ſhew an earneſt inclination to the matter. It was his frequent practice too, to break out into violent fits of rage, when nothing had vex'd him, and to look perfectly calm and untroubled, whilſt his ſpirit was all of a fire within. Thoſe who he had a value for, were ſure to be treated with the utmoſt indignity and contempt; and ſuch as were in his black liſt of death, met with all poſſible marks of love and affection. And his monſtrous diſguiſe was ſo much the creature's pride and ſatiſfaction, that he capitally puniſhed many men for but preſuming to comprehend his meaning.

This being the rare poſture of his mind, he at firſt declined the taking upon himſelf the government, excuſing his refuſal on account of his age and great weakneſs of ſight; for though like the cats, his viſible faculty was ſtrong in the dark, yet he could ſcarce ſee any thing in the day-time. But his modeſty being, with ſome hardſhip, overcome by the vigorous importunities of the ſenate, who tender'd him their preſſing inſtances upon their knees, he, with a ſort of conſtraint, accepted it; withal telling them, they had laid an intolerable ſervitude upon him, and forced him to take a wolf by the ears. Then cunningly aſking 'em to divide the empire into three parts, one of which ſhould include *Rome* and *Italy*, the ſecond all the forces, and the third the reſt of the provinces, he deſired they would name two collegues who might aſſiſt him in the adminiſtration.

Whilſt he was preſſing this diviſion, and the ſenate, on the other hand, kindly oppoſing it, *Aſinius Gallus* unfortunately took the freedom to bid him chuſe the portion which he liked beſt: *How can I*, anſwer'd Tiberius, *pretend to chuſe, who have cut out the diſtribution? Gallus* now perceiving the danger he had drawn upon himſelf, thought to ſoften his inadvertency, by telling him he had no other deſign in what he ſaid, than to make him own the impoſſibility of ſuch a diviſion. But this did not ſweeten *Tiberius*; *Gallus* was ever after treated in a moſt unworthy manner, and at laſt put to death.

In the mean time, *Germanicus*, the ſon of his brother *Druſus*, and *Antonia the younger*, whom *Anthony* had by his wife *Octavia*, the ſiſter of *Auguſtus*, was proſperouſly carving out the affairs of *Germany*. The army under his conduct reflecting with themſelves that he had already the title of *Cæſar*, as the adopted ſon of *Tiberius*, and much better deſerved the empire than the man that had it, they immediately loaded *Tiberius* with imprecations, and proclaimed *Germanicus* their emperor.

Germanicus omitted nothing that might have an influence to make them alter their purpoſe; but when he found he only talked to deaf men, he made a ſhew by pulling out his ſword that he intended to kill himſelf. Hereupon, an impudent ſoldier, who ſtood near him, drew out his ſword, and, preſenting it to him, bid him make uſe of it, for it had a better point. However, *Germanicus* reſolutely continued to reject their offer, and got the ſedition appeaſed, in time, with pain and difficulty.

Tiberius being ſenſible of the great moderation of *Germanicus*, in quieting the ſoldiers, and refuſing the empire, at the ſame time that he knew he might have obtained it with the general conſent of the people; he outwardly acknowledged the obligation, and made him great expreſſions of praiſe, but in his heart dwelt a ſuſpicion both againſt him and his wife *Agrippina*.

Whilſt *Germanicus* was ſuffer'd to live, his virtue and ſuperior merit kept *Tiberius* in ſuch awe, that he never undertook any thing without having firſt adviſed with the ſenate, and made uſe, likewiſe, of ſome of the ſenate for his counſellors, as had *Auguſtus* done before him. And he gave ſeveral inſtances of his great humility. He would permit none but the army to call him emperor, and ſuffer no *Roman* to call him lord. He abſolutely rejected the name of father of the people, deſiring only to be diſtinguiſhed as prince of the ſenate. He would often ſay, he was the lord of ſlaves, emperor of ſoldiers, and the firſt among other *Romans*; profeſſing he did not deſire to live or command for any longer time than he could be ſerviceable to the ſtate.

He ſometimes wou'd, in the ſenate, declare his ſentiments, adding this gentle qualification; *If the matter depended upon my voice, I would give it ſuch and ſuch an iſſue.* And after having ſubmitted his propoſal to them, he could not only bear a contradiction, but patiently let another project be followed. He us'd to give his preſence among the judges, and candidly pronounce his opinion, without claiming any other privilege among them, than that of being their preſident while he ſtayed. He forbid his people to take notice of the day of his acceſſion to the empire, or to ſwear by his fortune; and earneſtly begged them neither to raiſe temples, nor erect ſtatues for him. He ſhewed a great temperance in his diet, and took care to reform the diſſolute manners of the People.

Tiberius, by theſe means, crept inſenſibly into the hearts of the people; every day gave freſh teſtimonies of the grandeur of his ſpirit. When any unhappy man was accuſed of having reproached him or his government, he would give ſtrict orders not to proſecute him: *For*, ſaid he, *among freemen the tongue, as well as the thoughts, ſhould enjoy the bleſſings of liberty.* And to the governors of provinces, who deſired him to impoſe heavier taxes on the people, he writ back word, *It was the part of a good ſhepherd to ſhear, but not to flea his ſheep.*

Tiberius, on his coming to the empire, recall'd *Annius Rufus* from *Judæa*, and ſent *Valerius Gratus* thither in his place. *Gratus* continuing in the government of *Judæa* for the ſpace of eleven years, made ſtrange work among their high-prieſts. He depoſed *Annas*, who had been fifteen years in that high office, promoting *Iſmael*, the ſon of *Fabus*, in his ſtead. But being ſoon after diſſatisfied at his promotion, he removed him, and made *Eleazar*, the ſon of the above *Annas*, high-prieſt in his room. Nor did *Eleazar* continue in his good graces above a year; him, therefore, he depos'd, ſubſtituting *Simon*, the ſon of *Camith*, in his place. Nor had *Simon* better luck than his predeceſſors, for, after a year's time, *Gratus* turn'd him out, and conſtituted *Joſeph*, ſirnam'd *Caiaphas*, the ſon-in-law of the aforeſaid *Annas*, high-prieſt in his room. And theſe are the ſame high-prieſts who were afterwards ſo violent in the proſecution of *Jeſus Chriſt* our Lord.

The diſgrace of *Archelaus* did not in the leaſt affect his two brothers, *Herod* and *Philip*; for they remained in the peaceable enjoyment of their tetrachies (a tetrarchy is the government of a fourth part of a country), and advanced their ſeveral intereſts after the beſt and moſt profitable manner. *Herod* fortified *Sephoris* with walls, and made it one of the fineſt places in *Galilee*; he likewiſe beautified the city of *Betaramphia*, changing its name into *Livias*, in honour of *Livia*, the wife of *Auguſtus*.

Herod well knew the way to gain the favour of *Tiberius*; and to ſhew him he had a lively ſenſe of good offices received, he built a city near the lake of *Genezareth*, calling it *Tiberias*, in honour of the emperor. He peopled this new city, in part, with *Galileans*, and partly with ſtrangers. He refuſed no comers, whether freemen, or ſlaves; every man was made welcome, ſo he could but fill his city. He bountifully treated the inhabitants, honouring them with very great privileges. But he had a great deal of difficulty to perſuade the *Jews* to ſettle in it, becauſe the foundations of the city had been laid upon a burying-ground, which is a thing ſo repugnant to their rites, that if they do but enter into a ſepulchre, they reckon themſelves unclean for ſeven days following.

Philip, ſirnam'd *Antipas*, on his tetrarchy made, likewiſe, great additions and improvements. He ſumptuouſly embelliſh'd *Paneas*, which ſtands near the ſources of *Jordan*, and gave it the name of *Cæſarea*. He, beſide, augmented the town of *Bethſaida*, which is ſituated on the north ſide of the ſea of *Tiberias*, near the place where *Jordan* empties itſelf into the ſea. He alſo fill'd it with new inhabitants, and diſtinguiſh'd it with the name of *Julias*, in compliment to *Julia*, the daughter of *Auguſtus*.

All this while was *Tiberius* going to eſtabliſh his character with the people. He conſecrated ſtatues and temples to the memory of *Auguſtus*, generouſly repair'd ruin'd edifices, and did many other beneficent actions, to the advantage of the public, as well as private perſons. He kept a particular eye over all expences, to the end the managers of his revenue might not cheat him, as they had done *Auguſtus*. He ſcorned to confiſcate the goods of any man, nor would hearken to any repreſentation made him to condemn a perſon for the ſake of his riches. He treated all magiſtrates with the ſame reſpect and honour that was paid them during the ſubſiſtence of the republic. When he invited them to an entertainment, he received them at the gate, and afterwards re-conducted them to the ſame place. He ſhew'd an uncommon deference to all, whom he took into his thoughts to oblige, aſſiſting at their ſacrifices, viſiting them in their ſickneſs, and, now and then, though ſeldom, making a funeral oration.

Having deſired his mother *Livia* to maintain an illuſtrious court, ſhe, whoſe natural pride much outwent any other *Roman* lady, immediately, with great magnificence, treated and royally entertain'd not only all the ſenators, but every body elſe who thought fit to pay their compliments. The great concourſe of people that came by this means to wait on her, ſo elevated her heart, that ſhe thought ſovereign authority was as much her right now, as it had been while ſhe continued empreſs. She reflected with herſelf, that ſhe had once had the abſolute command of *Auguſtus*, who had the ſovereign power of life and death over all the *Roman* people; and as ſhe did not ſpare to tell the world that her ſon *Tiberius* owed his imperial advancement to her wiſdom, her concluſion was, that ſhe ſhould not ſtoop to partake the ſovereignty with him, but ſtep forward and hold the firſt rank.

Thoſe of the ſenators who made it their buſineſs to blow up her vanity, boldly moved in the houſe, that *Tiberius* ſhould be ſirnamed after her name. But *Tiberius*, though he had hitherto ſhewn himſelf very complaiſant to the ſenate, yet he could ſcarce be brought to conſcend to any thing they had agreed in her favour. So far from that, he inſtantly depriv'd her of the management of all publick affairs, confining her care to ſuch only as were of a domeſtic nature. Nay, ſoon after he grew ſo tired of her, even in this ſphere, that, to be at a diſtance from her, he retired to the iſle of *Capreæ*.

At the ſame time, his ſon *Druſus*, who was naturally diſſolute and cruel, gave him no little uneaſineſs, of whom he had ſo bad an opinion, that whenever he met with a ſword of an exquiſite point, it was his manner to call it a *Druſus*. However, notwithſtanding all this ſhew of virtue, he had hitherto neglected to pay the legacies of *Auguſtus*; but now an accident happened which put him in mind of his duty. As a funeral one day paſs'd along, a certain creditor of *Auguſtus* ſtepping up to the corps, whiſper'd ſomething in its ear. Whereupon, being asked what it was he had ſaid to the dead perſon, he frankly made anſwer: *I have been intreating him to give my love to* Auguſtus, *and acquaint him that his legacies are not yet paid. Tiberius* was ſo ſenſibly nettled with this raillery, that even diſſimulation itſelf failed him, and he immediately order'd the honeſt man to be put to death; withal whiſpering him in his ear, *I have done this, friend,* ſaid he, *that you may be able to tell the news to* Auguſtus *yourſelf.* But he diſcharged the legacies ſoon after, and fully ſatisfied all the demands of the people.

A young child of *Druſus* happening to die, *Tiberius* did not for that neglect any thing of his uſual care and concern for the commonweal; declaring, that *a prince's private calamities ought never to be brought in competition with the duty he owed the ſtate. Vibius Rufus*, a ſenator, having married the widow of the renowned *Cicero*, and made it his cuſtom always to ſit in the place where *Julius Cæſar* had been murder'd, took a particular joy in valuing himſelf on account of both; as if the former had endow'd him with eloquence, and the latter would one day raiſe him to the throne. *Tiberius* only ſmil'd at his vanity, nor did he oppoſe him when he afterwards ſued for the conſulſhip.

Tiberius having dreamt that he was commanded to give ſome money to a particular perſon, it idly came into his head that the dream had proceeded from the force of magick, and therefore he put the man to death. He likewiſe condemned to death all aſtrologers and magicians that were foreigners, and retailed their ſkill by the penny, contenting himſelf with only baniſhing ſuch as were citizens of *Rome*.

Clemens, a ſlave of *Agrippa Poſthumus*, having, on the murder of his maſter (which he conceal'd for ſome time), aſſumed his name, and, from a ſimilitude of features, crammed down the cheat. He gather'd together a conſiderable body of forces; but the fraud coming at length to be detected, he was apprehended, and ſent bound to *Rome*. *Tiberius* asked him what ſtrange thing it was that had turned him into *Agrippa*. *The ſame method*, anſwered Clemens, *that made you emperor, gave me the rights of* Agrippa.

Tiberius being a man that pretended to have a great regard for his mother-tongue, and chancing in one of his edicts to inſert a word that was not *Latin*; this accident put him to a great deal of pain. Hereupon, he ſent for ſeveral who were reputed maſters of the language. *Be not concern'd*, ſaid *Ateius Capito* to him, *we will, upon your account, receive the word into our language, and cuſtom will ſoon authorize and bring it into current uſe.* But *Marcellus* took the liberty to ſpeak to him in this manner: *It belongs to you,* O Cæſar! *to confer honours, and make citizens; but it is not within your power to coin a word that will be adopted into our language. Tiberius* took the admonition in good part, nor did he ſhew the leaſt ſign of reſentment.

In the mean time, *Germanicus* had worthily vindicated the *Roman* name from the diſhonour that had been caſt upon it by the careleſſneſs of *Varus*. Wherever he marched, victory attended him; and his many valuable qualities being ſet in a full light by his extraordinary conduct and ſucceſs in the field, nothing now but his fame reſounded over all the *Roman* empire. This was the painful reaſon that kept the tyrant to his good behaviour. He had long been concerting with himſelf how to deſtroy *Germanicus*, but nothing had hitherto occurred with any view of probability. *Germanicus*, he knew, was the darling of the people, and therefore a maſter-piece of art could only take him off.

Whilſt theſe perplexities diſquieted *Tiberius*, the following occaſion offer'd, which gave him a proſpect of being ſoon able to throw off his diſguiſe. We have formerly given an account how *Phraates*, king of *Parthia*, came to deliver up his ſons to *Auguſtus*, and *Thermuſa*, ſome time after, murder'd him, to make way for the ſucceſſion of her ſon; but this paricide was not ſuffer'd to go long unpuniſh'd, for the *Parthians* coming quickly to find out that *Phraatices* her ſon had concurred with her in the murder, they roſe in arms againſt him, and put him to death; to him ſucceeded *Orodes*, of the houſe of the *Arſacidæ* but he, likewiſe, degenerating into a cruel tyrant, was ſpeedily reduced to the ſame end. And now the *Parthians* humbly begged *Tiberius* to return the ſons of their late king.

Tiberius, on their requeſt, ſent them back *Vonones*, the eldeſt ſon of the late *Phraates*. *Vonones* being arrived in *Parthia*, was welcomed with great demonſtrations of joy; but the event did not anſwer the beginning. A faction in a ſhort ſpace made preparations againſt him, and repreſenting to the people that it was a diſgrace to them to be governed by a *Roman* ſlave, they ſo far prevailed with them, that they conſented to throw off their king, and ſend an embaſſy to *Artabanus*, king of *Media*, praying him to come and accept the crown.

Artabanus (who thought he had a plauſible title to their throne on account of his deſcent from the royal family of *Parthia*) immediately raiſed an army, and begun his march. *Vonones* had the better of him in the firſt battle, but in a ſecond engagement was totally defeated, and forced to fly the kingdom. Hereupon, *Vonones* retreated into *Armenia*, in hope that the country would join with him; but being there diſappointed, he ſought for refuge under *Creticus Silanus*, who was then preſident of *Syria*. Then *Artabanus* made *Orodes*, one of his own ſons, king of *Armenia*.

At the ſame time, the crowns of *Cilicia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Commagena*, being vacant by the death of their ſeveral kings, a great ſtruggle enſued between the nobility and commons of each reſpective country, about their future manner of government. The nobility inſiſted to have the countries brought into the model of *Roman* provinces; but the commons would not agree to any form of government but monarchy: Add, to theſe, the province of *Syria*, together with *Judæa* and the reſt of its dependencies, were now in commotions, by reaſon of their exhorbitant taxes, and ſollicited hard for relief.

Tiberius taking an advantage of theſe troubles in the eaſt, laid the caſe in an artful dreſs before the ſenate, and telling them that the wiſdom, conduct, and other qualities neceſſary for reſtoration of peace to their diſtant provinces, could no where be found but in *Germanicus*; he therefore deſired a decree might paſs conſtituting him governor of all the provinces of the eaſt beyond the *Ægean* ſea. The ſenate, who did not ſee into the bottom of his deſign, readily made out the decree, empowering *Germanicus* in a more extenſive manner than had ever been allowed to any preſident before him.

This point being gain'd, *Tiberius* immediately recalled *Creticus Silanus* (who he ſuſpected was a friend to *Germanicus*) from *Syria*, and ſent *Cn. Piſo* (whom he had before diſciplined to his mind) to be governor in his ſtead. This year died *Livy* the hiſtorian, and *Ovid* the poet, in *Pontus*, whither *Auguſtus* had baniſh'd him for writing his infamous books of love.

Germanicus arriving in the eaſt, expell'd *Armenia Orodes*, whom *Artabanus* had made king of that country, and rais'd *Zeno*, the ſon of *Polemon*, king of *Pontus*, to the throne. The *Armenians* accepted *Zeno* at the hands of *Germanicus*, with loud expreſſions of gratitude and applauſe; for he had been educated among them, and had always ſhewn himſelf a great lover of their country. He next reduced *Cappadocia* and *Commagena*, into the form of *Roman* provinces, appointing *Q. Veranius* governor of the former, and *Q. Servæus* over *Commagena*. After this, he marched into *Syria*, where he ſpent the winter.

Germanicus, in the ſpring, went from thence into *Ægypt*, where he took a great delight in viewing the antiquities of the country. On his return to *Syria*, he received a letter from *Tiberius*, expreſſing a reſentment at his having paſſed into *Ægypt* without his leave. The traitor *Piſo*, who had all along, from his firſt arrival in *Syria*, done him all the ill offices he could think of, proceeded now, according to his ſecret inſtructions from *Tiberius*, to treat him with unpardonable inſolence. *Germanicus* bore his rudeneſs and affronts with admirable patience, but falling ill of a malady which ſoon after killed him, he could not help complaining in his ſickneſs that he had been poiſoned by *Piſo*, and *Plancina* his wife.

When the news firſt came to *Rome* of his being taken ill, nothing but ſorrow was to be ſeen among the citizens, and a falſe rumour in a few nights after arriving that he had perfectly recover'd his health, an inexpreſſible joy run through all the people. The general cry was, Rome *is ſafe, our country is ſafe,* Germanicus *is in health.*

That *Germanicus* was poiſon'd by *Piſo*, and by the command of *Tiberius*, is beyond a diſpute; for *Piſo* had been often heard to ſay, among thoſe whom he fancied he might truſt, that there was a neceſſity upon him to diſoblige either the father or the ſon. And *Tiberius*, from the moment of his death, let the brute appear which he had before artfully hid from the eyes of the world. Beſides, the pleaſure that accident gave him, was too great to lie concealed under all the cloak he was maſter of.

On *Piſo*'s return to *Rome*, he narrowly eſcap'd being tore to pieces by the people. Both he and his wife were arraign'd for the murder, before the ſenate; they were of no farther ſervice to *Tiberius*, and therefore he willingly dropp'd them. And now the wicked *Piſo* finding a ſentence of death would unavoidably follow, choſe to prevent it by falling on his own ſword, and ſo he executed himſelf, and ſav'd the hangman the trouble.

There was an univerſal mourning for the loſs of *Germanicus*, among enemies and *Barbarians*, as well as in *Rome* and her dependent provinces. He was a man every way well accompliſh'd, and of a moſt affable and courteous temper, which gain'd him the love and eſteem of all mankind. He had married *Agrippina*, the daughter of *Agrippa* and *Julia*, who bore him three ſons, *viz. Nero*, *Druſus*, and *Caius*, and as many daughters. He died in the thirty-fourth year of his age, a little while after his ſecond conſulſhip.

Tiberius having thus got rid of his competitor, gave quick proofs that all his former virtue was but a lie, and an effect of force upon his mind. Suſpicion now was allow'd to have the ſtrength of a demonſtration, and numbers of innocent perſons were, under a pretext of having done or ſaid ſomething injurious to the memory of *Auguſtus*, againſt *Livia*, or himſelf, put to exquiſite puniſhments. He went on to condemn to the rack, not only ſlaves, to make them accuſe their maſters; but, alſo, freemen and citizens: And, that he might never be without ready materials to gratify his fury, he kept multitudes of informers, and evidences, whom he rewarded with the goods and eſtates of all that they thought fit to give up to his diſpleaſure, and, over and above, raiſed them to dignities, and defrayed their charges. He infamouſly made it his care to examine into the day and hour of the birth of many of his ſubjects, and from thence making a judgment of their inclination and fortune, enquired no farther, but condemned them to death, ſparing none in whom appear'd an extraordinary merit. But he had his intelligence not from the ſtars, but from ſpies, and other buſy-bodies, upon earth.

It is, however, ſaid, that he had ſo perfect an inſight into aſtrology, as to be able to tell any one the future events of his life; and, for inſtance, they produced *Galba*, to whom he foretold that he ſhould afterwards be emperor of *Rome*. But *Galba*, they report, eſcap'd his malice; becauſe *Tiberius* foreſaw he would be an old man before he came to the ſupreme power, and within half a year after loſe his head. If this was ſo, then *Tiberius* had not his information from the ſtars, but the devil, who diſcovered the matter to him within a few days of the truth.

As the ſtars are at an exceeding great diſtance from us, their influence can only be general on the earth, but not particular on this or that man. It is a horrid jeſt to ſuppoſe that they exert an effect upon the minds and wills of men; and if they do not, they can't determine the fate of any body: And much leſs from the horoſcope of one man, can a judgment be formed of any remarkable event that is to happen to a ſtate or kingdom; ſince that depends not on him but the will of a whole People. Does it not often fall out, that numbers of children come into the world at the very critical minute with thoſe that are born to extraordinary luck, and yet many of the former know nothing but diſtreſs all the days of their life? Do we not frequently ſee twins that ſpring into open day within leſs then the tenth part of a minute of one another (which ſhould make their fortunes equal, if their was any thing like neceſſity in the ſtars), born to a very contrary fate, one fortunate, and the other unlucky, and actuated by different courſes and inclinations. May not an Aſtrologer be wiſe enough to remember that he rather ridicules than vindicates his art, when he flies to the imperceptible moment of time wherein one of the twins preceded the other, and from thence infers that the motion of the heavens is ſo quick, as to produce, in an inſtant, a ſenſible alteration? Does he ſtand by with his pen to catch the exact point of ſpace that brings an infant to the ſight of day? If this their ſagacity hangs ſo much upon a moment, there never yet was on horoſcope caſt that hit the preciſe time. A woman often is a long while in labour, and the head of a child ſometimes makes its exit two or three minuets before the reſt of the body; was there any thing of certainty in this pretended ſcience, they ſhould calculate a man's fate from the moment he begins to live, for many days have gone over his head before the midwife receives him, and not from the hour of his birth. But here the fraud would be ſoon detected; they therefore on another period build their deceit.

It is almighty power alone that gives being to events, and made us independant of all things but himſelf. To no purpoſe, therefore, but to ſhew a wicked mind, are the ſtars conſulted, or any other whims of the like tendency. What can puſh a man on to ſuch an impious extravagance, I am at a loſs to gueſs; for would he narrowly examine things, he could not help owning that good luck foreſeen would give him more anxiety than pleaſure; and the certainty of future calamities make him wretched before the time: And yet ſome have, in all ages, been profligate enough to indulge this curioſity.

When the ſpirit of prophecy ceaſed among the *Jews*, and they had no more revelations from heaven; the ſuperſtitious part of them had recourſe to a thing called *Bath-Kol*, or the *daughter of a voice*; which cannot be better explain'd than by the following inſtance out of their *Talmud*: Rabbi Jochanan, *and* Rabbi Simeon Ben Lachiſh, *determined to make a viſit to* Rabbi Samuel, *one of the doctors at* Babylon, *Let us firſt*, ſaid they, *conſult* Bath-Kol. *And having, as they walked along, over-heard a boy pronouncing theſe words (out of the firſt book of* Samuel xxv. 1.) *And* Samuel *died*; *they immediately concluded that their friend* Samuel *was dead, and ſo they found it had happened. For at the ſame time died* Samuel *at* Babylon. The reader ſees that their *Bath-Kol*, though the *Jews* impiouſly call'd it a voice from heaven, was no more than the next words they ſhould hear from the firſt man they met.

The *Romans*, on the abolition of their *Heathen* oracles, made the poet *Virgil*'s book prognoſticate their fate. The verſe that firſt occurr'd to their reading being ridiculouſly imagined to foretel the coming events of their life. And when the *Romiſh* church came to be terribly corrupted, the like way of divination was practiſed by them, even in the ſolemn offices of the church; with this difference only, that inſtead of the Heathen poet, they unchriſtianly made uſe of the holy ſcriptures themſelves: which abominable cuſtom came over into *England* with *William the conqueror*. For when *William*, the ſecond *Norman*, was conſecrated biſhop of Norwich, the words of the bible which he firſt dipp'd at, were, *Not this man, but* Barabbas; and from thence they concluded *William* would ſoon die, and his ſucceſſor be a thief; which accordingly fell out. For *Herbertus de Lozinga*, another *Norman*, ſucceeded him, and, by ſimony, procured the biſhoprick. At his conſecration, the bible open'd to him at the queſtion made to the traitor *Judas*, *Mat.* xxvi. 50. *Friend wherefore art thou come?* Theſe words brought him to a ſenſe of his crimes, and he afterwards built the cathedral-church of *Norwich*. But, glory be to *Jeſus Chriſt* our Lord, who has been graciouſly pleaſed to remove that ſcandalous abuſe of his holy word, and make his church flouriſh among us in all its original purity.

Tiberius had, in the perſon of *Ælius Sejanus*, a faithful executioner of all his black ſecrets, and a prime miniſter ſervilely devoted to his will. *Sejanus* was the ſon of *Seius Strabo*, a *Roman* knight, and had been a favourite of *Aſpicius*, that monſtrous epicure and prodigal, who, at laſt, on ſumming up his accounts, and finding his eſtate reduc'd to two hundred and fifty thouſand drams, fell into ſuch a fit of deſpair, out of fear of being ſtarved to death, that he kill'd himſelf. The forward, cruel, and abandon'd manners of *Sejanus*, recommending him to *Tiberius*, he was, from a low condition, advanced to the firſt honours in the ſtate, and had ſtatues erected to him, not only by *Tiberius*, but the ſenate.

Sejanus entirely gave up his conſcience to the wicked gratification of his Maſter, running with greedineſs into every meaſure that might pleaſe either his tyrannick or libidinous temper. Nor was the ſenate it ſelf leſs complaiſant, being in all caſes as ready to condemn as the other was indefatigable to accuſe; inſomuch, that even *Tiberius* himſelf has often been heard to ſay, *How willing are theſe men to accept of ſervitude!*

Whilſt *Tiberius* was abſent from *Rome*, *Lutorius Priſcus*, a *Roman* knight, and eminent poet (who had before made an epitaph on *Germanicus*, and receiv'd of *Agrippina* an extraordinary reward), being taken up on a ſuſpicion of having compos'd a poem upon *Druſus*, in the time of his illneſs; he was carried before the ſenate, accus'd, and condemn'd to death. *Tiberius*, though pleas'd that they had condemn'd him, yet, taking it ill to find him executed without his order, ſent the ſenate a very ſharp reproof, with a poſitive command that they ſhould immediately make a decree to ſuſpend the execution of criminals for the ſpace of ten days after the ſentence; and this was done that he might, even in his abſence, have an opportunity to review what had been tranſacted by his mercenary and ſlaviſh ſenate.

In the mean time, all *Rome* rung with the praiſes of *Sejanus*. The ſenate, as well as others, ſtrove who ſhould compliment him moſt. All the principal men of the city were every morning at his *levee*. For as he only had the ear of *Tiberius*, all buſineſs, they knew, muſt come through his hands: And intereſt being the motive that determin'd them, the means, however inglorious, that led to it, were accounted laudable, ſince they had no other way left to promote their ends. Riot and luxury had plung'd them into debt, and therefore they reſolv'd to ſtop at nothing that could relieve their neceſſities.

Tiberius, on his return to *Rome*, having a complaint made him that *Paulina*, the wife of *Saturninus*, a lady of an illuſtrious birth, and approv'd virtue, had, through a ſtratagem, been brought to violate her husband's bed; he repreſented it to the ſenate, who inſtantly publiſh'd a decree, baniſhing out of *Italy* all ſuch as made profeſſion of the *Ægyptian* religion, and compelling them to commit to the flames all the ſacred ornaments, and other inſtruments that concern'd their worſhip.

At the ſame time, another order was, to the ſame purpoſe, iſſu'd out againſt the *Jews*. A wicked *Jew* being oblig'd to fly his country, came to *Rome*, where, aſſociating with three others of his countrymen as bad as himſelf, he ſet up for an interpreter of the law of *Moyſes*. *Fulvia*, a *Roman* lady of faſhion, having embrac'd the *Jewiſh* religion, and ſuppoſing them to be men of honour and virtue, ſhe put herſelf under their conduct. They got her perſuaded to give them gold and purple, under a pretence of ſending it to *Jeruſalem*, and they converted it all to their own uſe. When *Fulvia* came to be appriz'd of the trick, ſhe complain'd to her husband; who forthwith laying the caſe before *Tiberius*, an edict ſoon follow'd, whereby all the *Jews* were expell'd *Italy*, according to *Tacitus*; but *Joſephus* and *Suetonius* ſay, they were only baniſh'd out of *Rome*.

The conſuls, after an exact ſurvey of the *Jews*, enliſted four thouſand of them to be ſoldiers, and ſent them into the iſland of *Sardinia*, ſeverely puniſhing a great number of others, who, under the gloſs of a firm obedience to the laws of their own country, refuſed to take up arms. Theſe four thouſand that were tranſported to *Sardinia*, were the deſcendants of thoſe ſlaves, who being made priſoners during the wars of *Ariſtobulus* and *Antigonus*, had been brought captives to *Rome*, and afterwards obtain'd the freedom of the city.

Philo, the *Jew*, attributes the perſecution which his countrymen ſuffer'd at *Rome*, to the intrigues of *Sejanus*, who being then forming deſigns againſt his maſter, took it into his head to fear and be jealous of their fidelity. And what he ſays ſeems to carry ſome weight with it, in regard *Tiberius*, immediately after the execution of *Sejanus* (which happen'd in the thirty-firſt year of our Lord), iſſu'd out orders to all his governors not to intermeddle with the ceremonies of the *Jews*, and to treat all of them, except the few that had been already baniſh'd for their crimes, with great reſpect and honour. *That crime, adds* Philo, *was no other than a pretext of* Sejanus, *to cover his own malicious intentions.*

Tiberius begun now to ſhew ſuch a deteſtation to merit of all kinds, that he could not even bear an ingenious contrivance in a mechanick. A ſtately building, that lean'd much to a ſide, and threaten'd a fall, being ſet upright and reſtor'd, as at firſt, by the wonderful skill of an architect, *Tiberius* grew ſo jealous of the man, that he forbid inſerting his name in the records of the city: And though the fear of ſhame made him recompence the artificer for his admirable work, yet envy ſo burn'd within him, that he commanded him to leave *Rome*. After this, the workman concluding that *Tiberius* had dropp'd all prejudice againſt him, reſolv'd with himſelf to come back to *Rome*; and there having waited on *Tiberius*, in order to regain his favour, he willingly let fall a drinking cup, and then gathering up the many ſcatter'd fragments of it, he ſo artfully piec'd them together, that the cup look'd as entire and perfect as it had done before. This maſter-ſtroke of art provok'd *Tiberius* beyond all patience; for, inſtead of rewarding him as the thing merited, he inſtantly put him to death.

About this time, *Sejanus*, taking himſelf to be really maſter all the virtue and merit that his ſycophants had beſtow'd upon him, laid down a ſcheme for obtaining the empire. In purſuit thereof, he firſt endeavour'd with preſents, and all the force of a ready tongue, to abuſe the bed of *Druſus*, the ſon of *Tiberius*. And having thus debauch'd *Livilla*, his wife, and alſo brib'd *Lygdus*, one of his eunuchs, he brought them at laſt to diſpatch *Druſus* by poiſon. The death of *Druſus* gave *Tiberius* no manner of concern, for his funeral was no ſooner over, than he return'd to his old ſcandalous employments; and the people of *Ilium* having ſome time after ſent an embaſſy to condole him on the death of his ſon, he only return'd anſwer, *So am I, grievouſly ſorry, for the death of* Hector, *your brave countryman.* But, what is ſomething ſtrange, this wicked deed of *Sejanus* did not come to light till eight years after.

Sejanus made his next effort on the virtuous *Agrippina*, the relict of *Germanicus*; but being there ſhamefully repuls'd, he ſet his mind a working how to deſtroy her ſons. He could do nothing, he conſider'd, till he had firſt removed *Silius*, their friend, out of the way. Him, therefore, he preſently overthrew, with a forgery of treaſon; then throwing all the calumnies, that the blackeſt malice could hatch, againſt *Agrippina* and her two ſons, *Nero* and *Druſus*, and alarming the ſenate with the following lie, *viz.* that *Agrippina* was meditating to commit herſelf and family to the protection of the army; the ſenate, who well knew that *Sejanus* was authorized, in every thing he did, by *Tiberius*, made out a decree for the baniſhment of *Agrippina*. The centurion, whom *Tiberius* employ'd to conduct her to the place of exile, had orders from him to treat her with the utmoſt inſolence. And as ſhe was a lady of a very high ſpirit, ſhe ſoon gave him an occaſion to execute a part of his barbarous commiſſion. She could not help throwing out bitter reflections againſt *Tiberius* and his miniſter, for the uſage ſhe had met with; and, for this reaſon, the rogue of a centurion fell upon her, and beat out one of her eyes: And, to compleat her tragedy, ſhe was, ſome time after, ſtarv'd to death. Her ſons, *Nero* and *Druſus*, being induſtriouſly ſtirr'd up to vent a few reproaches, were adjudg'd enemies to the ſtate, impriſon'd, and, alſo, at ſome diſtance of time, ſtarv'd to death.

Tiberius having, in the ſenate, accus'd *Ælius Saturius* of being the author of a poem againſt him, he ſoon got him brought in guilty, and then he order'd him to be thrown headlong from the top of the capitol. And, for trifles of the ſame nature, numbers of others were put to death. It was his manner to publiſh to the world his own faults and exceſſes, under the cover of a diſcourſe that had paſs'd between particular friends, and from thence taking a handle to puniſh them, he ſillily believed the people would be ſo much his friends as to think his reſentment juſt. Thus turning his own defamer, he would yet execute vengeance on others for thoſe crimes which himſelf had only committed. By which means, he ſpread his infamy much farther than it would otherwiſe have gone.

Cremutius Cordus, who had, from infancy to his old age, led an irreproachable life, having the misfortune to fall under the diſpleaſure of *Sejanus*, was now, by the ſenate, condemned to death. All that *Sejanus*'s hirelings were able to bring againſt him, was, that he had publiſh'd a book under *Auguſtus*'s reign, wherein he had praiſed *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, and ſaid many things to the advantage of the people and ſenate of *Rome*, but induſtriouſly avoided the ſaying any thing that might raiſe the merit either of *Julius Cæſar*, or *Auguſtus*. *Auguſtus* himſelf had read the book without expreſſing any reſentment againſt the author; nor could he be offended, ſince it contained nothing to his diſadvantage. But *Sejanus* and his maſter were other ſort of men, no crime being, in their ſight, greater than capacity and merit. The puniſhment of the man was not thought enough, they likewiſe extended their ſpite againſt the harmleſs books, ordering them all to be burnt. However, *Marcia*, the daughter of *Cordus*, having, with care, conceal'd ſome of them, there followed, afterwards, a very great demand for them, which is a thing no more than uſual in all caſes of the like nature.

Tiberius being informed that a gentleman on the ſale of his houſe, had alſo diſpoſed of his ſtatue; took it ſo heinouſly ill, that he was going to put him to death. But one of the conſuls, who had a mind to ſave the man, having firſt asked his advice upon the affair, before he had opened it to any other; *Tiberius* made anſwer, *I would not be thought to have a hand in avenging my own injuries; therefore abſolve the man.* A ſenator, whoſe name was *Lentulus*, a man full of years and wiſdom, being accuſed before the ſenate of having formed a conſpiracy againſt the life of the emperor, put himſelf to no farther pain, than to make a jeſt of his accuſer; and the ſenate having, alſo, teſtified their ſurprize at the charge, *Tiberius* could then ſay, *I ſhould think myſelf unworthy to live, if I was hated of* Lentulus.

Sejanus having now repreſented to *Tiberius* the danger that his health might incur from an application to buſineſs in town, got him induc'd to retire to the iſle of *Capreæ*, and from thence he never more returned, but whiled away the remainder of his life in all ſorts of wickedneſs and debauchery. He no longer regarded matters of ſtate, but as they contributed to ſatisfy his continual thirſt after blood. He patiently ſuffered *Armenia* to be recovered by the *Parthians*, *Meſia* to be ſeized by the *Dacians* and *Samaritans*, and *Gallia* to be overrun by the *Germans*. He erected, at his new habitation, a famous office for the carrying on of uncleanneſs, conſtituting *T. Cæſonius Priſcus* the preſident of it. He was, alſo, abominably covetous, and neither honeſty nor honour could ſtand in his way where money was to be had. *Vonones* the king of *Parthia*, who had been outed by his ſubjects, and fled to him for protection, was, by his order, murdered, on account of his riches.

One of *Tiberius*'s ſetting-dogs being a man of ſome note, and conſequently not ſuſpected, made an invitation to *Sabinus*, who was one of the moſt conſiderable men of *Rome*, to come and ſup with him at his houſe. *Sabinus* was well acquainted with the man, and therefore dreading no harm, went along with him. The rogue having previouſly taken care to place ſome courtiers in his houſe ſo as they might over-hear every thing that paſs'd, laid out all his art to draw him in to talk of ſuch ſubjects as he knew he would certainly handle with a great deal of freedom. The villain, to pave the way, and leave no room for ſuſpicion, warmly expreſſed his ſentiments againſt both *Tiberius* and *Sejanus*, and diſcovered many odious practices that had eſcaped the knowlege of *Sabinus*. The informer had a liberty to ſay what he pleaſed, and his words were only baits to catch the unwary fiſh. But *Sabinus* had no ſooner parted with his kind landlord, that he was apprehended, committed to priſon, and, within a ſhort ſpace after, condemned, without a trial, or ſo much as letting him know his crime. At this lamentable execution there was one circumſtance which raiſed a compaſſion and concern in all the ſpectators: *Sabinus* had a dog that would not forſake him; the poor animal followed him to priſon, and when his maſter's body was thrown into the *Tiber*, jump'd in after it, ſtruggling, to the loſs of life, to keep it from ſinking.

At this time died *Livia*, the relict of *Auguſtus*, and mother of *Tiberius*, in the fourſcore and ſixth year of her age. *Tiberius* would neither viſit her in her laſt ſickneſs, nor aſſiſt at her funeral. He ſet aſide her teſtament, forbid all honours to be done her, and, with an uncommon barbarity, afflicted all her friends and acquaintance. The ſenate, however they had ſervilely obey'd him in all things elſe, yet, with relation to his mother, they took the liberty to croſs his intentions. They order'd all the ladies to go into mourning, erected ſtatues, and made an ordinance to ſet up a triumphal arch in honour of *Livia*: which was a compliment never before paid to any woman. And this they did becauſe ſhe had ſaved the lives of many ſenators, given an education to numbers of fatherleſs children, and provided honourable matches for many unhappy women.

Livia was a women of wit, great cunning, and policy. She ſeem'd to have an averſion to all violence and blood, but whither that proceeded from a love to virtue, or was the dictate of art, I will not pretend to determine. It is plain ſhe could with joy trample upon a life, when ambition, or the devil told her, it would make for the intereſt of the brute her ſon. She had the character of being a modeſt and chaſte woman. Some fellows having once aſſumed the impudence to run naked into her preſence, ſhe would not ſuffer them to be put to death, pacifying *Auguſtus* with theſe words; *The eyes of a woman of virtue make no difference between a man and a ſtatue.* Being one day ask'd how ſhe had obtain'd ſuch an abſolute ſway over *Auguſtus*; *I ever*, ſaid ſhe, *paid an exact defference to all his inclinations, ſhunned the prying curiouſly into his ſecrets, and brought matters to bear by a ſeeming attention to domeſtic affairs.*

Tiberius minded not the trifling honours that the ſenate had decreed in his mother's favour, but he was out of meaſure incens'd at the triumphal arch. He waved telling them in expreſs words that he would not have it done, and yet took an effectual way to prevent it. He repreſented to them, that it would be a diſgrace to him to have it built at the publick charge, and therefore made them a faithful promiſe to execute their decree at his own expence. The ſenate being thus wheedled into his propoſal, the tyrant gave himſelf no farther trouble about the matter.

In the interim, the grandeur of *Sejanus* had arriv'd to ſuch an intolerable height, that the people of *Rome* conſecrated the day of his birth, and annually kept it with all the diſtinctions of a publick rejoicing. One cannot reckon up the multitude of ſtatues that were by the ſenate and others erected in his honour. The ſenate us'd often to ſend ſome of their own members to make their acknowledgments to him, and in as formal and ſolemn a manner as they had ever treated the emperor. They likewiſe ordain'd, that publick prayers and ſacrifices ſhould be order'd up for his health, as well as that of the emperor; and it became a common practice to ſwear oftener by the good luck of *Sejanus*, than the fortune of his maſter.

Tiberius had, for a long ſpace of years been ſtudying a revenge againſt *Gallus*, for having taken to wife the woman that *Auguſtus* forced him to divorce for the ſake of his daughter *Julia*; he therefore let it burſt at once in the following barbarous manner: *Gallus* being come to him with a meſſage from the ſenate, was receiv'd by *Tiberius* with every token of love and friendſhip. He ſet him down at table with him, and gave him an elegant and obliging entertainment; but, in the mean while, the abominable tyrant having writ a letter to the ſenate full of calumnies and invectives againſt *Gallus*, they inſtantly condemned him to death. To have the misfortune to find a ſentence of death paſs'd upon him at the ſame time that he had the honour to dine with his prince, was ſuch an accident as never before happen'd to any other man.

As ſoon as the ſenate's bloody decree came to hand, he order'd the man, who had the minute before been drinking his health, to be chain'd and carried to priſon. *Gallus* apprehended the tyrant would put him to a great deal of torture, had taken a reſolution to diſpatch himſelf; but *Tiberius*, ſuſpected his intention, had him ſo narrowly watch'd, that he prevented it. *Gallus*, ſaid he, *take courage, your fetters ſhall be knock'd off.* But this the tyrant did, though not with a compaſſionate view, but only to prolong his life, in order to lengthen out his puniſhment, and have the more room to ſatiate his own revenge.

In this miſerable circumſtance was *Gallus* kept many days, as well tormented with the infamy of his diſgrace, as the dread of an execution that ſtood continually before his eyes. No one was admitted to ſee him, not ſo much as his wife, or any of his domeſticks. He had not an opportunity to converſe with any body, except thoſe who had an order to conſtrain him to eat. The victuals they gave him were of ſo weak a nature, and in ſo ſmall a quantity, as could neither ſupport his vigour, nor bring him the leaſt taſte of pleaſure; being by the tyrant adjuſted to a manner that might only hinder his death.

And much in the ſame way did *Tiberius* husband out his rage againſt many others. An unhappy gentleman under ſentence of death, having one day begg'd him to haſten his execution; he made anſwer, *Your demand, friend, happens to come unſeaſonably, for I am not, as yet, reconcil'd to you.* After having put another gentleman to the rack, and loaded him with inſupportable torments, he begun to reflect that the poor innocent man had neither injur'd him, nor fallen under his diſpleaſure; and therefore he call'd out, *Take him down, and make a quick end of his life, and that will be a favour to him; for he has already met with too unworthy a treatment to be capable of reliſhing any ſatisfaction in the future part of his life.* He alſo commanded the execution of *Siriacus*, a man of great probity and wiſdom, though he own'd himſelf that he had no crime or miſdemeanor to lay to his charge, excepting only that he had been an intimate friend of *Gallus*.

Whilſt *Tiberius* was thus delighting himſelf in blood, his miniſter *Sejanus* could not be ſaid to be idle: He had with ſuch ſucceſs extended his influence over the ſenate, as well as all the principal men of *Rome*, that he found himſelf in greater power and authority, and much more careſs'd and apply'd to than his maſter *Tiberius*.

Sejanus's intereſt growing now to be formidable at *Rome*, the tyrant thought it high time to ſhake off his lethargy. He conſider'd with himſelf, that if he ſhould any longer defer the matter, *Sejanus* would quickly ſteal from him not only the hearts of the people, but the empire it ſelf. He kept, however, all theſe thoughts within his own breaſt; he knew that *Sejanus* had the abſolute command of all his guards; that by benefactions, large promiſes, and threats, he directed the ſenate, and had in all things elſe ſo manag'd matters, as to get an exact account of every thing that was either ſaid or done by him; whereas himſelf could ſcarce come to the knowledge of any one point that concern'd *Sejanus*.

Tiberius wiſely foreſeeing that cunning would in this plunge of affairs be of greater uſe to him than force, made *Sejanus* be declar'd conſul, calling him, at the ſame time, the dear companion of all his cares and troubles. After this, whether in private converſation with him, or in his letters to the ſenate, or people, he never mention'd him but by the name of his beloved *Sejanus*. The people being ſtrangely deceived by this new conduct in *Tiberius*, there was nothing to be ſeen among them but an earneſt contention who ſhould moſt diſtinguiſh *Sejanus* with honour. A golden ſeat was erected for him in the theatre, as well as for his maſter, nor could he have received more teſtimonies of reſpect, had he been emperor himſelf.

The ſenate, likewiſe, deluded by *Tiberius*'s artifice, made out a decree, conſtituting *Tiberius* and *Sejanus* their conſuls during the next five years; and ordaining that the latter ſhould at all times, when he entered *Rome*, be received with the ſame marks of dignity as were due to his maſter.

The flowing tide of *Sejanus*'s fortune did not ſo far take up all the attention of *Tiberius* but he ſtill went on with his rapine and ſlaughter. *Caius Geminius Rufus* being accuſed of having uttered ſome invectives againſt *Tiberius*, he, in juſtification, produced his laſt will, wherein he had left *Tiberius* the half of his eſtate. The tyrant finding this trick would not do, next charged him with the guilt of a vice which is a diſgrace to nature. Hereupon, the poor man, to anticipate the ſentence, kill'd himſelf. *Publia Priſca*, his wife, getting an information that ſhe muſt alſo be brought upon trial, ſhe haſtened to the ſenate, and, in the midſt of a full houſe, drew out a poniard, and ſtabbed her ſelf.

Sejanus was, by a courſe of flattery, puffed up to that degree of vanity, that he would, among ſuch as he took for his friends, call himſelf emperor, and give *Tiberius* no other appellation than that of governor of the iſle of *Capreæ*. All mankind made their addreſs to him, and begun to neglect *Tiberius*; ſacrifices were more frequently offered to the ſtatues of *Sejanus*, than to thoſe of his maſter.

In the mean while, *Tiberius* was ſtill agitating in his mind how to work his deſtruction. He now ſpared no coſt to find out the moſt ſecret intrigues of *Sejanus* and all his party: He would often perplex *Sejanus* and the ſenate with different accounts of the ſtate of his health, at one time repreſenting to him that he found himſelf in ſuch an extreme weakneſs as made him think he was near his end; and he would ſoon after ſend them word that he had perfectly recovered his health, and deſigned, in a few days, to return to *Rome*. He ſometimes would mightily extol *Sejanus*, and, in an hour or two after, as violently abuſe him. He would one day treat *Sejanus*'s friends with all marks of reſpect, and the next time he ſaw them load them with every kind of reproach.

In ſhort, *Tiberius*'s doubted his own ſtrength, and knew not well how to bring *Sejanus*'s fall about. He wanted the man's ruin, but was afraid to begin. Theſe little artifices he therefore threw out, that he might from thence learn how the pulſe of the world beat; and finding by theſe and other methods he had at laſt impaired the credit of *Sejanus* among the better part of the inhabitants of *Rome*; he came to think he might with ſafety give the finiſhing blow to his miniſter.

Theſe ſtrange revolutions in *Tiberius*'s temper, gave *Sejanus* no little uneaſineſs; but nothing confounded him ſo much as the following accident, which happened to one of his ſtatues. A great quantity of ſmoke had been obſerved to iſſue out of it, and when the head of the ſtatue came to be taken off, in order to diſcover whence the ſmoke proceeded, a large ſnake jumped out of it, to the great aſtoniſhment and fright of all the ſpectators. After this, *Sejanus* going to offer ſacrifice to himſelf under the repreſentation of one of his own ſtatues, had the misfortune to find a rope twiſted about the neck of it; which gave an alarm of ſurprize, not only to him, but all his friends and followers.

Theſe preſages, how little ſoever, were yet ſufficient, in thoſe days, to be looked upon as certain fore-runners of his approaching fate. A general contempt ſucceeded, and many, even of his friends, abandoned him. Hereupon, *Tiberius* conceived courage enough to attempt his fall; but ſtill a little fear remained: He therefore proceeded with the utmoſt caution. Having privately made *Nevius Sertorius Macro* the captain of his guards, in the room of *Sejanus*, him he entruſted with the management of the whole affair.

Macro, on his arrival at *Rome*, ſpread a report that *Sejanus* was inſtantly to be made a tribune of the people; and having next communicated his orders to *Memmius Regulus*, one of the conſuls, and to *Gracinus Laco*, who commanded the companies that were the ſafeguard of the city, he then went to the ſenate, and delivered *Tiberius*'s letter to them. In his way thither, he was met by *Sejanus*, who expreſſed a great concern that *Tiberius* had not writ to him. *I have*, anſwered Macro, *brought with me an order for creating you a tribune*. This news was received with great joy, and therefore diſpoſed *Sejanus* to go to the ſenate-houſe.

Sejanus was no ſooner entered, than *Macro* addreſſed himſelf to the guards that had attended *Sejanus* thither, and taken their ſtation round the place were the ſenate was aſſembled: *Gentlemen*, ſaid he, *I have letters under* Tiberius*'s own hand, wherein he aſſures me, he will ſoon reward all your ſervices: In the mean time, he deſires you may quietly retire to your own camp*. This being effected, he put the city guards in their place.

Tiberius's letter was ſpun out to a conſiderable length, and wrought up with all the warp of cunning he was maſter of. The beginning of it conſiſted only of indifferent things; as it farther advanced, it gave a ſlight rub at *Sejanus*; then it inſtantly broke off to another ſubject. After this, followed a ſentence or two in *Sejanus*'s praiſe; laſt of all, it brought them an order to chaſtiſe two ſenators that were his particular friends, and to take an extraordinary care that they committed his perſon to ſafe cuſtody.

The apprehenſion and terror that *Tiberius* was in, made him write his letter in this obſcure manner; he was afraid that a tumult might riſe in favour of *Sejanus*, and therefore he would not openly bid them put him to death. The ſenate, however, made a ſhift to underſtand his meaning; and though, at the firſt, nothing could be heard but loud acclamations in favour of *Sejanus*, yet the letter had no ſooner concluded, than imprecations thicken'd in the room of praiſe.

Thoſe who ſat next *Sejanus*, immediately got up, and ſurrounded him, fearing he might otherwiſe ſlip out, and cauſe a ſedition among the people. *Regulus*, the conſul, then called him, but *Sejanus* would make no anſwer; he had of a long time been accuſtom'd to ſee all the world at his feet, and to be now called to obedience, ſeem'd to him no more than a dream. However, as *Regulus* continu'd to repeat his demand, with a ſtill greater air of authority, *Sejanus* vouchſafed, at laſt, to aſk him who it was he wanted. *Come hither*, ſaid Regulus, *and I will ſhew you what I want*. *Sejanus* obey'd, and the letter being a ſecond time read, the ſenate, with one voice, declar'd their abhorrence to him. The whole aſſembly concurred in a ſuffrage of curſes againſt him; his pretended friends, as well as thoſe whom he had either wickedly abus'd, or threaten'd, all of 'em joining in the chorus.

Regulus was ſo kind as to hand him out of the ſenate, and conduct him to his new lodgings in a priſon. Oh! how uncertain is the courſe of human affairs! He, that in the morning was attended to the ſenate with the moſt conſiderable men of the city, and by ſeveral troops of guards, and, in the judgment of the greater part of mankind, appear'd a ſovereign, came, in a few hours after, to be diſtreſs'd with irons, and thruſt into priſon like a common malefactor.

The vulgar, of a ſudden, turn'd his enemies, and, with noiſy clamour, demanded his life, as a juſt retribution for the great quantity of blood he had ſpilt: Nor did they ſtop here; they went on to level all his ſtatues with the ground, and daſh and hew them to pieces. And this gave him a foretaſte of what he had to ſuffer in his own perſon: For being, ſpeedily after, condemn'd by the ſenate to be thrown headlong into the common receptacle of dung and filth, it was accordingly executed, and, for three days ſucceſſively, was his carcaſs batter'd and maltreated about the ſtreets. So long did fury keep its edge. But then they bid him good night, and tumbled him into the river. All his children were, likewiſe, executed; and becauſe one of his daughters was a virgin, and, of conſequence, could not by the *Roman* law be legally put to death, the hangman had orders firſt to defile her, and then inhumanly deprive her of life.

There enſu'd, upon this tragedy, a very great commotion at *Rome*. The citizens flew to arms, putting to the ſword all thoſe whom they ſuſpected had either been the favourites of *Sejanus*, or abuſed the power he had devolved into their hands. The guards, likewiſe, who had once been under the command of *Sejanus*, taking it ill that they ſhould have been ordered off their duty under a falſe pretext, marched into the city, and ſet many houſes a fire: But theſe tumults were ſoon appeaſed by the good offices of the ſenate.

The ſenate were ſo well pleas'd with this piece of juſtice done upon *Sejanus*, that they ordain'd the image of liberty ſhould thenceforth have its ſtand in the publick place, and annual games and ſports be celebrated on the day wherein *Sejanus* had been put to death. They alſo paſs'd a decree, forbidding extraordinary honours to be paid to the perſon of any miniſter; and ordaining, that in time coming they ſhould only ſwear by the name of the emperor. But theſe orders being too hot to laſt long, the ſenate ſoon returned to their old uſe and wont; for when they came to know that *Macro* and *Laco* were elevated to the ſame degree of power that *Sejanus* had before poſſeſſed, they omitted no kind of abandon'd flattery that might ſettle themſelves in their eſteem.

Sejanus was a man of parts equal to his maſter himſelf, but vaſtly inferior to him in cunning; otherwiſe he had not fallen in the manner he did. Grandeur had at length ſo confounded his brain, that he knew not how to conceal his own vanity, or, indeed, keep his own ſecrets. And having in theſe points laid himſelf open, a handle from thence ſprung, that rouz'd *Tiberius* out of his ſleep, and made him indefatigable to compleat his ruin. Though he was quite a ſtranger to honeſty and virtue, and therefore a fit tool to receive the fouleſt impreſſion; yet he was no more than an ax in the hands of *Tiberius*, whereby he knock'd down thoſe whom he had a mind to deſtroy. It was not *Sejanus* that corrupted and inflamed *Tiberius*, but *Tiberius* that made a devil of him.

Tiberius having thus rooted out *Sejanus*, he quickly let the world ſee that the horid ſcene of murder which had happened during the adminiſtration of *Sejanus*, was no other than a natural effect of his own barbarous temper. No day, either ſacred or prophane, was now free from ſlaughter. He had before thought, that his ſon *Druſus* had died by his own intemperance; but the fall of *Sejanus* bringing the true ſtate of the caſe to light, he broke out into ſuch a fury, that he conſigned to death not only thoſe whom he knew to be, but thoſe, alſo, whom he ſuſpected to be the friends of *Sejanus*, together with their wives, and all their children. Every trifle was made a capitol offence, and the relations of thoſe whom he had villainouſly executed, were, under pain of death, prohibited to ſhew any ſign of mourning.

The tyrant had, by this time, advanced to ſuch an exceſs of cruelty, that he thought the ordinary way of inflicting death was no puniſhment at all; and therefore he invented many ſtrange and terrible methods of giving and prolonging torture. Having condemned one, whoſe name was *Carnulius*, and being ſoon after informed that he was dead, *I am ſorry*, ſaid he, *to find that he has made his eſcape out of my hands*. The priſons were cramm'd full with innocent men; nor was ſolitude leſs expos'd to his rage, than the free uſe of ſociety and converſation. He had, on his coming to the empire, choſe twenty men out of the ſenate to be his counſellors, of all which there now remain'd but two whom he had not put to death.

The poet *Æmilius Scaurus*, having compoſed a tragedy, which he call'd *Atreus*, was immediately taken up under the pretext of uttering treaſonable words againſt *Agamemnon*. He had, in imitation of *Euripides*, embelliſh'd his work with proper advices to ſubjects how to demean themſelves in an event that confined them to live under a bloody and tyrannick government. This being all the unhappy gentleman's crime, *Tiberius* ſent for him, and, after a few reproaches, ſpoke to him in theſe words: *You deſerve death for the abuſes you have thrown upon* Agamemnon; *but you have alſo drawn my character under the name of* Atreus, *and thereby charged me with ſeveral wicked murders; for which cauſe, you ſhall, as well as I, be conſtrained to finiſh a part in your own tragedy. Friend, you ſhall perſonate* Ajax. Nor did the tyrant ceaſed torturing him, till he forced him upon a like ignominious end; the poor man growing diſtracted by a courſe of pain, murdered himſelf.

This being the thirty-firſt year of our Lord, and the fifteenth of *Tiberius*, *Valerius Gratus* was recall'd from *Judæa*, and *Pontius Pilate* ſent thither to govern in his room. *Pontius Pilate* was a man not unlike his maſter *Tiberius*; rapine and injuſtice were the meaſures of his government. His violent and cruel temper led him to take a delight in laying traps and ſnares for the innocent; plunder, robbery, and all ſorts of force and barbarity, were his common practice, accounting it nothing often to condemn men to death without any form of proceſs.

Judæa had, during the eleven years that *Valerius Gratus* governed them, continued, for the moſt part, in a full enjoyment of peace; but *Pilate* ſoon alter'd the caſe, and gave a riſe to ſuch tumults and commotions as were not quite allay'd till the final deſtruction of the city and temple of *Jeruſalem*. Having ſent his troops from *Cæſarea* to *Jeruſalem*, to the end they might there take up their winter quarters, he made them carry thither their enſigns, upon which were drawn the effigies of their emperors, deſiring them to enter the city by night, and hide their colours till they were once got in. And by this means the *Jews* came not to ſee theſe matters of offence till next morning.

The predeceſſors of *Pilate* had hitherto acted with a very great deference to the *Jews*, and had never made an attempt to bring their enſigns within the city, for fear of diſobliging and provoking the *Jews*, who, they knew, had an averſion to all repreſentations of men, as well as animals. But *Pilate* was a man as regarded no body but himſelf, and therefore would indulge a full ſwing to his own humour.

The news of this ſcandalous innovation ſoon reached the country, as well as alarmed every inhabitant of the town. The people, therefore, aſſembled in great numbers, begging *Pilate* to remove thoſe images. They, to no purpoſe, held on for ſeveral days to ſolicite him. *Joſephus* ſays, *They proſtrated themſelves upon the ground before* Pilate's *houſe, and in that manner paſſed the full ſpace of five days and nights without ſtirring.*

On the ſixth day, *Pilate* being ſat on his judgment-ſeat (which he had fix'd in the place allotted for publick exerciſes), gave an order that the *Jews* ſhould attend him. They thinking he deſigned to make them a favourable anſwer, immediately waited on him; but he had planted an ambuſh of ſoldiers within a ſhort diſtance, and when he found they ſtill inſiſted upon their old demand, he made a ſignal to his ſoldiers, who forthwith advancing, hemm'd 'em in of all ſides. He then threatened them all with an immediate execution, if they did not renounce their ſolicitations, and retire every man of them to their own houſes. But they, inſtead of being terrified with his menaces, threw themſelves upon the ground, and, expoſing their naked breaſts to him, let him thereby ſee that a ſtrict obſervation of their law was more dear to them than even their lives. *Pilate* being ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at this their reſolution, ſent back his images to *Cæſarea*.

Pilate, likewiſe, offended the *Jews* by another enterprize, which is related by *Philo*. *He formed a deſign to ſet up ſeveral bucklers within the palace of* Herod *at* Jeruſalem, *and conſecrate them to the honour of* Tiberius. It is certain, that the ancient kings of *Judah*, the *Maccabees*, and *Herod* himſelf, had conſecrated abundance of arms, as bucklers, head-pieces, ſwords, and other things, within the temple, to the Lord; the whole front of that holy place being adorned with the like preſents.

But that which provoked the *Jews* upon this occaſion was, that *Pilate* had an intention to dedicate them to *Tiberius*, and put them up within their city, more with a view to do a deſpite to them, than out of reſpect to the emperor. And it added to their reſentment, that on taking a ſurvey of the ſeveral figures, they perceived none of them contained more than one inſcription, ſignifying the name of the giver, and him to whoſe honour they were conſecrated. Which inſcription appear'd to them to be contrary to the law of God.

The magiſtrates of the city having at their head four of the ſons of *Herod*, *viz. Herod* the tetrarch of *Galilee*, ſirnam'd *Antipas*; *Herod*, ſirnam'd *Philip*, the firſt huſband of *Herodias*; *Herod*, the ſon of *Cleopatra*; and another of the younger ſons of *Herod*, waited in a body upon *Pilate*, and pray'd him not to violate their laws. *Pilate* return'd them a denial with his uſual obſtinacy, but they would not be thus repuls'd; they roundly admoniſhed him to take care that he did not drive the people upon a mutiny and revolt. *If you have*, continued they, *a poſitive order under the emperor's own hand for warranting this conſecration, you need but ſhew it, and we will preſently ſend an embaſſy to* Rome *to get the grievance aboliſhed*.

Pilate regarded not their deputation but for one thing; he ſeemed apprehenſive they would diſcover ſomething of his miſmanagement to the court: But, again, as he heartily hated the *Jews*, he was exceeding loth to let go a project which he aſſured himſelf would be a continual eye-ſore to them. *Pilate*, for ſome time, remained in a ſuſpence between fear and obſtinacy, the former bidding him grant their requeſt, and the latter diſpoſing him to refuſe it.

In the mean time, the *Jews*, who were not unacquainted with the difficulty they had reduced him to, diſpatched away an expreſs to the emperor, with a memorial of their complaint; wherein, having firſt teſtified a profound veneration for his perſon and government, they next laid before him their grievance, and ſupplicated a redreſs. *Tiberius*, on the receipt of their letter, returned the very ſame day another to *Pilate*, in which he ſignified his diſpleaſure at what he had done, with regard to the bucklers at *Jeruſalem*; and commanded him inſtantly to remove them, and all other figures, that gave offence to ſome other place. And ſo *Pilate* tranſported them to *Cæſarea*.

After this, *Pilate* took a freſh opportunity to irritate the *Jews*. He told them, he muſt have the money that was lodged in the treaſury-chamber of the temple, in order to carry on an aqueduct, or water-conduit, for ſupplying the city with water; and as the ſources, from which it was to be brought, were at the diſtance of two hundred furlongs from *Jeruſalem*, nothing leſs than the treaſure of the temple could be ſufficient to anſwer the purpoſe.

The people being highly affronted at this motion, went in multitudes to *Pilate*, intreating him to deſiſt from his project; and, as it now and then happens in a tumultuous crowd, ſome of them preſs'd home upon him with inſolence enough. *Pilate*, on a previous ſuſpicion that ſomething of this nature might happen, had directed his ſoldiers to conceal each of them a club under his habit, and to put on for the day the common dreſs of the *Jews*, that ſo they might not be diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the mob, and be the better able at his ſignal to fall upon thoſe who ſhould happen to make the moſt noiſe.

Pilate having in vain commanded the *Jews* to retire, made a ſign to his ſoldiers, which was no ſooner given, than they produc'd their battoons, and laid about them with ſuch fury, that numbers of the people were ſtruck down. For the ſoldiers having in their heat forgot *Pilate*'s order, which bid them chuſe out the leaders of the riot, no more ſpar'd the innocent than the guilty. Many were by this ſtratagem of *Pilate* kill'd outright, more, ſtill, were violently hurt and bruis'd, ſome were ſmother'd in the preſs, others were made priſoners, and the reſt took to their heels. And after the ſame impious manner did *Pontius Pilate* go on through the whole courſe of his government; ſo that he was a fellow in all points qualified to pronounce that infamous and unrighteous ſentence whereby he condemned him that is the ſovereign prince and lord of life.

To what has been hitherto ſaid of *Pontius Pilate*, I ſhall ſubjoin the character that *Philo Judæus* gives of him. *He was*, ſaid he, *a man that made it his buſineſs to ſell juſtice, and would give any ſentence for money. He laid himſelf out to commit rapines, and horrible injuries, and murders. He frequently would, without any cauſe given, put men to exceſſive torments, and arbitrarily condemn to death others, without any ſentence of law; and was intolerably cruel thorough the whole ſeries of his adminiſtration.*

Whilſt theſe things were a doing, began *John the baptiſt to preach the baptiſm of repentance for the remiſſion of ſins*, and thereby proclaim'd the goſpel to the world. His miniſtry commenced on the tenth day of the ſeventh month, which was penitential, and ſo ſolemn a faſt, that the ſoul which did not then humble and afflict it ſelf, was to be cut off from among the people; and, alſo, the preciſe expiatory time, wherein the high-prieſt (the type of our Lord, who firſt appeared for the revealing of his goſpel by this his meſſenger, ſent before his face to prepare the way for his own perſonal tial appearance) alone enter'd into the holy of holies, and with blood expiated the ſins of the people. And on the ſame tenth day, too, was the jubilee notified by the ſound of a trumpet.

In the mean time, *Herod Antipas*, tetrach of *Galilee*, happening to ſee his brother's wife, *Herodias*, fell paſſionately in love with her; and accordingly, propoſing marriage to her, got her conſent, on condition that he divorced his own wife, who was daughter of *Aretas*, king of *Arabia*. The nuptials were ſoon after ſolemnized, to the great ſcandal and offence of all the country: For this marriage was no other than an adulterous and inceſtuous rape.

John the baptiſt loudly exclaimed againſt this wickedneſs of *Herod*, ſhewing him the heinouſneſs of this guilt in corrupting his brother's wife. Hereupon, *Herodias*, ſuſpecting that *John the baptiſt* (whoſe incomparable virtue and ſanctity of life had purchaſed an extraordinary character and eſteem in the world) would at length prevail with *Herod* to renounce her, ſhe ceas'd neither day nor night ſoliciting *Herod*, till ſhe had brought about his diſtruction. She had him firſt thrown into priſon, and afterwards beheaded. *Joſephus* tells us, that *Herod*'s army being, after this, totally defeated by *Aretas*, king of *Arabia*, the *Jews* looked upon it as a juſt puniſhment upon him for the murder of this holy man.

Firſt, then, *John the baptiſt* carried on the miniſtry of the goſpel for three years and a half; and next, our Saviour, on *John*'s being caſt into priſon, appear'd himſelf, and perſonally officiated in it for three years and a half more. And from thence it is evident, that the whole term of our omnipotent Lord's miniſtry here on earth, as exerciſed firſt by *John*, his fore-runner, and afterwards by himſelf, made up, to a minute, ſeven years, and thereby fell in exactly (as had been long foretold) with the laſt of the ſeventy weeks in *Daniel*'s prophecy; which ſeventy weeks, according to the prophetical computation of a year for a day, make four hundred and ninety years.

This remarkable propheſy of *Daniel*, chap. ix. ver. 24. not only points out the preciſe time of the coming of our Lord in the miniſtry of his goſpel, but the time, likewiſe, wherein he was *to finiſh the tranſgreſſions, and to make an end of ſins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlaſting righteouſneſs.*

In this year (which was the thirty ſixth of our Lord, and the thirty-third of the vulgar *Æra)* our moſt glorious Saviour became a ſacrifice for us, to make a reconciliation for our ſins, and endur'd a cruel death for the expiation of them: And having thereby obtain'd his ſpiritual kingdom over us, he took poſſeſſion of it on his reſurrection from the dead. And now began to be fulfill'd two other propheſies of *Daniel*, the one contain'd in the ſecond chapter, and the other in the ſeventh of that illuſtrious prophet. *And in the days of theſe kings ſhall the God of heaven ſet up a kingdom, which ſhall never be deſtroyed. And the kingdom ſhall not be left to another people, but it ſhall break in peices, and conſume all theſe kingdoms, and it ſhall ſtand for ever,* Dan. ii. 44. *And there was given him dominion and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations and languages, ſhould ſerve him: His dominion is an everlaſting dominion, which ſhall not paſs away, and his kingdom that which ſhall not be deſtroyed,* Dan. vii. 14. For now that our meſſiah's kingdom commenc'd in the eſtabliſhment of his church here on earth, not only the whole *Moſaic* œconomy ended, but the *Roman* empire, too (as had been foretold by *Daniel*,) begun ſenſibly to decay.

The *Roman* empire is deſcrib'd by *Daniel*, in his ſecond chapter, under the figure of legs of iron, and feet of iron and clay work'd up together; which gives us an image of the ſeveral models of government the *Romans* were under, *viz.* their antient conſtitution under a commonwealth, and arbitrary power under their emperors. Whilſt their old form of government continued, their foundation had the ſtrength of iron; but arbitrary and diſpotick rule no ſooner took place, than the iron came to be daſh'd and mingled with clay in the feet. Indeed, during the reign of *Auguſtus*, the clay being kept up to a hard temper, produced no very viſible effects; but his ſucceſſor, *Tiberius*, who had no other rule of adminiſtration but his own bloody and cruel appetite, gave a quick occaſion to ſet the clay a mouldering in ſuch a manner, as quite unſettled the pillars of the *Roman* empire.

We need only take a review of the many irreſiſtable teſtimonies that God gave of the truth of our Saviour's miſſion, and the miraculous circumſtances of his nativity, life, and paſſion, and reſurrection, all of which literally happened according to the propheſies which went before of him; and we ſhall quickly riſe into ſuch a faith in *Jeſus Chriſt* our meſſiah, as neither the devil, nor his ſubjects the modern *Infidels*, will ever be able to ſhake.

Our Lord's reſurrection being the great fundamental article of the *Chriſtian* religion, *Jeſus Chriſt* therefore had often, during his miniſtry here on earth, told his apoſtles that he ſhould ſuffer death, and within three days, riſe again, *Mat.* xvi. 21. xvii. 22, *John* xvi. 16. and alſo made it a demonſtration, whereby they ſhould be convinc'd that he was the ſon of God, and the great prophet and Saviour that had before been promiſed, and was to come, *John* ii. 19. He likewiſe refers the *Jews* to his reſurrection, as an infallible evidence of his being the *Chriſt*, *Mat.* xii. 39, 40. And, accordingly, after lying three days in the grave, he reſtor'd himſelf to life again, as he had foretold the people; which was ſuch a confirmation and invincible proof of the *Chriſtian* religion, as could only proceed from the omnipotent power of God.

The *Roman cuſtodia*, or threeſcore ſoldiers, that guarded the ſepulchre, were witneſſes of the whole tranſaction; they were not only ſenſible of the great earthquake that attended his reſurrection, but they ſaw an angel deſcend from heaven, and roll away the ſtone from the door of the ſepulchre, and, thereupon, were ſtruct with ſuch terror, that they became as dead men. And when they looked into his ſepulchre, they plainly ſaw that his body was not there.

Our Saviour, on his riſing from the dead, ſhewed himſelf in the moſt convincing manner that could be. He appear'd to multitudes of them together, even to five hundred brethren at once, as St. *Paul* aſſures us, 1 *Cor.* xv. of whom, the moſt part were alive when he compos'd that epiſtle. He convers'd with them for the ſpace of forty days, he gave them the liberty to touch and thoroughly examine his body, he eat and drank with them, and, laſt of all, conducting them to the mount of olives, he viſibly, in their preſence, did there aſcend up into heaven.

Our almighty Lord having, before his aſcenſion into heaven, conſtituted his apoſtles to give an atteſtation to him through all the other parts of the earth, as well as *Judæa* and *Samaria*, bid them not depart from *Jeruſalem* till they had received their credentials, and were endued with power from on high. Accordingly, on the tenth day after, the holy ghoſt made a viſible deſcent upon them, and that in a very full meeting. Hereupon, they fluently expreſs'd themſelves in languages that they never had learnt, to the great ſurprize of a vaſt concourſe of people of different nations, whom the report of that miraculous incident had brought thither. Then they boldly preached *Chriſt*'s reſurrection, and indiſputably vouched it with all ſorts of miracles. At their command diſeaſes fled, and health return'd. Furthermore, they even recover'd the dead to life again, and, by only laying their hands upon others, they communicated to them the ſame divine efficacy to perform miracles.

The goſpel, by theſe means, ſpread like lightning; numbers of *Jews*, as well as *Gentiles*, were inſtantly converted to the faith of *Jeſus Chriſt*, whoſe infinite power, they publickly declar'd, enabled them to do thoſe ſupernatural wonders. St. *Peter*, by one ſermon, brought over to *Chriſtianity* three thouſand perſons, and quickly after, by another ſermon, added five thouſand more; and within leſs than the ſpace of forty years was the goſpel diſſeminated throughout the world, and that, too, in oppoſition to the moſt horrible tortures and puniſhments that the united force of hell, and all the powers of the earth, could deviſe to prevent it. Thus was the devil's kingdom grinded to pieces, and our Saviour's throne erected, which to this day, upon earth, continues an irrefragable monument of the all-ſufficient power of its original author.

The truth of the goſpel is founded upon ſuch proofs, as, above all others, are moſt convincing. We have ſuch an atteſtation of it, as nothing but ignorance, or downright debauchery, can except againſt. All the facts being recorded and tranſmitted to us by thoſe who not only were men of unqueſtionable veracity, and holineſs of life, but heard with their own ears, and view'd with their own eyes, and touch'd with their own hands, what they have teſtified: And, which is more, all of them (excepting only St. *John*) ſet the ſeal to the truth of it, with their own blood. Beſides, their teſtimony is handed down to us with every authentick mark of evidence that any matter of fact then tranſacted can be capable of. Add, to this, the glorious effects that ſucceeded on our Saviour's preaching in the world, and which remain illuſtriouſly conſpicuous to this very day, can only be attributed to the providence of God, which has all along ſignally interpos'd to propagate our Lord's empire over the world.

I am fully perſuaded that there is not one man among us that denies the *Chriſtian* religion, but who would have ſtuck to his infidelity, had he ſeen our Saviour himſelf perform thoſe miracles, which infallibly vouched that he was the ſon of God. The caſe of *Infidels* always was, and ever will be this; they are ſunk into an abyſs of ſenſual pleaſures, and ſolely bent on the gratification of all ſorts of vicious deſires, and therefore they endeavour to bring themſelves up to that pitch of madneſs as to oppoſe and deny reveal'd religion. And all ſuch, however they may cloak their wickedneſs from the eyes of the world, are yet nothing at bottom but impious and abandoned rogues. But *cleanſe your hands, ye ſinners, and purify your hearts, ye double-minded*, and then make no doubt but you will ſoon return to the boſom of the *Chriſtian* church.

Whilſt our Saviour continued here upon earth, the miracles he wrought gain'd him an univerſal eſteem among the *Jews*; but the purity of his doctrine, the oppoſition he ſhewed to their traditions, and the ſevere reproofs he gave them for their hypocriſy, pride, and covetouſneſs were the motives that made them reject ſo great a ſalvation. They had before (as *Suidas* obſerves out of *Theodoſius*, a learned *Jew*) been greatly delighted with his wiſe anſwers and queſtions, and therefore made him one of their prieſts, entering his name thus: Jeſus, *the ſon of God, and of* Mary. Nay, it appears from their own *Talmud*, which was not finiſh'd till five hundred years after *Chriſt*, that they really took him for the true meſſiah. In commenting upon that place of *Zechariah*, ch. xii. ver. 10. *And they ſhall look upon me whom they have pierced*; it ſubjoins the moſt remarkable words, *viz. Peace be to him who hath ſaid that theſe things are to be underſtood of meſſiah, the ſon of* Joſeph, *who is ſlain.*

The *Heathen* oracles being all now put to ſilence, *Plutarch*, who writ in the reign of *Trajan*, gave himſelf a great deal of needleſs trouble in accounting philoſophically for the cauſe of ſo odd a change. But, after all his moſt accurate reſearches, he was not able, however he might ſatiſfy his own mind, to bring any reaſonable ſolution. He imputes it partly to the abſence of the diabolical ſpirits, which he wiſely fancies might either die, or be drove away from their old place of reſidence, by ſome ſpirit or other of ſuperior rank, or remove themſelves, out of diſlike; and partly to an alteration of the ſoil wherein oracles were ſituated, which ceas'd to produce ſuch divine exhalations as in former times it had done. For it was his opinion that ſpirits muſt be dumb if the earth did not aſſiſt them with a ſpiritual temper of exhalations, in like manner as a muſician cannot play without an inſtrument. For which reaſon, he expected that oracles would either come into play again in *Greece*, or break out in a more proper ſoil.

But where have thoſe oracles ſince burſt out? The light of the goſpel expelled them, whereever it came; the ſilence of the oracles did not follow from any of thoſe pretended conjectures that *Plutarch* is pleas'd to make. But this was the time wherein the *ſtrong man's houſe was to be entered, his goods ſpoiled, and himſelf bound*; the devil, who before was the *prince of this world*, came now to be dethron'd, and tumbled into hell, upon the approach of that *true light which illuminateth every believer that cometh into the world*.

About this time happen'd that celebrated accident, which *Plutarch* afterwards relates for the ſupporting his opinion concerning the poſſibility of the death of thoſe dæmoniacal ſpirits. *Thamous*, the maſter of an *Ægyptian* veſſel, being, in the courſe of his voyage, requir'd by a diſmal and uncouth voice, utter'd thrice, as it were from land, to proclaim the news of great *Pan*'s death when he coaſted by *Palodes*; regarded the requeſt in the nature of an impoſition upon his ſenſes, and therefore deſigned to take no farther notice of it. But the wind inſtantly failing him, on his arrival thither, it recall'd to his memory the demand; and therefore directing his face to the ſhore, he called out aloud, *Great* Pan *is dead*. He had no ſooner pronounced theſe words, than they were ſucceeded by a moſt dreadful and high noiſe, like that of a multitude, expreſs'd in ſighs and groans at ſo great a wonder.

Had thoſe ſpirits been liable to mortality, as *Plutarch* imagines, the death of the great *Pan* would have been received without any ſurprize. But that one, infinitely greater than the greateſt of them, and who had given all of them their being, ſhould graciouſly condeſcend to ſuffer death for the redemption of the world; might well overwhelm them with amazement and deep ſorrow. This incident coinciding exactly with the time wherein the great ſhepherd of our ſouls laid down his life for his flock, leaves us no room to doubt but it was our Saviour that was intimated under the well-known name of *Pan*. *Tiberius*, on hearing this ſtory aſſerted by thoſe who had been ear-witneſſes of it, call'd a council of the ableſt men he could think of, in order to ſatisfy him who this great *Pan*, lately deceas'd ſhould be: But he had no other anſwer from them, than that they believ'd it to be the heathen God of ſhepherds, who commonly paſs'd under that name.

Pontius Pilate having tranſmitted an account to *Tiberius* of the paſſion and reſurrection of our Saviour, together with a relation of the many miracles that had been done by him, and by his diſciples in his name; adding, that the multitude of believers daily increaſing, he was worſhipped as a God: *Tiberius* made a report thereof to the ſenate, deſiring he might be plac'd among the Gods whom the *Roman* empire ador'd. But the ſenate ſtoutly oppos'd it, in conſideration of an ancient law of the twelve tables, which forbid them to introduce foreign deities among the number of their Gods. However, *Tiberius* paſs'd an edict of his own, denouncing death to thoſe who ſhould accuſe the *Chriſtians*.

It being cuſtomary for the ſeveral governors of provinces, under the *Roman* ſtate, to keep an exact regiſter of all the memorable things that occurred during the time of their adminiſtration; the learned apologiſt, *Juſtin Martyr*, who lived in the one hundred and ſixty-firſt year of our Lord, tells the *Pagans*, in his ſecond apology, that they need only conſult the public acts made under *Pontius Pilate*, to know and be ſatisfied that *Chriſt* really wrought thoſe miracles which he told them of.

Amidſt the innumerable acts of cruelty which *Tiberius* was all this while a committing at *Rome*, he would now and then diſtinguiſh himſelf by a generous contempt of injuries. *Lncius Sejanus*, a preſident of one of the courts of juſtice, having at his own charge furniſhed out a public ſhow to the people, wherein nothing was exhibited but what might give them an idea of a bald pate, and concluded the evening with a proceſſion of five thouſand flambeaus carried by an equal number of youths, who had all their heads ſhaved; *Tiberius*, who well knew that this whole contrivance was meant an affront upon him, becauſe of his bald head; ſeem'd only to ſmile at the lowneſs of the jeſt, and took no farther notice of it.

Terence, a *Roman* knight, being accuſed by *Tiberius* before the ſenate, of having been an intimate friend of the late miniſter *Sejanus*, was ſo far from denying the charge, that he frankly owned he had made it his buſineſs to ſeek his friendſhip, and with all his might pleaſe the man, whom he ſaw ſo much honoured by his royal maſter. 'If the emperor, *ſaid he*, was to 'be commended for ſignalizing him with marks 'of friendſhip, it cannot be thought I have done 'ill, in following his example. Since a prince of 'bright parts, and of ſuch an extenſive wiſdom 'in all things, has once found himſelf deceived in 'his choice, can it appear, in the leaſt, aſtoniſhing, that I ſhould be drawn into the ſame miſtake? It is our duty to love thoſe whom *Tiberius* exalts into his favour, and borrow from 'him all our meaſures of eſteem; regarding them 'whilſt they continue favourites, let us throw 'them up when they ceaſe to pleaſe.'

The ſenate not only abſolved *Terence*, but ſharply reproached thoſe by whoſe means it was that he fell into the diſpleaſure of *Tiberius*. The emperor ſeemed extremely ſatisfied with what they had done, and therefore had an addreſs return'd to him full of praiſe and thanks. But nothing gave, at this time, ſo univerſal a joy, as the juſtice he did to the whole *Roman* people in condemning to death the moſt noted and active of thoſe informers that he had hitherto kept in pay at *Rome*.

As *Tiberius* was a brute moſt infamous in his manner of love, both to males and females; and though covetous in other reſpects, yet profuſe to them; *Sextus Marius*, a drudge of this kind, had, by his bounty, made ſo large an eſtate, that having invited one of his neighbours, with whom he had for ſome time been at variance, to do him the favour to ſtay at his houſe for two days; on the firſt of theſe days he cauſed the gentleman's houſe to be thrown down, and, on the ſecond, to be rebuilt, in a much more ſplendid and magnificent faſhion than it was before. After this, *Marius* having on the morning of the third day ſeen the gentleman home to his houſe, and finding him exceedingly amaz'd at ſo odd a change; 'Be not ſurprized, my friend, ſaid he, this alteration is entirely owing to me, and done with no other deſign than to convince you how much it lies in my power to oblige my friends, as well as take vengeance of my enemies'. The ſame *Marius*, having ſent his beautiful daughter into the country, for fear that ſhe ſhould light into the hands of *Tiberius*, and be diſhonour'd by him, was ſoon after accus'd of an inceſtuous commerce with her, and they were both of them put to death.

Tiberius had his two grand-children always about him, *viz.* *Tiberius*, deſcended of his own ſon *Druſus*; and *Caius*, who was born to *Germanicus*, his adopted ſon. Theſe he regarded with a very different eye, *Caius*, alone, being his favourite. And this diſtinction proceeded not ſo much from an opinion that young *Tiberius* was the adultrous baſtard of *Sejanus*, as from a long obſervation of the wicked temper of *Caius*. The latter, therefore, he made choice of for his ſucceſſor; his own vices, he thought, would ſoon be forgot and loſt, under a croud of greater, a monſter of wickedneſs being only a proper perſon to come after him. He likewiſe flatter'd himſelf, that ſuch of the ſenate as had been left unextirpated by him, would be finally rooted out by his heir. There went a report, that a quarrel happening one day between theſe two youths, *Tiberius* ſhould ſay to *Caius*, 'Thou wilt ſlay young *Tiberius*, but others wlll kill thee.

At this time, by the inſtigation of the high-prieſts, happen'd a great perſecution againſt the church. All of it was carried on in a riotous manner; for they had neither law nor authority on their ſide. However, *Stephen*, the protomartyr, was ſton'd to death; and *Paul* himſelf gave an approbation to his murder. But this great proſecutor was, in leſs than half a year after, miraculouſly converted, and with irreſiſtible eloquence and learning aſſerted the *Chriſtian* religion, the profeſſors whereof he had before labour'd to deſtroy.

This year (which was the thirty-ſeventh of our Lord, the thirty-fourth of the vulgar *Æra*, and twentieth of *Tiberius*) died *Philip* the tetrach, the ſon of *Herod the great*. He was a prince of a moderate and peaceable temper, indulging himſelf in no ſatisfaction that could not innocently be gratified within his own territories. When he had occaſion to take the freſh air, he was never attended but with a few of his own domeſticks; and wherever it chanced to be that an application was made to him for juſtice, he would there quit his horſe, and, ſitting down, here both parties, and give an immediate redreſs. He had taken to wife *Salome*, the dancer, the daughter of the infamous *Herodias*; but leaving no children, *Tiberius* annex'd his tetrarchy to the government of *Syria*.

The next year was *Lucius Vitellius* made governor of *Syria* by *Tiberius*; and the ſame year he came to the paſſover at *Jeruſalem*, where he was receiv'd in a moſt elegant and ſumptuous manner. As a teſtimony of his acknowledgment for the reſpect the *Jews* had paid him, he diſcharged the city of thoſe impoſts which were of uſe to be levied upon all fruits brought in there to be ſold. He likewiſe reſtored to them the care and keeping of the high-prieſt's robes and other ornaments, which had before been guarded by *Herod*, and after him and his ſon, by the *Romans*, within the tower of *Antonias*, that adjoins to the temple. He alſo depoſed the high-prieſt *Caiaphas*, and placed *Jonathan*, the ſon of *Ananus*, in his room. This done, he ſet out for *Antioch*, the capitol of his government.

About this period aroſe an impoſtor, who working himſelf into the confidence and affection of the *Samaritans*, perſuaded a number of them to follow him to the mountain of *Garizim*, which paſſed in that country for a holy place. He impudently gave his word he would diſcover to them all the ſacred and precious veſſels which (averred he) *Moyſes* had there hid. Hereupon, they immediately took arms; but, in regard they would not aſcend the mountain till the reſt, whom they hourly expected, ſhould come to their aſſiſtance, they ſat down, and in form beſieg'd the town of *Thyrataba*. In the mean time, *Pontus Pilate*, getting an intelligence of their motions, ſent a party to poſſeſs themſelves of *Garizim*, whilſt he, with the remainder of his horſe and foot, fell upon thoſe who laid ſiege to *Thyrataba*; and putting them to the rout, made many of them priſoners. Then examining into the ſtate of the caſe, he cut off the heads of all thoſe who he found had a principal hand in the ſedition.

Hereupon, the *Samaritans* ſent a deputation to *Vitellius*, governor of *Syria*, praying him to take notice that *Pilate* had injuriouſly attached them, and without form of proceſs, or the leaſt colour of reaſon on his ſide, condemned many of them to death. They likewiſe begged him to conſider that thoſe who had aſſembled themſelves near *Thyrataba*, did no more than in their own defence, reſiſt the violences of *Pilate*. On this complaint, *Vitellius* immediately ſent *Marcellus* to take upon him the government of *Judea*, and ordered *Pilate* to go and juſtify himſelf before the emperor.

Pilate durſt not but ſhow a ready compliance; however, as he made no great haſte, he did not reach *Rome* till after *Tiberius's* death: And then being ſummoned to appear before the new emperor, and convicted of many acts of violence and injuſtice, he was baniſhed to *Vienne* in *Dauphine*, for life. But as in this diſgrace he had nothing elſe to think of but time paſt, ſuch a review of wickedneſs always ſtared him in the face, as he was not able to bear; he therefore turned his own hangman, and diſpatched himſelf.

Ariſtobulus, whom *Herod* his father had put to death, left behind him a ſon call'd *Herod Agrippa*, who received his education at *Rome*. This *Herod Agrippa* having a mind too large for his eſtate, ſoon run out his fortune; and therefore being no longer able to make a figure at *Rome*, he return'd to *Judæa*, where, ſhutting himſelf up in a corner, he ſaw no proſpect before him but to be ſtarv'd to death. *Cypros*, his wife, did all ſhe cou'd to ſupply and comfort him; ſhe writ to his ſiſter *Herodias* an account of the miſerable condition wherein he was. Hereupon, *Herod*, the huſband of *Herodias*, had *Herod Agrippa* ſent for, and, allowing him to live in the city of *Tiberias*, ſettled what he thought a proper revenue upon him.

Herod Agrippa being, ſoon after his arrival at *Tiberias*, twitted in the teeth by *Herod* with his liberal allowance to him, from thence went into *Syria*. The governor of *Syria* entertain'd him, for ſome time, with a great deal of munificence; but then a miſunderſtanding happened, which, of a ſudden, reduc'd him to his former calamities. Having now nothing to live on, he promiſed himſelf a ſpeedy change of fortune, was he but in *Italy*; but how to get there without money, was the thing that pinc'd him. He knew his own credit was ſo bad, that no body would take his note for the ſmalleſt ſum. In this difficulty, *Marſyas*, his freed man, procur'd him ſome money.

Agrippa, thus furniſh'd, made his way to *Anthedon*, and was juſt ready to take ſhipping, when the governor of *Jamnia* had him arreſted by his ſoldiers, on account of three hundred thouſand drams he had lent him out of the exchequer at *Rome*. *Agrippa* made him a faithful promiſe to ſtay, but night no ſooner approach'd, than he ſet out for *Alexandria*; and there having borrow'd two hundred thouſand drams on the obligation of his wife *Cypros*, whom he carried there with him, he then departed for *Italy*.

On his coming to *Italy*, he ſent a letter to *Tiberius*, intreating to be allow'd the honour to wait on him. *Tiberius* not only granted the favour, but received him kindly: But the very next day a letter coming to the hands of *Tiberius*, from *Erennious Capito*, ſignifying how ſcandalouſly he had falſified his word, and fled out of *Judæa* for debt; *Tiberius* immediately forbid him his preſence.

Agrippa was now in worſe difficulties than ever. In this plunge, he threw himſelf at the feet of *Antonia*, the mother of *Germanicus* and *Claudius*; and ſhe generouſly lending him the ſum he was diſtreſs'd for, he was again admitted into the good graces of *Tiberius*. After this, he, by good luck, met with a *Samaritan*, who lent him a million of drams, which money enabled him to diſcharge the debt he ow'd to the generous *Antonia*, as well as put him in a capacity to retain a handſome appearance at court.

Tiberius begun now to take a liking to *Agrippa*, and therefore recommended to his care the young *Tiberius*; not that he really valued either the one or the other: But his manner was, under an artful ſhew of friendſhip, to dig often the way for a future quarrel. *Agrippa*, inſtead of minding young *Tiberius*, employed his utmoſt abilities to oblige *Caius*. In purſuit hereof, being one day at an airing with *Caius*, he imprudently fell a wiſhing that *Tiberius*, might ſoon give way; 'Which accident, continued the flatterer, would bring peace and happineſs to all the world: And as to young *Tiberius*, the ſon of *Druſus*, we ſhall ſoon find a way to get rid of him.'

Eutychus, one of the freed men of *Agrippa*, having over-heard the diſcourſe, was thereupon emboldened to rob his maſter; and being afterwards taken up for the robbery, he would ſay nothing before the officer of juſtice, but demanded inſtantly to be carried before *Tiberius*, to whom he had a ſecret to impart, that concern'd the preſervation of his life. He was, accordingly conducted to *Tiberius*, and permitted to give his information.

Agrippa underſtanding that he had loſt the favour of *Tiberius* by ſomething that his freed man had ſaid, got *Antonia* to bear his requeſt to the emperor; importing, he wanted no more than to have the privilege to hear what his freed man could allege againſt him. *Tiberius* made anſwer, 'If *Eutychus*, be a culumniator, the hardſhips he has ſuffered in priſon have ſufficiently revenged his maſter; but if he is not, let *Agrippa* beware how he draws upon himſelf the miſchief which he muſt elſe ſuffer from the hands of his freed man.

Agrippa thinking his honour was deeply engaged in this affair, would not, for all this, diſcontinue his importunities. Renewing, therefore, his petition by *Antonia*, *Tiberius* was at laſt, prevailed on to give *Eutychus* a hearing in his maſter's preſence. And the freed man having repeated what he heard his maſter ſay, *Tiberius*, without giving himſelf the trouble of any further enquiry, called out to *Macro*, the captain of the guards, *Chain for me, that man there.* At firſt, *Macro* did not comprehend who he meant, and therefore waited till a freſh order; then aſking him who it was he ſpoke off, *I tell thee*, ſaid Tiberius, *it is* Agrippa *that thou muſt throw into chains.* Hereupon, *Agrippa* was, in his purple robe, fetter'd, and, in theſe miſerable circumſtances, lay full ſix months among other priſoners, till the death of *Tiberius*, and the favour of his ſucceſſor, releas'd him.

Artabanus, king of *Parthia*, being now ſucceſsful againſt all his neighbours, caſt upon *Tiberius* all the contempt he was able. He not only uſurp'd to himſelf the ſovereign power of diſpoſing of the crown of *Armenia*, but writ *Tiberius* a letter, wherein, after having reproached him with his numberleſs murders, with paricide, with adulteries, with ſluggiſhneſs, with luxury, and many other infamous crimes; he at laſt concludes, with commanding him to be as quick as poſſible in ſatisfying the juſt revenge and hatred of his ſubjects, by a voluntary death.

Artabanus was himſelf an implacable brute, and his cruelty ſuch, as drove many of his ſubjects to fly the country, and go to *Rome*. *Tiberius*, at their earneſt repreſentation, named *Phraates* (who had been long an hoſtage at *Rome)* to be king of *Parthia*; but he dying in *Syria*, he next recommended to them *Tiridates*. He likewiſe nominated *Mithridates*, the brother of *Pharaſmeneſs*, king of *Iberia*, for the kingdom of *Armenia*, giving orders, at the ſame time, to *Vitellius*, governour of *Syria*, to ſee theſe purpoſes executed.

Hereupon, *Vitellius*, attended by the two honorary kings, begun his march, and having in his way thither, drawn the *Albanians* to his aſſiſtance, and brought about the death of *Arſaces*, whom *Artabanus* had raiſed to the throne of *Armenia*, he ſoon after gave battle to the *Parthians*; and throwing about a report that their general was kill'd, obtain'd a compleat victory over them. Having thus driven the *Parthians* out of *Armenia*, he ſet *Mithridates* on the throne. After this, holding on his journey with *Tiridates* towards *Parthia*, which country he had previouſly induced to renounce *Artabanus*, their king; he met with ſuch a general welcome, as made *Artabanus* rather chuſe a cowardly flight to *Scythia*, than ſtay and diſpute it with him.

Vitellius being thus ſucceſsful in *Parthia*, earneſtly requeſted *Tiridates* to poſſeſs himſelf of all the ſtrength of the country, before he turn'd his thoughts to any thing elſe. But *Tiridates*, who had a heart over-run with vanity and ſhow, inſtead of following his advice gave himſelf no farther care, than how to make an illuſtrious figure on the day of his coronation, Upon this, many of the noblemen of *Parthia*, deſerted him, and he was reduc'd to the neceſſity of making an eſcape out of the country. *Artabanus* immediately recover'd *Parthia*, and with an equal tide of ſucceſs, drove *Mithridates* out of *Armenia*, and ſettled that kingdom upon another of his ſons. *Tiberius* now ſued to *Artabanus* for a peace, but to no purpoſe; for nothing could at this time pleaſe the latter, but the ſame limits that bounded the empire of *Alexander the great*.

Tiberius being now taking ill, *Caius* his ſucceſſor, would let him have no victuals, pretending, that whatever he call'd for would but increaſe the diſeaſe. He likewiſe ſo over-loaded him with blankets, under the maſque of keeping him warm, that he put a ſpeedy end to his life. In this wicked enterprize, *Caius* was aſſiſted by *Macro*, the captain of the guards, who no ſooner came to know that *Tiberius*'s malady was incurable, than he wholly reſign'd himſelf up to *Caius*, to be directed and commanded by him after what manner he ſhould think fit. He died in the fortieth year of our Lord, the thirty-ſeventh of the vulgar *Æra*, and in the ſeventy-eighth year of his age; having reign'd (including the two years he was partner to *Auguſtus)* four and twenty years, ſeven months, and ſeven days.

Tiberius was a man of no ſmall skill in letters, but his extempory performances far exceeded any thing he was able to do, when he ſet himſelf to think. Had he died before *Auguſtus*, he would have ſaved his character, and been conſider'd as a brave and ſucceſsful captain. He ſurpaſs'd all mankind in the low, mean and infamous art of diſſimulation, and at laſt took a delight in every thing that was a diſgrace to human nature. He ſtarv'd to death his wife *Julia*, the daughter of *Auguſtus*, and, by a long courſe of treacherous murders, was become ſo enamour'd with iniquity, that he often wiſh'd that the world might be on a fire at the day of his death; and pronounc'd *Priamus* a happy man, who did not die but in the midſt of the ruins of his country and kingdom. He affected much the company of *Grammarians*, and took a particular ſatisfaction in poſing them with idle queſtions; ſuch as, who was the mother of *Hecuba?* what was the uſual ſong of the ſirens, or mermaids? and under what name *Achilles* paſs'd among the virgins? Together with many other impertinencies of the like nature. One of theſe his companions, *Seleucus* by name, having for ſome time made it his buſineſs to get previous intelligence of ſuch authors as *Tiberius* read for the day, and by that means being fully prepared to ſhine in *Tiberius's* converſation; *Tiberius* was beaſt enough to reſent even this endeavour to pleaſe. He inſtantly forbid the man his company, and, in a little while after, put him to death.

He had an abſolute diſregard for every thing that looked like virtue, or religion, being, in the latter part of his life, unable to ſpeak a ſentence without an imprecation. *Damn me*, was an ordinary ingredient in every phraſe he utter'd; which ſcandalous and profligate form of ſpeech, is no other than a downright braving, and hectoring, and challenging God Almighty to do the worſt he can. And tho' he was a *Heathen*, yet even the light of nature might have taught him better things: For ſwearing and curſing is an impudent affront to the ſupreme being, and a horid proſtitution of his ſacred name, againſt all the reaſon, common ſenſe, and religion, of the world.

It has been remark'd, by other's, that *Dionyſius* the elder, *Sylla*, and *Tiberius*, were the only tyrants that ever ended their days in a pleaſant and natural way. Admitting this to be ſo far true, that they did not meet with a violent death; yet, when we reflect that their own crimes were their puniſhment, and they from thence ſuffered ſuch heavy wounds and gaſhes in their conſciences, as made life itſelf a burthen to them; we cannot but own, that life ſo protracted is a more inſupportable evil than the ſtroke of death, let it come with what torture it will. And thus the power of powers takes often vengeance of guilty ſinners, even in this life, which, however imperceptible to the eyes of the world, is yet a puniſhment much weightier than any torment that could be inflicted by the hand of man.

As to *Tiberius*, though in his cups, and when ſurrounded with flatterers, he might ſeem to laugh at a future ſtate, yet he was no ſooner alone, than he trembled at the thought, and felt ſuch terrors, pain and anguiſh, as can neither be imagined nor deſcribed. He was himſelf ſo ſenſible of the juſt anger of heaven againſt him, that he could not conceal it from the ſenate itſelf. ‘ What ſhall I write to you, ſaid he, moſt worthy fathers, or how ſhall I write, or what is it that I ſhould not forbear to write, at this time? All the powers above are a bringing about my deſtruction, and I daily feel it more and more.

Caius Caligula, *A. D.* 40. *V. Æ.* 37.

Caligula, on his acceſſion to the empire, ſent *Tiberius*'s laſt will to the ſenate, deſiring them to declare it void, and of no effect; ‘ For, ſaid he, he could not be in his right ſenſes when he writ it; otherwiſe he had not appointed a boy for my partner in the empire.’ The ſenate immediately granted his requeſt, and he ſoon after diſpatch'd, out of the way, the young *Tiberius*.

Being brought up among the ſoldiers, he had the ſirname of *Caligula* from them, becauſe he wore little boots, after their faſhion. The army received the news of his coming to the empire with a general applauſe, and he, alſo, had the approbation of all the reſt of the people. The name of *Germanicus*, his father, and the terrible hardſhips his family had ſuffered, endeared the perſon of *Caligula* to the whole *Roman* ſtate. They knew he had himſelf ſuffer'd a great deal from the tyranny of *Tiberius*, and that he muſt, too, have periſh'd, if he had not been a man of extraordinary prudence; and therefore they promiſ'd themſelves nothing but peace and happineſs under his reign.

Caligula's life had, indeed often hung by a very ſlender thread; it was the manner of *Tiberius* always to ſet artful traps: But ſo it happen'd, *Caligula*'s artifice was not a whit inferior to his own. Numbers of ſycophants had been tried upon him, and under a variety of maſques; ſome of them railing bitterly at the murder of his father, mother and brothers, whilſt others wonder'd that he ſhould patiently bear the repeated inſults, and barbarous uſage, *Tiberius* gave him; but all to no purpoſe, for *Caligula*'s diſſimulations broke and defeated all their meaſures. He was never heard once to complain; and the moſt ſavage treatment that *Tiberius* could throw upon him, met with no other anſwer from him, than ſeeming love, complaiſance and obedience. And there being ſuch a wide difference between his ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion to the will of *Tiberius*, and the horrid tyranny and deſpotick rage that he himſelf exerciſed afterwards; it from thenceforth became a common ſaying, in the mouth of every body, that ‘ Never was there a better ſervant, nor a worſe maſter, than *Caligula*.

In the beginning of his reign he never ſpoke in the ſenate, but with the utmoſt difference and reſpect to them, proteſting, he would always take there advice, and calling them his guardians. He threw open the doors of all priſons, recall'd ſuch as had been baniſh'd, and made out a general pardon. He would, with a ſuperior contempt, reject all informations that were brought him concerning plots againſt himſelf, aſſerting, that as he was conſcious to his own mind he had done nothing againſt the people; ſo was he ſure that none of them would conſpire againſt him. He ſhew'd, in all his actions, that he intended the good of the publick, and of conſequence the real intereſt and advantage of every particular perſon. Juſtice and equity ſeem'd the meaſure of his conduct, and he omitted nothing that might oblige the people.

He paid all the legacies that were contained in the will of *Livia*, the mother of *Tiberius*, notwithſtanding that her ſon had ſet aſide the will; and likewiſe diſcharg'd thoſe that *Tiberius* had left, though his teſtament was nulled by the ſenate. He reſtored the people to their former right of ſuffrages, and re-ſettled all magiſtrates upon the ancient foundation of power. He unburthen'd the *Roman* ſtate of a good part of their taxes, and generouſly relieved the wants of all thoſe that had ſuſtained any damage by fire. Such dependant kings that had been diſpoſſeſs'd by *Tiberius*, were not only permitted to go back to their own dominions, but had the tribute refunded to them, which was collected during their abſence. In ſhort, for a little while he ſeem'd to be virtue it ſelf. A freed woman having, under the tyranny of *Tiberius*, bore the moſt exquiſite tortures, rather than ſhe would confeſs any thing to the detriment of her maſter; *Caligula* was pleas'd to ſay ſhe had acted a moſt heroick part, and therefore he gave her a very conſiderable reward.

The ſenate, who were never wanting in teſtimonies of reſpect to their emperors, to give a publick mark of their joy and ſatisfaction in his government, decreed to him, among other honours, a ſhield of gold, which ſhould annually, on a certain day, be carried by the college of prieſts, into the capitol. The ſenators were, at the ſame time, to walk in their robes next the prieſts, and the young nobility of both ſexes to follow, ſinging aloud a poetick narrative of his worth and virtue. The day of his acceſſion was likewiſe diſtinguiſh'd with a new name, to elevate the people into an opinion that their happineſs begun then to be fix'd upon a new and laſting bottom.

C. Caligula had no ſooner celebrated the laſt obſequies, or duties to *Tiberius*, and made his funeral oration, then he caſt his remembrance on *Herod Agrippa*, that had lain in irons ſix months for his ſake. Having ſent for him out of priſon, he put a diadem, or crown, upon his head, and declar'd him monarch of the tetrarchy, that had formerly belong'd to *Philip*, his uncle. He likewiſe added, to his royalty, the tetrarchy of *Lyſcanias*, and, in exchange for his fetters of iron, made him a preſent of a chain of gold, that amounted exactly to the ſame weight.

In the mean time, *Vitellius*, governor of *Syria*, having, a little before *Tiberius*'s death, receiv'd orders to make war againſt *Aretas*, king of *Arabia*, had march'd his army towards *Judæa*, with a deſign to traverſe the country, as the neareſt way he could take to *Petra*, where, notice had been brought him, that *Aretas* had ſhut up himſelf. But, on his coming to the confines of *Judæa*, the principal men of the country having repreſented to him that their laws expreſsly forbid ſuch images and idols, as he carried on his enſigns, or colours, to paſs through their territories, he immediately gave orders to his army to change their rout, and take the ford of *Jordan* by another way. As for himſelf, it being then the feaſt of *Pentecoſt*, he went to *Jeruſalem*, together with *Herod* the tetrach, and his other friends, and made his offerings to the Lord. And having continued there three days, he removed *Jonathan* from the charge of the high-prieſthood, and exalted *Theophilus* in his room.

Whilſt he made this ſhort abode at *Jeruſalem*, information came to him that *Tiberius* was dead. He therefore obliged the people to take an oath of fidelity to the new emperor. *Jeruſalem* was the firſt city of the eaſt that received the news, acknowledged the emperor, and put up ſacrifices for the proſperity of his government. Hereupon, *Vitellius* recalling his army, forthwith march'd them to the river *Euphrates*, with a deſign either to force, or willingly obtain an honourable peace of the *Parthians*.

Artabanus, the king of *Parthia*, who had always expreſs'd the utmoſt contempt and averſion to *Tiberius*, made no manner of oppoſition to the peace, when he came to hear that *Caligula* was his ſucceſſor in the empire. *Artabanus* and *Vitellius* met upon a bridge, that they had erected over the *Euphrates*; *Artabanus* ſhewed ſuch a forwardneſs to an amicable agreement, that he fell down and worſhipped the *Roman* eagles, together with the repreſentations of *Auguſtus* and *Caligula*, that appeared imaged upon the enſigns. And the conditions of peace being mutually ſigned, *Herod Antipas* invited both parties to an extraordinary entertainment he had dreſs'd out and prepar'd for them in a tent, artificially ſet up in the midſt of the river.

In the mean time, *Caligula*, who had hitherto been perſonating a part that was entirely oppoſite to the profuſe, abandoned, cruel and monſtrous dictates of his own natural temper; of a ſudden let drop the prince, to reſume and ſhew himſelf, in ſuch a manner, *As might inform the world* (to uſe the words of *Seneca*) *what the greateſt wickedneſs, back'd with the greateſt power, could be able to do.*

It would be a thing impoſſible to give an exact account of all the crimes this monſter was guilty of. His cruelty firſt broke out upon his own relations. His grandmother having one day taken the liberty to give him a modeſt advice, he afterwards heaped on her ſuch a load of indignities, as made her think life inſupportable, and fly for refuge to a voluntary death. He infamouſly raviſh'd his own three ſiſters, and then gave orders they ſhould be ſent into perpetual baniſhment. This ſentence was acordingly executed upon two of 'em, but the third eſcap'd it, by a natural death.

Druſilla being the name of her that died, he erected a temple to her memory, as if ſhe had been a goddeſs; and wickedly murdered ſuch as expreſs'd a concern at her death, as well as thoſe who ſhew'd none at all. 'The 'former, ſaid he, have deſerved death, becauſe 'they envied the glory of my ſiſter, whom I had 'exalted into the company of the gods; and 'the latter, becauſe they ſhewed an inſeſibi'lity at the loſs of ſo amiable a lady.

He raged in lewdneſs towards males, as well as females, and violently took away numbers of women from their husbands. He made it his principal entertainment and ambition to ſhine and excel in the ſociety of dancers, players, prize-fighters, and others who were accuſtomed to perform a part in the publick diverſions of the people. And his expences towards theſe, and other low follies of the like kind, were thrown about with ſuch a prodigal hand, that in leſs than three years he run out the ſum of five hundred millions, ſeven thouſand, and ſeven hundred drams, which was left in the treaſury at the death of *Tiberius*.

He was ſuch an enemy to merit of all ſorts, that he capitally puniſhed innumerable perſons for no other reaſon. He endeavoured to aboliſh the law, and root out the memory of both *Virgil* and *Livy*, deſtroying all the copies of their books he could meet with. He took a pleaſure in depreſſing all honourable families, and wherever he chanced to ſee an extraordinary ſet of features, envy ſo burned within him, that he could not reſt till he had cruelly deformed the perſon. He likewiſe was baſe enough to renounce his grandfather *Agrippa*, on account of his mean deſcent; and, to his own ſhame, ſpread a report, that he was the inceſtuous deſcendant of *Auguſtus* by his daughter *Julia*. And his illiberal ſaucineſs roſe to ſuch a foul height, that he often commanded the moſt conſiderable men of *Rome* to ſerve in the capacity of running-footmen by his chariot, and afterwards made them attend and aſſiſt at his table, like common ſlaves.

Among the reſt of his unparellell'd extravagancies, he took it into his windy head to command his people to worſhip him as a god. At firſt, indeed, he pretended to aſpire no higher than the ſtation of thoſe whom the *Romans* call'd demi-gods, ſuch as *Hercules*, *Bacchus*, and the reſt of that inferior claſs; but when once his hand was in, he ſoon mounted himſelf into an equality with the great gods, whom the *Roman* idolaters had always worſhipp'd with the profoundeſt reſpect. He ridiculouſly aſſum'd the diſtinctions, or marks of theſe ſeveral deities, at one time making an appearance with wings to his feet, and a wand in his hand, like *Mercury*; at another with a glittering crown upon his head, a bow and arrows in his left hand, and the graces figured on his right ſide, like *Apollo*; and ſometimes with a ſword, buckler, head-piece, and other the cognizances of *Mars*.

He would ſometimes call himſelf the brother and high favourite of *Jupiter*, and often *Jupiter* himſelf; imitating the ſound of thunder, and a ſpecies of lightning, with machines. And when thunder really happened, he would impiouſly throw up a ſtone towards heaven, pronouncing theſe blaſphemous words; *Kill me, or I will kill thee.* He made it his conſtant occupation to make the world believe that the moon was his wife, and he generally uſ'd to invite her to his bed, when ſhe chanc'd to be at the full.

He had brought him, out of *Greece*, all the moſt curious ſtatues of their gods, and, placing them in his own palace, he took off each of their heads, and then ordering the figure of his own ſtupid head to be fix'd upon all of them, it was a great pleaſure to him to think that he ſhould be worſhipp'd under the repreſentation of ſo many different divinities. He built a temple within the palace, and there erecting a moſt coſtly ſtatue, at full length, for himſelf, had it every day new-cloathed in the ſame habit that fell out to be his own. He appointed a certain number of prieſts and prieſteſſes, of the moſt honourable families in town, for the ſervice of his temple, making them, at the ſame hour, purchaſe their dignity at a very dear rate; and, to honour this ſodality, or fellowſhip, of prieſts and prieſteſſes, he entered himſelf and his horſe among the number. Their chief employment was, to offer ſacrifices to the aforeſaid ſtatue; and nothing but the moſt rare and valuable birds were allow'd to be kill'd for the uſe.

The whole *Roman* people, as well as the ſubjected provinces, the *Jews* only excepted, ſeem'd to entertain no other emulation, than who ſhould teſtify the greateſt homage to their new god, and, of conſequence, by their groſs and abject flatteries, gave a prodigious lift to the vain and inſolent arrogance of the fooliſh man. All the cities raiſed temples and altars to him, and gave his ſtatue a rank amonſt the reſt of their gods. The leaſt compliment they paid him, was, to ſwear by his mighty genius; but which of the two, their folly, or his, was the moſt finiſh'd and abominable, it would not be an eaſy matter to determine.

After *Caligula* had put to death young *Tiberius*, under a pretext that he was heard to wiſh and deſire his death, he went on in a continu'd courſe to murder others. Being once ſeized with a fit of illneſs, *Publius Africanus Potitus*, as an evidence of his inſuperable concern for the recovery of the emperor, took an oath to devote himſelf to death, in the caſe that he ſhould obtain his health again: And *Afranius Secundus*, a knight, having, on the ſame account, oblig'd himſelf to run the hazard of a ſingle combat; *Caligula*, inſtead of rewarding them in the manner they expected, put them to the neceſſity of fulfilling their oaths. *For*, ſaid he, *I will have none of my people guilty of perjury*.

Marcus Silanus, the father-in-law of *Caligula*, was a man of great merit, and the only perſon of worth that had at once eſcaped the cruelty, and continued in the favour of the tyrant *Tiberius*; all appeals under the laſt reign, were, by the emperor, ſubmitted to him. But neither probity, virtue, nor the tie of alliance, could make the brute, *Caligula*, uſe him with good manners. He caſt upon him all the diſgrace he could think of. He not only divorced his daughter, but ſo cloſely followed the poor man himſelf with intolerable outrage and affronts, that he drove him to ſuch a ſtate of madneſs, as made him cut his own throat.

Caligula being, ſome time after, invited to the wedding of *Calphurnius Piſo*, he there chanc'd to take a fancy to *Fulvia Oreſtilla*, the bride, and, accordingly, carried her home with him, and married her, highly applauding himſelf for imitating the example of *Romulus* and *Auguſtus*. But ſoon growing tir'd of her, he condemn'd both her and *Piſo* to perpetual baniſhment, under the pretence that they had criminally convers'd together during the ſhort ſpace wherein he had own'd her for his wife.

He made it his particular delight to be preſent at all ſhows, which might give an occaſion to ſpill blood; and, to that purpoſe, he would ſometimes force gentlemen to engage in a duel, and, at another time, range out a ſort of battle, wherein many were to fight of each ſide; by which means, he deſtroy'd numbers of the people. He would, at one of theſe exerciſes, iſſue out a command to take ſuch a number of the people that ſat on the benches, and throw them down to the wild beaſts, obliging them to fight, and ſupply the want of condemned malefactors; and, to the end they might not have it in their power to cry out, or complain of the violence and injuſtice done them, he caus'd all their tongues to be cut out.

He once conſtrain'd an illuſtrious knight to fight a common gladiator, pretending, that he had diſreſpected and inſulted *Agrippina*, his mother; and, notwithſtanding he came off victorious, he had him tried by his judges, and condemn'd to death. Nor could this inhuman action ſatisfy his brutal revenge; for he, likewiſe, coop'd up the gentleman's father, together with all his friends and acquaintance, in an iron cage, and afterwards conſign'd them to death, without the leaſt ſhadow of reaſon, or bringing againſt them any manner of fault. And becauſe he did not think that the accuſtomed places or ſports and games were ſufficient to anſwer the deſign, other parts of the town were mark'd out, the houſes that ſtood in the way pull'd down, and ſuch enlargements made, as might thoroughly gratify the helliſh call of his own temper.

Theſe new enterprizes, and his other riotous vanities, being attended with a continual ſeries of rapine, plunder, and maſſacres, drew upon him the univerſal hatred and imprecations of the people. It was a common practice with him to bid an entertainment ſuch of the ſenate, or principal men of *Rome*, whoſe worthy character had render'd the objects of his diſpleaſure, and then murder'd them privately; diffuſing, afterwards, a report that they had ſlain themſelves. And in this manner did he, likewiſe, diſpatch *Ptolemæus*, the ſon of king *Juba* (who was the grand-child of *M. Anthony*, and his own couſin), and *Macro*, and his wife *Ennia*, notwithſtanding they had been the chief inſtruments by which he mounted to the throne.

Caligula ſeeing, one day, ſome dirt lying in the ſtreet, made it be carefully taken up, and wrapp'd within the robe of *Veſpaſian*, who was then ædile, or city-ſurveyor, and had the charge

charge of keeping the ſtreets clean. *Veſpaſian* receiv'd the affront with admirable patience; nor did the people make any reflections upon it, at the time. But when they afterwards ſaw *Veſpaſian* advanc'd to the empire, they could not help reflecting, that the above accident had by providence been directed towards him, as the perſon who would in time coming purge *Rome* of irregular and lawleſs practices, and reſtore property and juſtice, which had, for the moſt part, been terribly violated ever ſince the civil wars.

As he was one evening at the theatre, the people gave a ſhout of wiſhes for the health and proſperity of their young emperor. This appellation he conſidered as a great affront upon him, and therefore reveng'd it, by the ſlaughter of many of them. Some were knocked down, and butchered, as they ſat, and a multitude of others were killed, as they endeavoured to make their eſcape.

Executions, of this bloody ſort, were meat and drink to him. The ſpectators having at one of the public games made a greater noiſe than was acceptable to him, he got up, in a ſtrong fury, and, gnaſhing upon them with his teeth, bellow'd out theſe words: *Would to heaven the whole people of* Rome *had but one head, that I might have the tickling ſatisfaction to deſtroy them all at one blow.* He was ſuch a tyger in his nature, that he ſeldom inflicted death in the ordinary way, torturing them a long while before he would let the finiſhing ſtroke be given; it being a uſual ſaying of his, *Let the criminal be puniſhed ſo as he may feel himſelf a dying.* He condemn'd a poet to be burnt alive, for making uſe of a phraſe that would admit a double meaning; and having, ſoon after, put to death a man through a miſtake of the name, he only ſaid, *It is no matter; this had not fallen upon him, if he had not deſerved it. Let the world hate me, ſo they but fear me.*

He often us'd to ſit down, and heavily mourn the wretched ſtate and condition of his own reign, becauſe it had not hitherto been made remarkable by any terrible calamity. Auguſtus'*s memory*, he ſaid, *would for ever be preſerved, by the ſignal deſtruction that befel* Varus *and his legions*; *and* Tiberius'*s name would be kept in remembrance by the fall of the amphitheatre at* Fidenæ, *under whoſe ruins many thouſands periſhed: But, as to his own part, the proſperity of his people would make him to be forgot.* And with the ſame infectious breath, he would ardently wiſh, that a general ſlaughter might overtake his armies, or ſome dreadful famine, peſtilence, fire, or earthquake, happen, to ſwallow up a multitude of the people.

As wiſdom among men is almoſt as rare a thing to be met with, as a phœnix among the birds, and the bulk of the world extend not their views beyond the preſent time; the many cruelties and acts of injuſtice that had been committed, during the government of *Auguſtus*, were quite loſt, and obliterated, under the ſucceeding reign of the more bloody and unjuſt *Tiberius*. What has formerly been tranſacted, is ſoon forgot; inſtant ſufferings, only, create pain. The whole adminiſtration of *Auguſtus* was, in the lump, taken for an exalted ſtate of happineſs; whilſt they look'd upon the conduct of *Tiberius*, as ſuch a degree of rage and impiety, as could never afterwards be equali'd by any other man. But now they found, that the tip of *Caligula*'s nails could wound deeper than the whole body of his predeceſſor.

The *Jews* being the only perſons within the empire of *Rome* that refuſed to worſhip *Caligula*, was the great cauſe that excited his indignation againſt them. He had made *Avilius Flaccus* governor of *Ægypt*, one who valued neither honour nor juſtice, ſo he could but flatter and oblige his maſter. This fellow, therefore, took a pleaſure in maltreating the *Jews*.

Herod Agrippa having obtain'd leave of *Caligula*, about the beginning of the ſecond year of his reign, to make a viſit to his new kingdom, ſet out by the way of *Ægypt*, and ſoon after arriving at *Alexandria*, entered that city by night. The ſplendor and magnificence that appeared in the dreſs of his guards, and all his other equipage, was ſuch an eye-ſore to the *Alexandrians*, as they could not reflect upon but with the utmoſt malice and jealouſy. They could by no means reconcile themſelves to the oſtentatious finery of this *Jewiſh* king. They, therefore, attacked him with moſt cutting jeſts and ſatyrs, and were therein underhand ſupported by *Flaccus*, who deteſted the *Jews*, and inwardly boiled at the proſperity of *Agrippa*. *Flaccus* privately reproached and rallied him, at the ſame time that he apparently entertained him with all manner of reſpect.

There liv'd at *Alexandria* a fool, by name *Carrabas*, who walked naked about the ſtreets, and was the common ſport of the children. The *Alexandrians* carried the poor idiot to the gymnaſium, or place of public exerciſes, and having ſeated him in a high place, from whence he might be ſeen by all the people, they adorned his head with a crown made out of the leaves of the *Ægyptian* ruſh, put a piece of an old mat on his ſhoulders, by way of a royal mantle, and gave him a reed in his hand, inſtead of a cepter. Having thus equipp'd him, they begun their proceſſion through the city. A party of them walk'd before him, with ſticks ſhoulder'd, for want of halberts, and the reſt follow'd arm'd in the ſame manner. Some preſented him their petitions, others requeſted him to do them juſtice, whilſt a knot of politicians were conſulting with him upon affairs of ſtate. After this, they made the air ring with their acclamation of *Long live the king.* Such was the treatment that *Herod Agrippa* found at *Alexandria*.

The *Alexandrians* finding that *Flaccus* took no notice of their inſolence, aſſembled themſelves ſoon after, and, with one conſent, agreed to ſet up *Caligula*'s ſtatues in all the ſynagogues of the *Jews*. But in regard the *Jews* would not ſubmit to their demand, they either threw or burnt their religious houſes down to the ground. And where they happened to be over-powered with the *Jews*, they yet would ſteal an opportunity, and erect *Caligula*'s ſtatues in the places of worſhip.

After this *Flaccus* publiſh'd an edict, declaring all the *Jews* to be foreigners, that is to ſay, he depriv'd them of the rights and privileges of citizens. And now the *Alexandrians* concluding they might with impunity exert what ſpite they pleas'd againſt them; they oblig'd the *Jews* to take up their reſidence in a particular quarter of the city: This done, they violently enter'd their houſes, and ſpoil'd and plunder'd them of all their goods.

They regarded the *Jews* as a nation that the emperor and *Flaccus* had entirely given up to their diſcretion; they broke into all their magazines, warehouſes, and ſhops, which were at this time lock'd up, on account of the publick mourning for the ſiſter of *Caligula*, and thence carried off whatever they thought fit. All theſe outrages were committed in the face of day, and they publickly ſhew'd and divided their plunder. And the quarter aſſign'd to the *Jews* for their habitation, being too little to contain their number, many of them were forced to live in the open air, and ſo died by the exceſſive heat of the climate.

The *Jews* could not have been worſe us'd, had they been beſieg'd by an enemy. They were not even permitted to ſtir out, in order to purchaſe the neceſſaries of life. Such of them as by ſtealth crept out to get proviſions, were often ſeiz'd by the *Alexandrians*, maſſacred, and cut to pieces. Nor did the *Jews*, that came to *Alexandria*, from other parts of the country, meet with a better reception; for as ſoon as any ſhip or veſſel, belonging to the *Jews*, came to port, they boarded her, pillag'd the merchandize, and then burnt her, together with all the perſons that were a-board.

Theſe murderers would ſometimes burn whole families within their houſes, ſhewing no degree of compaſſion either to old or young. And they had already ſo glutted themſelves with the riches of the *Jews*, that they would often conſume them by fire, goods and all. When wood fail'd them, they had recourſe to little thorns and ſticks, which making but a ſlow fire, put the *Jews* to inexpreſſible torments, before it diſpatch'd them. They would at other times faſten ropes to their feet, and ſo drag them about the ſtreets, till their bodies were battered to pieces. The ruffians, during theſe barbarities, would, as in a farce, weep over thoſe they were going to execute; but if any of their unhappy relations expreſſed the leaſt mark of concern, they inſtantly ſeized them, and with innumerable torments put them to death.

Flaccus, the governor could eaſily have prevented theſe villainous enormities, but he patiently ſtood off, authorizing them, all the while, with his ſilence: And, indeed, he was glad of any opportunity that might vex and afflict them. *Auguſtus* had, out of their own nation, eſtabliſhed a court of judicature among them, conſiſting of their moſt able, wiſe, and honourable men; eight and thirty of whom did *Flaccus* cauſe to be apprehended, bound with cords, and brought to the theatre, when they were celebrating the birth-day of *Caligula*: He then ordered them to be publickly ſcourged, and that with ſo much ſeverity, that ſeveral of them died upon the ſpot, and others did not recover in a long time after.

At the ſame ſolemnity were many other *Jews* ſeiz'd, by an order of the governor, and forthwith executed. The people of *Alexandria* met every morning at the theatre, were ſome or other of the *Jews* were always made to begin the cruel diverſion of the ſpectators. They would firſt torture them by a variety of ways, and, laſt of all, hang them up upon gibbets. Wherever they found a *Jewiſh* woman, they would ſtop her, and expoſe her to the view of the publick, in a ſhameleſs manner; after this, they would call for ſome pork, and command them to eat a piece of it. Thoſe that gave a ready compliance, were immediately releaſed; but ſuch as refuſed to taſte, were ſure to undergo all ſorts of ignominy and torture. Theſe calamities of the *Jews* laſted for about two months, and did not end till the feaſt of tabernacles, which was ſolemniz'd on the fifteenth day of the month *Tizri*, anſwering to our months of *September* and *October*.

Herod Agrippa having received an indifferent treatment at *Alexandria*, ſoon left it, terribly offended both with the inhabitants and their governor. On his arrival at his dominions (which conſiſted of *Trachonitis* and *Iturea*, and had formerly been poſſeſs'd by his uncle *Philip*, under the name of a tetrarchy), a general ſurprize follow'd through all the countries round about. They had before ſeen him in a very miſerable condition, over-run with debt, and the contempt of every body; and to find him now return, in puiſſant and mighty circumſtances, with all the honours, and dignities, and title of a king, and high likewiſe in the favour of the emperor; was ſuch a wonder, as amus'd and engag'd their attention for a conſiderable time after.

The firſt thing that *Herod* applied his thoughts to, was, to procure for the *Jews* in *Ægypt* a ſpeedy relief againſt the violences of *Flaccus* and the *Alexandrians*. He immediately writ a letter to *Caligula*, giving a full ſtate of their caſe, and incloſing a copy of the memorial, which the *Jews* had put into the hands of *Flaccus*, with an humble deſire to have it tranſmitted to the emperor, but was by him fraudulently kept back. The emperor, on reading this memorial, which abounded with moſt profound teſtimonies of reſpect to him, was ſo provoked at the miſconduct of *Flaccus*, that he inſtantly ſent *Buſſus*, the centurian, with the ſoldiers that were under his command, to arreſt and bring him in chains to *Rome*.

On the news that *Flaccus* was made a priſoner, the *Jews* underſtood it as a trap artfully laid to involve them in freſh adverſities; but when they were on all hands aſſured, that their mortal foe was in real cuſtody, they then with one heart roſe into a joy, that made them quickly forget all their paſt ſorrow. They return'd thanks to God that had deliver'd them out of their affliction. They ſpent the night in devout exerciſes, and, when morning came, aſſembled themſelves by the ſea-ſide, to offer up their praiſes, in regard they had no ſynagogue,

gogue, or place for religious worſhip, left undeſtroy'd, that had not been ſacrilegiouſly violated by the *infidels*.

Flaccus was, on his being brought to *Rome*, condemn'd to perpetual exile, and a ſentence of confiſcation paſs'd on all his eſtates, perſonal as well as real. But he ſurviv'd his diſgrace but a very few months; for *Caligula* having one day demanded of one of thoſe gentlemen, whom he had recall'd out of baniſhment on his acceſſion to the empire, how he had beguil'd and ſweeten'd the tedious hours of his misfortune; and being anſwer'd, that the time ſtole gently away, becauſe he principally employ'd it in hearty prayers for the deſtruction of *Tiberius*, and the proſperity of him, whom, he knew, would be his ſucceſſor: He of a ſudden iſſu'd out an order to put all thoſe, whom he had baniſh'd, to death, determin'd thereto by a ſuppoſition that their melancholy, in like manner, could no where elſe find eaſe, but in prayers and ſupplications levelled againſt him. Among the reſt, therefore, that periſhed in this general maſſacre, was *Flaccus*; and no one of them fell ſo violently, for he was hewn in pieces, and thrown into a ditch. And ſo died the perſecutor *Flaccus*.

Herod Antipas, who had unworthily treated and deſpiſed *Herod Agrippa*, his own nephew, and brother-in-law, in the day of his adverſity, was one of thoſe to whom his unexpected happineſs and grandeur gave no little pain. That a man, who had but the other day been covered with wretchedneſs and poverty, ſhould now be advanc'd to a degree of honour above himſelf, was ſuch a wound to his heart, as he could not bear, either with patience, or decency. His wife, *Herodias*, inſtead of endeavouring to mitigate his envy, made it her ſtudy to inflame it, and furiouſly rag'd at the proſperity of her brother. She hourly beſieg'd him with all the preſſing arguments and motives ſhe could think of, to awaken his ambition, and at laſt got him perſuaded to undertake a voyage to *Rome*, in order to ſolicit the emperor to confer on him the dignity and title of king. He ſet out on this viſit in the moſt magnificent manner he could deviſe, and ſoon after, attended by his wife, arrived at *Pozzuolo* in *Italy*.

Herod Agrippa (who was not a perſon of that elevation of mind, as to forgive injuries) making a ready judgment of the drift and purport of their voyage, laid himſelf out, with all poſſible diſpatch, to countermine their deſigns. He ſent one of his freed men, called *Fortunatus*, to *Rome*, with large preſents to the emperor, and a letter, wherein he accuſed his uncle of having ſecretly correſpended with *Sejanus* againſt the life of *Tiberius*, and conſpired, too, with *Artabanus*, king of the *Parthians*, againſt the empire: And, for a proof of this, he aſſured him, he might, within the arſenals of *Herod*, find a ſufficient quantity of arms for ſeventy thouſand men.

Fortunatus having arrived at *Baiæ*, in the very nick of time that *Herod* made his firſt viſit to *Caligula*, waited on the emperor, and preſented him with the gifts and letter of *Agrippa*. *Caligula* immediately opened the letter, and, on peruſing it, demanded of *Herod* if it was true that he had ſuch a large magazine of arms. And *Herod* being unable to deny it, was the ſame moment deprived of his principality, by the emperor, and baniſhed for life to *Lugdunum* in *Gall*, now call'd *Lyons*, and a city of *France*. *Caligula* had an inclination to pardon *Herodias*, and return the perſonal eſtate that belong'd to her, for the ſake of her brother *Agrippa*; but ſhe, contemning the favour, would accompany her huſband in his exile, and be a ſharer in the misfortune, which her own ambitious folly had prepar'd for him.

This was the ſame *Herod*, that *with his men of war ſet our Saviour at naught, and mocked him, and arrayed him in a gorgeous robe, and ſent him again to* Pilate, Luke xxiii. Thus was *Herod*, and the inceſtuous ſtrumpet, his wife, puniſhed, for the barbarous murder they committed on *John the Baptiſt*. They were afterwards baniſhed from *Lyons*, to a little town in *Spain*, and followed thither with no other companions than anguiſh, dread, and deſpair, the uſual conſequences of guilt; where they ended their days with ſhame, contempt, and diſgrace. *Caligula* gave *Agrippa* the tetrarchy of *Galilee*, which he had taken from *Herod*, and made him likewiſe a preſent of all his perſonal effects.

In the mean time, *Caligula* cruelly went on ravaging and deſtroying his people, extending his mad rage to all ranks and degrees of men. Many perſons, of the firſt quality, were mark'd with a red-hot iron, and afterwards condemn'd to work in the mines, or repair highways; whilſt others were ſhut up, like beaſts in a den, or ſaw'd aſunder. And as he was a fellow of an inſatiable luxury, wallowing in all ſorts of coſtly delicacies, and often drinking moſt precious pearls diſſolved in vinegar; this, together with his other extraordinary expences on games and ſhows, made him run to many violent, as well as infamous methods, to recruit his pocket. He put to death a great many rich men, againſt whom he had nothing to alledge but that his revenue was out, and he wanted their money. He likewiſe furbiſhed up ſtews within his own palace, keeping runners and decoys of both ſexes, to wheedle in cuſtomers; and all that frequented them, were highly commended for increaſing the revenues of *Cæſar*.

Caligula having, towards the cloſe of the year, publiſhed an edict, that all perſons ſhould under the penalty of being arbitrarily proceeded againſt, bring him new-year's gifts on the opening of the enſuing year; he, by that ſcandalous, and (before) unheard-of method, became maſter of an incredible ſum of money. For, as *Auguſtus*'s ſurvey or deſcription of the people had let him into a thorough knowledge of the names, as well as circumſtances, of all his ſubjects; a dread from thence aroſe, that if they did not liberally contribute, their lives would be forced to ſatiſfy the revenge of the tyrant. They therefore gratified him in a manner that exceeded their abilities: And having, by this means, amaſſed a load of money, far beyond his expectation, he was ſo tranſported with joy, that he threw himſelf upon the top of the bags, and with the ſame pleaſure roll'd and wallow'd upon them, as a hog rejoices and triumphs over a heap of dirt.

He at all ſeaſons diſſipated his caſh, in ſuch a profuſe current, as no fund, how large ſoever, could anſwer the expence; which made him ſo inexpreſſibly rapacious, and greedy of other people's money, that rapine, injuſtice, blood, and murder, were the engines he daily kept at work to get it.

Caligula's envy was of ſuch a ſhameleſs complexion, that it often burſt even upon the meaneſt of the people. Thoſe that had dexterouſly acquitted themſelves at the theatre, at the chariot-races, or in running, or wreſtling, or any other diverſion, and were, conſequently favoured with the general applauſe of the ſpectators; could not, yet, avoid his heavy diſpleaſure. Some of them he publickly condemned to death, and others were privately diſpatched by poiſon. He, however, ſhewed a partiality to that faction among them who diſtinguiſh'd themſelves by wearing a green habit, in regard he much affected to appear himſelf in a dreſs of the ſame colour; and took ſuch an immoderate liking to a horſe (call'd *Incitatus*) belonging to this party, that he carried him home with him, invited him to ſupper, fed him with guilded victuals, and preſented him with wine out of golden veſſels. He raiſed a palace for him, all of marble, gave him a manger of ivory, cover'd him with purple, and adorn'd him with a necklace of pearl. He ſettled a houſhold for him, and appointed his officers of ſtate, omitting nothing that might enable him to make a grand figure, at the reception of thoſe who ſhould have the honour to be entertain'd by him at his houſe. It was an ordinary cuſtom with him, to ſwear by the life and fortune of this horſe; he likewiſe made him a ſerious promiſe, that he would one day exalt him to the conſulſhip, and, in the mean time, preferr'd him to be one of his prieſts.

Having one morning done the ſenate the honour of a viſit, he there read a long diſcourſe, wherein he celebrated the virtues of *Tiberius*, and bitterly inveigh'd againſt the ſenators. He told them, among other things, 'You have maltreated *Tiberius*, and you have been the occaſion of his death, by abetting and feeding the inſolence of *Sejanus*, in ſuch ſort, that I ought not to expect any good from you. *After this, he introduc'd* Tiberius *approving his ſpeech, in the following words:* You have ſaid nothing, my dear *Caius*, but the downright truth; for which reaſon, you ſhould not value, nor love, nor, indeed, ſpare any one, of all theſe men, that are here aſſembled: All of them deteſt and abominate you, and, which is more, wiſh you dead. No one obeys you willingly. It is the practice of mankind to careſs him who has the power in his hands, according as they fear him; and the moment he ceaſes to be formidable, they ceaſe to pay him reſpect.' This done, he haſtily quitted the ſenate, and went to one of his country-houſes, that ſtood at a little diſtance from the city.

The ſenators were ſo confounded with this ridiculous ſpeech, that they immediately broke up, without being able to ſay one word upon the ſubject. But the next day they ſent an addreſs to him, wherein they gave him extraordinary praiſes, and, alſo, returned him their moſt humble thanks, *that he had hitherto been ſo gracious, as not to take away their lives.* They likewiſe ordain'd, *that the day, wherein he had thus ſignaliz'd himſelf from the throne, ſhould for ever be kept, as a day of rejoicing, and annually commemorated with ſacrifices to his goodneſs and clemency.* And they afterwards neglected no flattery, how low and mean ſoever, that they fancied could be of any uſe, to convince him of their ſlaviſh reſpect; proceeding even to kiſs his foot, when he admitted them into his preſence. For that was the manner in which he would be honour'd by all, that made their approaches to him.

Caligula having, at this time, an inclination to aggrandize his name, as well as ſtrike a terror into the world by ſome extraordinary exploit, reſolv'd with himſelf that the moſt probable and expeditious method to effect both, would infallibly ariſe from a march on horſeback over the ſea. He therefore gave an immediate command to build a bridge over the ſtreight which lies between *Puteoli* and *Baiæ*, conſiſting of above four miles in length. Hereupon, were aſſembled, all the ſhips, boats, and gallies, they could light on; and in regard they could not meet with a ſufficient number, carpenters were ſet at work to build more. This wonderful undertaking being, with much expence of time and money, finiſh'd, he cauſed houſes to be erected on each ſide of it, and had an aqueduct made for ſupplying the place with freſh water.

After this, having fortified himſelf with a coat of armour, and put over that a military habit of purple ſilk, embroidered with gold, and ſet off with jewels; he courageouſly run to his ſword and ſhield, and adorning his addle pate with a crown of oaken leaves, offered a ſacrifice to *Neptune* and *Envy*, that they might let him paſs unmoleſted, and not ſhew their teeth at his good fortune. Then he begun his march from the ſide of *Baiæ*, attended with a great army of ſoldiers, horſe as well as foot; and having, in this wild faſhion, trampled upon the ſea, he returned to *Rome*, leading his troops in order of battle, to ſcare them into an opinion that he really intended to batter the city down about their ears.

The day following he reſted his ſoldiers in the ſame ſort as it is cuſtomary to do after the fatigue of an engagement. This done, he conducted them back to the bridge, and dreſſing himſelf in cloth of gold, mounted his chariot, and paſs'd over it, at their head, with a moſt warlike and ſplendid equipage. His chariot was drawn by race-horſes, deck'd out in a more then uſual finery, and that had often carried the prize. And all kinds of implements, neceſſary to repreſent the ſpoils obtained of the vanquiſhed, made a part of the cavalcade.

Darius Arſaces, the ſon of the king of *Parthia* (who was ſent as an hoſtage to *Rome* on the late concluſion of the peace between the *Romans* and *Parthians*), was ſhameleſly made the principal ornament of the proceſſion. After this, *Caligula*, as in duty bound, conſidering the rare victories, and eminent ſucceſſes, he and his numerous body of men had thus atchieved, got up on a high throne, which he had previouſly taken care to raiſe in the middle of the bridge, and from thence harangu'd his ſoldiers in the following words: ‘ Gentlemen, I ‘ cannot enough admire the unparrallell'd dexterity of your enterprizes, nor ſufficiently ‘ praiſe you, for the many labours, toils, and ‘ difficulties, you have with honour ſurmounted; ‘ nor does it add a little to your glory, that your ‘ intrepid hearts did reſolutely, and without ‘ fear, march over the ſea.’

Having ended his wiſe diſcourſe, he ſat down to a ſumptuous entertainment, provided for him upon the bridge, and in jollity ſpent the remainder of the day, as well as the ſucceeding night. His army, too, which all lay in veſſels round him, were magnificently feaſted, and had as much wine as they could drink. The whole ſpace was illuminated, and, beſide, the neighbouring mountains, which environed them, were made to reflect an illuſtrious light, by the help of numberleſs bonfires, which they had there diſpoſed, and beautifully ranged, in the form of a half-moon.

But as *Caligula* was ſuch an impious wretch that he could reap no joy from any thing which had not a mixture of blood, he gave an order to his guards to ſeize a number of his own friends, together with all thoſe whom curioſity had led thither, and tumble them headlong into the ſea. The people being, for the moſt part, overcome with liquor, many of them loſt their lives, whilſt others were providentially ſaved, by the means of a great calm, and the good nature of the ſoldiers. This horrid iſſue of his brain gave him ſo much delight, as inflam'd him to ſay, *that* Neptune *himſelf ſtood in awe of his power. As to* Darius, *and* Xerxes, ſaid he, *they ought not to be named in the ſame day with me, who have had the glory to perfect a work far exceeding any thing they could ever pretend to.*

This vain project having drained his pocket to the lees, he wheeled about his thoughts to his old murdering way of extracting money. He therefore laid a ſham accuſation againſt *Junius Priſcus*, one of the moſt principal and wealthy men of *Rome*, and had him inſtantly delivered over to death. And being afterwards told that the gentleman had been guilty of nothin that merited the leaſt puniſhment; he only made anſwer, *Has he then deceived me? And is he dead ſo out of time, and in ſuch an unhappy manner? He might have lived without falling into any trouble.* And in the ſame abominably way did he ſerve a multitude of others.

Domitius Aſer, a man of great eloquence, having unfortunately put an inſcription upon a ſtatue he had rais'd to *Caligula*, that, contrary to his expectation, happen'd to diſoblige the monarch; was, for no other reaſon, cited before the ſenate, where *Caligula* in perſon charged him in moſt bitter terms, reading a long-winded accuſation, grounded on the very materials from which *Domitius* had till then hop'd he ſhould receive a reward.

Caligula had in this affair exhauſted the whole ſtrength of his rhetorick, in order to let the ſenate know that he could in elegant ſpeaking excel even *Domitius*, whom all the world reckoned a conſummate orator. *Domitius*, who had art enough to ſmell the preſent ambition of the emperor, would not, by any means aſpire to the credit of being able to refute his diſcourſe; on the contrary, he took an opportunity to repeat the ſeveral topicks, he had inſiſted on, commending, and highly praiſing, the wit, as well as the propriety, of every thing that had been ſaid, making a ſhew at the ſame time, that he had a leſs concern for his own life, than a regard to do juſtice to the extraordinary talents of the emperor. And when he was intreated by the ſenate to make his defence, he, inſtead of drawing aſſiſtance from the admirable advantages nature and education had furniſhed him with; put all his truſt and confidence in ſupplications and tears. He threw himſelf upon the ground, and there, for a long while continued proſtrate, humbly imploring pardon. Beſides, whilſt he lay thus extended, he had the management to make even ſilence it ſelf give the emperor to underſtand, that he dreaded more the force of his ſtyle, than he did the weight of his ſcepter.

Caligula had the vanity to think he had, in earneſt, defeated the mighty orator at his own weapons, and was therefore ſo fill'd and raviſh'd with joy, thas he let drop all his malice at once, and forgave the man. He likewiſe admitted him into a ſhare of his friendſhip, at the inſtance of *Calliſthes*, his freed man, to whom *Domitius* had formerly done ſervices.

Calliſthes having taken the freedom to remonſtrate to *Caligula*, that he had moſt unjuſtly proſecuted *Domitius*, and brought upon himſelf a great deal of needleſs trouble; the emperor made anſwer, *He would not for any conſideration have ſuppreſſed ſuch a happy accident, as had given him an occaſion to convince mankind he was a compleat maſter of invincible eloquence.*

At the ſame time, *Seneca*, that moſt accompliſhed philoſopher, miſs'd but very narrowly being put to death. For though he was neither accuſed, nor, indeed, ſuſpected of any crime; yet having had the misfortune to diſtinguiſh himſelf in pleading a cauſe before the ſenate, and in the preſence of the emperor, that very honour, which he then acquired, did ſo cut and rend the heart of the wretched *Caligula*, that he could ſcarce ſo far prevail over his own mind, as to let him live out the day. *Seneca* coming inſtantly to perceive upon what a precipice of danger his abilities and force of arguing had thruſt him, made what haſte he could to get home; and there acquainting one of his wives, in whom he moſt confided, how fatally he had incurred the monarch's diſpleaſure: *I am*, concluded he, *upon the verge of death, and I really believe, nothing will be able to ſave me.* The beloved ſpouſe immediately run to court, and entering into converſation with *Caligula*, ſhe firſt amuſed him with facetious ſtories of an indifferent nature, and at laſt, with a great deal of gaity, begg'd him to remember, 'that ſhe ſhould ſoon be a widow: For, ſaid ſhe, my huſband is ſo far gone in a conſumption, that he has but a ſhort while to live.' *Caligula* clear'd up his countenance, at this report, and gave himſelf no farther inquietude about the philoſopher. For, thought he, if the man harbours an executioner within his own body, what have I to do, to become his butcher?

Caligula, to give *Domitius* an aſſurance that he had intimately forgiven him, made him conſul, depoſing, with the ſame breath, the others, for no other reaſon but that they had lately celebrated the uſual games in memory of *Auguſtus*'s victories over *Anthony*. For, to the end he might never be without ſome ſort of an excuſe for driving full in the face of the conſuls, he affected to appear deſcended rather of *Anthony* than *Auguſtus*. And to ſuch as he condeſcended to open his ſecret thoughts, he would often ſay, 'I value not who, or what they are, that ſucceed to the conſular power, in regard, let them act how they will, they cannot evite puniſhment. For ſhould they preſent ſacrifices, or authorize ſports, they will fall into the guilt of having rejoiced at the defeat of *Anthony*; and if they do not make offerings, they muſt incur the blame of ingratitude to the Gods, in that they have omitted to expreſs an acknowledgment for the victory of *Auguſtus*.'

Hearing one day that the grandmother of *Lollina Paulina* (who was married to *Caius Memmius*, a man of onſular dignity) had been the greateſt beauty of her time, he immediately ſent for *Lollia* out of the province where her huſband govern'd, and took her to wife; but, within a little ſpace after, divorc'd her, forbidding any man, for the future, under penalty of death, to approach her bed. He could keep conſtant to none of his wives but *Cæſonia*, and yet ſhe was neither young, nor handſome: She had been the mother of three daughters, before he vouchſafed to take notice of her; and, which is worſe, was a moſt luxurious and ſalacious woman. Notwithſtanding this, he loved her exceſſively, making her ride by his ſide in a military habit, adorned with a golden helmet and ſhield, in the form of a half moon. He would take a delight to ſhew her in this dreſs, to his ſoldiers, but naked to his friends. He had by her a little daughter, whoſe name was *Julia Druſilla*; and he could be poſitive, he ſaid, it was his own, guided thereto by no other mark than its cruelty, which was, even at that tender age, ſo remarkable, that it would ſcratch and tear the faces of all the infants that were brought to play with it.

Lucius Vitellius, a man of family, as well as great parts, having deſervedly obtain'd an eminent reputation in *Syria*, of which province he had been the governor for ſome years; *Caligula*, who kept himſelf in a continual war againſt merit, had him ſoon recalled out of *Syria*. For though it was to his military fame, alone, owing, that *Artabanus*, king of *Parthia*, came to ſign honourable articles of peace for the *Romans*; and, alſo, offered ſacrifices to the pictures of *Auguſtus* and *Caligula*; yet neither that, nor any other conſideration, founded upon heroic worth, could plead his excuſe to *Caligula*. He was, therefore outed of his command, and ſummoned to put himſelf upon trial, on account of an accident in which he had no hand. It has been already told, that *Vitellius* had impoſ'd a king upon the *Parthians*, and made *Artabanus* betake himſelf to a cowardly flight, and how the new monarch loſt all again by neglecting things of real moment, in order to ſettle and ajuſt the trifle of his coronation. This was all the crime that *Caligula* pretended to object againſt *Vitellius*; and though in other caſes he ſeldom make uſe of any cloak, for the vehicle of his malice, yet here he fancied an accuſation neceſſary, in regard the governors of provinces, who commanded his armies, might elſe reſent it, when they ſaw one of their own number ruin'd and undone for no cauſe.

Vitellius well knowing that envy, fear, cruelty and ſuſpicion, were the chief directors of all *Caligula*'s actions, and how little it would be to the purpoſe to truſt to his own innocence, or a regular defence; he firſt endeavoured, by all poſſible contrivances, to inſinuate an opinion into the emperor, that his character fell exceedingly ſhort of what the world had been pleaſed to give him; and then (in a manner moſt unworthy of a brave man) throwing himſelf at his feet, and watering the earth with tears, he made his adorations and prayers to him, and faithfully promis'd, he always would, for the future, make him the only *(Heathen)* deity he ſhould ſacrifice to, provided he would extend his pity to him, and ſave his life.

Caligula was ſo overcome with this ſmooth cant and artifice, that he not only pardoned *Vitellius*, but ever after made him one of his prime councellors and friends. As this worthy emperor made a ſhew, one day, to be buſily employed, in imbracing and carreſſing the moon, he demanded of *Vitellius* if he had not ſeen her kiſs him. Hereupon, the arch-flatterer, *Vitellius*, immediately ſlunk down his head, and fell a trembling; then putting on an air of extreme fear, made anſwer; 'It is above the power of mortals to look at the Gods; you Gods reſerve to yourſelves the happineſs of ſeeing one another.'

Caligula having his mind quite broke and effeminated by his mad vanity, ſent now an order to *Pontronius*, whom he had advanced to the government of *Syria*, to erect a moſt curious ſtatue for him, and place it within the ſanctary it ſelf of the temple of *Jeruſalem*; commanding him, at the ſame time, to take ſuch a number of troops out of *Syria*, as might be ſufficient to execute his will, in the caſe that the *Jews* could not be brought to a voluntary ſubmiſſion.

Petronius inſtantly ſaw the difficulty this commiſſion had involved him in; for, on one hand, he had to deal with the raſh and hair-brain'd temper of his maſter; and, on the other, with the *Jews*, who would ſooner part with their lives, than ſuffer him to bring about his purpoſe. However, as he durſt not diſobey the mandate of the emperor, he ſet ſome able ſculptors to work, in order to raiſe the ſtatue deſir'd, and, in the mean while, begun his march to *Judæa* with two *Roman* legions, together with a competent force of auxiliary troops. This done, he tranſmitted to *Caligula* an account of the ſeveral precautions he had taken, and in return, was mightily applauded, and likewiſe exhorted to make war upon the *Jews*, if they did not teſtify a ready obedience.

Theſe preparations of the *Syrian* governor, ſtruck all the *Jews* with a very great ſurprize; but when they came to underſtand the emperor's reſolution, they with one heart and voice declared to *Petronius*, 'that they could patient- 'ly leſs their lives, but would by no means bear 'to ſee their temple profaned.

This wicked deſign of *Caligula* carried a quick alarm over all the country, and the *Jews* aſſembling themſelves from all ſides, waited in many formidable bodies upon *Petronius*. At firſt ſight, he concluded they had an intention to give him battle; but when he ſaw, on their nearer approach, that they made uſe of no arms, but cries, and ſighs, and groans, and beating of their breaſts, his ſuſpicion ſoon changed into pity, and he was heartily ſorry that it did not lie in his power to give them relief.

The *Jews* humbly repreſented to him that they had always been the moſt ſubmiſive and zealous ſubjects of the emperor; they were the firſt of all the eaſt to give their ſignal teſtimonies of reſpect to him, and their temple was likewiſe the firſt where ſacrifices were offer'd for his proſperity: For which reaſons, they hop'd, he would not pretend to violate the ſacred rites of their temple. 'If we can- 'not, ſaid they, obtain this favour, we will vo- 'luntarily die, that we may not ſurvive ſo great 'a misfortune.

Petronius having laid this mater before a council of his friends, was there adviſ'd to ſuſpend any farther action againſt the *Jews*, till he had writ to *Caligula*. He therefore ſent him a letter, containing the many inconveniences that would unavoidably follow from an execution of his late command, and begging he would deſiſt from his purpoſe, in regard it would entirely ſink the revenues ariſing to the *Roman* empire from thoſe parts.

Caligula was violently offended with *Petronius*'s letter, and if fear had not with-held him, would have ſent back an inſtant order to put him to death. He always dreaded thoſe who were at the head of his armies, and took cunning and diſſimulation to be the only proper tools he could exert againſt them; and for this cauſe, in the letter returned to *Pretonius*, he highly extolled his prudence, but, withal, bid him loſe no time to finiſh and conſecrate his ſtatue.

During theſe wild agitations in *Caligula*'s mind, *Herod Agrippa* chanced to make him a viſit, and obſerving that ſomething or other had ſtrangely diſorder'd him, he remained in a profound ſilence, for fear any thing, that he might happen to ſay, ſhould but the more offend him. 'You want to know, ſaid *Caligula*; 'what it is that has provoked me: I am going 'to tell you. Your *Jews*, thoſe marvellous fel- 'lows, that alone, of all mankind, ſtand out 'againſt acknowledging me to be a God, are re- 'ſolved, I ſee, to draw upon themſelves the ut- 'moſt calamities, rather than obey me. I only 'deſired them to place my ſtatue, who am young '*Jupiter*, within their temple, and they, under a 'pretence of requeſting a revocation of this or- 'der, have begun a general revolt.

After this, *Herod Agrippa*, having invited *Caligula* to a ſumptuous and magnificent entertainment, which he had provided for him at *Rome*, took from thence an occaſion to beg the emperor to think no more of putting his ſtatue within the temple at *Jeruſalem*. *Caligula* forthwith granted his petition, and diſpatched an order to *Petronius*, ſignifying, that he had, for the ſake of *Agrippa*, let fall his deſign of ſetting up his ſtatue in the temple; 'And there- 'fore, concluded he, you may ſend the troops 'into winter-quarters.

About the ſame time happen'd a ſevere perſecution of the *Jews* in all parts of *Aſia*, whither they had formerly been carried. It begun in *Selucia*, where fifty thouſand of them were put to the ſword. Such as ſaved themſelves by flight, retir'd to *Cteſiphon*, but to ſmall effect; for the whole natives of the country, as well as foreigners, joined in a conſpiracy againſt them, ſuch a general ſlaughter of the *Jews* followed over all *Meſopotamia* and *Babylonia*, as left none of them alive, but thoſe who either quite eſcaped out of thoſe dominions, or found a ſhelter in the ſtrong towns of *Niſibis* and *Naharda*. And thus did the juſt anger of the Lord begin to pour out vengeance againſt that wicked nation, which had unjuſtly murder'd the Saviour of the world.

Whilſt theſe things were a doing, was *Caligula* poſting on at his old infamous rate, having conceiv'd a ſpite againſt a man of worth among the ſenators, he ſuborned a raſcal to watch him into the court, and there defame him aloud as a publick enemy. Hereupon the majority of the ſenate, who ſmelt the imperial trick, ruſhing upon him, ſtabb'd him with their iron pens, and then delivering him over to thoſe who had been hir'd for that purpoſe, they ſoon tore and lacerated him to peices. Nor was the rage of the imperial brute ſatiated, till the ſeveral parts and bowels of the gentleman's body, which had been ſcattered about the ſtreets, were brought and laid in a heap before him, to the end he might, alſo, glut his eyes with the cruel ſpectacle.

A man of note having often made him an humble and reaſonable ſupplication; he inſtantly commanded him to be kill'd: 'For, ſaid he, 'letting of blood muſt come in as a neceſſary me- 'dicine, where hellebore is found to be of no uſe.' It being uſual for him, on every tenth day, to ſign a warrant for the puniſhment of malefactors, he would then ſay, he had cleared his accounts. And having one time ſeen a number of priſoners paſs along, the firſt and the laſt of whom happened to be bald, he ordered them all, for that very reaſon, to be put to death.

Beſides, his cruel and horid diſpoſition admitted no abatement, either from change of humour, time, or place; whether drunk, or ſober, merry, or ſerious, he always continued the ſame inſupportable beaſt. He would often in the midſt of a facetious entertainment, have miſerable wretches examin'd by torture, and others brought out of priſon, and beheaded in the preſence of the company, who were eating and drinking with him.

As he was a creature that did not think it below him to contend for trifles, even with the loweſt of the people, he one time encountered a ſword-player, who willingly ſlipping a foot, and tumbling to the ground, with a deſign to let him have the victory, was by the monſter, barbarouſly ſtabb'd with a dagger, as he innocently lay upon the ground. After this, he run and caper'd about the ſtage, with a greater face of joy than any other man could have ſhew'd, even after a gallant action.

Being at another time preſent at a ſacrifice, and dreſs'd out in the pretty habit of a ſacrificer, he took up a hatchet, and with one blow diſpatch'd the man whoſe buſineſs it was to have kill'd the victim. And afterwards, going to ſup with the conſels, he of a ſudden broke out into an extraordinary fit of mirth; and being civilly ask'd by them what it was that ſo ſenſibly affected him: *What ſhould it be*, anſwer'd the mighty man, *but that I can with one nod cauſe both your throats to be cut?*

Having conſulted *Apelles*, the tragedian, which of the two, himſelf, or *Jupiter*, he took to be the greateſt perſon; and finding him a little dilatory in his anſwer, he violently ſcourged his naked body with his own royal hands: And as the poor fellow cried out under the agonies of torment, he fell a praiſing the ſweetneſs of that voice which no circumſtance could alter. When he kiſs'd the neck of his wife, or any other of his amiable friends, he never fail'd to make the following remark: *That pretty neck wants but a word of mine to be cut off.* Nay, he would frequently boaſt, *that he could even have the conſent of his heart to examine his own dear* Cæſonia *upon the rack, and thereby force her to tell him from whence proceeded the great love he bore to her.*

The vaſt ſums he unjuſtly received, could not yet keep him from a ſtate of penury and want. His laviſh expence was not to be gratified. The utmoſt ſtretch of injuſtice could not anſwer his prodigality. He declared a multitude of teſtaments null and void, and ſo became heir himſelf. And by this means having frighten'd the greater part of his wealthy ſubjects to appoint him coheir with their children, he then called them mockers for continuing to live, after they had made their wills, and by the help of poiſoned ſweetmeats, diſpatch'd a great number of them.

There was no ſort of ſubſtance, either in the world of life, or in that of matter, which could bear a tax, but he impoſed one upon it. In all pleas and judgments, the fortieth part of the ſum in debate was his ſtated fee. The eighth part of what porters could earn of a day, was rigidly exacted; and not only bawds, but common whores, were obliged to pay him a certain rate a head. He likewiſe reaped a very great profit from encouraging the play at dice, and other games of hazard; and ſuch vermin he would not only protect in their own lies and perjuries, but alſo aſſiſt in the quality of a knight of the poſt himſelf. Nor did he think it any diminution to his majeſty to ſit down with theſe ſharpers, and bite them out of their money. As he chanced one day to be thus honourably engaged, he immediately threw up his game, to the great ſurprize of his dear comrades, and running out, laid hold of two rich knights, and had their eſtates confiſcated: Then returning, ſpoke in this manner; *On my word, my friends, I never had a better run of luck in my whole life.* He would often, alſo, turn broker, make a publick ſale of trifles, be chief manager himſelf, and force people to buy at ſuch an exorbitant rate as he well knew would utterly undo them.

But theſe methods being yet inſufficient to ſupply his luxury and extravagance, and no farther hope remaining in *Italy*, which was quite impoveriſh'd by daily rapine and plunder; it enter'd into his mind to recruit himſelf with the ſpoils of *Gallia* (now call'd *France*), and the fertile province of *Spain*. He ſent commiſſioners into the latter, with orders to ſeize the eſtates of all the rich men of the country, and, in the mean time, marched himſelf againſt the other, attended with a very large army, all ſorts of proviſions, and warlike inſtruments; not to mention the numerous equipage of dancers, gladiators, women, and horſes, that he took along with him.

On his arrival in *Gallia*, his only care was, to hunt down thoſe who poſſeſs'd great eſtates, either in money, goods, or land: Riches made the owner immediately obnoxious to his wrath. He himſelf preſided at the ſale of all moveables and heritages, and thereby gathered up incredible ſums: And he was ſo delighted with this inhuman way of filling his coffers, that he had the moſt valuable part of the goods brought home to his own royal habitation, and there, in perſon, aſſiſting he would, in order to raiſe the price of his commodities, aſſure the buyers that ſuch a necklace was the very ornament his own mother had formerly wore; this rare piece belonged to his father; and that other came from *Ægypt* with *Anthony*. *And theſe*, ſaid he, *were a part of the booty that* Auguſtus *won from his enemies.*

Whilſt his army lay encamp'd at the *Rhyne* he wiſely order'd ſome *German* priſoners to be carried with a guard, and conceal'd in a neighbouring wood, and then an account to be brought him that the enemy was at hand. Hereupon, he couragiouſly broke out with his friends, and a party of horſe, and ruſhing into the harmleſs wood, ſet his ſoldiers at work to fell down the trees. After this, he rewarded the men that had follow'd him to this brave enterprize, adorning them with a new ſort of crown, on which were figured the ſun, moon, and ſtars: But he ſeverely chid the ſloth and cowardice of his other forces, that had not dared to ſtir without their camp. And in this, and other ridiculous follies of the like nature, did *Caligula* conſume the time.

Adminius, the ſon of *Cyncbellinus*, king of the *Britons*, having, at this time, fled from his father with a ſmall body of men, and ſurrender'd himſelf to *Caligula*; the airy monarch was as much elevated with that little accident, as any other man could have been, had he, by force of arms, reduced the whole iſland. He inſtantly diſpatch'd letters to *Rome*, conceived in as high and ſublime terms as if he had actually made a final conqueſt of the whole country. And the poſts were particularly charged not to deliver their meſſage, but in the temple of *Mars*, and before a full meeting of the ſenate.

Theſe things being thus victoriouſly atchieved, he led his army to the ocean, making a ſhew that he had no other project in his head, than to invade *Great-Britain*. He ranged his ſoldiers, in order of battle, upon the ſea-ſhore, then thruſting himſelf into a veſſel, put out to ſea; but growing quickly tired of that element, he came back again to land, and getting up to the top of a very high ſcaffold, from thence gave his army the ſign of battle, and, in the midſt of all the military pomp and noiſe imaginable, bid them fall on, and gather cockles, and any other ſhell-fiſhes they could find. And having, in this manner, made himſelf maſter of a huge quantity of precious ſpoils; 'Which, ' ſaid the fool, he would make uſe of, as orna' ments to ſet off his future triumph at *Rome*:' He became, in an inſtant, ſo blown up with joy and vanity, that he was not aſhamed to call himſelf the conqueror of the ocean.

In memory of this wonderful exploit, he caus'd to be erected a high tower, or watch-houſe, commanding, that great lights and fires ſhould all nights be kept in it, for the better direction of ſeamen. Some remains of this turret are yet to be ſeen, at low-water, on the ſhore of *Holland*, and ſtones to be met with, bearing this inſcription:

C. C. P. F. Caius Caligula Pharum fecit.

That is,

Caius Caligula *built this pharus, or light-houſe.*

He, doubtleſs, borrow'd the name from that prodigious one which *Ptolomy Philadelphus* erected in the iſland of *Pharos*, It is ſuppoſed, that the emperor *Severus* afterwards repaired the watch-tower of *Caligula*, and made it a granary for the reception of corn, thither imported out of *Britain*; and that from thence it had the denomination of *Britenhuis*, that is, *Britiſh* houſe, which it retains to this day. *Cambden* tells us, that *Zoſimus* gives an account, 'That corn was uſually tranſported out ' of *Britain* to this place, and thence carried in ' barges up the *Rhine*, for the accommodation ' of the *Roman* garriſons. And *Mercellus*, alſo ' ſays, That *Julian*, the emperor, built maga' zines for holding the corn that came out of ' *Britain* to the ſame place.

Whilſt theſe uncommon matters were a doing, *Caligula* heavily accuſed the ſenate and people of *Rome*; loading them with all the wrath he could deviſe, for ſitting at eaſe, enjoying and feaſting themſelves at a time when *Cæſar* was expoſing himſelf to all the dangers and fatigues of a terrible war. After this, having magnificently (as he thought) rewarded his ſoldiers, giving an hundred *Roman* pence to each of them (a *Roman denarius*, or penny, is ſeven pence half-penny), he gaily told them, they might now reviſit *Rome* both with joy and riches.

On his return to *Rome*, the ſenate were involved with great difficulties. They knew not whether it would be beſt to celebrate the glory of his expedition, or paſs it over in ſilence. However, they came at laſt to a reſolution to ſay nothing: For, concluded they, *ſhould we go about to magnify a trifle, the very attempt would look like a combination in us to cover it with ridicule.* In the mean time *Caligula* mightily reſented the loſs of thoſe extraordinary praiſes which they had neglected to pay him, and he begun to form a ſcheme for cutting off the better part of them, and would too have at length effected it, had he not been prevented by a violent death.

Caligula taking it now in ill part that he ſhould have granted the petition of the *Jews* at the inſtance of *Agrippa*; he employ'd an able artiſt at *Rome* to make for him a moſt rich and beautiful ſtatue, with a deſign to carry it with him firſt to *Ægypt*, and then going to *Jeruſalem*, ſecretly place it in the temple, before the *Jews* could have any notice of his intention. At the ſame time, he writ a letter to *Petronius*, importing, that ſince he ſhewed a leſs regard to the will of his maſter, than to the preſents of the *Jews*, he hereby commanded him to judge and puniſh himſelf in ſuch a manner as he deſerved, who ought to have given an example of what reſpect is due to the orders of princes. In ſhort, he kindly inſinuated, that the leaſt thing he could do, was to kill himſelf. But it was the pleaſure of God, that thoſe who were charged with this commiſſion, ſhould be detain'd a long time upon the ſea; by which means, it came to paſs, that *Petronius* had an account of the emperor's death a full month before the arrival of this extraordinary letter.

The perſecution of the *Jews* at *Alexandria* did not ceaſe with the death of *Flaccus*; the ſedition went ſtill on in the city, and therefore to terminate all differences, the *Jews*, as well as *Alexandrians*, agreed each of them to ſend deputies to the emperor. The *Alexandrians*, on their ſide, choſe *Appion* (whom *Tiberius* us'd to call *the cymbal of the world*), with two others; and the *Jews* devolv'd their caſe on the learned *Philo*, and four others of their own nation. On their arrival at *Rome*, they found the emperor was in *Gallia*, and therefore were obliged to ſtay, and expect his return.

In the interim, the *Alexandrians* having by large preſents, made *Helicon*, who was grand-chamberlain and an *Ægyptian*, their friend; found it an eaſy matter to defeat all the meaſures

ſures of the *Jews*. On *Caligula*'s arrival, *Philo* and the reſt of his aſſociates waited on him, and were received with an open and ſmiling countenance; but no more followed at this time, than a ſuſpicion on *Philo*'s part, that the emperor had, under a ſmooth appearance, endeavoured to conceal his averſion to them.

At a ſecond interview, *Caligula* was pleaſed to ſhew his teeth, and expreſs himſelf in the following manner: 'Are you then ſuch enemies 'of the Gods, that you will not acknowledge me 'to be a God, whom all others readily obey?' And then lifting up his hands to heaven, he pronounc'd ſuch a blaſphemy as *Philo* would not allow himſelf to repeat. Then rambling for a while about the lodgings, he came back to 'em again, and ask'd 'em why they did not eat pork. And being anſwer'd every nation had its different cuſtoms, and told by a friend of his own, that there was a country which would not touch lamb; 'They have reaſon, ſaid *Ca*'*ligula*, for that, I muſt own, is a moſt inſipid 'kind of victuals.

Appion next made a long invective againſt the ſtrange madneſs of the *Jews*, who could not be induced to own the divinity of *Caligula*, notwithſtanding that all the reſt of the world worſhipped him. *Philo* deſired leave to make anſwer, but the emperor, inſtead of allowing his requeſt, immediately chaſed him down ſtairs, threatening, withal, that he had ſomething ſtill worſe in reverſion for him. Hereupon, *Philo* begun to be apprehenſive that the madman would one day or other take away his life. And *Caligula* ſoon after impriſoned *Alexander Lyſimachus*, the brother of *Philo*, who was the chief magiſtrate of the *Jews* at *Alexandria*. *Philo* and the other *Jews* heartily wiſhed they had ſtayed at home, for they could meet with no redreſs from *Caligula*.

Caligula being now intent upon an expedition to *Alexandria* and *Judæa*, would not yet ſet out, till he could bring the wicked purpoſes to bear, that he had concerted within his own mind. The ordinary miniſter of his cruelties was *Potogenes*, who conſtantly carried about him two black books, call'd *Gladius*, or ſword, and *Pugio*, or dagger; and in theſe were regiſter'd the names of ſuch perſons as the tyrant intended to murder. He had there mark'd down for ſacrifices to his humour, the principal men both of the ſenatorian and equeſtrian quality. He had alſo a large cheſt, full of nothing but various poiſons; which being afterwards thrown into the ſea, ſo infected the water, that numbers of fiſh were thereby deſtroyed, and caſt up by the tide upon the ſhore. This was the buſineſs that retarded his voyage, and theſe were the villainous inſtruments by which he meant to effect it.

Many plots had before been levell'd againſt him, but they all miſcarried, through want of ſecreſy and caution to conduct the deſign. But *Chærea Caſſius*, and *Cornelius Sabinus*, two captains of his guards, manag'd their part ſo well, that though they imparted their contrivance to abundance of others, yet the matter was not divulged till they ſtruck the blow. *Caligula* had of a long time made it his pleaſure to affront *Chærea*, calling him an effeminate fellow, and always giving him for a watchword, *Cupid*, *Venus*, *Priapus*, or ſome other ridiculous name of the ſame ſort. And this was not the leaſt reaſon that diſpos'd *Chærea* to conſpire againſt him.

Caligula having, on the night that happened to be his laſt, provided a royal entertainment, together with all manner of other diverſions, within his own palace, and thither invited a very great company; he ſat down with them, and expreſs'd a loud ſatisfaction at the elegant preparation of the diſhes. *Pomponius Secundus*, the conſul, had the honour to ſit next him and often kiſs'd his feet. At length, the monarch got up, with a reſolution to dance, and act a part in a tragedy; but, before he would begin, he had a mind to take a review of the youths that he had caus'd to be brought out of *Greece* and *Ionia*, in order to ſing the poems which were compos'd in his own praiſe. He therefore left the theatre, and going through a dark paſſage, was met by *Chærea*, who drawing upon him, ſtruck him ſuch a blow on the neck, as laid him flat on the ground; but then calling out, that he was ſtill alive, this made the other conſpirators advance, and finiſh him, with thirty more wounds. There was not one of the whole aſſembly that offer'd to interpoſe in his defence: On the contrary, ſeveral of them were barbarous enough to taſte a bit of his fleſh. They likewiſe murder'd his wife, and daſh'd out the brains of his little daughter. Thus fell *Caligula*, after a reign of almoſt four years compleat; for he came to the throne about the beginning of *March*, in the fortieth year of our Lord (which is the thirty-ſeventh of the vulgar *Æra*), and was not ſlain till the twenty-fourth day of *January*, in the year of our Lord forty-four, being the forty-firſt of the vulgar *Æra*.

He threw up the man and the prince in leſs than a year's time after his acceſſion, and the reſt of his reign was a continu'd ſeries of extravagance, rapine, extortion, and blood. He was a man of a moſt fantaſtick, light, and unſtable humour, finding but a ſhort ſatisfaction either in ſolitute or company, and often ſpurning at flattery, as well as the plain truth. Thoſe that ask'd favours of him, did not offend him more than thoſe that demanded nothing: And as it was impoſſible to hit his temper, ſuch as happen'd to pleaſe, knew their luck proceeded from chance, and not their own precaution. Eloquence was the only liberal ſtudy that he ever delighted in, and he had arrived to a tolerable proficiency in it, being never at a loſs for words to expreſs his meaning. He mightily valued himſelf upon it, and would, therefore, often go to the ſenate's houſe, and plead for or againſt criminals, according as the flow of ſentences directed him at the time: For it was his cuſtom, whether he took the part of the plaintiff, or defendant, to change ſides immediately, if he found himſelf in the leaſt word bound, or thought he could ſpeak better on the other ſide.

He was at once the moſt covetous man, and the greateſt ſpendthrift, that ever lived, wading to money through ſtreams of blood, and then ſquandering it away upon caſtles in the air, and impracticable deſigns. He was the beſt ſword-fencer, coachman, ſinger, and dancer, of the age he liv'd in; and it would have been better for the man had he been born to one of theſe occupations: He might then have deſcended to the grave in peace. His nature led him to cruelty, and the curſed art of his wife *Cæſonia* made him worſe. She had been told a lie by quacks, *viz.* that it was in the power of medicine to convey, as well as retain love. She therefore daily plied the poor *Caligula* with potions, which really addled and confounded the brain of the man. For though it ſurpaſſes the ſtrength of phyſick to infuſe love into any body; yet to diſorder the ſenſes is within its reach.

As ſoon as the rumour of his death came to be nois'd abroad, *Caligula*'s *German* guards (who had always expreſs'd a great affection to him, on account of the vaſt advantages that accru'd to them from his many bloody executions), inſtantly fell on, and maſſacreing all they met with, were with much difficulty prevail'd on not to put to the ſword the many thouſands that were then aſſembled at the theatre. The common people, likewiſe, ſhewed no ſmall concern at his death; for though he had, from among them, raiſed an army of two hundred and fifty thouſand men, moſt of whom he had deſtroyed, either by ſingle combats, or encounters of many againſt many, and other mad pranks, and, alſo, often ſcattered his rage even againſt thoſe of them who did not belong to his army; yet as he had ſpared themſelves, and given them frequent largeſſes and ſhows, in their review no faults appeared; all was mercy and generoſity. And for this reaſon they came tumultuouſly from all parts of the city, in order to find out and puniſh the authors of his death. But *Valarius Aſiaticus*, who had formerly been conſul, and was a great favourite among them, ſoon appeaſed the uproar, by ſurprizing them with theſe words: *I wiſh I had removed the tyrant.* And ſo they quietly went home to their own houſes.

Claudius, *A. D.* 44. *V. Æ.* 41.

Caligula being no more, the people of *Rome* might have recover'd their antient liberty, had their ſenate conſiſted of men able either to think or act. But, alas! their manners were ſo depraved and ſunk, that the ſum of their ambition lay in ways and means to make an eſtate. Partiality to themſelves had eaten up all the duty they owed to their country, and no one concern remained but what fetched life from their own intereſt. Indeed the two conſuls, *Senſius Saturninus*, and *M. Minutianus*, ſhew'd a reſolv'd mind to aboliſh the power and name of the *Cæſars*; and to that purpoſe, placing guards in all parts of the city, ſummon'd the ſenate to meet in the capitol. But when they came, ſuch was the diverſity of their opinions, and inability to determine any thing, that they ſuffered the remainder of the day to paſs, as well as the whole ſucceeding night, without offering a reſolution.

In the mean time, *Claudius*, the brother of *Germanicus*, and ſon to *Druſus*, having, on the news of his nephew *Caligula*'s death, hid himſelf in an obſcure hole of the palace, was, in that dirty pickle, perceiv'd by one of the ſoldiers, who had there enter'd with a view to pillage the furniture. The ſoldiers ſeeing the feet of a man, and taking him to be ſome body of whom he might make a conſiderable ſum of money, immediately dragg'd him out by force. *Claudius* fell down, and begg'd him to ſave his life. *That I will*, ſaid the fellow, *and try alſo, to have you declared emperor.* He then carried him to his comrades, who, with one voice, ſaluted him emperor. After this, they put him upon a litter, and conducted him to the camp, where he had the good luck to be received with a general acclamation of the ſoldiers.

Claudius ſpent the night in great fear and inquietude; for he had no notion of ever arriving at the ſovereign power. The ſenate having at laſt (when it was too late) agreed to reſtore the people to their antient rights and privileges, ſent their requeſt to *Herod Agrippa*, that he would pleaſe to come, and aſſiſt them with his advice. He promiſed, and accordingly waited on them; but he acted a double part: For he had before been with *Claudius*, and endeavour'd to man and fortify his cowardly heart, begging him to ſtand to his good fortune, and embrace her now, that ſhe was fallen into his lap.

Herod Agrippa having put a queſtion to the ſenate, and had their anſwer, with regard to a matter that he knew much better than they; 'Gentlemen, ſaid he, I am willing to ſacrifice even my life for the glory and intereſt of this houſe; but if you are poſitively inclined to reſume the ſovereign power, it will be proper to reflect whether you have arms, men, and money, ſufficient to ſupport the enterprize. And if you have any commands for *Claudius*, I will be proud to be one of thoſe whom you ſhall appoint to carry them.' The ſenate made anſwer, they did not doubt but they ſhould be able to bring about what they intended, and, at the ſame time, employed *Agrippa*, together with *Veranius* and *Braccus*, to report their meſſage to *Claudius*.

Agrippa firſt ſtole an opportunity of a private conference with *Claudius*, and opening to him the difficulties wherein the ſenate were involved, bid him take heart, and ſpeak to the ſenate's deputies like a prince that had already mounted the throne, and not like one who wanted favour of them. Then returning to his collegues, he conducted them to *Claudius*, to whom they preſented the following remonſtrance from the ſenate: 'It is our will that you attempt not to make yourſelf emperor by force, but ſubmit the care of the republick to us. If you will conform your ſelf to the ſentiments of the ſenate, you will acquire an immortal glory, and equally deſerve the praiſe both of the ſenate, and of the people, for having poſtponed your own intereſt to that of the commonwealth. But if you will not be diſſuaded from ſeizing upon the empire, the ſenate is reſolved to oppoſe you with all its force.

Claudius return'd anſwer, *I am not at all ſurprized to find the ſenate averſe to the government of a ſingle perſon, conſidering the many hardſhips they have ſuffered under it; but I hope to let you ſee, by a juſt and moderate exerciſe of power, that monarchy has ſtill the advantage. I promiſe you, I will only take the name, but divide the authority with you. As to the reſt, the ſenate muſt be made ſenſible that I will not renounce imperial power now that I have got it into my hands. Nor, indeed, would thoſe, that have beſtowed it upon me, take it kindly, if I ſhould.*

The ſenate, on peruſing his anſwer, would not yet recede from their former demand. They would never, they ſaid, voluntarily ſubmit to ſervitude, nor were they in the leaſt apprehenſive that he ſhould ever be able to force them. *Claudias* coming to underſtand their backwardneſs to acknowledge him, ordered *Agrippa* to tell them, that if they perſiſted in their opinion, he ſhould be obliged to make war upon them, and, withal, required them to meet no longer within the city, to the end the temples might not be defiled with the blood of countrymen fighting againſt countrymen.

The ſenate having by this time got intelligence that the troops, to whom they had committed the protection of the city, had deſerted them, and gone over to *Claudius*; and, alſo, finding that the pulſe of the people only beat towards monarchy begun now to think it was their ſafeſt courſe to conſent to the proclamation of *Claudius*; and therefore they unanimouſly choſe him emperor, and enacted every thing elſe that ſeem'd of any uſe to confirm and eſtabliſh him in the throne.

Claudius was in the fiftieth year of his age when this dignity happened to him; and the firſt thing he did after his acceſſion, was to reward thoſe that had remarkably ſerved him. He gave each of his ſoldiers a donative, and they, in return, took an oath to protect his perſon and government. He not only confirmed *Herod Agrippa* in the poſſeſſion of the kingdom that *Caligula* had formerly given him, but made him maſter of *Judæa*, *Samaria*, and all the other dominions that had once belonged to *Herod the Great*, his grandfather. He over and above added to him the territories of *Abilene*, and the principality of *Libanus*. He, likewiſe, at the requeſt of *Agrippa*, conferred upon his brother *Herod* the kingdom of *Chalcis*, and allow'd both of them the honour to ſit in the ſenate, together with the privilege of pronouncing their thoughts in the *Greek* tongue: And, as a farther teſtimony of his love and good-will to *Agrippa*, he publiſhed an edict, whereby the *Jews* were, in all places under the *Roman* empire, authorized to live according to their own laws.

Claudius being, from his earlieſt bud of life, addicted to gluttony and drunkenneſs, and, of conſequence, enjoying but ſeldom a clear uſe of his ſenſes; was the reaſon that he ſubmitted his whole life, to a ſhameleſs dependence, upon his domeſticks, wives, or miſtreſſes. Intemperance had brought his head and hands to tremble continually; and a deſire of eaſe from thence ariſing, gave him a diſinclination to buſineſs: So that, in all caſes, he truſted to the judgment and advice of others. But as fear was the principal motive that kindled up all his actions into warmth and being, ſo did they happen to be laudable, or vicious, in proportion to the merit and character of the perſons from whom he had firſt received his leſſon. Whatever was ſuggeſted to him by the ſenate, had an air of dignity and worth, and was, therefore, executed, in a manner that became a prince; but what proceeded from the creatures of his own houſe, drew its origin from nothing but avarice, revenge, and cruelty; which, in the end, made him the contempt and laughing-ſtock of all the people.

The two days wherein the ſenate kept deliberating about the change of the government, had over-whelm'd *Claudius* with pain, anxiety, and terror; he therefore endeavour'd, as far as in him lay, to blot them out of his thoughts. He gave an act of grace, pardoning and acquitting all that had, during that time, offended either in word or deed, excepting only *Chærea*, and two or three more officers. And theſe he put to death, not ſo much to revenge the murder of *Caligula*, as to frighten others from making an attempt upon himſelf.

He reſcinded all the acts of *Caligula*, and readily gave into every requeſt that the ſenate asked of him. Having a due regard to the welfare and proſperity of his ſubjects, no method in raiſing of taxes met with any countenance from him, but what had prudence, honour, and honeſty, to recommend it. He took a particular care to diſcourage and ſuppreſs the luxury that the former reign had introduced, and from the teeth forward labour'd with all his might to bring the people to a reliſh of temperance, and ſimplicity of manners. But, alas! his own bad example diffus'd worſe effects than his precepts did good. He ſhut up all publick houſes, forbid the ſelling of victuals ready-dreſs'd, and ſeverely puniſh'd the offenders. He put magiſtrates in the full poſſeſſion of all rights and privileges that had formerly belonged to them; and when they ſet out and regulated the publick ſhows, he wou'd, with the reſt of the multitude, riſe up, and, with his voice and geſture, do them honour.

He would often adminiſter juſtice himſelf, and, without following the preſcript of the law, where it happen'd either to be too rigorous, or too mild, pronounce the ſentence in ſuch a manner, as ſeem'd moſt conſiſtent with equity. For whereas by the civil law thoſe who had laid their action for but one halfpenny more than was really due to them, were ſure to loſe the ſuit; he would allow them to rectify the miſtake, and begin again. On the other hand, thoſe who were convicted of having fraudulently over-reach'd their neighbours, had too much favour (he thought) from the law; and therefore he condemn'd them to be tore in pieces by wild beaſts. He would in many caſes act the part of a moſt prudent and wiſe judge, and at other times ſpeak and decide like a hair-brain'd fool.

It being cuſtomary for maſters to turn their ſlaves out of doors, and expoſe them to the wide world, when any tedious illneſs ſeized them, he publiſhed an edict, giving all ſuch unhappy wretches the freedom of the city, and making it death to kill any one of them. He likewiſe made ingratitude in a freed man to his patron, a ſufficient cauſe to recal him into ſervitude.

He carried himſelf ſo modeſtly, humbly, and circumſpectedly, in the beginning of his reign, as gained him the love of all the people, to ſuch a degree, that a report coming to *Rome* of his being kill'd at *Oſtia*, they raiſed a violent ſedition, calling the ſoldiers traitors, and the ſenate paracides, and would have proceeded to a much greater length, had they not ſoon after got certain intelligence he was alive, and in health, and within a few miles of *Rome*.

Herod Agrippa having obtain'd leave of *Claudius* to return to his own dominions, ſet out from *Rome*, attended with a magnificent retinue, and honour'd with every mark of eſteem that imperial power could give him. On his arrival at *Jeruſalem*, he made a preſent to the temple of the golden chain that *Caligula* had given him, in room of the iron one, with which *Tiberius* had before tormented him; placing it there as an everlaſting monument of the inſtability of human affairs, and of the ſovereign power of God over the fortune of kings, whoſe elevation and proſperity, as well as deſtruction and overthrow, entirely depend upon his will and pleaſure.

He ſhewed a great deal of zeal for the *Jewiſh* religion, carefully obſerving all the ceremonies and laws, and not paſſing a day without offering ſacrifices. He alſo made it his buſineſs to do good, and extend mercy to all his ſubjects. He omitted no means that he thought might gain him the love of his people, being bountiful and liberal towards all the world, ready and willing to redreſs injuries, compaſſionate and generous to the diſtreſſed, and beneficent in all things. He took a ſingular delight in exhibiting ſhows, and, among theſe, moſt pleaſure in the combat of gladiators. And having one day cauſed four hundred malefactors to fight it out in ſuch a manner that not one of them came alive off the ſtage; this piece of barbarity gave no ſmall offence to the *Jews*. They begun to think that this action was a true picture of the man, and his good offices were but falſe colours, only diſplayed with a view to work his own deſigns.

As he was a man that would let no opportunity ſlip which might gratify and oblige the *Jews*, he impiouſly fell a perſecuting the church, and murder'd *James*, the apoſtle of our Lord, and the brother of *John*. The ſoldier, who had it in charge to apprehend *James*, and bring him before the judges, was ſo touch'd with the intrepid and heroick manner in which he uttered the confeſſion of his faith, that he, alſo, declared himſelf a *Chriſtian*, and was, accordingly, beheaded, at the ſame time with St. *James*.

Herod Agrippa finding that the death of St. *James* had given great ſatisfaction to the *Jewiſh* zealots, he next impriſon'd St. *Peter*, with an intention to make an example of the prince of the apoſtles, and put him to death in the preſence of all the people. But the angel of the Lord, whoſe ſervant *Peter* was, coming to him on the night that preceded the day which *Herod* had appointed for his execution, miraculouſly reſcu'd him out of the hands of the tyrant.

Herod was ſo enrag'd at the eſcape of St. *Peter*, that he order'd the ſoldiers, who had guarded him, to be ſtretch'd upon the rack, and afterwards put to death. After this, he went to *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*, to celebrate games in honour of the emperor; and thither, alſo, were aſſembled vaſt numbers of people from all quarters, to ſee the ſport. The inhabitants of *Tyre* and *Sidon* having ſome time before offended him, took this occaſion to reinſtate themſelves in his favour. He promiſed them an audience on the morning of the ſecond day of exerciſes, and then coming in a robe of cloth of ſilver, ſat himſelf down in his throne. His dreſs, by the reflection of the ſun-beams, which darted full upon him, made ſuch a ſplendid luſtre, as induced the lump of the ſpectators to regard him with a more than ordinary reſpect. And as he was making a long diſcourſe to the *Tyrians*, and *Sidonians*, his wicked flatterers could not forbear crying out, *It is the voice of a God, and not of a man*, Acts xii. 22. Nor did they ſtop here, but added many other extravagant things in his praiſe.

Herod being intoxicated with this teſtimony of the people's affection, and therefore taking no care to reject and forbid the impious honours they did him, was immediately ſtruck by the angel of the Lord with an incurable malady at heart, and an intolerable pain in his bowels. He could then ſay to the people, *The man, whom you did but the minute before flatter with immortality, is of a ſudden brought to the gates of death. You ſee yourſelves now convinced of an inexcuſable falſhood. There is no diſputing of the will of God. I had a great ſhare of happineſs, nor was there any prince, whoſe fortune I covoted.* Theſe words were no ſooner uttered, but pain redoubled upon him, and he deſired to be carried back to his palace.

The people ſeem'd extremely afflicted at his illneſs, and, clothing themſelves in ſackcloth, made vows and prayers for the recovery of their prince. They proceeded ſo far, as to make the air reſound with their cries and lamentations, and fail'd not to give the monarch the pleaſure to ſee and hear them. All ſhed many tears, but his doom was pronounced. Having for five days running ſuffered inexpreſſible torments, he at length died, waſted and devoured by worms.

The moment the news of his death came to hand, the people made publick rejoicings, and, with uncommon inſolence, treated not only his memory, but the honour of his daughters. They went to the palace, and from thence taking the ſtatues of his daughters, placed them in thoſe corners where whores uſed to ply, adding many other outrages, which it would not be decent to mention. They kept feaſting even in the ſtreets, and, with crowns of flowers upon their heads, offer'd ſacrifices to *Charon*, by way of thanks for the death of their prince, and his ſafe commitment to hell. If this was the only inſtance wherein extraordinary marks of popular eſteem had quickly after been ſucceeded with ſpite and odium, one might be allowed to ſpend an hour or two in wondering at it: But when we conſider that vulgar applauſe is no more than a bloſſom, which ſtands at the mercy of the wind, it would be madneſs to ſtare at an effect that iſſues from ſo plain a cauſe.

On the death of *Herod*, who had reigned over *Judæa* three years, the emperor reduced the country into the form of a province, and ſent *Cuſpius Fadus* to govern it. *Fadus* finding that ſome *Jews* had diſtreſs'd *Philadelphia*, which is the ſame with *Rabbat*, the capital of the *Ammonites*, he only puniſh'd one of the principal authors of this enterprize with death, baniſh'd two others, and ſo appeas'd the tumult. He then ſcour'd *Judæa* of the robbers that infeſted it, and reſtor'd peace and quiet to the country.

In the mean time, *Claudius* was labouring hard at *Rome* to relieve the neceſſities of the people, who were exceedingly afflicted with a ſcarcity of proviſions; nor was his diligence concluded within a momentary point, but reached it ſelf to future ages. He caus'd a port to be built, by the help of which they might be ſupplied with plenty of all kinds, and at all ſeaſon.s The *Romans* had before no other way of ſubſiſting in winter, but by the corn, which was lodged in granaries. Their attempts, in winter, had been generally unſucceſsful, and therefore they diſcontinued them; but now *Claudius* being put in mind of his duty by the mob, whom want and penury had ſpirited up to pelt him with pieces of bread, propoſed great rewards to all merchants who ſhould build and fit out ſhips; and, alſo, took upon himſelf to refund all the loſs they might happen to ſuſtain in the voyage.

The emperor having demanded of ſome architects what the charge of making the port of *Oſtia* would amount to; they purpoſely gave him in ſuch an exorbitant account, as they thought would quite divert him from the project. But he was ſo far from being deterred by that mean expedient, that he inſtantly ſet about the work, and, in the end, finiſhed it, with a reſolution and warmth of ſpirit becoming the *Roman* generoſity and magnificence.

Claudius exceſſively delighted in the combats of gladiators, and therefore daily gave that entertainment to the people. He could receive no ſatisfaction from his dinner, without he ſaw ſome combatants hewing one another to pieces: And yet, which was a little marvellous, he iſſued out his royal command to kill a lion, that had been accuſtomed to feed upon human fleſh; giving his ſubjects, thereby, to underſtand, that he did not approve of ſuch a bloody diverſion. However, a long cuſtom of being always preſent at the ſpilling of blood, had rendered cruelty ſo familiar to him, that he could with eaſe, at any time, ſign a warrant for murder.

Thoſe hiſtorians do him too much honour, who conſider him in leading-ſtrings, and impute all his irregularities to his domeſticks, and his wife *Meſſalina*, the moſt impudent and abandoned woman of that age. For as drunkenneſs is ſo far from excuſing a murder, that it ſuperadds a crime to a crime; in the ſame manner the temper of *Claudius*, which might eaſily be ſhook and determin'd to any thing, when ply'd with liquor, or ſurrounded with fear, can by no means juſtify him, but, in all caſes, aggravates his guilt.

But ſo it was when *Meſſalina* or any of his freed men had taken an averſion to a perſon, and, conſequently, wanted him to be put to death; they had no more to do than repreſent to *Claudius* the great danger that threatened him from ſuch a quarter, and their demand was immediately granted. He would often, during the confuſion and perplexity of thought that fear threw him into, command a number of perſons to be executed, whom he would afterwards call for, when he came to himſelf, and had recovered his judgment: And then being informed that they were put to death by his order; he would be ſtrangely concerned, and diſpleaſed with himſelf.

The firſt whoſe blood he ſuck'd in this infamous way, was *Caius Appius Silanus*, a man of an illuſtrious virtue, as well as birth: He had withſtood the lewd embraces and ſolicitations of *Meſſalina*, and, alſo, taken the freedom to reprimand *Narciſſus*, the freed man of the emperor. Theſe two, therefore, laid their heads together, and contriving a dream wherein *Narciſſus* was to ſuppoſe himſelf preſent when *Silanus* entered the palace, and aſſaſſinated *Claudius*; *Narciſſus* ſoon after came to the emperor's bed-ſide, and recounting this fiction of a dream, ſo prevail'd over the wretched puſillanimity of *Claudius*, that he made out an immediate order for the condemnation of the innocent man.

After this barbarous murder of *Silanus*, the *Romans* renounc'd all hope of reaping any comfort from the future adminiſtration of *Claudius*. And from thence ſeveral conſpiracies took their riſe, ſome private, as well as publick. A man was in the middle of the night apprehended near his chamber, with a dagger about him, which ſtruck a greater terror into poor *Claudius* than I am able to expreſs. And *Furius Camillus*, the governor of a province, declar'd open war againſt him, which threw him into ſuch a panick, that, had not ſeaſonable advice come quick to his aid, he infallibly would have reſign'd the empire. The ſoldiers of *Camillus*, who had drove him upon this revolt, were, in leſs than five days after, brought, by a ſuperſtitious trifle, to conſpire his deſtruction, and a multitude of others, women, as well as men, were adjudg'd to death on the ſame account.

The rage of a beaſt is great, and yet may ſoon be ſatisfied; but the fury of a coward knows no bounds. The miſery of theſe times was ſo ſenſible, and extreme, that a reſolution harden'd and prepar'd for the worſt of ſufferings ſeem'd to be the moſt valuable art the mind of man could then arrive at.

Meſſalina not being contented to act a moſt ſhameleſs part her ſelf, forced other women, alſo, to follow her example: Carrying matters to ſuch a height, that ſhe brought many of them within the palace, and there made them, whilſt their husbands ſtood by, violate the fidelity which was due to their bed. She wonderfully careſs'd and eſteem'd the men that could patiently bear ſuch a proſtitution as reflected diſgrace upon themſelves, and rais'd 'em to high poſts and dignities. As to thoſe who could not come up to ſuch a pitch of complaiſance, ſhe took care to let fall upon them her whole ſtock of rage, leaving no means untried to bring about their deſtruction. *Claudius* was all this while kept a ſtranger to theſe wicked pranks; his ordinary waiters were all in the ſecret, and none admitted to ſee him, who would not join in the impoſition. She knew the way to lay his thoughts aſleep; wine and women were his favourite amuſements, and ſhe plentifully ſupply'd him with both.

The guards of *Claudius* having one day mutineed, he ſent his freedman and great favourite, *Narciſſus*, to compoſe the tumult; But the ſight of this obſcure fellow, and chief director of *Claudius*, was ſo far from appeaſing them, that it but enrag'd them the more; and they with one voice cried out, *To the feaſts of Saturn*; which is a proverbial expreſſion, ariſing from a cuſtom which allow'd ſlaves, during the time of that feſtival, to perſonate, as well as wear the clothes of their maſters. However, the contempt they ſhew'd to *Narciſſus*, diſpos'd them, at laſt, to make a voluntary ſubmiſſion to their own general, who, at the command of *Claudius*, tranſported them into *Britain*, where the war had for ſome time gone on ſucceſsfully under *Plautius* and his lieutenants.

No attempt had been made upon *Britain* from the days of *Julius Cæſar* till the ſecond year of *Claudius*, that *Plautius* was thither ſent with an army out of *Gallia*. *Auguſtus* being of opinion that nothing could more effectually ſettle and preſerve the *Roman* empire, than ſuch a management as might reſtrain and keep it within its preſent limits, he therefore entertain'd no thought of extending it beyond the ocean, and the rivers *Iſther* and *Euphrates*. *Tiberius* entered into the ſame ſentiment, and produc'd a book written with *Auguſtus*'s own hand, which intreated the *Romans* not to enlarge their bounds; and, for this reaſon, he would maintain neither garriſon, nor deputies, in *Britain*. As for *Caligula*, he was too light-headed to give himſelf any trouble about it.

But now *Claudius*, who greedily long'd for a triumph, and, withal, ſuch an one as might be archiev'd without either fear or danger, having firſt made an eſſay by *Aulus Plautius* upon *Britain*, and from his repeated ſucceſſes concluding that the country might eaſily be ſubdued; he, in the fourth year of his reign, went thither himſelf. *Dio* ſays, that at his firſt landing he obtain'd a compleat victory over the *Barbarians*. If it was ſo, I am ſure, *Claudius* would take a ſufficient precaution to ſecure his own dear perſon from the hazard of a battle. It is ſaid, likewiſe, that he ſubdued a part of the iſland, namely, *Camalodunum*, now *Maldon*, which then was the royal ſeat of *Cynobellinus*, together with the little iſles of *Orkney*. What is done by a king's miniſter, may be ſaid to be done by himſelf; and no other honour was here effected by *Claudius*. However, *Suetonius* tells us, that Claudius *performed all theſe matters without a battle, or ſo much as the loſs of one drop of blood.*

Claudius made ſuch a quick haſte with this expedition, that he return'd to *Rome* in the ſixth month from his ſetting out, leaving the farther reduction of the iſland to *Plautius*. For his heart could no longer ſuſtain the want of a triumph. Though *Claudius* had no great reaſon to boaſt of the mighty things he had done, yet the ſenate, who were never backward in affairs of compliment and reſpect, decreed, in his honour, anniverſary games, with triumphal arches, at *Geſſoriacum* (now *Bologne*) in *Gallia*, as well as at *Rome*, together with a moſt ſumptuous and magnificent triumph.

A naval crown was fixed upon the palace, as a ſtanding memorial, that he had ſubdued the *Britiſh* ſea. The provinces, in acknowledgment of his victory, made him preſents of crowns of gold, and, among the reſt, *Gallia comata* brought him one weighing nine pounds, and he receiv'd another out of *Spain*, which amounted to ſeven pound weight. All the governors of provinces, and a good number, likewiſe, of baniſh'd perſons, were indulg'd the privilege to come to *Rome*, and ſee the fine ſhow. Having enter'd the *Adriatick* ſea in a veſſel reſembling rather a great houſe, than a ſhip, and thereby given the people a ſublime repreſentation of his late conqueſt over the ſea, he returned to *Rome*, mounted upon a chariot in a triumphal robe, crowned with laurel, and followed by his wife *Meſſalina*, in a hanging coach, together with a numerous retinue, and all the ornaments and ſpoils that had been taken from the enemy during the war.

After this ſolemn games and plays were exhibited to the people at two ſeveral theatres. Horſe-races made a part of the diverſion; many champions were forced upon the ſtage, bears were kill'd, and *Aſiatic* youths performed a military dance in armour. In the mean time, *Plautius*, whom he had entruſted with the management of the war in *Britain*, ſucceeded ſo well, that *Claudius* deſired the ſenate to make out a decree, allowing him the favour of the leſſer triumph, called *Ovatio*. And when *Plautius* came to enter the city, the emperor himſelf met him, and did him the honour of the right-hand, throughout the whole extent of the proceſſion.

Flavius Veſpaſian having, in the courſe of this war, under *Plautius* and *Claudius*, fought thirty battles with the *Britons*, and ſubjugated two potent nations, together with above twenty towns, and the iſle of *Vectis*, or *Wight*; he was, for theſe ſervices, rewarded with triumphal honours, and ſoon after with other dignities,

ties, and a conſulſhip, which he held for the two laſt months of the year. His ſon *Titus*, likewiſe, had greatly diſtinguiſh'd himſelf, having ſignally reliev'd his father, when beſieged by the enemy, and on all occaſions merited the character of a moſt accompliſh'd man. About two hundred and forty years ago ſprung up two iſlands, called *Thera* and *Theraſia*, among the *Cyclades*, in the *Ægean* ſea, and, in an hundred and ten years after, aroſe another, named *Hiera*, and, at this time, appeared a fourth, called *Thia*, which had never been ſeen before.

Meſſalina taking it into her heart to fall deſperately in love with a famous maſter of the art of dancing, and finding all her efforts ineffectual to make the man comply with her libidinous inclinations; ſhe ſtumbled upon a method that induced her husband *Claudius* to bawd for her. She repreſented to him, that ſhe had a matter of importance, which could only be done by the fellow, and ſo wheedled the emperor in ſuch a manner, that he laid his commands upon him to obey her in all things. This done, the dancer immediately gratified her. Duty to his prince had before obliged him to reſiſt her offers, but having now received an unlimited order from the emperor, he concluded, that acts of cuckoldom were likewiſe authorized by the ſame command. And thus making her husband, in ſome degree, acceſſory to his own diſgrace, ſhe, by this means, drew to her lure numbers of others, who would not for the world have conſented upon any other terms.

Cuſpius Fadus being removed from the government of *Judæa*, *Tiberius Alexander*, a *Jew* by birth, but who had renounced his religion, was put in his place: And during the time that theſe two preſided there, the country enjoyed a ſerene peace. About this time died *Herod*, king of *Chalcis*, and the emperor beſtow'd his kingdom upon *Agrippa*, the ſon of the late *Herod Agrippa*, in prejudice to *Ariſtobulus*, the lawful heir, and eldeſt ſon of *Herod*, king of *Chalcis*.

The *Parthians* were, in the mean time, terribly harraſs'd with civil diſſentions. *Gotarzes* had procured the death of his brother *Artabanus*, and uſurped the kingdom. Hereupon, the *Parthians*, dreading his cruelty, gave the crown to his brother *Bardanes*, who at firſt proſpered ſo, that he compelled *Gotarzes* to accept of ſuch conditions of peace as he thought fit to give him. But happening afterwards to throw away ſome weeks upon the ſiege of the ſtrong city of *Seleucia*, he not only furniſh'd *Gotarzes* with an opportunity to recover himſelf, but gave *Mithridates* a handle to ſeize *Armenia*. And though he had the good luck to defeat *Gotarzes*, yet he could not regain *Armenia*. But as he laid out all his endeavours to be rather fear'd abroad, than belov'd at home, he was ſoon after kill'd at a hunting match, by ſome of his own people.

His death involv'd *Parthia* in freſh troubles. Many were for recalling *Gotarzes*, whilſt others inclined to *Meherdates* (the deſcendant of *Phraates*), who was then a hoſtage at *Rome*. Thoſe, therefore, who deteſted the abandoned and cruel temper of *Gotarzes*, ſent a private embaſſy to *Claudius*, praying him to permit *Meherdates* to return to his own country, and accept the crown. This being the threeſcore and eighth year from the time that *Auguſtus* had celebrated the ſecular games, and the ſeventh year of *Claudius*, the ſame were now ſolemniz'd in a moſt ſplendid and coſtly manner. He next made a heavy complaint in the ſenate, againſt the wonderful increaſe of foreign ſuperſtitions, remembering them, alſo, that without due care the art of ſoothſaying would entirely be loſt in *Italy*.

The truth of the matter was, the light of the goſpel had by this time diffus'd itſelf over all nations; and therefore *Pagan* rites begun every where to be diſus'd, in ſpite of all the oppoſition that antient error could throw in its way.

Claudius, at the requeſt of the *Parthians*, ſent *Meherdates* home to them honourably attended; but the event did not come up to their expectation. The two eaſtern kings, who had promiſed him their aſſiſtance, kept back their troops, and *Meherdates* himſelf, in a ſhort while after, fell into the hands of *Gotarzes*, who, indeed, ſpared his life, but cut off his ears, to the end he might carry about him a teſtimonial of his mercy, as well as the *Roman* ſhame. *Gotarzes* did not long ſurvive this period, and then the *Parthians* made *Vonones* their king, who, after a ſhort and inglorious reign, died, and left it to *Vologeſes*, his ſon.

Tiberius Alexander being ſoon recalled by *Claudius* from *Judæa*, was ſucceeded by *Ventidius Cumanus*, and under this governor were ſuch commotions bred, as did not terminate but in the ruin of *Jeruſalem*. Whilſt the paſſover was this year a celebrating at *Jeruſalem*, one of *Cumanus*'s ſoldiers had the inſolence to expoſe his genitals to the open view of the whole people there aſſembled; which wicked outrage was ſo reſented by the *Jews*, that they ſtuck not to declare, that the governor himſelf had licens'd the action. *Cumanus* did what he could to pacify them, but to no purpoſe; he therefore march'd with all his troops to the temple, and with ſuch an air of war and battle as made them all believe he had a deſign to attack them. This put the *Jews* into ſuch a fright, and hurry of eſcape, that they tumbled and preſſed ſo hard upon one another in the ſeveral narrow paſſages leading to the temple, that thirty thouſand of them were ſtifled and ſmother'd to death. And this was really the number that miſerably periſhed by this accident, notwithſtanding *Joſephus* has extended it no farther than to ten thouſand.

As ſoon as *Claudius* enter'd upon his fourth conſulſhip with *Vitellius*, he baniſhed ſome of the ſenate, and put others in their place, among whom was *Surdinius Gallus*, who had before ſhelter'd himſelf in a ſnug retreat, that he might not be burthen'd with the honour. But *Claudius* had him ſent for, and then was ſo kind as to tell him he would there detain him with chains of gold. And in this caſe *Claudius* lit upon a medicine that ſeldom fails to work with efficacy, wherever it is applied.

Though *Claudius* exerted himſelf with great alacrity in puniſhing freed men that belonged to others, yet he was never once ſeen to regard miſdemeanors of his own: Theſe might ſpeak and do what they pleas'd, and ſtill be ſure of his approbation. About this time a ſham plot was diſcovered of *Meſſalina*'s own ſpinning, but moſt of the men ſuppos'd to be concern'd in it, being perſons of the meaner ſort, *Claudius* had the courage to ſay, he would not revenge an affront done him by a flea, however prudence might require him to puniſh a ſavage beaſt.

This forgery was trump'd up with a forecaſt to undo *Aſiaticus*, and it ſucceeded. A numerous rabble was introduced, with no other intention than to give a brightening to the good nature of *Meſſalina* and the freed men. And as *Claudius* ſeldom ſpoke or acted but by their tongues and hands, it was an eaſy matter to pardon thoſe, and faſt hook the fiſh they wanted. To this purpoſe they ſuborned many witneſſes againſt him, that he had never ſeen; and, among the reſt, a ſoldier, who they pretended, was one of his moſt intimate accomplices. As this ſoldier was the perſon upon whom they laid the whole ſtreſs of their unjuſt cauſe, they called him, laſt of all, to ſeal and ſhut up the teſtimony that had been deliver'd by the reſt. This fellow did not perſonally know *Aſiaticus*; but being told, by thoſe who ſuborned him, that he was bald, he confidently pointed to another man, ſaying that was the perſon he had been long acquainted with, and who had communicated to him many treaſonable practices. Hereupon, the court fell a laughing, and *Claudius* ſeem'd much aſham'd of the accuſation. But the vile flatterer, *Vitellius*, would not let the innocent man eſcape. He was not ignorant how greedily *Meſſalina* thirſted after his blood, he therefore went immediately to *Claudius*, and telling him that *Aſſaticus* ſo feelingly ſorrow'd for his crimes, that he begged no other favour than to be allowed to die in the manner he ſhould himſelf chuſe, this falſhood work'd ſo upon *Claudius*, that without any farther enquiry, he put him to death.

Domitius Corbulo having given many proofs of his valour and diligence in ſettling the affairs of *Germany*; *Claudius* thinking he would quickly riſe to ſuch a power, as might dethrone him; was therefore induced to recal him out of the country. *Corbulo* obey'd his order, how unreaſonable ſoever it appear'd to him, and only expreſs'd his reſentment in the following words: *The generals of former ages were ſo far happy, that they could ſignalize themſelves in the field, without the leaſt danger of exciting jealouſy in others; but I am ſtopp'd by the emperor in the midſt of my ſucceſſes.* However, *Claudius* indulg'd him a triumph, and ſome time after, by the help of good friends, reſtored him to his former command.

In the interim, *Meſſalina*, whoſe life was one continu'd ſcene of filthineſs, begun to think that one huſband was not enough for a woman of her quality. Taking, therefore, the opportunity of *Claudius*'s abſence at *Oſtia*, ſhe married *Caius Silius*; and having the nuptial ceremony performed with the utmoſt magnificence, gave him a palace to live in, and declared him conſul. *Claudius*'s freed men, who had by this time arrived to a power equal to that of their miſtreſs, not being able to bear this ſcandalous indignity done to their maſter, and fearing too, that if they acquainted him with it her authority over him would incline him to believe it was a lie; they therefore pretended an order under his hand, and had her, together with her new huſband, and others, whoſe future ſpite they dreaded, privately put to death.

After this the ſtupid *Claudius* married the daughter of his own brother *Germanicus*; but in regard ſuch marriages were with excellent reaſon judged inceſtuous, even among the *Romans*, and, of conſequence, prohibited by their law; he ſuborned ſeveral of the ſenate to procure a decree, obliging him, as a thing highly conducive to the benefit of the ſtate, to take to wife *Agrippina*, his own neice. She had been formerly eſpouſed to *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus*, and bore him a ſon, whoſe name was *Domitius Nero*. *Pallas*, his freed man, had been very inſtrumental in bringing about this impious match, and, for this reaſon, *Agrippina* beſtow'd on his brother *Felix* the government of *Samaria*, and ſoon after made him, alſo, preſident of *Judæa*, *Galilee*, and *Peræa*; in which ſtation he behav'd like a tyrant, and, after ſeveral other great fortunes, married the princeſs *Druſilla*, ſiſter to king *Agrippa*.

Agrippina was no ſooner elevated to this imperial dignity, than ſhe imployed all her addreſs and ſkill to govern *Claudius*, dealing out at the ſame time her good offices, as well as terrors, in ſuch a due proportion, as made all his favourites truckle to her power. She next, by the ſubtil and ſly accuſations of *Vitellius*, who never made a pauſe at any thing that might promote his own intereſt, ſo worried *Claudius*, that he took his daughter *Octavia* from *Silanus* (a man of great birth and merit), to whom ſhe had formerly been contracted, and eſpouſed her to *Nero*, her own worthleſs ſon; and in a year after, ſhe trod under foot the common ſenſe, and natural affection of the man, in ſuch a diſingenous manner, that ſhe brought him to adopt *Nero* for his ſon and ſucceſſor, in prejudice to his own ſon *Britannicus*, who was but two years younger.

Agrippina having obtained this conqueſt over *Claudius*, ſet all her future care upon heaping up riches, abſtaining from no means, how infamous and wicked ſoever, to attain her ends. She would go all lengths in carreſſing rich men, in order to get their eſtates, and many of them, likewiſe, ſhe put to death, upon the ſame account. And ſhe deſtroyed ſeveral illuſtrious ladies of the empire, for no other cauſe, than jealouſy, which ſuggeſted to her that they had formerly been eſteem'd and valu'd by *Claudius*. Among theſe, was *Lallia Paulina* murder'd, becauſe ſhe well knew that *Claudius* would have given her the preference to her ſelf, had he been left to his own choice and judgment. She ſhew'd ſuch a virulent malice to *Paulina*, that ſhe could not be ſatisfied of her death, till the head was brought, and ſhe had opened the mouth, and known her by ſomething particular about her teeth. In ſhort, ſhe was not one grain better than the ſtrumpet *Meſſalina*.

Narciſſus, the freed man of *Claudius*, play'd at ſuch a rate upon the ſleepy temper of his maſter, that when the inhabitants of *Bithynia* gave in their complaint one day againſt the many injuries they had receiv'd from *Junius Cilo* their governor, and *Claudius*, who could not hear them diſtinctly for the noiſe of the croud; ask'd him what it was they had ſaid. *Narciſſus* made anſwer, *The* Bithynians *have all this while been praiſing the wiſe and upright adminiſtration of* Junius. *Have they ſo?* ſaid Claudius, *then let the man continue in his government for two years longer.* And *Agrippina* us'd often to ſit by his ſide, when he gave audience to ambaſſadors; which was look'd upon, by the *Romans*, as a moſt indecent and diſagreeable ſight.

Claudius fell one day into ſuch a violent ſurge of paſſion at an advocate, by name *Gallicus*, who pleaded a cauſe before him, that he inſtantly commanded him to be thrown into the *Tiber*. Hereupon, the party, who was thereby deprived of a defender, made an application to *Domitius Afer* (who was one of the moſt celebrated pleaders of the age), that he would undertake his cauſe. *How come you to know*, ſaid Afer, *that I ſhall be able to ſwim better than your former advocate?* This artful, but cutting reproof, not only brought *Claudius* to ſome ſenſe of ſhame, but diſabled him from acting the part of a judge for ſeveral days after.

In the fifty-ſixth year of our Lord (the fifty-third of the vulgar *Æra*) did *Claudius* baniſh out of *Rome* all the *Jews*, as well as *Chriſtians*. *Suetonius* tells us, the *Jews* were expelled the city, becauſe they made continual tumults at the ſolicitation of *Chreſtus*. This *Pagan* author underſtood our Saviour to be the head of a party among the *Jews*, that prompted them to mutiny and ſedition; but the true reaſon was, the *Jews* were perpetually at work in perſecuting and afflicting the *Chriſtians*, and from thence ſuch mobs and noiſes followed, as might (thought the timorous emperor) produce at laſt a dangerous ſedition. *Claudius*, therefore, by way of prevention, chaſed them out of *Rome*, and as the *Chriſtians* were at that time taken for a new ſect of the *Jews*, the *Romans* obliged them, alſo, to leave the city. However, they ſoon after obtained a permiſſion to return.

Cumanus being guilty of many violences in *Judæa*, *Numidius Quadratus*, governor of *Syria* condemned him, together with the tribune *Celer*, to go to *Rome*, and take their trial before the emperor. Hereupon, *Cumanus* was ſent into baniſhment, and *Celer* returned to *Jeruſalem*, in order to be firſt dragg'd through the city, and afterwards put to death.

After the depoſition of *Cumanus*, the *Jews*, according to their own deſire, had *Felix* for their governor, and *He govern'd this province*, ſays Tacitus, *with all the authority of a king, and the genius of a ſlave.* He daily exercis'd all manner of injuſtice and cruelty againſt the *Jews*, and fancied he had a ſufficient warrant for it, becauſe he was the brother of *Pallas*: Beſides, the country was at this time infeſted with many robbers and aſſaſſins. It was alſo (as our Saviour had long ago foretold), plagu'd with ſeducers and falſe prophets, who pretending to divine inſpiration, led the people into the deſarts, under a promiſe of making them ſee miracles, which ſhould convince them of the gracious protection of God. They flatter'd the multitude with the vain hopes of liberty, and carried their point ſo far, that they ſowed the ſpirit of diſcontent and revolt over all the country. And theſe evils had taken ſuch a root, that what remedies ſoever were made uſe of, did but ſuſpend them for a moment, in order to break out again with a renew'd force.

Claudius liberally rewarded and honoured all his freed men; *Felix* govern'd *Judæa*, and all its dependencies; *Poſidius*, the eunuch, had a rank among his general officers; *Polybius* was allow'd to walk with a conſul at each hand of him; *Pallas* was diſtinguiſh'd with all the ornaments that belong'd to the chief juſtices of *Rome*; and *Narciſſus* came to be ſo great a man, that he often called himſelf his maſter's maſter. Theſe two laſt-named freed men had acquired ſuch prodigious eſtates, that when *Claudius* lamented one day the poverty of his exchequer, anſwer was made him, *He might have money enough, if his two freed men would but take him in to be their partner.*

The emperor, who had exalted young *Agrippa* to the kingdom of *Chalcis*, took it from him in four years after, giving him in the room of it, the tetrachy, which had before appertained to *Philip*, the ſon of *Herod*; which tetrarchy being now changed into a kingdom, conſiſted of *Ituræa*, *Trachonitis*, and *Batanæa*. He likewiſe enlarged it with *Abilene*, that had formerly been poſſeſs'd by *Lyſanias*. And ſo *Agrippa* became a conſiderable gainer by the alteration.

Agrippina, to the end the neighbouring nations might alſo have a taſte of her great puiſſance and authority, eſtabliſhed a *Roman* colony in her own native town, among the *Ubii*, a people inhabiting the lower part of *Germany*, and call'd it *Colonia Agrippina*, after her own name. But it now bears the name of *Cologn*.

Plautius, on his coming to *Rome*, had ſent *Oſtorius* into *Britain*, to govern the conquered parts for him in his abſence; but the *Britons* fancying him to be a man of no ſkill in military affairs, deſpis'd him, and therefore made an irruption from all hands upon the allies, as well as the ſubjects of *Rome*. *Oſtorious*, where-ever he march'd proſper'd, and diſarm'd 'em; he then turn'd his arms againſt the *Iceni*, who inhabited *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Huntingtonſhire*, and *Cambridgeſhire*; and, after a long and obſtinate battle, entirely defeated them. The conqueſt of this people, who were reckoned a bold and brave nation, ſtruck ſuch a terror into the adjoining principalities, that they voluntarily ſubmitted to the conqueror.

Having next quieted an inſurrection among the *Brigantes*, or *Yorkſhire* men, and put to death the principal authors of the mutiny, he led his forces againſt the *Silures*, or people of *South-Wales*. He had tried all methods to bring the *Silures* into a willing obedience to the empire of *Rome*, but they truſting to the ſtrength and faſtneſs of their country, and relying much on the conduct and valour of *Caractacus* (who was a prince of great power among them), with indignation rejected all his propoſals.

Caractacus judging that the country of the *Ordovices*, or *North-Wales*, would, by reaſon of its mountainous and rocky ſituation, afford the moſt proper ſcene for continuing the war, and defending themſelves againſt the *Romans*, he therefore conducted his army thither, and prepared for a vigorous reſiſtance. *Oſtorius* follow'd him, and finding that abundance of his men were loſt by ambuſcades and little ſkirmiſhes, he made an eſſay to draw them into a general battle.

On the day of the engagement, *Caractacus* made a moſt pathetick oration to his ſoldiers, reminding them of the invincible worth of their anceſtors, who had put a ſtop to the victorius arms of *Julius Cæſar* himſelf, and exhorting them to fight it out like men, who now muſt either aſſert themſelves into liberty, or fall into perpetual bondage. The battle was a long time gallantly maintain'd on both ſides, but the *Romans* being much ſuperior to them in the art of war, obtain'd here a compleat victory. Many were made priſoners, and, among the reſt, the wife and daughter of *Caractacus*, together with the greater part of his relations.

Caractacus, with a few brave men, broke through the *Roman* army, and from thence going into the territories of the *Brigantes*, ſought a protection from *Cartiſmunda*, their queen. But ſhe, inſtead of giving him the ſafe retreat ſhe had promiſed, treacherouſly delivered him up to the *Romans*, who ſoon after ſent him with other priſoners to *Rome*.

This ſucceſsful expedition of *Oſtorius* procur'd him from *Claudius* and the ſenate the honour of a triumph. The ſenate highly applauded his behaviour, putting his merit upon a level with thoſe other *Romans* who had formerly exhibited captive kings to the ſight of the people. Accordingly, *Oſtorius* entered the city, in triumph, preceded by all the priſoners who had been taken by him in the war.

When the fetter'd captives reach'd the place, where *Claudius* and his wife *Agrippina* were ſeated in high and magnificent thrones, none of them ſhew'd a brave and intrepid ſpirit, *Caractacus* only excepted, who addreſs'd the emperor in theſe words: 'If in the day of my proſperity I had kept a moderation equal in greatneſs to my birth and fortune, I ſhould now have been receiv'd as a friend, and not brought hither like a captive: Nor would it have added any tarniſh to the *Roman* glory, had they given honourable articles of peace to a prince, who rightfully claim'd an illuſtrious deſcent, and ruled over many nations. This traverſe of ſtate is at once an eminent addition to the *Roman* name, and an everlaſting memorial of my diſhonour. I have lately abounded in all things that could make a man great and formidable; and is it any matter of wonder, that force has deprived me of them all? If the *Romans* will not be ſatisfied without extending a dominion over all mankind, then of neceſſity all the world muſt obey them. Had I not for ſome time cut out work for the *Romans* to ſignalize their courage in, but inſtantly ſurrendered my ſelf to them, neither would your fame, nor my adverſity, have been thought conſpicious, and the memory of both muſt have ended with my puniſhment. But if you think fit to ſave me alive, my ſtory will be a perpetual inſtance of your grace and clemency.'

Claudius gave an immediate order to knock off his fetters, and not only pardoned him, but all his relations.

In the mean time the *Britons*, who greatly reſented the captivity of *Caractacus*, roſe up in arms again, and ſo dexterouſly managed their affairs, that in ſeveral encounters they had the better of the *Romans*, killing numbers of them and making many priſoners; which brought ſuch a diſcredit upon *Oſtorius*'s former atchievements, that he ſicken'd upon it, broke his heart and died. After this, *Claudius* ſent *Didius* into *Britain*, who found no hard matter to reduce them, in regard they had before weakened themſelves by their treacherous inteſtine diviſions.

In the thirteenth year of the reign of *Claudius*, a ſow having farrowed a pig that had the talons of a hawk, the people were much aſtoniſhed at ſo ſtrange an accident: They knew it preſag'd ſomething, but what, they could not tell. However, a few years convinced them; it had portended the rapacious and bloody government of *Nero*, which ſoon after ſucceded. The emperor being in his cups over-heard to ſay, 'that it was his fate to tolerate and then puniſh the wickedneſs of his wives,' and, alſo expreſs a very great concern that he had appointed *Nero* to ſucceed him, to the detriment of his own ſon; *Agrippina* henceforward gave herſelf no reſt till ſhe had concerted and accompliſhed his death. *Claudius* had often ask'd her to let him ſee *Britannicus*, his ſon, but ſhe always found ways to elude his requeſt. And this treatment making him impatient to leſſen her power, as well as to do juſtice to his own ſon, was like a freſh ſpur in her breaſt, who underſtood his meaning, ſpiriting her on to compleat his ruin.

Agrippina had determined with her ſelf to conclude his life by ſome poiſon; but as a murderer is always a coward, fear ſuggeſted to her the many dreadful conſequences that might ariſe from a defeated purpoſe; ſhe therefore remained for a while in great anxiety and doubt, how to come by a poiſon that would not diſappoint her aim. As *Claudius* was a great drinker, ſhe fooliſhly thought neither a ſmall matter, nor a common one, could have any effect upon him: But having, at laſt, overcome all her ſuſpicions, and ſettled on a powder that *Locuſta*, a woman famous in the horrid buſineſs of poiſoning, had given her; ſhe wrapp'd it up within the faireſt and largeſt muſhroom ſhe could find, and returning it into the plate, where other muſhrooms were, ſat her ſelf down in expectation of the event.

Claudius no ſooner came to table, but he ſpoke his joy at the ſight of the muſhrooms, which were his conſtant and moſt delightful diſh: And as he generally laid in ſuch provender as moſt pleas'd his eye, the muſhroom that his curſed wife had ſtuck the poiſon in, was the firſt he took up and eat. Having taken care to ply him before with a ſufficient quantity of liquor, ſhe had him immediately carried away from the table, under a plauſible diſguiſe that he had drank too much. The flagitious woman dreaded that the poiſon would ſoon diſcover it ſelf in ſuch a manner as might lay her open to his attendants; and therefore ſhe huddled him out of ſight, to prevent all danger. The poiſon forthwith threw him into extreme agonies, deprived him, the ſame night, of his voice and hearing, and murder'd him by next day, after he had lived ſixty-three years, eight months, and twenty days, and reign'd fourteen years, all but three months and eleven days.

Agrippina being ſenſible that ſhe could not have executed this impious job, had *Narciſſus* been in the way, got him wheedled out of town the day before, on a fond pretext of conſulting his health, and there had him murder'd in a few hours after his maſter. *Narciſſus* was the moſt powerful ſubject, as well as the richeſt, of the age he lived in. Foreign kings and ſtates courted his alliance, and enter'd into firm confederacies with him: And, in wealth, he poſſeſs'd above an hundred millions of drams. As he was the depoſitary of all the emperor's ſecrets, he, before his death, burnt all the memoirs and papers that he had in his cuſtody, for fear they ſhould afterwards be made uſe of, to take away the lives of others; which was ſuch an heroick act, as gave a demonſtration that however he drew his birth from a ſtate of ſervitude, yet he had not the ſoul of a ſlave.

Claudius was a man by no means fit for the great dignity he ſo long enjoy'd, nor, indeed, for any other buſineſs of life. He always continued ſo much the property of others, that it cannot be ſaid he ever belong'd to himſelf above three days together in his whole life. His wives and domeſticks found it an eaſy matter to make him believe any thing; and from thence it happen'd, that within a ſhort ſpace, and without any known cauſe given, he put to death thirty-five ſenators, and three hundred knights. They had no more to do but fuddle him, then lay before him a tale of danger, and he would ſet his hand to the moſt ridiculous or bloody demand they could make, being in his drink ſuch a ſtupid brute, that he actually ſign'd the marriage-contract between his wife *Meſſalina* and her adulterer *Caius Silius*.

He underſtood letters, and could, when ſober, both ſpeak and write elegantly; but as that ſeldom happened, and an extreme dulneſs and want of underſtanding, as well as memory, appear'd in him at all other ſeaſons; he had all along paſs'd for an incorrigible blockhead. I, indeed, believe, his unparallell'd cowardice made him firſt take to exceſſive drinking, as a means to ſupport him under the terrible apprehenſion, that ſeem'd always to threaten him, with being one day put to death by *Tiberius*, and afterwards by *Caligula*. However that be, it is yet certain, he had never lived to have reached the monarchy, if *Caligula*, as well as *Tiberius*, had not thought him an object of contempt, much below their notice.

Nero, *A.D.* 57. *vulg. Æra* 54.

Domitius, the father of *Nero*, had long before given the people an item of what they had to expect from the government of his ſon. *It is impoſſible*, ſaid he, *that a child deſcended of* Agrippina *and me ſhould ever be an honeſt man, or be born to any thing but the deſtruction of the republick.*

Agrippina conceal'd the death of *Claudius* till ſuch time as ſhe had ſecur'd the empire for her ſon. Then *Nero*, who was but ſeventeen years of age, conducted by *Burrhus*, captain of the guard, went to the camp; and reading to the ſoldiers an oration, which his tutor, *Seneca*, had provided for him, wherein the ſame largeſſes were promiſed that *Claudius* had formerly made them on his acceſſion to the throne, he at once diſſipated all their ſcruples, and was ſaluted emperor. Some of the ſoldiers had before called out for *Britannicus*, to whom, by right, the crown belonged; but the laſt awakening clauſe was no ſooner mentioned, than they dropp'd him, and acquieſced in *Nero*. And next day going to the ſenate, he there read another diſcourſe, compoſed, alſo, by *Seneca*, which gave ſuch a general ſatisfaction, that they not only confirmed his title, but ordained, his ſpeech ſhould be engraved upon a pillar of ſilver, and annually rehearſed, on the day that the conſuls entered upon their office. It being (they thought) a perfect model of a wiſe and equitable adminiſtration, they therefore would have it thus preſerved, that it might continually meet the eyes of the prince.

Nero being but three years of age at the death of his father, was, through the fraud of *Caligula* (who poſſeſs'd himſelf of his whole fortune), reduc'd to a ſtate next door to poverty and want. His aunt, *Lepida*, took him home (for his mother *Agrippina* had been ſent into baniſhment), and beſtowed upon him ſuch an education as her low and narrow circumſtances could admit. A barber and a dancer were his ſole tutors till the death of *Caligula*, and they gave ſuch a wrong bias to his inclination, as ſtuck by him for the remainder of his life. Nor did the famous *Seneca*, who was appointed governor to him about the eleventh year of his age, endeavour to mend the matter.

The mother, *Agrippina*, had taken care to keep him a ſtranger to philoſophy, for this reaſon, that it would but fill his head with notions inconſiſtent with the art of government; and *Seneca*, out of a ſelfiſh principle, had not ſo much as let him dip his pitcher in the fountains of eloquence. He conſidered, that an inability to ſet down his thoughts handſomely in writing, would always make himſelf neceſſary to the emperor, and therefore he ſuffer'd him to run headlong into any little purſuit, that uncultivated nature could of it ſelf acquire.

Nothing could differ more from *Seneca* abroad, than *Seneca* at home; and few *Heathens* write better, or practiſe worſe. He inveigh'd againſt luxury, at the ſame time that he privately wallow'd in the repaſts of an epicure; delighting in all manner of profuſion and magnificence that could either pleaſe the eye or the belly. No one ever handled thoſe that follow the court in a more liberal vein of raillery, and yet took greater pains to keep a firm ſeat there, than himſelf. Whilſt he inceſſantly threw contempt upon flatterers, he was himſelf a ſycophant; writing panegyricks upon freed men, and the other favourites of the court. No *Heathen* could ſpeak or write more beautifully againſt an immoderate love of riches, nor with greater diligence ſtretch out both his hands to get them. In ſhort, the virtue of *Seneca*, as well as the greater part of the *Heathens*, was no more than an outward appearance; a bait hung out to catch eſteem. The applauſe of the world could not otherwiſe be gain'd, but by an illuſtrious form of ſanctity of manners; they therefore watch'd all opportunities that might recommend them to the publick, appearing every where in maſquerade, except in their own houſes.

The truth is, where there is no faith, morality can never riſe from diſintereſted and glorious motives; fame alone being the ſpring of action, and outward acts a ſuperficial daubing to impoſe upon the ſight. Faith and morality are inſeperable companions here upon earth, it being impoſſible to meet the one in life and vigour, without the other. Faith is the head, morality the body; take away one, and, to all purpoſes, preſent, as well as future, you deſtroy both.

Nero enter'd upon his reign with an oſtentation of piety; he gave *Claudius* a moſt honourable and ſumptuous funeral, and, delivering an oration in his praiſe, had him conſecrated into a rank with the *Heathen* gods. He at firſt permitted his mother to manage all affairs, publick as well as private; ſhe gave audience to ambaſſadors, and writ all the diſpatches that were forwarded either to the tributary kings or provinces. In the mean time, he himſelf declar'd, that the example of *Auguſtus* ſhould always be the meaſure of his government; and to the end he might let his people ſee that he was in earneſt, he gave all poſſible teſtimonies of a munificent, merciful, and gentle nature. Heavy impoſitions were either quite aboliſhed, or ſo moderated, as to bring no inconveniency upon the ſubjects.

The emperor being one day importuned to ſign a dead warrant for the execution of a malefactor, made anſwer, in a ſeeming touch of compaſſion, *Oh how great would my ſatisfaction be, if I did not underſtand letters!* Such ſenators as had fallen into a ſtate of poverty, were generouſly reliev'd, out of his own pocket. When the ſenate came one day in a body to return him thanks; *Stop,* ſaid he, *till I ſhall have deſerved them.* there was not a man of any note in *Rome*, whom he did not know, or could not ſalute by name. All his aim and purpoſe ſeem'd to conſiſt in adminiſtering delight, and doing good offices to the people; he gave each of them four hundred pieces of money, and to his life-guards corn every month.

His two miniſters of greateſt power about him, were *Seneca*, and *Afranius Burrhus*; the former eminent in eloquence and politeneſs, and the latter for war, and ſeverity of manners. They had both of them a continual ſtruggle to reſtrain the cruel and furious motions of *Agrippina*, whoſe prime miniſter and director was the freed man *Pallas*, who had adviſed *Claudius* to an inceſtuous marriage, and fatal adoption.

At this time appear'd in *Judæa* a falſe prophet, who had, by enchantments and other deluſory vanities, drawn together a body of thirty thouſand men. Among theſe, were four thouſand harden'd aſſaſſins, who would give out at no villainy, that might protect the impoſtor. *He would lead them,* he ſaid, *to the mount of olives, and, with one word of his mouth, overthrow the walls of* Jeruſalem, *then enter the city, expel the* Roman *garriſon, and re-ſettle the liberties of the people.* But *Felix* prevented his intentions, and, giving him battle, killed four hundred of his men upon the ſpot, took two hundred priſoners, and put the reſt to flight. The impoſtor, who was a *Jew*, born in *Ægypt*, made his eſcape, which gave an occaſion to the commander of the *Roman* troops to demand afterwards, of St. *Paul*, whether he was not the above *Ægyptian*.

As in a body over-run with the king's evil, one ſore (commonly) is no ſooner healed up than another breaks out; ſo it fell out now in *Judæa*, one tumult never ceas'd till a ſecond was ready to begin. The whole country was over-ſpread with thieves, robbers, falſe-prophets, aſſaſſins, and magicians; and theſe were every where at work in rouzing up the *Jews* to a rebellion againſt the *Romans*. Thoſe that would not hearken to their propoſals, and had any thing to loſe, were ſure to be ſtripp'd of all they poſſeſs'd, and treated with outrage and violence. Under a pretext of liberty, they murder'd the rich, pillag'd their goods, burnt villages, and committed all ſorts of inhumanity that mad rage could ſuggeſt.

Burrhus and *Seneca* taking it in ill part that the adminiſtration ſhould entirely reſt upon *Agrippina*, but principally reſenting their own excluſion from affairs of ſtate; laid now their heads together to out her of all power and authority. They repreſented to *Nero* how treacherouſly ſhe had put *Narciſſus*, and *Silanus*, proconſul of *Aſia*, to death, and how unbecoming it was to ſee a woman give audience to ambaſſadors in his preſence: They therefore begg'd him to act the part of a man, and aſſume the government into his own hands. *Nero*, whoſe brain was by no means turned for buſineſs of a ſerious nature, and whom they indulged in all manner of looſe gratifications, was at laſt brought to humour their requeſt, devolving all the burden upon them. And, to their honour, it muſt be ſaid, that while they

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continued at the helm, neither the ſtate, nor private perſons, had any reaſon to complain.

A conjurer having, in the infancy of *Nero*, told *Agrippina* that her ſon would ſucceed to the empire, and then murder her; ſuch was her mad ambition, that, in a tranſport of pleaſure, ſhe broke out into theſe words: *Let him kill me, ſo he but reign.* But now ſeeing her ſelf neglected and contemn'd by him, ſhe ſorrowfully wiſh'd ſhe had never ſpoke the words; and what added to her pain, was, the thought that the freed woman, *Acte*, had eclipſed her command, even within the palace it ſelf.

This *Acte* had been a ſlave brought out of *Aſia*, but, for all that, appear'd ſo charming in the eyes of *Nero*, that he only not ſuborned a few ſenators to ſwear ſhe was deſcended of the royal family of *Attalus*, but would, alſo, have married her, and divorced his own wife *Octavia*, had he not been afraid of the general diſſatisfaction of the people.

Agrippina being unable to ſit patiently under this diminution of her credit, made bitter remonſtrances to *Nero*, reproaching him as well as her ſelf with her marriage, incantations, and ſorceries; and concluding, that as it had been in her power to raiſe him to the throne, ſo ſhe would quickly let him ſee that ſhe could pull him down, and advance *Britannicus*, the rightful heir, in his room. Upon this, *Nero*, in a terrible fright, ſent for *Locuſta*, and bid her inſtantly prepare him a poiſon that might be certain in its effect. She, accordingly, gave him one, but it happening to work off upon *Britannicus* in a looſeneſs, he, in a great rage, fell upon *Locuſta*, and beat her within an inch of her life. *I demanded a poiſon*, cried he, *and you have brought a ſafe medicine.* He then ſtood by her till ſhe had boil'd up a ſtuff, which he tried upon a kid, and finding that it would not prove deadly in leſs ſpace than five hours, he made her add a greater quantity, and boil it up longer. After this, he experimented it upon a pig, which it diſpatch'd immediately. And having thus furniſh'd his helliſh mind with an effectual weapon, he caus'd it, the ſame night, to be exhibited to *Britannicus*, whilſt he ſat at ſupper with him.

Britannicus had no ſooner taſted it, than he fell down dead. The poor young gentleman had been frequently troubled with the falling-ſickneſs, and therefore *Nero* thought to lay this perfidious accident upon the ſame cauſe. The dead body changing forthwith into a livid colour, he order'd it to be ſmear'd over with plaiſter; but a violent flow of rain having next day (whilſt they were hurrying on the funeral) waſh'd off the plaiſter, gave the *Romans* an opportunity to be, with their eyes, convinced of a crime in *Nero* that had before reach'd their ears.

Nero had, from his earlieſt taſte of ſupreme authority, addicted himſelf to wine and pretty women; but when he found that no perſon took the liberty to reprimand his irregularities, and matters of ſtate were, notwithſtanding, directed proſperouſly, he concluded, he was engaged in ſuch a purſuit as deſerved praiſe, and therefore had no farther thought remaining than to give ſenſual appetite a full and uncontrolled ſwing.

Seneca and *Burrhus*, though men otherwiſe of great abilities, yet were fools enough to think that *Nero*'s ſoftneſs and effeminacy would neither hurt the ſtate, nor be attended with any ill conſequences to himſelf: As if a bad example in a prince did not diſſeminate corruption through a whole people, or a young debauchee would infallibly grow afterwards tired of vice, and embrace virtue. The prevailing influence of a wicked prince, is too evident to be inſiſted on, and for one inſtance of a reformed rake, every man's experience may ſupply him with a liſt of twenty that have died in their ſins. Vice, for the moſt part, gathers ſtrength from age; and though the organs of the body are often ſoon incapacitated from keeping pace with the mind, yet that does by no means hinder it from ſurviving in this. He that would gain a thorough conqueſt over his depraved appetites, muſt begin betimes, and he will quickly meet with ſucceſs. It is but going into a temperate regimen for a week or two, and the work is compleated: And however ſevere it may at firſt appear, it will yet be, in a ſhort while, ſucceeded by ſuch a ſeries of uninterrupted health and joy, as can no where elſe be found but in the practice of virtue. But vice, clothed with years, and of conſequence, warp'd in the conſtitution, is rebellious and ſtubborn, and as frequently laughs at medicine, as does an inveterate diſeaſe.

When the diſſolute bias had once got an abſolute poſſeſſion of *Nero*, however he might outwardly endeavour to cant and diſſemble, yet he was all of a piece within, and at home, the wiſe and prudent conduct of *Seneca* and *Burrhus* ſeem'd like a trumpet ſounding in his ears his own want of underſtanding. It was an open acknowledgment, he thought, of his imperial incapacity, to be guided either by his mother, or them; and in this ſentiment he was ſupported and confirm'd by thoſe who were the daily companions of his increaſing debauches. He ſoon arrived to a contempt of all modeſty and decent regard, came to an opinion that nothing was ſo ſhameful as an obligation ariſing from advice, and therefore rejecting every thing elſe, he reſolved with himſelf to follow only the pattern of *Caligula*.

The liberality of *Caligula* was the firſt point he thought proper to begin with, and, accordingly, having one day ordered two hundred and fifty thouſand drams to be given to *Doriphorus*, who kept the publick records of the empire, and being quick-ſighted enough to ſmell out the deſign of his mother in making it be counted out before his face; he immediately ſaid, *I have been miſtaken; I apprehended I had made the man a valuable, preſent, but ſince it is not ſo, let an equivalent ſum, to this already counted, be forthwith told out, and added to it; than give the man notice, that he may come, and receive it.*

The height of *Nero*'s ambition lay in ſuch things as did not exceed the taſte and capacity of the meaneſt of the people. The ſhows and diverſions exhibited in the *Circus*, or place of publick exerciſes, run away with his whole attention, and ſo fill'd his head, that it was with pain he reflected upon any thing elſe. Nothing could eſcape his notice that had merited applauſe at theſe performances. The very horſes, which had diſtinguiſhed themſelves, and often carried the day, were not left unrewarded, but met with particular marks of his eſteem. When they came to be diſabled, by accidents, or age, from giving any farther entertainment to the ſpectators, he loaded them with the ſame teſtimonies of honour that were of uſe to be conferr'd upon the men who had reported the victory, and alſo ſettled upon them annual penſions for their more comfortable ſubſiſtence.

After this, he would of a night put on a ſlave's habit, and, attended with a company of rogues, as wicked as himſelf, run about the city, violating the honour of both women and boys, and, robbing the paſſengers, wound many of them, and kill others. In theſe mad exceſſes he vainly fancied no body knew him, and therefore gave a full ſcope to his inclination, which naturally led him to all ſorts of wickedneſs, cruelty, and murder. But it was not poſſible for him to deceive the eyes of the multitude, in regard his execrable deeds, which no other perſon durſt, or could have attempted with impunity, as well as his numerous retinue, gave them a fatal conviction that he alone was the author of theſe enormities.

In theſe midnight revels, no one could promiſe himſelf ſafety, even within his own houſe; for the tyrant and his gang no more ſpar'd gentlemen's houſes, than they did thoſe of an inferior rank. They carried inſtruments along with them, by the help of which they made a forcible entrance into any houſe they pleaſed, and then omitted no manner of outrage, or violence, that might recommend them to *Nero*, their head: For he that ſhew'd the greateſt genius for miſchief, was always ſure to be particularly favour'd by *Nero*.

Among other abuſes of this low and ſcandalous nature, the monſter one evening broke into the houſe of *Julius Montanus*, a *Roman* ſenator, and there throwing down the gentleman's wife, violently endeavour'd to raviſh her; which ſo provok'd the ſenator, that, contemning all notions of danger, he flew upon *Nero*, and gave him ſuch a warm reception, as oblig'd him for ſome days after to conceal himſelf within his own palace, for fear the marks of it ſhould diſcover him to the world. *Nero* thought he had ſufficiently injured the man to deſerve all the blows he had given him, and therefore wanted to paſs over the accident without any future reſentment: But when *Mentanus*, in a few days after, ſent him a letter, wherein he imprudently begg'd pardon for the inſult he had done him, *Nero* was then pleas'd to ſay, *Is it poſſible that a man, who has had the impudence to beat the emperor, ſhould be ſo inſenſible of ſhame, as to live ſo long without killing himſelf?*

The death of *Germanicus* had ſtruck *Agrippa* with a very great concern, not out of any regard ſhe bore to him, but from a real value to her ſelf, whoſe meaſures came thereby to be woſully defeated. She deſigned to have made him her tool to undo *Nero*, and her ſpleen and extravagant ambition was ſuch, as would refuſe no method that might accompliſh it. *Nero* had offended beyond her patience, having not only deprived her of her guards, but reduced her to the circumſtances of a private gentlewoman. And from thence it follow'd, that ſhe met with little or no reſpect at *Rome*. Thoſe that ſaw her in any of the ſtreets, would either endeavour to avoid her, or, if they could not, would yet paſs her without any compliment, or ſign of reſpect.

Theſe diſſatisfactions ſo worked in her brain, that ſhe entered into private articles with *Rubellius Plautus*, who was a perſon as nearly related to *Auguſtus* as *Nero* himſelf, whereby ſhe not only promiſed him marriage, but the ſovereignty it ſelf. But as theſe things were not ſo cloſely concerted as to be kept back from *Nero*'s ear, they threw him into ſuch a paſſion, that had he not been detain'd by the friendly admonitions of *Burrhus*, he would that moment have ſacrific'd his mother. *Agrippina* ſtoutly denied the whole ſtory, and *Nero* ſeeming to believe her, admitted her again into a ſmall ſhare of his friendſhip.

In the mean time, nothing had paſſed in *Jeruſalem* but ſedition and mutiny, to which the frequent changes in the high-prieſthood contributed not a little. The *Levites* had an indiſputable right to levy the tenths, and out of theſe they afterwards gave the tenth part to the prieſts, who divided it among themſelves, according to their reſpective dignities. Thoſe who had formerly enjoy'd the high-prieſthood, and been depoſed, thought they had, notwithſtanding, as good a claim to the ſame proportion now, as when they continued in office, and therefore they would not abate an inch of what had before been their due. But in regard they could not make the ordinary prieſts fall in willingly with this unjuſt demand, each of 'em kept in pay a number of arm'd men, in order to ſuperadd ſome weight to their pretenſions. And thus violently breaking into the barns of ſuch prieſts as oppoſed them, they collected the tenth part after the manner that might beſt ſuit with their own profit. Theſe unlawful means were often ſeconded by blows, and *Jeruſalem* looked like a city that had neither policy nor magiſtrates.

Whilſt St. *Paul* remained a priſoner at *Cæſarea*, a great diviſion happened between the *Jews* and the *Syrian* idolaters, that inhabited the town. *Herod*, who founded the city, had there built temples, and erected ſtatues, in conformity to *Pagan* uſages, and peopled it with *Syrians*, as well as *Jews*. The contention was, which of them ſhould have the prior right to government. The *Jews* had the pre-eminence both in ſtrength and riches, but the *Roman* garriſon, which commanded there, being, for the greater part, compos'd of *Syrian* and *Samaritan* ſoldiers, took part with the *Syrians*. Theſe diſputes were often attended with bloody conſequences, and therefore kept the commanding officer upon continual duty to preſerve the peace.

An engagement ſoon after ſucceeded between them, wherein the *Jews* had the better of the day; many of their adverſaries being either kill'd or wounded. Hereupon, *Felix* marched with all his forces to put an end to the combat. He firſt tried fair means, but finding them ineffectual, he next fell upon the *Jews*, and ſlaying a great number of them, made the reſt take to their heels. Upon this, the ſoldiers run a pludering and rifling the houſes, till *Felix* caled them off, at the ſollicitation of the *Jews*, who had humbled themſelves, and implored mercy.

Felix ſeeing no way to terminate theſe differences, aſſembled the principal men of both parties, and ordering them to go to *Rome*, commanded them to ſubmit the matter to the deciſion of *Nero*. They accordingly went; but the *Syrians*, who had before taken care to lay in a ſufficient ſtock of golden arguments, which were put into the hands of *Beryllus*, *Nero*'s ſecretary, gain'd the cauſe. *Nero* adjudg'd the *Jews* to a forfeiture of all the privileges of the city, and inveſted the *Syrians* with the ſole honour of magiſtracy; which wiſe ſentence of *Nero* ſo irritated the *Jews* of *Cæſarea*, that from thenceforward they diſcontinu'd not their ſeditious practices, till their nation with one mind fir'd into a general revolt.

Felix being, in a little while after, recalled from his government, *Feſtus* was ſent thither to officiate in his room. Whereupon, the *Jews* ſent an embaſſy to *Rome*, with a commiſſion to accuſe *Felix* of the many injuries, and acts of injuſtice, he had heaped upon their nation. But their deſign came to nothing, by reaſon *Pallas*, the brother of *Felix*, had ſtill intereſt enough at court to baffle and elude their meaſures.

Whilſt theſe things were a doing, *Nero*, who had ſet himſelf *Caligula* for a pattern, was hard at work to make the copy exceed the original. He delighted in all ſorts of profuſion, and abſtained from no means, how unjuſt ſoever, that could ſupply his expence. He had quite exhauſted and run out the publick treaſure, new taxes were, therefore, impoſed, many rich perſons diſpoſſeſs'd of their eſtates, and others put to death for the ſame reaſon.

As *Nero* placed all his ſatisfaction in little diverſions, no day paſs'd without ſome exerciſes of that nature. One day exhibited a combat were men on horſeback encounter'd with bulls; and a ſecond brought upon the ſtage *Nero*'s horſe-guards, who engag'd, and with their arrows, kill'd four hundred bears, and three hundred lions: After which, thirty *Roman* knights throwing off all conſideration of decency and their own character, ſucceeded, and fought it out like common gladiators. At another time, he would fill the empty ſpace of the theatre with ſea water, where might be ſeen fiſhes and other animals ſwimming, and then entertain the ſpectators with a naval combat. This done, and the ſalt water being let out again, there would ſeveral duels follow, and ſkirmiſhes of troop againſt troop: And, laſt of all, he introduced a trial of eloquence, which ended in the condemnation of many perſons, ſome of whom were ſent into exile, and others ſentenc'd to death.

Among all the wicked favourites of *Nero*, there was none that in ſimilitude of manners approached nearer to him than *Otho*, who thereby preſuming on a greater freedom than others could ſafely take, told him one day; 'I am ſo very like you, that I cannot help thinking you will live to ſee me advanced to the empire.' *Nero* only ſmil'd, and ſaid, 'I ſhall never ſee thee raiſed, even to the dignity of the conſulſhip.' He was ſo paſſionately fond of this *Otho*, that to humour him he violently forced *Sabina*, a lady of quality to renounce her huſband, and give herſelf in marriage to him. By this means, *Otho* got a wife, and *Nero* a ſtrumpet; for ſhe was a common property to the maſter, as well as the man.

In the mean time, the eaſt was involved in great commotion; the *Parthians* had invaded *Armenia*, and expell'd *Rhadamiſtus*, nephew to *Mithridates*, whom *Claudius* had exalted to the throne. Hereupon, *Nero* appointed *Corbulo* commander of all the forces that were to march againſt them. *Corbulo* was a man of an ancient family, and who merited, from a regular and temperate way of life, as well as his great ſkill and fortitude in the field, to be elevated into a place among the nobleſt of the *Romans*. He had all along recommended himſelf to the world by an inviolable regard to juſtice and all his promiſes, having never once fail'd in either point, even to ſtrangers and enemies.

This great character could even penetrate the heart of the brute *Nero*, and make him lodge his difficulties in the breaſt of a man whoſe integrity was ſuch, that he well knew he would ſooner die than betray him. Though *Nero* hated virtue, yet he had ſenſe enough to underſtand there was no one whom he could ſafely truſt, who was not a ſincere lover of it. He therefore conferr'd upon *Corbulo* the chief direction of his army, with a power more abſolute than he had ever beſtow'd upon any general before. Nor entertain'd he the leaſt ſuſpicion but *Corbulo* would at once reduce his enemies, and continue firm to his own intereſt. And herein he was not deceived, for *Corbulo* could not in any degree be moved to renounce the fidelity he had once promiſed to *Nero*, notwithſtanding the many repeated inſtances and vows the *Romans* made, to ſtand by him with their lives and fortunes, and raiſe him to the empire in his ſtead.

Corbulo, in this enterprize, found it a greater hardſhip to bring his ſoldiers to diſcipline and temperance, than to deal with the enemy. They had, under former generals, been enervated with indulgence and idleneſs; his firſt buſineſs, therefore, was, to regulate their manners, and whom he found irreclaimable, he caſhier'd. And having thus reform'd his troops, he no ſooner begun his march, than the terror of his name ſtruck an inconceivable dread into *Vologeſes*, king of *Parthia*, as well as his ſon *Tiridates*, king of *Armenia*.

On his arrival in *Armenia*, he immediately ſought out the enemy, gave them battel, and put them to flight. Hereupon, *Corbulo* diſpatch'd a meſſenger to *Nero* with an account of his ſucceſs, which induced the ſenate to ſalute him with the name of emperor, and flatter him with as many honours as they could have made him had he obtained the victory himſelf. *Corbulo* proſpering and taking in all the ſtrong places wherever he marched, ſo diſpirited *Artaxata*, the metropolis of the country, that when he ſat down before it, the inhabitants ſurrender'd at the firſt ſummons. But in regard it was ſuch a prodigious large city, as could not be retained in obedience without a vaſt number of forces, which would have conſiderably weaken'd his own army; he ſet fire to it, and burnt it to the ground: Then leading his victorious troops to *Tigranocerta*, which yielding to him, and ſpreading his conqueſts over all the country, he placed *Tigranes*, the grandſon of *Archelaus*, king of *Cappadocia*, upon the throne; and leaving a ſelect body of men to ſecure *Tigranes* in the poſſeſſion of the kingdom, he returned with the reſt into *Syria*, of which province *Nero* had a little while before made him governor in the room of *Vinidius*.

Whilſt matters were thus fortunately going on in the eaſt, the rupture between *Nero* and his mother had proceeded to ſuch an impious length, that he not only expelled her the palace, and diſtreſs'd and affronted her himſelf, but made others vex and torment her with lawſuits, and all poſſible unworthy treatment. On the other hand, *Agrippina* ceaſed not to diſcharge her reſentment, till ſhe had thrown him (who was at bottom a ſhameleſs coward) into ſuch a fright, as made him believe ſhe would one day undo him, if he did not put her to death. And in this horrid intention he was abetted by *Sabina*, who could have no proſpect of marrying him, whilſt his mother continued alive.

Nero had thrice eſſay'd to deſtroy his mother by poiſon, but without any pernicious effect; for *Agrippina* fearing the worſt, kept continually upon the guard, and alſo fortified her ſelf with antidotes. He next laid a plot to contrive a beam of the houſe ſo that it might with eaſe be looſen'd, let fall down and kill her, as ſhe ſlept in her bed. But this project, too, miſcarried, becauſe ſome of his accomplices, ſhock'd at the horror of the crime, diſcover'd the villain's deſign to his mother. He trembled to go about this parricide in an open and bare-fac'd manner; he therefore bent all his thoughts to find out an expedient that might make an unnatural murder paſs, in the eyes of the world, for an accident.

Theſe helliſh muſings having for ſome time perplexed his brain, he at laſt ſaw a veſſel at one of the ſhows which opened of itſelf to let out the beaſts, and then ſhut again: An artifice of the ſame nature, he thought, would effectually do the buſineſs. A ſhip was accordingly built in imitation of it; this done, he went to *Bauli*, a town of *Campania* in *Italy*, and from thence ſending a ſplendid embaſſy to his mother, earneſtly begg'd her to come and ſee him.

On *Agripina*'s arrival, he treated her for ſeveral days, with the utmoſt magnificence, omitting no teſtimony of filial affection and tenderneſs. If ſhe happened to be out of his ſight but for a moment, he ſeemingly broke out into all the evidences of pain and impatience; and when ſhe was preſent, he always expreſſed himſelf in love and rapture. He bid her aſk him whatever would be moſt agreeable to her, and it ſhould be granted; heaping upon her, at the ſame time, many extraordinary favours, that exceeded both her deſire and expectation.

The day drawing towards a cloſe, wherein the murder was to be perpetrated, he took her into his embraces, and kiſſing her eyes and hands, addreſs'd her in theſe endearing words: *It is my humble requeſt, my dear mother, that you may carefully endeavour to preſerve your precious health out of love to me, who have no pleaſure in life but for your ſake; and indeed I cannot enjoy my ſelf without you, from whom I have received my life, as well as the empire.* After this cunning ſcene of deceit, he committed her to the care of *Anicetus*, his freed man, and admiral of his fleet, bidding him conduct her ſafe to the veſſel, which lay prepared to carry her home.

The rogue *Anicetus* obey'd, and having ſeen her to the ſhip, made his compliments, and left her in the hands of the mariners, who had been previouſly bribed to act a part in the tragedy. But the ſea, it ſeems, would not be acceſſory to ſo foul a deed; for though the veſſel burſt aſunder, and let her fall into the water, yet loaded as ſhe was with meat and drink, ſhe, by the help of the tide, eſcaped the danger, and got ſafe to land, in ſpite of all efforts of the ſailors, who aimed ſtrokes at her with their oars, and actually killed *Aceronia Polla* by her ſide.

Agrippina being arrived at her houſe, would not ſeem to take any notice of the ſnare that had been laid for her, but, putting on an air of diſſimulation, ſent one of her officers of ſtate to *Nero*, to acquaint him with the accident that had befallen her, and the ſucceſs of her eſcape. *Nero* fell into ſuch a mad fit of rage at the news, that he inſtantly order'd her meſſenger to be put to death. Hereupon, *Nero*, ſome ſay, tortured with fear and conſternation, called for *Burrhus* and *Seneca*, to give their advice; and that *Seneca* ſhould then aſk *Burrhus* whether the guards might not be commanded to kill her: Who made anſwer, they would never be brought to undertake any ſuch thing againſt the daughter of *Germanicus*; but *Anicetus* would, he believed, diſpatch her, according to his promiſe.

I am willing to think, that neither *Burrhus* nor *Seneca* knew any thing of the matter, till it was finally executed: *Nero* needed no inſtructors in miſchief. Nor can it be thought that men of their learning and ſenſe would ever give their conſent to let a ſon plunge his ſword in the bowels of his mother. However, this is certain, there was no delay in the caſe;

Anicetus had an immediate order from *Nero* to carry two of his ſailors along with him, and cut her off. As ſoon as *Agrippina* ſaw theſe aſſaſſins enter her chamber, ſhe underſtood their commiſſion, and uncovering her ſelf to the skin, cried out, *Strike* Anicetus, *ſtrike your ſword into the belly that brought forth* Nero. One of them ſtunned her with a blow upon the head, and the other two drawing their ſwords, kill'd her with many wounds.

When the report came to *Nero* that ſhe was dead, he could not be brought to believe it, the ſavage exceſs of the crime ſtaggering him, and repreſenting it to his view like a dream. He therefore went to her lodgings to have the teſtimony of his own eyes; and there ſurveying her naked body from head to feet, *I proteſt*, ſaid he, *I did not know that my mother was ſo handſome a woman.*

The ſenate, as well as people, were at this time ſunk into ſuch a degeneracy of manners, that they publickly congratulated the monſter upon the ſucceſsful iſſue of his damnable enterprize; and, when he came back to the city, the ſenate, together with the ſeveral tribes of *Rome*, and all their wives and children, met and received him with as much joy, pomp, aud ſolemnity, as if he had returned with the laurels of the whole earth. But however they acted the part of perfidious traitors to the dictates of nature, reaſon, and common ſenſe; yet he could never bring his own conſcience to flatter him, or give him one moment's reſpite from agonies and torment, to the hour of his death. He has often declared he could get no reſt becauſe of his mother, who haunted him perpetually, and made the furies buffet him with flaming torches. He tried all manner of expedients, and among the reſt, a council of conjurers, in order to reſettle the peace of his mind, and appeaſe the ghoſt of *Agrippina*; but all to no purpoſe: For inquietude and terror followed him, to the miſerable end of his wicked life.

Nero having now conſulted an agent of *Satan*, and received by way of anſwer, the following precaution, *Beware of the year ſeventy-third*; wiſely promiſed himſelf a long courſe of joy and proſperity. He had many years to live, he thought, and might during that time, give the full ſtretch to his deſires; for nothing could hurt him. But he afterwards found to his coſt, that the devil had deceived him, as he does all others who run to him for aid.

In like manner were conceiv'd the two oracular anſwers that came to *Crœſus*, king of *Lydia*, from a conſultation of his *Pagan* gods, before he ſet out on that war againſt *Cyrus*, wherein he loſt his kingdom. One of them was, *That* Crœſus *ſhould be in no danger, till a mule ſwayed the ſcepter of the* Medes; and the other contained in ſubſtance, *That as ſoon as he paſſed over* Italy, *he ſhould overturn a great empire. Crœſus*, animated by theſe deluſions, immediately gallop'd to his own ruin: For concluding that a mule could never be raiſed to the throne of the *Medes*, his preſent condition (he fancied) was aſſured beyond all poſſibility of danger. And now nothing remained for him to do, but to make good the ſecond propheſy. Hereupon, being, in a ſhort ſpace after, dethroned and made priſoner by *Cyrus*, and heavily reſenting the trick his falſe gods had put upon him, he begg'd *Cyrus* to let him ſend a meſſenger to their temples, to upbraid them with the cheat. All the excuſe they return'd him, run in theſe words: *Cyrus*, they ſaid, *was the mule they meant, as being deſcended of two different nations, his father a* Perſian, *and his mother a* Mede. *And the empire he was to overthrow, imported no one but his own.* Ambigous terms are the common fare that the devil dreſſes out for thoſe that apply to him; his anſwer is always pointed with a double edge, that let the event be what it will, he may have ſomething to ſay for himſelf.

The forementioned anſwer that *Nero* had receiv'd from *Satan*, ſuperadded to the many fulſome decrees and praiſes which the ſenate and people beſtow'd on him, ſo enlarged his pride and vanity, that conſidering himſelf as an abſolute lord, and proprietor of as many ſlaves as he had ſubjects, he ſtuck not to ſay, he had a right to diſpoſe of them after what manner he ſhould judge fit. He had before ſhelter'd the moſt of his infamous actions under ſome ſort of a diſguiſe; but now that he had met with a general return of thanks for the murder of his mother, it confirm'd him in an opinion that it was impoſſible for him to concert or act any thing which did not carry within its own boſom a ſufficient ſanction and authority. He therefore baniſhed from his preſence all future care and circumſpection, and openly appearing in the livery of the devil, gave the world to know he was the blackeſt monſter that had hitherto trod in the criminal ways of ſin.

He rioted in all ſorts of low folly and extravagant expence, and being by that means kept in continual beggary and want, extreme impoſitions, rapine, murder and violence, were call'd in to ſupply him with daily funds. He carried luxury to an incredible exceſs, lengthening out his entertainments from noon to midnight, and laviſhing away money in ſuch a manner, as if he thought all praiſe conſiſted in perſonating the ſquanderer. Frugality ſeemed to him the greateſt vice a man could be guilty of, and he would often ſit down and commend the admirable genius of *Caligula*, for diſſipating in ſo ſhort a time, the vaſt treaſure that had been left him by *Tiberius*. He always travel'd with a thouſand chariots in his retinue, had his mules ſhod with ſilver, fiſh'd with a golden net, and put on a new dreſs every day.

Nero had often attempted to ſtrangle his wife *Octavia* as ſhe lay a-bed; but that failing him, he publickly divorc'd her, and married *Sabina*, the wife of *Otho*, and his own concubine. This was done in oppoſition to the will of *Burrhus*, who bravely told him, *If you will repudiate* Octavia, *reſtore her the empire, which was the fortune ſhe brought you.* And when the people exclaim'd againſt it, he inſtantly baniſh'd her to *Pandatavia*, and ſoon after put her to death. He alſo murder'd his own aunt with poiſon, and took poſſeſſion of her eſtate. At the ſame time having forcibly defiled the body of *Aulus Plantius*, a young gentleman, whom his mother had formerly reſpected, and after that abominable fact kill'd him. 'Now, 'ſaid he, let my mother go, and careſs my ſucceſſor.

Feſtus, governor of *Judæa*, found his province over-run with diſorder, tumults, and maſſacres. Thieves, robbers, and aſſaſſins, ſcatter'd fire and ſword through the whole country; and their fury was no ſooner quaſh'd in one place, than it broke out in another: Beſides a new impoſtor, who made profeſſion of magick, gave him no little trouble. This fellow led a great number of perſons into the deſart, promiſing them a final deliverence from all their calamities; but *Feſtus* gave an entire overthrow to him and all his followers.

About this time came king *Agrippa* (whoſe kingdom had been conſiderable augmented by the gifts of *Nero*) to *Jeruſalem*; and taking up his reſidence at a houſe near the temple, he there built another apartment, by the means of which he could over-look every thing that paſſed within the temple. This the *Jews* ſaid was contrary to their laws, and therefore they raiſ'd a high wall, which quite took away his proſpect. Hereupon, *Agrippa* reſenting the inſult the *Jews* had done him, complained to *Feſtus*, who order'd them to pull down their wall. But the *Jews* reſolutely ſtood by their enterprize, telling him they would only ſubmit their cauſe to *Cæſar*.

Feſtus hearken'd to them, and they deputed to *Rome* ten of their principal men, together with *Iſhmael*, the high-prieſt, and *Chelcias*, keeper of the ſacred treaſure. On their arrival at *Rome*, they firſt made their addreſſes to *Poppæa Sabina*, *Nero*'s old harlot, but young empreſs; and having by her intereſt, obtained the favour of the emperor, they were allowed to retain the wall they had erected. *Joſephus* is pleaſ'd to ſay, that *Sabina* (whom he mentions by her firſt name *Poppæa*) was a woman of piety. How he came to be ſo far miſtaken, I cannot tell; for ſhe really was one of the moſt cruel and abandon'd proſtitutes of the age ſhe liv'd in; contributing her advice and conſent to the murder of *Nero*'s mother, his wife, and many others.

In the beginning of the year of our Lord ſixty-fifth (the ſixty-ſecond of the vulgar *Æra*), died *Feſtus*, the governor, to whom ſucceeded *Albinus*, by the appointment of *Nero*. In the mean time, *Ananus*, the high-prieſt (who was an audacious and bloody villain, and now advanc'd to that dignity by *Agrippa*), had, before *Albinus*'s arrival, call'd a pretended council, and condemn'd *James the Juſt*, the ſon of the *Virgin Mary*'s ſiſter, and ſome others, to be ſton'd to death. 'This act offended ſays *Joſephus*, all good men, and eſpecially ſuch as were 'moſt converſant in the law.' In ſhort, the crime of *Ananus* was no other than a downright murder; for the *Jews* had then no power of life and death. *Albinus*, though in himſelf ſo wicked a fellow, that he executed no malefactors but thoſe who wanted money, was ſo diſpleas'd with this behaviour of *Ananus*, that he caus'd him to be turn'd out of his office.

In the mean time, *Nero* was going on with his ignominious ſports at *Rome*, not exempting even ſenators from acting a part in his plays and games. Some were made to play upon inſtruments, others forced to dance, whilſt a third party was conſtrained to repreſent tragedies and comedies. He would frequently compel people of quality to conduct chariots, and fight with beaſts, as well as men; nor did he diſhonour himſelf leſs than other people, it being his common practice to put on the habit of an actor, and either ſing, dance, ſtrike an inſtrument of muſick, or perform ſome other mean part upon the ſtage.

Nero was generally accompanied to theſe theatrical offices by *Burrhus* and *Seneca*, whoſe buſineſs it was, while he ſung or play'd, to lay traps for the acclamations of the audience. They always by their hands, voice, and geſture, begun the roar of applauſe, which being ſeconded by five thouſand imperial ſoldiers, that were bound to do duty on theſe occaſions, was ſoon after joined and anſwered by the whole aſſembly. No perſons of any note were permitted to be idle at theſe ludicrous entertainments; ſuch whom age or ſickneſs render'd incapable of other exerciſes, were obliged to ſing, in honour to thoſe that danced. And, to the end incapacity might never be brought for an excuſe, ſtrict orders were laid upon all perſons, old, as well as young, to frequent the publick ſchools, that they might thereby be inſtructed in ſome recreation or other.

Some people having heard a loud and continued burſt of laughter iſſuing out of the ſenate-houſe in the dead of the night, and others a great noiſe of ſighs and groans proceeding from the theatre, and ſeveral other prodigies happening at the ſame time; *Nero* vouchſafed to conſult the aſtrologers and diviners: Who telling him, that though they preſaged his death, yet the miſchief might be prevented, by throwing it upon others. The credulous fool was upon the wing to take their cruel advice, and execute a number of innocent perſons; when *Seneca* put a ſtop to it with the following words: 'How great ſoever the multitude of the 'perſons may be, whom you deſign to remove out 'of the world, it will not be in your power to 'kill your ſucceſſor.

Whilſt *Nero* was thus fooliſhly miſpending the time, a general revolt happen'd in *Great-Britain*; and, indeed, it may be look'd upon as a wonder that any province ſhould remain firm in obedience to a man whoſe only care it was to plunder and impoveriſh his people. He gave no poſt or office to any man, without having firſt tutored him in theſe, or the like words: 'You now what it is I ſtand in need of, 'let it be your principal aim, as well as mine, to 'leave no man in the poſſeſſion of any thing.' All his governors of provinces (the brave and honeſt *Corbulo* excepted, whom he ſoon recalled from *Syria*, becauſe he knew he would never be brought to hold any poſt in that ſcandalous manner) were no more than his receivers; they had the name and honour; he the wealth and profits. And where it chanc'd that any of 'em made eſtates, that accident owed its riſe to their own cunning management, and not his allowance.

Praſatagus, king of the *Iceni*, that is, of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridge*, and *Huntintonſhire*, had, at his death, left the *Roman* emperor coheir with his two daughters, with a view to ſecure his family in the quiet poſſeſſion of his kingdom. Hereupon, the covetous and ungenerous *Nero* ſeized the whole ſtate into his own hands. Soldiers were detached againſt the country, who pillag'd the ſubjects both of their goods and lands, and treated the queen dowager, *Boadicia*, and her two daughters with all manner of abuſe.

Boadicia being a woman of an heroick ſpirit, had no mind to let theſe indignities go unpuniſhed; ſhe therefore put her ſelf at the head of her own people, and having ſoon after got the *Trinobantes*, or *Middleſex* men, and the other contiguous nations, to join her, marched, with all their forces, againſt *Camalodunum* (now *Maldon)*, which was a colony of ſuperanuated ſoldiers, who had for ſome time violently diſtreſs'd all the neighbouring parts. As *Camalodunum* was a place of no ſtrength, ſhe eaſily made herſelf miſtreſs of it, and put all the inhabitants to death: And then falling upon the ninth legion, which had been ſent to reinforce the town, ſhe obtain'd a compleat victory, putting all the infantry to the ſword, whilſt the cavalry, commanded by *Petilius Cerealis*, narrowly ſaved themſelves by flight. *Boadicia* next carried her laurels to *Verulamium*, now St. *Albans*, a town free of the city of *Rome* and ſetting fire to it, cut off and deſtroy'd all the enemies ſhe could meet with, having, at theſe two places, ſlaughter'd ſeventy thouſand perſons.

Paulinus Suetonius had, in the interim, made a deſcent upon the iſle *Mona*, that is, *Angleſea*. On his arrival thither, his ſoldiers were not a little terrified at the ſight of a great number of warlike men, intermix'd with a multitude of women, holding firebrands in their hands, and roaring out curſes againſt them. But *Paulinus* making a halt, and encouraging his troops, their courage reviv'd, and he ſoon reduc'd the iſland.

Suetonius coming at laſt to get intelligence of *Boadicia*'s victories, and that *Catus Decianus*, whom he had left governor in his abſence, was fled into *Gallia*; ſet out for *Londinium*, or *London*, a city even at this time, celebrated for its wealthy merchants and traffick. When he had reached thither, he recruited his army with a part of the inhabitants, and having by this means, increas'd his forces to ten thouſand men, he reſolv'd, at all hazards, to give battle to the enemy. He conſider'd, he had to deal with raw and undiſciplin'd men, and therefore he was in no pain about the vaſt ſuperiority of their number.

Boadicia being arriv'd within an hour's march of the *Romans*, made a review of her army, reminding every company, as they paſs'd along, of the glorious exploits of their anceſtors, the horrid exactions, and inſufferable violences, they at preſent groaned under, and the many outrages that had been done to her ſelf and daughters. *Perpetual liberty*, *or ſervitude*, concluded ſhe, *offer themſelves to your choice to day, aſſert the firſt, and repel the latter. As for me, I am determined to conquer, or die. None but cowards will ever bend their necks to a ſtate of ſlavery.* This ſaid, ſhe let her forces againſt the *Romans*.

The battle was gallantly, and for a long time, ſuſtain'd on both ſides, and had the hearts of her ſoldiers been of a temper equal to the fortitude of her own, ſhe muſt infallibly have carried the day: But they being of a much ſofter make, grew at laſt tir'd of a brave reſiſtance, and gave the *Romans* an opportunity to mow them down with a horrible ſlaughter, fourſcore thouſand of them being killed upon the ſpot. They had ridicuouſly environed their army with the waggons, in which they had brought their wives, to be ſpectators of the battle; and ſo obſtructing their own flight, fell a prey to the *Romans*. Thoſe that made their eſcape rallied again, with a deſign to renew the fight; but hearing that *Boadicia* was dead, they threw up all for loſt, and ſeverally retired to their own houſes. After this victory, *Suetonius* was deprived of his government, and *Turpilianus*, who had now finiſhed his conſulſhip, came over thither in his room. And this *Turpilianus* was a man, according to Tacitus, *who neither gave nor received any provocation, whilſt he ſtayed in* Britain; *and delighted in a ſlothful idleneſs, which he gilded over with the fair and ſpecious name of peace.*

About this time, *Nero* coming to ſee *Burrhus*, who was afflicted with a ſore throat, promiſed to have an infallible medicine made up for him; and returning to his own apartment, ſent him a poiſon, which diſpatch'd him in a few hours after. *Nero* was tir'd of a blunt monitor, that had always taken the liberty to ſpeak what he really thought. It was below the ſoul of *Burrhus* to appear before him in a maſque; he could not bring himſelf to be courtier enough to become a liar, or, which is the ſame thing, a flatterer; and therefore he fell a ſacrifice to the ſpite of *Nero*. Hereupon, *Seneca*, beginning to ſuſpect that the tyrant would, alſo, murder him, preſented an humble requeſt, begging leave to retire into the country, and promiſing to ſurrender all his eſtate into his hands. But *Nero*, who was one maſs of diſſimulation, returning anſwer, he would not live without him: *Seneca*'s deſign met with a diſappointment. *Nero*, at the ſame time, for the ſake of their eſtates, deſtroyed, by poiſon, ſeveral of his freed men, and, among the reſt, *Peryphorhus*, and *Pallas*, who had not only promoted him to the favour of *Claudius*, and, of conſequence, to the empire, but ever after aſſiſted him in all his execrable and bloody projects.

On the removal of the brave *Corbulo* from the adminiſtration of *Syria*; *Vologeſes*, conſidering with himſelf that a probable opportunity was fallen into his hands to reſtore his brother *Tiridates* to the crown of *Armenia*, marched with all his forces againſt the country, and having, with a rapid ſucceſs, expell'd the king, whom *Corbulo* had advanced to the throne, and reſettled his own brother, forcing, alſo, *Ceſennius Pætus*, whom *Nero* had ſent thither to defend the poſſeſſor, to abandon the kingdom with all his troops; he then diſpatched an embaſſy to *Rome*, charg'd with a commiſſion to flatter *Nero* into a reſignation of what his own arms had before given him. *Nero* magnificently treated the ambaſſadors, but would not make the conceſſion they aſk'd, unleſs *Tiridates* came himſelf in perſon, and, laying down the ſcepter at his feet, ſubmit to receive it of him. As this was a demand the ambaſſadors could give no anſwer to, *Nero* thinking the name of *Corbulo* would ſoon fright *Vologeſes* into ſo reaſonable a deſire, reinveſted *Corbulo* in his old command, and bid him ſpeedily march againſt the *Parthians*. *Nero*, for once, judg'd right; for *Corbulo* had no ſooner enter'd *Armenia* with his army, than *Vologeſes* begg'd a ſuſpenſion of arms, and, ſoon after, agreed to the vain requeſt of *Nero*.

After the murder of *Burrhus*, *Nero* advanced, to the command of his guards, *Tigellinus*, who was a fellow that in all points of exceſs, cruelty, and wickedneſs, reſembled himſelf. *Tigellinus* had, alſo, the prime direction of all his ſhows and diverſions; and the firſt he ſet out was a naval combat. At the place of action, artificial booths, taverns, and other tippling conveniencies, were erected, for the more commodious entertainment of the ſpectators. *Nero* took his ſeat in a moſt ſumptuous and gallant manner, in the midſt of the aſſembly, which being a mix'd company of men and women, noble and ignoble, citizens and ſlaves, ſhameleſly threw up all decent regards, and, in the eye of the world, committed ſuch brutal things, as are not fit to be mentioned. Virtue was not, in theſe days, to be ſeen among the women at *Rome*. *Nero*'s wicked example had taught them imprudence to that degree, that young women of quality admitted gladiators to embrace them, whilſt their fathers ſtood by; and common ſlaves kiſs'd their maſter's wives before their faces, without any rebuke. At laſt, this lawleſs company, getting moſt of them drunk, numberleſs quarrels enſued, and many murders.

But all theſe impieties being yet inſufficient to gratify the monſtrous heart of *Nero*, he now took a reſolution to deſtroy *Rome* at one blow; and, to this purpoſe, diſtributing his guards through all parts of the city, with an order privately to ſet the houſes on fire; theſe wicked miniſters of his vengeance inſtantly executed the commiſſion, in ſuch a manner, that the miſerable inhabitants were reduced to an incredible confuſion, neither knowing how the miſchief had begun, nor where to apply a remedy. This fire commenced on the 19th of *July*, which was the ſame day upon which *Rome* had before been burnt by the *Galls*, and continued burning ſix days, and ſeven nights. Of the fourteen diviſions, which compos'd the city, four only remain'd entire, the reſt being either wholly conſum'd to aſhes, or ſo diſabled by the flames, that they were unfit for uſe.

Nero had retired out of town, with a view that he might not be ſuſpected to have any hand in the terrible calamity, and did not return till they ſent him word that his own palace was in danger. When he came back, inſtead of putting himſelf to any care about extinguiſhing the fire, or ſaving the palace, whoſe deſtruction was threaten'd by the adjoining houſes, which were all of a fire, he immediately went up to *Mæcenas*'s tower, and from thence beholding the deplorable fate of the city, expreſs'd a great ſatisfaction at the beauty of the flames, and, in the dreſs of a common harper, ſung and play'd the deſtruction of *Ilium*.

A multitude of people periſh'd in the flames, and the greater part of thoſe that eſcap'd were oblig'd to accommodate themſelves in huts and little cabins without the city. It is to be remarked, that the very ſoldiers and officers of *Nero*, who ſhould have aſſiſted in this caſe, did all that in them lay to hinder the friendly offices of others, not only menacing thoſe who endeavoured to ſtop the fire, but augmenting it themſelves. *Nero* had given a peremptory command not to let the unhappy ſufferers ſave either money or goods, and by this helliſh gain he at once filled his own coffers, and enriched his ſoldiers.

The people, on this occaſion, accuſed *Nero* as the author of all their miſeries, and loading him with moſt bitter curſes, publicly handed about a ſibylline oracle to this effect: *He that ſhall have murdered his own mother, will happen to be laſt of the imperial race.* And ſo it fell out; for *Nero* was the laſt emperor of the family of *Julius Cæſar*.

Nero laboured hard to make the world believe it was not he that had contrived this horrid miſchief, but to no purpoſe; for they well knew that ſuch a complicated crime could proceed from no body elſe. He would fain have perſuaded the *Romans* that the *Chriſtians* had ſet the city on fire; and, to give this ſelf-evident lie ſome ſort of colour, he excited the firſt perſecution againſt them, putting them to death by moſt cruel kinds of puniſhment. Some of them were covered with the ſkins of wild beaſts, and then dogs let looſe upon them, that tore them in pieces. Some he crucified, and others he cauſed to be burnt alive, and that principally in the night, to the end they might ſerve as lights to guide paſſengers. This cruel beaſt raged with ſuch barbarity againſt the *Chriſtians*, that even their greateſt enemies pitied them, as victims kill'd only to glut and ſatiate the bloody rage of one man.

Albinus, who had now preſided in *Judæa* for about two years, underſtanding that *Geſſius Florus* was upon his way to ſucceed him in the government, cleared the goals of all perſons who could pay him any thing for their liberty, leaving thoſe only in priſon who had nothing to ſatisfy his avarice. *Albinus* had all along acted in a moſt abſolute and cruel manner; but *Florus*'s inſolent and abandoned management not only made the *Jews* forget the crimes of his predeceſſor, but, alſo, wiſh that *Albinus* ſtill had been their governor. *Albinus* ſo far had a regard to decency, that he never ventured upon a foul act, but when he thought he was not ſeen; but *Florus* openly play'd the tyrant, and boaſted of it. He had, by his wife's intereſt with *Sabina*, the empreſs, been promoted to the helm of *Judæa*, and therefore he thought he might do what he pleas'd with impunity. Supported with this hope, he ſoon convinc'd the *Jews* he was a thorough ſtranger to all ſentiments of humanity, as well as ſhame.

He not only ruin'd cities, but laid waſte whole countries, and making money all his purſuit and ambition, he ſcorned no ways, how bloody or unjuſt ſoever, that could acquire it. He publickly, by the voice of a crier, proclaimed a grant to all mankind to rob and ſteal through the whole country, provided they would enter into articles to give him a ſhare of the booty. This fellow was an exact copy of his worthleſs maſter, behaving in all points more like a hangman than a ſhepherd of the people.

At *Cæſarea* he made the *Jews* be moſt outragiouſly abuſed by the *Pagan* inhabitants, and then marching to *Jeruſalem* with his army, plundered the houſes, ſeized ſuch goods as were expoſed to ſale, killed many of the citizens, and whipp'd and groſly inſulted others, without any regard had to their plea, *that they were knights of* Rome. He, likewiſe, by an artful wheedle, prevailed upon a great number of the *Jews* to go out and congratulate the arrival of a body of his men that were upon their march to the city, and having ſent a previous order to his troops not to return the compliment, which would provoke the *Jews* to give opprobrious words; he then commanded them to fall reſolutely upon the *Jews*. This matter ſucceeded according to his project; the *Jews* ſaluted them, the compliment was not anſwer'd, high words came of courſe, and a ſlaughter follow'd, which deſtroy'd many of the *Jews*.

In a ſhort time after the fire of *Rome*, *Piſo*, *Seneca*, and others, being intolerably offended at the infamy and cruelty of the adminiſtration, enter'd into a conſpiracy to rid the empire of *Nero*; but the plot was ſtifled in its birth, being diſcover'd by *Milichus*, the freed man of *Sceninus*, who had given him an order to clean and ſharpen his poinard, and have all things in readineſs that might be proper for the cure of wounds. The conſpirators were all apprehended, and, without delay, chain'd, try'd, and put to death; and, among the reſt, ſuffered *Aſper* and *Flavius*, two officers of his guards. *Nero* demanded of theſe what had moved them to rebel againſt ſo good a maſter. *Aſper* firſt made anſwer; *You have made your ſtate ſo ſcandalous, that you could not expect of me any other ſervice.* Then added *Flavius*; *As I once loved you, ſo now I hate you more than all mankind put together. I honoured and eſteemed you, whilſt I thought you acted the part of a good prince; but I have hated and deteſted you ever ſince I ſaw you give up yourſelf to all ſorts of infamous irregularities. And I proteſt to you, I can no longer obey a conductor of chariots, and a player upon the fiddle.*

When it came to *Seneca*'s turn to die, he could not think of parting with life, unleſs his young wife *Paulina* would bear him company. Having, therefore, kindly admoniſh'd her, *that ſhe learned of him to contemn death*, and alſo reminded her, *that ſhe had often declared ſhe would not ſurvive him*; the poor young lady humour'd the unnatural deſire of her huſband, and chearfully letting her veins be open'd, expir'd with him. Cruel *Nero* himſelf was ſhock'd when he heard that *Seneca* had a mind to take his wife along with him, and he ſent to ſtop the bleeding, and bind up the viens. But his kind office came too late; the lady had loſt all her blood, and was in the agonies of death. *Seneca*'s nephew, *Lucan*, the poet, was, likewiſe, condemn'd at the ſame time, together with a multitude of others, whom the tyrant either fear'd or ſuſpected. And ſoon after were put to death *Seneca*'s two brothers, *Mela*, the father of *Lucan*, and *Annæas Novatus*, mention'd in the *Acts of the Apoſtles* by the name of *Junius Gallio*.

Nero extended his rage even againſt the innocent children of all who had been engaged in this plot; they were firſt expelled the city, and then diſpatched with poiſon, or want. A conſiderable number of them were at one dinner killed, with all their tutors and attendants, and many others denied the means of getting their daily bread. And now giving a full ſcope to the inſatiable fury of his natural temper, unjuſt ſentences and executions followed every day. Indeed there could be no ſafety under the wings of a monſter who had joy, as well as ſadneſs, nay, even an inadvertant geſture, or a ſlight ſuſpicion, paſs'd for evident demonſtrations of guilt.

On theſe occaſions, he was well provided with a ſtrong troop of evidences and informers, who would ſay and ſwear any thing, being largely rewarded for their pains. High birth, eminent virtue, or great riches, were the fields where he uſually let looſe theſe villains to ſeek and hunt down his game. *Pætus Thraſea*, a ſenator, being a man who could not debauch his underſtanding ſo far as to join with the reſt of the ſenate in their baſe and ſhameleſs compliances with *Nero*; ſuch as offering ſacrifice to his incomparable divine voice, and many other ridiculous vanities of the ſame nature; did therefore ſeldom frequent the houſe, which was admitted to be a ſufficient ground for condemning him to death. *Soranus* underwent the ſame fate, on a falſe depoſition, that he had been addicted to the ſtudy of magick.

At the execution of *Thraſea*, his viens were no ſooner opened, than extending both his arms he cried out, *This blood I offer unto thee, O* Jupiter, *who art the great protector of the liberty of mankind.* Another perſon of worth was cut off for no other reaſon than having erected ſome booths for the accommodation of his friends; and *Caſſius Longinus*, a lawyer, had ſentence of death paſſed upon him for keeping in his houſe a ſtatue of *Caſſius*, one of the aſſaſſins of *Julius Cæſar*.

Nero was ſo elated with a ſucceſsful courſe of murder, that he pulickly ſaid, *None of his predeceſſors had known the full extent of their power.* And making broad hints, he deſigned to ſpare none of the ſenators; he concluded, *He would one day extirpate that whole order, and confer offices only upon knights and freed men.*

Poppæa Sabina, who was big with child, and not very well, having, at this time, in a friendly manner, remonſtrated to *Nero* how indecent a thing it was for an emperor to perſonate the office of a common ſtage-player: He immediately gave her a kick in the belly, of which blow ſhe died in a few days after. *Sabina* was a woman that had rioted in an extreme luxury; the mules that drew her chariot had harneſſes of gold, and ſhe every day waſhed her ſelf in a bath conſiſting of the milk of five hundred ſhe-aſſes, that had brought colts but a few days before. No woman ever lived, who ſhewed a more anxious concern, or greater care to preſerve her beauty. All her ambition terminated in that low purſuit, attending to it ſo paſſionately, that ſhe often wiſhed ſhe might not ſurvive her beauty.

On the death of *Sabina*, *Nero* caſt his thoughts upon *Antonia*, the daughter of his predeceſſor *Claudius*; but ſhe obſtinately refuſing him, he under a ſham colour of treaſon, put her to death. He next turned his fancy to *Statilia Meſſalina*, the wife of *Atticus Veſtinus*, one of the preſent conſuls; and to the end he might without delay obtain her, he murdered her huſband in the midſt of his honour. This done, he ſoon grew tired of her, and pretending an inconſolable mind for the loſs of *Sabina*, he took ſuch a prepoſterous liking to any thing which reſembled her, that he openly and impudently married a young freed man, by name *Sporus*, becauſe of his ſimilitude of features, having firſt ſmoothed and ſhaped him into the form of a woman, as far as art would go. Great rejoicings were made at this damnable wedding, but the publick joy was a little damped with the following facetious words, which had got into the mouths of all the people: *Happy had it been for the preſent generation, if* Domitius, *the father of* Nero, *had married ſuch another wife.* Her imperial majeſty was henceforward dreſſed out in all the auguſt ornaments that belong'd to an empreſs, rid in the coach with *Nero*, and was diſgracefully hugg'd and kiſs'd by him, in the ſight of the whole World.

This royal ſink of all filth and pollution, ſoon after gave it ſelf, as a woman, in marriage to *Pythagoras*, another of his freed men; and going to bed to him in a rich female dreſs, was villainouſly heard to imitate the voice of a virgin that lay under the circumſtances of a rape. After this, he would frequently appear in the habit of an empreſs, and be then called *Madam Nero*, *Miſtreſs*, *Lady*, and *Empreſs*: Nay, he carried his mad folly ſo far, as to repreſent the ſeveral duties of a married woman. He pretended to a conception, and had ſtrange longings and diſorders, and, laſt of all, he fell in labour, and acted the part of a lying-in woman.

About this time came *Tiradates*, and his queen, to *Rome*. They made the whole journey on horſeback, and with all the pomp and magnificence of a triumph, being attended with three thouſand domeſticks, and as rich an equipage as money could purchaſe. The people bore his charges all the time he ſtay'd, notwithſtanding they amounted to two hundred thouſand drams a day. *Tiridates* underſtanding that flattery was the only avenue by which acceſs could be had to the heart of *Nero*, did therefore ſhew himſelf as arch a flatterer as was to be ſeen among the emperor's own ſycophants. Upon the knee he did him obedience, and, with up-lifted hands adoring him, called him his ſovereign and lord; which condeſcenſion ſo endear'd him to the fool *Nero*, that all manner of reſpect and grandeur were hourly called in, to make his abode entertaining and agreeable.

On the day wherein *Nero* was to put the crown upon the head of *Tiridates*, he dreſs'd himſelf out in a triumphal robe, and, attended by the ſenate, and environ'd with his guards, went to the publick place, and ſeating himſelf in a ſumptuous throne, was in an humble manner, addreſs'd by *Tiridates* thus: 'It is my pride and glory, my lord, to be your ſlave, at the ſame time that I claim the honour of being a deſcendant of *Arſaces*, and the brother of two powerful kings. I am hither come to adore you, and render you the ſame worſhip that I pay to the god *Mitra* at home. My deſtiny muſt be ſuch as it ſhall pleaſe you to give, and I do proteſt, that all my future proſperity will depend and be held of you.' *Nero* return'd anſwer as follows: 'It was very well done of you to come and make me a viſit; you ſhall of my liberality receive poſſeſſions, which your father never left you, and of which your brothers could not have aſſured you the peaceable enjoyment. I now advance you to the throne of *Armenia*, to give you, as well as them, to underſtand, that it is I alone who have the power to take away kingdoms, and to beſtow them.

After this, all the company went to a publick ſhow, that had been ſet out by a decree of the ſenate; and there *Nero* throwing away his imperial ornaments, put on the common habit of a chariot-driver, and run his horſes for ſome time; then changing his dreſs for that of a ſinger, he chanted it publickly upon the ſtage. This extraordinary ſight made *Nero* ſeem vile and contemptible to *Tiridates*, who often wondered that ſo brave a man as *Corbulo* could be a faithful ſervant to ſuch a maſter. As *Tiridates* omitted no ſort of complaiſance that might gain him the favour and eſteem of *Nero*; on the other hand, *Nero* munificiently gratified all his deſires.

When *Tiridates* had ſet out for *Armenia*, *Nero* (who did not take *Rome* to be a ſcene large enough for ſo famous an actor as himſelf) went into *Greece*. He carried as numerous a retinue along with him as might have ſufficed for the conqueſt of a potent people, and it but conſiſted of ſtout and well-armed men. But his followers were all ſheep like himſelf, and only armed with muſical inſtruments, maſques, and other accoutrements of players.

On his arrival in *Greece*, he rnn in the olympick games, ſung upon their ſtage, play'd upon inſtruments, and acted tragedies: And tho' he very often ſhould by right have loſt the prize, for which he contended, yet the *Greeks* were ſo partial to him, that they always rewarded him with the victor's crown. He was ſo paſſionately fond of this loweſt degree of fame, that he gave it the preference to all other enjoyments in life; and ſo ambitious of being thought to excel in it, that he trembled in the preſence of thoſe who preſided at the games; nor could be eaſy till he had, by large bribes, ſecured at all hazards, their favour and intereſt.

Nero having, at his departure from *Rome*, left one of his freed men regent of *Italy*; that fellow exerciſed ſuch an abſolute power, that he confiſcated the eſtates of citizens, knights, and ſenators, as he pleaſed, ſending ſome of them into exile, and condemning others to death. He likewiſe plunder'd the temples of *Italy* of all their riches. Nor was *Nero* behind hand with him in *Greece*, which he ruin'd without impoſing upon it any tribute. He cauſed a number of perſons to be murder'd, and deprived others of their eſtates. He diſpoſſeſs'd *Appollo* of the *Cyrrhæan* territory, and beſtowed it upon his ſoldiers, demoliſhing the place from which they had been uſed to receive oracles, and killing people at the hole through which *Apollo* was wont to give anſwers to thoſe who conſulted him.

Whilſt *Nero* continued here, he made an attempt to cut through the iſthmus of *Peloponneſus*, and would not be diverted from a trial by all the arguments the people could alledge. He therefore begun the enterprize himſelf, putting the firſt ſpade into the ground, and carrying out the firſt baſket of earth upon his own ſhoulders. A vaſt multitude of people were obliged to follow his example, *Romans* and *Greeks*, as well as ſtrangers; and ſo intent was he to finiſh it, that common malefactors were henceforward only condemned to aſſiſt at this undertaking. But in regard this idle project could not be kept going without very large ſums of money, the levying of which might in time produce a rebellion; this conſideration moved the brute to commit innumerable murders in all parts of the empire. Virtue he dreaded, and wealth he coveted; and wherever either could be found, his care was to deſtroy the poſſeſſor.

Among others that ſuffered on this occaſion, were *Rufus* and *Proclus*, two brothers, who had lately been copartners in the government of *Gaul*. As to the gallant *Corbulo*, though *Nero* had often given him the deſerved appellation of father and benefactor, and now ſent for him with all ſeeming teſtimonies of reſpect; yet when *Corbulo* came, he refus'd to ſee him, and order'd him to be put to death. And this horrid piece of ingratitude, as well as barbarous murder, proceeded from an infamous ſenſe of ſhame in *Nero*, who would not appear before *Corbulo* in the habit of a player: For he was in a dreſs ready to mount the ſtage when *Corbulo* demanded audience. At the tyrant's dead warrant, *Corbulo* only ſaid, 'Have I faithfully ſerved a player, a ſinger, a dancer, to be thus rewarded? I muſt own, I richly merit this at his hands.

The ſenate, in *Nero*'s abſence, were conſtantly employed in finding out ways and means to pleaſe and flatter the tyrant: They made out decrees for a greater number of feſtivals and ſacrifices, in honour of him, than could poſſibly be celebrated within the compaſs of a year. The freed man, whom he had conſtituted regent of *Italy*, having writ him many preſſing letters, begging him to return, but to no purpoſe, made his way into *Greece* himſelf, and ſo terrified the monarch with an account of a conſpiracy that was upon the anvil at *Rome*, that *Nero* broke off all his ſports at once, and commanding his equipage to be got ready: 'I will, ſaid he, with all ſpeed, reviſit *Rome*; for it is only my preſence that can diſſipate the plot.

In the mean time, *Florus* having, by a ſeries of rapine and murder, brought the *Jews* to a general revolt, a party of them ſecretly entered the caſtle of *Maſſada*, and making themſelves maſter of it, put all the *Roman* garriſon to the ſword. At the ſame inſtant, *Eleazar*, the ſon of *Ananias*, and captain of the temple, perſuaded the prieſts into a reſolution not to offer any more ſacrifices for the health of the emperor, which was, in effect, an open declaration of war.

The ſoberer part of the *Jews*, who inclined to peace, with all their might oppos'd this innovation; but finding their own ſtrength inſufficient, they demanded troops of *Florus* and king *Agrippa*, whereby they might be enabled to quell the rebels. *Florus*, who well knew that nothing but a rebellion could cover his own crimes, would give them no aſſiſtance; but *Agrippa* was ſo kind, as to ſend them three thouſand men, which were received into the upper part of the city, the ſeditious being maſters of the lower part, as well as the temple it ſelf.

In a ſhort ſpace after, the rebels, alſo, forced their way into the upper diviſion, and burning ſeveral palaces and publick houſes, beſieged and took the tower of *Anthony*, killing all the ſoldiers of the garriſon. Elated with this ſucceſs, they next laid ſiege to the royal palace, which *Agrippa*'s ſoldiers were glad to ſurrender, on condition of having leave to retire ſafely out of the town. The chief-prieſt, *Ananias*, his brother, and ſeveral others, fearing the rage of the faction, had hid themſelves within the palace, but being diſcovered, were immediately put to death, as was, likewiſe, *Manahem*, whom they ſuſpected of affecting tyranny.

The *Roman* ſoldiers retired into the other towers, and there fortified themſelves; but as the rebels carried on the ſiege againſt them with ſuch fury, application, and diligence, as would ſoon reduce thoſe places; the *Romans* voluntarily agreed to deliver up their arms, and every thing elſe, provided they would but ſpare their lives. The malecontents accepted the propoſitions; but the *Romans* had no ſooner ſurrender'd their arms, than they were all treacherouſly put to death, ſaving only *Metilius*, their commanding officer, who promiſed to become a *Jew*.

This inhuman action gave the whole country to underſtand that there could be no future proſpect of a peace, in regard the *Romans* would not fail to take vengeance of a nation who had ſo profidiouſly put their countrymen to death. On the ſame day, and at the ſame hour, that the *Jews* of *Jeruſalem* murdered the *Roman* garriſon, the *Gentiles* of *Cæſarea* made a great ſlaughter of the *Jews* who inhabited that city; twenty thouſand of them were there maſſacred, and ſuch as ſaved themſelves by flight being intercepted by *Florus*, were ſent back bound, to be diſpoſed of by their enemies as they ſhould think fit.

The *Jews* of the neighbouring cities, enraged at this horrid barbarity, fell a plundering, burning, and deſtroying all the cities of the *Syrians* that lay round them. Nor did this appeaſe their wrath; they ravaged the adjoining countries, and killed all the *Syrians* they could meet with. On the other ſide, the *Syrians* gave quarter to no *Jews* they could lay their hands on. And now nothing was to be ſeen through all *Syria* and *Judea*, but blood, murder, and pillage; beſides, the ſame ſpirit of mutiny fired the *Jews*, at this time, in all places where they had fixed their reſidence: So that one might have reaſonable concluded, they had entered into an univerſal conſpiracy againſt themſelves. They now renew'd their ſeditious practices in *Ægypt*, where fifty thouſand of them were kill'd on one day, including thoſe that periſh'd in the flight, as well as the number that fell in battle.

This terrible war was preſaged by ſeveral remarkable prodigies: At night the temple was ſeen illuminated, as if it had been full day; the eaſtern gate of the temple, which twenty men had with difficulty ſhut the evening before, opened of it ſelf about midnight, and a voice followed, uttering theſe words; *Let us leave this place.* And over all the country might be ſeen chariots, and armies of ſoldiers, traverſing the clouds, and ſeemingly advancing to ſit down before their cities. A comet alſo appear'd for a whole year together, and a ſtar, or extraordinary meteor, ſtood over *Jeruſalem*, in the figure of a ſword.

But, which was ſtill more to their ſhame who had rejected *Jeſus*, the ſon of God, they were for upwards of ſeven years together forced to hear a *Plebian*, by name *Jeſus*, the ſon of *Ananus*, who night and day rung in their ears the following lamentable words: *A voice from the eaſt, a voice from the weſt, a voice from the four winds, a voice againſt* Jeruſalem *and the temple, a voice againſt the bridegroom and bride, a voice againſt the whole people.* And though they whipp'd him till they laid open his very bones, they could not extort from him either ſigh, tear, or groan; but only theſe words: *Woe to* Jeruſalem. He always was loudeſt on their ſolemn days, and in this manner, neither returning ſpite for injuries, nor thanks for benefits, he continued, till *Titus* form'd the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*. Then, as the *Roman* engines were battering the town, he cried out, *Woe, alſo, to my ſelf*; and was, the ſame moment, killed upon the ſpot.

Theſe remarkable occurrences were all interpreted by the *Jews* in their own favour: Now was the time, they knew, that the ſacred oracles had decreed the monarchy of the world to a native of *Judæa* (who was *Jeſus Chriſt*, the ſon of the *Virgin Mary*, and not *Veſpaſian*, as *Joſephus*, *Suetonius*, and *Tacitus*, idly think), and therefore they promiſed certain proſperity to their arms.

To repreſs theſe beginning commotions of the *Jews*, came *Ceſtius Gallus*, governor of *Syria*, with an army of *Romans* and auxiliary forces, from the allies of *Rome*. But coming before *Jeruſalem*, and there acting a little unadviſedly, he was forced to make a ſcandalous retreat to *Antioch*, with the loſs of all his baggage, five thouſand foot, and near a thouſand horſe. The *Jews*, animated by this good ſucceſs, called a council, and elected ſeveral chiefs, who ſhould take upon them the management of the war. The high-prieſt, *Ananus*, the ſon of *Annas*, and *Joſeph*, the ſon of *Gorion*, were named for *Jeruſalem*; and *Joſephus*, the hiſtorian, was made preſident of the two *Galilees*. *Eleazar*, the author of the revolt, had the command of *Idumæa*, and many other governors were appointed in different places of the country.

At this time the *Chriſtians*, regarding *Jeruſalem* as a veſſel that was ready to ſink, left it, and retired into other places. They had been forewarned by our Saviour to ſeek a refuge in the mountains, when they ſhould ſee *Jeruſalem* environed with enemies; and they gladly embraced the advice. The ancients inform us, that the church of *Jeruſalem* had an expreſs revelation ſent them by the miniſtry of an angel, *who bid them depart to the city* Pella (which ſtood within the kingdom of *Agrippa*), *for thither the war ſhould not reach.*

Ceſtius, now finding himſelf out of all danger, ſent ſome of the principal men among that part of the *Jews* which remain'd dutiful to the *Romans*, with a commiſſion to lay before *Nero* (who was then in *Greece*) the true ſtate of affairs, and transfer all the blame upon *Florus*. *Nero* trembling at the conſequence of ſuch a war, as demanded a head of great experience and valour; was ſenſibly touched at the remembrance of the wicked murder he had committed upon *Corbulo*. He next caſt his eyes upon *Veſpaſian*, who had always acquitted himſelf with great reputation and ſucceſs, and was not of a rank, nor birth, that could give him any apprehenſion he would ever aſpire to the empire. *Veſpaſian* had before grievouſly offended *Nero*, by ſleeping on the ſtage, and not ſhewing reſpect enough to his divine voice. For which reaſon, he forbid him the court, and commanding him to keep ever after out of his way. Hereupon, *Veſpaſian* withdrew, and conceal'd himſelf, in fear of his life. And being now ferreted out, and brought before *Nero*, he expected nothing but death, when the emperor conferred upon him the government of *Syria*, and alſo charged him with the conduct of the war againſt the *Jews*.

Nero having, in a triumphant manner, taken his farewel of *Greece*, where he had loitered away two years, was no ſooner arrived at *Naples*, being the day on which he had murdered his mother, than news came to him that the province of *Gallia* had renounced his obedience. *C. Julius Vindex*, a *Gall* by birth, but a *Roman* ſenator, was the projector of this conſpiracy in favour of *Galba*, and he did it with a generous view to relieve his countrymen from the cruel tyranny of *Nero*.

Nero ſeem'd highly pleaſed and rejoic'd at the news; for now, he thought he had a juſtifiable plea, ſhould he ſpoil and plunder the rich provinces of *Gallia*. But his joy was ſoon abated, by many dreams, and preſages of his future calamity. He had never before been accuſtomed to have any viſions in his ſleep, and therefore the two following threw him into an inexpreſſible confuſion. He dreamt, *That as he was directing a ſhip, his mother appeared to him in a terrible manner, and ſtruck the helm out of his hand:* And again, *that his wife* Octavia, *by force, drove him into everlaſting darkneſs*. There fell, at mount *Alba*, a ſhower of blood, which ſwell'd the rivers; and the doors of his chamber, as well as the gates of the mauſoleum, or ſepulchre of *Auguſtus*, opening of themſelves at one and the ſame hour of the night, a voice was diſtinctly heard, ſummoning him to come thither by name.

Nero made his entry into *Rome* in as magnificent a manner as he could have done had he returned with the ſpoils of the whole earth. A part of the city wall was broke down, and one of the gates beat in pieces, in order to let the *Romans* ſee he would be without no ſpecies of honour that belonged to one who had been a conqueror at the games. He was preceeded by a number of perſons, carrying the crowns that he had won in *Greece*; then follow'd thoſe who on the points of their lances diſplayed the writings which contained a liſt of the wiſe monarch's combats, and alſo gave the world to know, that *Nero* was the firſt man among the *Romans* who had ever gained ſuch victories in *Greece*. Laſt of all appear'd *Nero* himſelf, upon the ſame ſumptuous car which had formerly ſerv'd *Auguſtus* in his triumphs. He was habited in a purple robe, embroidered with gold, having a crown of olives upon his head, and a branch of laurel in his hand. A common fidler, *Diodorus* by name, had the favour to ſit by his ſide; and the ſoldiers, knights, and ſenators, cloſed the triumphal march.

All the city was illuminated, as well as adorned, with flowers and crowns, and filled with agreeable perfumes; and in this ridiculous manner making a proceſſion through all the ſtreets and places of the city, he had the pleaſure to be all the way ſaluted by a general acclamation of the whole company, in theſe, or the like ſhameful expreſſions: *Here comes our* Nero, *our* Auguſtus, *our* Hercules, *our* Apollo, *our invincible hero at all combats.* Nero, *alone, is everlaſting.* Auguſtus *for ever. O voice divine! Thrice happy thoſe whom the emperor ſhall eſteem ſo far as to let them hear him.*

About this time were St. *Paul* and St. *Peter* martyr'd at *Rome* by *Nero*. Their impriſonment and death is by ſome of the antients aſcribed to the glorious victory they had obtain'd over *Simon*, the magician. This wicked impoſtor (who had been baptized by *Philip*, the deacon, in *Samaria*, and ſacrilegiouſly wanted to buy of St. *Peter* the gift of the holy ghoſt) being now at *Rome* with his concubine *Helene*, whom he called the principle underſtanding, and making it his buſineſs to deceive mankind with ſorcery and inchantments, was engaged by the two apoſtles, and ſo egregiouſly baffled, that having nothing to ſay in his own defence, he turned himſelf to the by-ſtanders, and telling them he would prove his divinity, by flying up into heaven, from whence he came; he forthwith aſcended to the top of the capitol and thence, by the help of the devil, ſpringing into the air, he kept himſelf, for a while, in that poſture, to the great ſurprize of a multitude of ſpectators. But the glorious apoſtles had no ſooner pour'd out their ſoul in prayer, than the devil deſerted his ſcholar, and down fell *Simon*, being cruſh'd to pieces ſo very near the place were *Nero* himſelf ſate, that ſome of his blood ſpurted upon the tyrant.

This accident ſo provoked *Nero*, who had a particular value for *Simon*, on account of his magical tricks, that he inſtantly impriſoned the two apoſtles, and, in about eleven months after, put them to death. They were both ſhut up in the ſame priſon, and, during the time they continued there, they not only converted two of the principal perſons who guarded 'em, but forty-ſeven others, who all, afterwards, ſuffer'd martyrdom. St. *Paul* and St. *Peter* were both executed upon one and the ſame day, *viz.* the 29th of *June*, the former being beheaded, and the latter crucified with his head downwards, according to his own deſire. And in leſs than two years afterwards was St. *Mark* murder'd, by the *Pagans* at *Alexendria*.

In the mean time, *Veſpaſian* being arrived at *Ptolemais*, where his ſon *Titus* joined him with two legions, and the kings, *Agrippa*, *Antiochus*, *Sohemus*, and *Malchus*, met him with auxiliary forces, and ſoon finding himſelf at the head of ſixty thouſand brave men; he immediately determined to march againſt *Galilee*. And penetrating into the country without oppoſition, for *Joſephus*'s ſoldiers could by no means be perſuaded to come to blows with the *Romans*, the great city *Sepphorus* voluntarily ſubmitted, and *Gadara* was, at one briſk puſh, taken and deſtroy'd.

He next led his forces againſt *Japha*, where fifteen thouſand *Gallileans* were put to the ſword. At the ſame time did *Sextus Cerealis* make an attack on the *Samaritans*, who had poſted themſelves upon mount *Garizim*, and ſlew eleven thouſand, and ſix hundred of them upon the ſpot. Then *Veſpaſian* ſat down before *Jotapata* (which was valiantly defended by *Joſephus*, the governor, and hiſtorian); which he took by ſtorm on the fortieth day of the ſiege, and with the ſlaughter of forty thouſand *Jews*. Hereupon, *Joſephus* ſurrendered to his mercy, with theſe brave ſentiments in his heart: *A man cannot die more honourably than in defence of his country, nor commit a greater wickedneſs againſt his creator, or more abhorent from nature it ſelf, than to fall by his own hands.* *Veſpaſian*, at firſt, propoſed to ſend *Joſephus* to *Nero*; but *Joſephus* had no ſooner certified him, *that he ſhould one day ſucceed to the empire*, than he laid aſide the thought, and ever after treated him with great honour and reſpect.

After this, *Veſpaſian* ſending his army to *Cæſarea* and *Schythopolis*, to refreſh themſelves, made a viſit to king *Agrippa* at *Cæſaria Philippi*; where being, for twenty days, elegantly entertain'd, he then came back to renew the war. *Joppe* fell next into his hands, and was reduc'd to a heap of aſhes. *Tiberias* came to a willing ſubmiſſion, but *Tarichæa* ſtood it out, and was, therefore, put to the ſtorm, and deſtroy'd: And thoſe *Galileans* that had encamped by the lake of *Geneſard*, were, at the ſame time, cut down, with ſuch a horrible ſlaughter, as impregnated the ſtagnating water with an infection that was intolerable to paſſengers. Thirty thouſand of the priſoners were ſold, and ſix thouſand ſent into *Greece*, in order to be ſet a digging at the iſthmus. At this action *Titus* ſignaliz'd his valour; for having a horſe kill'd under him, he immediately mounted another, whoſe rider he had, but the minute before, laid ſprawling at his feet.

Theſe ſucceſſes being ſoon follow'd with the ruin of *Gamala* and *Giſcala*, which compleated the conqueſt of *Galilee*; *Veſpaſian* had now nothing elſe to do, but turn his arms againſt *Judæa*, *Peræa*, and *Idumæa*: As to *Jeruſalem*, he thought it adviſeable to defer the ſiege of it to a more proper opportunity. Having underſtood, by deſerters, how violently the *Jews* raged their, one againſt another, filling all the city with blood and murder; he had a mind to let his enemies for ſome time fall by their own hands, knowing that the remainder would at laſt be an eaſy prey to himſelf.

Whilſt *Veſpaſian* was thus ſpreading the terror of his name, and *Nero* ſinging, fiddleing, and dancing at *Rome*; *Galba*, who commanded in *Spain*, was proclaimed emperor by the army. *Nero* having now, by a publick crier, promiſed a reward of twenty-five thouſand millions of drams to any perſon who ſhould kill *Vindex*, and bring in his head: *I will*, anſwer'd Vindex, *give my own head for a præmium, to any man who ſhall bring me that of* Nero. Among all the reproaches which *Vindex* diſpers'd abroad, nothing ſtruck *Nero* with ſo bitter a concern, as being call'd a wretched muſician. Hereupon, ſending for ſome ſenators, he only (inſtead of conſulting them on the manner that might avert the impending ſtorm) expreſs'd himſelf in theſe words: *I have finiſhed and perfected the art of muſick, and alſo found out a way to give an inſtrument a bold and manly ſound: and yet* Vindex *has the aſſurance to ſay, I am a bad artiſt: Which may convince the world that all his other invectives are equally unmerited, and groundleſs.*

In the interim, *Rufus*, governor of *Germany*, pretending a ſincere regard to the intereſt of *Nero*; marched with all his forces againſt *Vindex*. On his arrival at *Beſancon* in *Gallia*, he laid ſiege to it, becauſe the inhabitants had refuſed to open their gates to him. And *Vindex* coming to the relief of the beſieged, meſſages paſs'd between the two generals, and a private conference followed, wherein they made an agreement to depoſe *Nero*. But *Vindex* having, afterwards, taken a march, as if he intended to throw ſome troops into the city, and *Rufus*'s army believing that his deſign was to attack them; they immediately fell upon him, without any order given from their general; and putting his ſoldiers to flight, killed a great number of them: Which ſo diſpirited *Vindex*, that he run upon his own ſword, and ſlew himſelf.

When *Rufus*'s army came to underſtand that they had cut to pieces their friends, inſtead of enemies, they, as well as *Rufus*, ſhew'd a hearty ſorrow for the fatal accident: And now joining the poor remains of the *Gallick* forces, they demoliſh'd *Nero*'s ſtatues, and, with one conſent, declar'd *Rufus* their emperor. But *Rufus*, who was a man of an uncommon elevation of thought, rejected their offer of the ſupreme command, with as reſolved and keen a purpoſe, as others ſtrive to get at it. The ſoldiers having writ his name upon ſeveral of their enſigns, he inſtantly caus'd it to be expunged; nor would he give himſelf any reſt, till he had prevail'd upon them to ſubmit the choice of an emperor to the ſenate and people.

Nero being by this time awaken'd out of his infamous attention to low things, begun to conſider within himſelf how he ſhould weather out his rebellion; and concluding, after his accuſtomed wicked manner, there could be no ſafety for him whilſt any of thoſe whom he ſuſpected were left alive; he not only took a reſolution to diſpatch the whole ſenate by poiſon, but to kill his generals, governors of provinces, baniſhed perſons, and all that were of *Gallick* extraction in *Italy*. He likewiſe deſign'd to have the city once more ſet on fire; and, to the end the deſtruction might be total, his intention was, to let looſe all his wild beaſts upon the people: For the monſter thought that ſelf-preſervation would, in this caſe, deter 'em from extinguiſhing the flames. Nor was it the leaſt ſpark of humanity that with-held him from executing theſe bloody projects, but the deſpair of being able to accompliſh them.

As ſoon as he heard *Galba* and *Rufus* had, alſo, rebell'd againſt him, all his animal functions ceas'd at once, and, tumbling to the ground, he for ſome time appear'd to have ſcarce any life in him: And when he had recover'd his ſpirits, he fell a tearing his clothes, beating his head againſt the wall, and crying out, he was undone. He now made a few preparations for the war, and ſent *Rubrius Gallus* with ſome forces againſt the conſpirators. But theſe had no ſooner marched out of the city, than they declared for *Galba*, as did, alſo, *Nymphidius Sabinus*, *Tigellinus*, and all his guards.

In this perplexity, *Nero* turn'd over many expedients within his mind; as flying into *Ægypt*, *where*, he ſaid, *he could gain his bread by ſinging, and playing upon inſtruments*; ſeeking refuge in *Parthia*, or making his ſupplication to *Galba*, or the people. But however a coward may daringly trample upon mankind while inveſted with power, yet, when affliction comes, the coward always deſerts himſelf. This was the caſe of *Nero*; he could while away the hours in uſeleſs thoughts, but had not the courage to determine and act any thing.

Thus ſuſpended in mind, he went to bed; but waking about the middle of the night, and finding that the ſmall band of men, who had hitherto attended him, were, alſo, gone; he got up in a great fright, and ſending about to all his friends, but receiving no anſwer, he next went himſelf, and knock'd at their lodgings, but with the ſame effect. Hereupon, returning to his own chamber, he had the misfortune to ſee that his domeſticks had all forſook him, and carried off his goods, together with the box of poiſon which *Locuſta* had prepared for him. He now with tears called out for an executioner, to put an end to his life; however, meeting with no one that would do him that bloody favour, *I therefore think*, ſaid he, *I have neither friend nor enemy*. Then taking a run, he made a ſhew as if he purpoſed to drown himſelf in the *Tiber*; but his heart miſgave him.

After this, thinking the ſafeſt courſe he could take was to retire into ſome hiding-place, bare footed, as he happened to be, he covered himſelf up with an old garment, and mounting a horſe, with all ſpeed quitted the city, attended only with four of his freed men. And being in his way frighten'd and detain'd a little by a great earthquake and lightning, he diſtinctly heard the ſoldiers roaring out curſes againſt himſelf, and wiſhing proſperity to *Galba*, who then was in the ſeventy-third year of his age. *Nero* did not, till this event, ſmell out the trick that the devil's agent had put upon him, when he bid him *beware of the year ſeventy-third*. He had before interpreted it in his own favour, but he now ſaw that it only referr'd to *Galba*.

Being at laſt arrived at the cavern which was to give him ſhelter, he, upon all four, crept in, accompanied by his freed men: But ſuch a terror ſhook him, that he durſt neither ſleep nor ſpeak, ſuſpecting even his freed men, and trembling at the leaſt noiſe that ſtirr'd. He ſilently groaned at the compariſon between his former ſplendor and magnificence, and his preſent miſery and wretchedneſs, and then diſſolv'd into a flood of tears. Had this flow of grief proceeded from a ſenſe of guilt, he might have deſerved a ſprinkling of pity; but as ſelf-love was the pump, and cowardice the hand that work'd it; it ſurpaſs'd the power of man to contrive a puniſhment that could riſe high enough to equal his crimes.

Beginning now to be ſore preſs'd both with hunger and thirſt, they preſented him with ſome brown bread, and a little water, of which taking as much as ſatisfied him; *This*, ſaid he, *is the moſt delicious entertainment I ever taſted in my life. Alas!* anſwer'd Epaphroditus, *you have reduced your ſelf to ſuch a circumſtance as demands the uſe of a ſword, and not victuals; your preſent care ſhould only be to prevent thoſe abuſes which will, otherwiſe, be done to your body*. He then bid them dig a hole in proportion to his body, and deſiring them to make the beſt preparations they could towards his funeral, he mournfully ſighed and wept over the following lamentation: *Oh how wonderful an artiſt muſt die to day!*

Whilſt fear was thus rending and dividing the heart of *Nero*, a ſervant of *Phaon* arrived with an account that the ſenate had not only declared him a publick enemy, but condemned him to be puniſhed *more majorum*, or *after the cuſtom of their anceſtors*. *Nero* underſtood not what kind of death that was; but as ſoon as they informed him *that he muſt be dragged naked along the ſtreets, have his neck made faſt in a pillory, and ſo be whipped by the hand of the hangman till he expired*; he ſhook every joint of him, and, in haſte, calling for two daggers, and pitifully regarding their points, *Oh!* ſaid he, *my fatal time is not yet come. Why doſt not thou,* Sporus, *weep and deplore my caſe? Oh! can I not get one of you to teach me, by an example, how I ſhall kill my ſelf?* At length, being aſſured that the guards, which the ſenate had ſent to take him alive, were within a ſhort diſtance of him; he cried out, *As I have liv'd ſo let me die, infamouſly:* And ſnatching up a poniard, run himſelf through the throat, by the help of *Epaphroditus*, who guided and enforc'd his trembling hand. The centurion, who came to ſeize him, finding him ſtill alive, pretended great friendſhip to him, and would have bound up his wound: But *Nero*, caſting a ghaſtly look at him, made anſwer, *It is too late. Where is the oath of fidelity you gave me?* And ſo he expired; having lived one and thirty years, and reigned thirteen, and eight months, all but two days.

Had *Nero*'s diſorderly appetite travelled no farther than the ſtage, it could only have cover'd him with infamy, without hurting any body elſe; but the cowardly and extravagant part in his conſtitution worked him up into ſuch a monſter, that he took a ſingular delight in all acts of injuſtice, as well as the deſtruction of mankind. How great muſt his violence be, which could make the people of *Rome* congratulate the friends and relations of thoſe thirty thouſand perſons whom the peſtilence (that immediately ſucceeded the perſecution of the *Chriſtians*) in one autumn ſwept away? The *Romans* expreſſed a particular joy at their death, thinking them happy in having thus eſcaped the fury of the tyrant.

He was the firſt of the *Roman* emperors who had not eloquence enough of his own to make a figure in publick. As proſperity raiſed him to ſuch a pitch of cruelty and inſolence as made him reſemble a devil, rather than a man; adverſity ſunk him into ſuch a ſhameleſs ſtate of cowardice and dejection, as degraded him into a level with the meaneſt of the brutes. Had the devil himſelf been his tutor, he could not have brought wickedneſs to a greater height, than it actually appear'd in *Nero*; nothing like a commendable quality could be ſeen in him, if it was not that he always ſhew'd a diſregard to libels and reproaches. Now tho' there cannot be a *truly brave man, who does not forgive all injuries done to himſelf*, and abide unruffled in the midſt of obloquy and defamation; yet this habitude in *Nero* was not an effect of virtue, but cunning, which ſuggeſted to him that the more he took notice of ſuch things, he would but the more effectually hurt his own character.

Galba, *A.D.* 71. *vulg. Æra* 68.

Galba was deſcended of an ancient and honourable family, but would not have aſpired to the imperial ſcepter, had he not been led to it, in conſideration of his own ſafety, as well as ſeveral little accidents that ſeem'd to preſage to him this future honour. *Nero* had ſuborned a parcel of aſſaſſins to take away his life; he dreamt, that *Fortune* appear'd to him, expreſſing her ſelf in theſe words: *I have of a long time ſtood at your door, without being able to enter; and if you make me wait any longer, I ſhall turn to ſome body elſe.* As his grandfather aſſiſted at an expiatory ſacrifice, and held the entrails in his hand, an eagle, darting down upon him, ſtole them away, and depoſited them in a fruitful tree; *which was a ſign*, ſaid the ſacrificer, *that the ſupreme power would one day reſt in a deſcendant of his family. Yes, indeed*, anſwer'd he, in a jeſt, *when a mule ſhall bring forth.* And at this time a mule brought a foal, to the great joy of *Galba*; likewiſe, ſome veſſels, loaded with arms, had arrived on the coaſt of *Spain*, without any mariners to direct them; and a young lad, who carried incenſe before *Galba*, to a ſacrifice, had the hair of his head, of an inſtant, changed into grey; which ſeem'd to denote, that the ſovereign authority would paſs out of the hands of a young man, into thoſe of *Galba*. Theſe ſlight preſages, together with his own fear, added to the general invitation of his ſoldiers, determined the old man to conſpire againſt *Nero*.

He always kept his ſoldiers to ſuch a thorough ſevere diſcipline, that he no ſooner gave his preſence among them, than the whole camp handed about the following whiſper: *Learn, ſoldier, to handle thy arms; for thou haſt to deal with* Galba, *and not* Gætulicus. He had preſided in *Africa* for two years, where, compoſing their civil diſſentions, he acted the part of a ſevere juſticiary. A ſoldier having, in a time of ſcarcity, ſold ſome corn, which he ought not to have done, *Galba* made out an order that none of the army ſhould ſupply him when he happened to want proviſions: And ſo the poor fellow was ſtarved to death.

In the firſt years of his government of *Spain*, he diligently attended to the adminiſtration of juſtice. Two men contending before him about the property of a labouring beaſt, and the arguments adduced of either ſide falling inſufficient to convince him where he ſhould fix the right; his decree was, *that the beaſt, being blind-folded, ſhould be led to its uſual watering-place, then be uncovered, and afterwards belong to him whom it firſt came after its return from the water.* A banker being convicted of having dealt fraudulently, he cauſed both his hands to be chopp'd off, and nailed upon his own counting-table. A guardian having poiſoned a pupil, to whom he was next heir; *Galba* juſtly commanded him to be put to death: But growing, at laſt, tir'd of a laudable adminiſtration, he wholly addicted himſelf to ſports and idleneſs, pretending *he would not do any thing for the future that might offend* Nero. *For*, ſaid he, *no one is bound to give an account of his vacant hours.* And thus committing the management of affairs to underlings, he ſuffer'd the province to be over-run with bribery and violence. It is not enough that a governor abſtains from injuſtice himſelf; he ſhould, alſo, hinder his under-agents from oppreſſing the people: For if he does not, he is as guilty as if he had perſonally authorized it.

The ſoldiers that compoſed the body-guard of *Nero*, having gone out to meet *Galba* on his approach to *Rome*, and made a ſupplication that he would allow them to preſerve the rank *Nero* had preferr'd them to; he not only denied their requeſt, but compelled his army to fall upon them. And though, by this means, ſeven thouſand of them were cut to pieces, yet his fury was not ſatisfied; he thought the reſt had ſtill a ſeditious look, and therefore he commanded them to be decimated, or every tenth man to be put to death. The old man was infected with obſtinacy to ſuch a degree, that he eaſily perſuaded himſelf, *Nothing could be more heroick in an emperor, than to perſiſt in his own opinion; nor more unbecoming, than to be drawn to conſent to any thing againſt his will.*

He had, before his acceſſion to the empire, ſent an embaſſy to the ſeveral armies, promiſing them a larger donative than ordinary, in caſe they took an oath of fidelity to him: But when once he had executed his own purpoſe, he broke his word, excuſing himſelf in theſe unreaſonable terms: *It is my cuſtom to chuſe ſoldiers, and not buy them.* And the guard of *Germans*, which had always faithfully ſerved the *Cæſars*, were diſmiſs'd into their own country, without one farthing to carry them home. This was done, becauſe he ſuſpected they favour'd *Cn. Dolabella* more than him. He likewiſe remov'd the prætorian bands, out of a preſumption that they had ſided with *Nymphidius*, whom he had formerly put to death. *Halotus* and *Tigellinus* were the only perſons, of all the wicked agents of *Nero*, whom he ſaved alive; nor had he any other reaſon for it, but that the people of *Rome* earneſtly ſollicited their execution.

He came with much greater honour and benevolence to the empire, than he afterwards adminiſter'd it, being wholly directed and ſway'd by the arbitrary will of three men, whom the people therefore called his ſchoolmaſters. Theſe were *T. Vinius*, a fellow of inſatiable avarice; *Cornelius Laco*, an inſolent and ungovernable fool; and *Icelus*, his freed man, who had no other care than to enrich himſelf: Theſe tutors of *Galba*, acting in every thing as they pleas'd, ſoon made him ſeem little and contemptible in the eyes of all the people. Several ſenators, as well as knights, were condemn'd to death for no cauſe; and innocence, no more than guilt, could be ſafe, or acquitted without ready money.

Whilſt theſe things were a doing, matters in *Judæa* had arriv'd to an outragious criſis; countrymen were ſheathing their ſwords in the bowels of countrymen, and troops of robbers ſcattering waſte and deſolation every where. At laſt, theſe ruffians enrich'd with plunder, made a forcible entry into *Jeruſalem*, where they exercis'd all manner of cruelties, ruining the city with diviſions, ſcarcity, rapine, and murder. Notwithſtanding theſe horrid impieties, they pretended an extraordinary zeal for the laws and cuſtoms of their country, and therefore took upon themſelves the name of zealots.

Theſe rebels having depos'd *Ananus* from the high-prieſthood, ſubſtituted, in his room, *Phannias*, an ignorant *Plebeian*, who underſtood nothing of the duty of the office to which they had rais'd him. Hereupon, *Ananus* made ſuch a ſtrong party againſt them, as oblig'd 'em to run for ſhelter to the temple, where they prepar'd to defend themſelves: And as this ſacrilegious multitude proceeded even to profane the holy place, that abomination gave every thinking perſon a manifeſt preſage of approaching ruin. This was the *abomination of deſolation ſpoken of by* Daniel *the prophet*, which our Lord bid his deciples take for a warning, and *then flee into the mountains.*

The zealots finding themſelves beſieged in the temple, and diſtruſting their own ſtrength, ſent an humble requeſt to the *Idumæans* for a ſpeedy ſuccour. The *Idumæans*, who eaſily believed their fallacious cant of liberty, accordingly, came; and being, by a ſtratagem, let into the city, join'd the zealots, who immediately giving battle to the inhabitants, put eight thouſand of them to the ſword: Then carrying plunder through all places, they kill'd *Ananus*, the high-prieſt, together with moſt of the principal men of the city. *Zacharias*, the ſon of *Baruch*, though abſolv'd by the ſeventy judges, was murder'd in the middle of the temple, and his body thrown away, without burial. After the ſame manner did they treat the bodies of all who fell under their ſlaughter; *They were traitors*, they ſaid, *and deſerters of the rights and liberties of their country, and therefore ſhould not be honoured with a ſepulchre.*

An infinite number of people being thus deſtroy'd, the *Idumæans* begun to be ſenſible how villainouſly the zealots had impos'd upon them, and therefore giving liberty to two thouſand innocent perſons, who had been impriſon'd, they return'd home. And now the zealots raged more furiouſly than ever, ſparing none whom they ſuſpected of a deſign to favour or fly to the *Romans*.

In the mean time, thoſe who held *Maſſada* depopulated the whole country, and *Veſpaſian*, invited by the *Gadarens*, made an entire conqueſt of *Peræa*, driving all its inhabitants towards the river *Jordan*, which happening then to overflow all its banks, and thereby rendering their eſcape impoſſible; the tribune *Placidus*, coming up with them, a terrible ſlaughter follow'd; fifteen thouſand of them fell by the ſwords of his army, an innumerable multitude periſh'd in *Jordan*, and the lake *Aſphaltites* was crowded with the carcaſſes of others. *Veſpaſian* next took into *Geraſa*, and built two caſtles at *Jericho* and *Adida*, to the end, that ſerving as bridles to the country, he might have nothing to divert him from the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*, againſt which he had now reſolved to lead all his forces. But whilſt theſe things were a paſſing in his mind, news arrived of the death of *Nero*, which occaſion'd him to delay the expedition, till he ſhould receive freſh inſtructions from *Galba*.

The lawleſs tyranny of *Galba*'s ſchoolmaſters added to his own inglorious ſloth, which permitted him not to extend a thought beyond the gratification of his own belly, putting the people upon a narrow enquiry into the moſt minute ſteps of his former life. When the ſum came to be caſt up, ſuch a heap of offences appear'd, as gave a diſtaſte to all orders and degrees of men. He had, with heavy tributes, oppreſs'd all the cities of *Gallia* and *Spain*, that did not enter readily into his ambitious views, and likewiſe puniſh'd ſome of them with the demolition of their walls; and a rumour went, that a number of officers, who had not punctually executed his commiſſion, were adjudg'd to death, together with their wives and children. Beſides, the *Taraconian* province of *Spain*, having made him a preſent of a crown of gold, which ſhould have weigh'd fifteen pounds, he order'd it to be melted down; and finding that it wanted three ounces, he ſeverely chid them, and commanded them to make good the weight. They alſo objected againſt him, a covetous and ſordid temper, which could not help ſighing over a plentiful table, nor obſerve dignity in any one inſtance of his conduct. The ſteward of his houſhold laying before him a ſtate of his expences, he prais'd the man for his care, and rewarded him with a common diſh of pulſe. To another, who had wonderfuly pleas'd him, he gave the ſum of thirty-ſeven pence halfpenny, out of his own pocket.

Whilſt the ſpirit of diſcontent was thus gathering at *Rome*, the armies in *Germany*, who could not put up *Galba*'s breach of promiſe, enter'd into a general revolt. The ſoldiers, who ſerved in the higher province, not being able to ſhake the ſteddy mind of *Rufus*, made their application to *Vitellius*, who governed in the *Lower Germany*, and offering him the empire, promis'd to ſtand and fall with him. They did not conſider that *Vitellius* had in his youth officiated under the infamous taſte of *Tiberius* and ever ſince liv'd in an abominable courſe of debauch. His diſſolute life ſeem'd a recommendation. They ſhould, they thought, ſee pleaſant days under the government of a prince whoſe attention center'd within the narrow ſphere of a ſoft appetite.

As for *Vitellius*, though he never dreamt of arriving at this honour, yet, when it came, he greedily embrac'd it; which news being underſtood at *Room*, *Galba*, who only fancied his want of iſſue had brought him into contempt, adopted *Lucius Piſo*, a gentleman of an illuſtrious birth, and approved virtue; and, calling him ſon, carried him to the camp, and declar'd him *Cæſar*. But as avarice, which, in his eſteem, had a preference to all other conſiderations, with-held him from obliging the ſoldiers with a powerful lure of a donative; *Salvius Otho* from thence took an opportunity to work the deſtruction both of father and ſon.

Galba having order'd a moſt precious and valuable necklace to be got ready, with a deſign to adorn his *Fortune* at *Tuſculum*, but afterwards altering his purpoſe, and dedicating it to *Venus*; he, the ſame night, dreamt, *that a repreſentation of* Fortune *ſtood by his bed-ſide, and giving in a complaint againſt the fraud he had been guilty of towards her, threatened ſhe would alſo deprive him of what ſhe had beſtow'd upon him.* As he return'd to the city, and was going into his palace, the earth ſhook under him, and a noiſe was heard reſembling the bellowing of cattle. At a ſacrifice, the crown fell off his head; and, the morning before he was kill'd, the ſacrificer bid him *arm againſt danger, for thoſe were near at hand that would give the blow.* Each of theſe preſages had, in its turn, ſtruck *Galba* with a very great concern; he therefore reſolved to keep upon guard, and not ſtir out of his own houſe.

In the mean time, *Otho*, who implacably reſented *Galba*'s paſſing by him, and adopting *Piſo*, having corrupted the ſoldiers by money, and promiſes, was declared emperor at the camp. Hereupon, *Galba* ſent a meſſage to them, deſiring they would change their raſh ſentiments, and return to their duty. Upon this, the conſpirators, that they might entice him to walk abroad, ſpread a report that his friends had quell'd the ſedition, and, putting to death thoſe who ſought his life, were upon their march with the army to congratulate him: Which account being vouched by a ſoldier, who came into his preſence with a bloody ſword, and addreſs'd him in theſe words; *Be of good courage, my lord, I have juſt now killed* Otho, *and therefore given you a quiet poſſeſſion of the empire:* He immediately, renouncing all fear, went towards the capitol to perform ſacrifice.

The cavalry, whom *Otho* had charged with the murder, made a ſudden ſtop, as ſoon as they ſaw *Galba* coming forward; they were, at firſt, ſhock'd a little at the thought of imbruing their hands in the blood of their maſter: But the hope of a reward ſoon getting the better of their judgment, they tumultuouſly advanced, in order to ſurround and kill him. He now promiſed them money, adding theſe words; *What are you going to do, fellow ſoldiers? I am yours, and you are mine.* But finding nothing would prevail upon them, he openly expos'd his throat, and bid them *ſtrike, ſince that was their reſolution.*

On the approach of the aſſaſſins, all his own attendants deſerted him, excepting only the centurion *Sempronius Druſus*, who gallantly died in his defence. When they had mortally wounded *Galba*, and thrown him upon the ground, he ſaid no more, but *What have I done, to deſerve this treatment?* He was ſlain in the forum, near the place where *Marcus Curtius* mounted on horſeback, and in armour jump'd into the gulf, and left upon the ſpot; till a ſoldier, who returned from foraging, cut off his head, and, taking hold by the mouth (becauſe there was no hair upon the head), carried it to *Otho*. The ſoldiers then fix'd it upon a ſpear, and made a jeſt of it all over the camp. *Galba*'s three ſchoolmaſters, together with *Piſo*, and ſeveral others, were alſo put to death. And thus fell *Galba*, in the ſeventy-third year of his age, and the ſeventh month of his reign.

Galba before his acceſſion, had an illuſtrious character from every body, his merit and capacity being always thought equal to that high rank, till he came to the trial. But monarchy and a private ſtation require a quite different management; many faults eſcape obſervation in the latter, but few, if any, can be hid in the other. What might be ſmooth'd over with the cloak of frugality in a private man, would in a monarch deſerve the ſordid name of avarice. A more than ordinary indulgence to a low appetite or two, may, in a ſubject, meet with a favourable conſtruction; but a ſovereign, whoſe vices never fail to diſſeminate themſelves through a whole people, cannot expect ſuch quarter. *Galba* was covetous, and covetouſneſs is ſeldom ſeen without a train of ugly conſequences: Avarice and virtue are as great oppoſites as light and darkneſs; they cannot dwell together within the ſame roof. He was, likewiſe, diſtruſtful, and ſuſpicious, and, of courſe, obſtinately cruel. He only had the name of emperor, whilſt three of his creatures ruled: And though, during the ſhort time of his adminiſtration, it could be ſaid he did no miſchief himſelf, yet, as he ſuffered his miniſters to oppreſs and deſtroy whom they pleas'd, their crimes were, in fact and reality, his own: For their can be no acceſſaries in oppreſſion and murder.

Otho, *A.D.* 71. *vulg.Æra* 68.

Otho had, from youth upwards, been addicted to all ſorts of extravagance and lewdneſs; he ſoon run out the eſtate his father had left him, and being then put to his ſhifts, he made ſtrong love to an old and rich freed woman, who had a great intereſt at court; and getting, by her means, a recommendation to *Nero*, he, in a ſhort time after, ſo inſinuated himſelf to the monarch, that he became one of his principal friends. They eat, they drank, they wench'd together, and, at laſt, had but one wife between them, till *Nero* thought fit to take *Otho*'s ſpouſe wholly to himſelf. Then it was that *Nero*'s jealouſy incited him to ſend *Otho* to a government abroad, which made the people ſay, *that the prince had beſtowed a fallacious honour upon him, for fear the man ſhould commit adultery with his own wife.* He had, before this time, been conſcious to all *Nero*'s helliſh deſigns and machinations, but after the grant of the government of *Luſitania*, repair'd to his province, which he adminiſter'd for ten years with ſingular moderation and abſtinence.

He had, with all his might, favoured the rebellion of *Galba*, hoping that the old man would adopt him; but failing in his expectation, and being deeply ſunk in debt, which gave a terrible addition to his ſorrow, he immediately reſolv'd to ſeize upon the empire. He openly ſaid, 'If I cannot attain to the ſupreme authority, it will not be poſſible for me to keep my feet: Nor is it any matter of odds to me, whether I die in battle by the ſword of an enemy, or fall by the hands of my creditors in a goal.' He therefore made an attempt, and ſucceeded.

Having inſtantly offer'd ſacrifice for his own proſperity, and obſerving the entrails of the beaſt look diſmally upon him; *I wiſh*, ſaid he, *I had not undertaken to play upon this great pipe.* Which is a proverb levelled at thoſe who do any thing contrary to their own intereſt. Then going to the ſenate, he told them, in a few words, 'that he had been forced to take upon him the ſupreme command, but would govern with the common conſent of all.'

As he next held on his way to the palace, the mob, among other compliments, ſaluted him with the ſirname of *Nero*; nor did he ſeem to be in the leaſt offended at it, or refuſe it. But the firſt night of his new dignity gave him no ſmall inquietude. His guards, who attended in the next room, hearing him utter many loud groans in his ſleep, and afterwards get a violent fall out of his bed; run in to learn what was the matter: *I have*, ſaid he, *been diſturbed, and expelled my bed by* Galba. And henceforward he omitted nothing that he or others thought might pacify the ghoſt of *Galba*.

He ſeem'd to have a great reſpect for the memory of *Nero*, for he not only reſtored all his domeſticks and freed men to their former places, and ſubſcribed money to perfect his ſumptuous palace; but replac'd all his images and ſtatues, and alſo ſign'd abundance of letters with the additional name of *Nero*: Which gave the wiſer part an apprehenſion that he meant to tread in the ſteps of *Nero*. However, he agreeably diſappointed them, acting, in moſt caſes, with great equity and juſtice: And tho' his own inclination prompted him to all manner of wickedneſs, yet laying an effectual curb upon it, he made it his principal care and ſtudy to gain the hearts and good-will of the people. He conſidered he was ſurrounded with enemies, and had much to fear from the growing intereſt of *Vitellius*; he therefore would do nothing that might increaſe the number of the firſt, or add to the ſtrength of the latter. He had wit enough to know that a gratification of vicious appetites would ſoon cover him with a general contempt, and, of conſequence, weaken his hands; for which reaſon, he induſtriouſly avoided all occaſions that might draw him into the ſnare.

He treated his ſubjects with extraordinary kindneſs and affability, was eaſy of acceſs, and ſent no man away from his preſence with a heavy heart. He daily frequented the theatre, thinking, thereby, to acquire the love and affection of the people. He made many ſtrangers free of the city of *Rome*, and was by no means a niggard in magnificent promiſes; but all his endeavours to conciliate the minds of the *Romans*, were ineffectual. His former abandon'd manner of life had caſt ſuch a cloud over him, that they could ſee nothing in his preſent behaviour but affectation and comedy; and his intimate conjunction and familiarity with *Sporus*, and the other favourites of *Nero*, confirmed them in their opinion. However, the ſenate let go no opportunities that might give a teſtimony of their attachment to him, doing all that lay within their power to ſettle him in the poſſeſſion of the empire.

Whilſt affairs were thus circulating, *Veſpaſian* had laid his commands upon *Titus* to ſet out for *Rome*, and carry his reſpects to *Galba*. King *Agrippa* attended *Titus* in the voyage, with a deſign to make his compliments to the new emperor; but being ſome time retarded in their way, they had no ſooner touched at *Achaia*, than they received the news of the death of *Galba*, and the ſucceſſion of *Otho*. This alteration did not hinder *Agrippa* from proſecuting the voyage; but *Titus*, who wiſely regarded the event as a matter that demanded farther advice, returned to his father at *Cæſarea*.

Veſpaſian left *Cæſarea* on the fifth of *June*, with a reſolution to make himſelf maſter of all places that lay about *Jeruſalem*. He ſeized ſeveral little toparchies, or juriſdictions, belonging to towns, and taking the cities of *Bethel* and *Ephraim*, put *Roman* garriſons in them. He alſo reduced and burnt the famous city of *Hebron*, and, by his lieutenant *Cerealis*, ſcattered deſolation through all the territories of *Idumæa*. And having thus made a final conqueſt of all *Judæa*, excepting only *Jeruſalem* and the three caſtles of *Maſſada*, *Macheron*, and *Herodium*; he determined to give his ſoldiers a ſuſpenſion of arms, that they might refreſh themſelves. The poſture of affairs look'd very muddy at *Rome*, and he had no mind to exhauſt his army upon foreign exploits, becauſe he did not know but their aſſiſtance might ſoon be wanted at home. He therefore went back to *Cæſarea*.

About this time, an impoſtor, going to *Parthia*, and giving out a plauſible ſtory, brought the *Parthians* into a belief that he really was the emperor *Nero*. Hereupon, he met with a moſt magnificent reception, and extraordinary preparations were made, in order to reſtore him to his throne: But the fraud being at laſt detected, the impoſtor was, with ſome difficulty, deliver'd up, and carried to *Rome*, where he receiv'd a puniſhment ſuitable to his merit.

In the mean time, the ſenate had ſent orders to *Vitellius*, commanding him to acknowledge the title of *Otho*, and continue in duty and obedience. *Otho* likewiſe made him an offer to marry his daughter, and take him for his partner in the ſovereignty; but finding no arguments could prevail upon him, he reſolv'd to put the difference to the deciſion of a battle. On a falſe alarm of treaſon againſt him, the prætorian bands gave an invincible proof of their loyalty; for ſuſpecting that the ſenate were at the bottom of a plot to deſtroy him, they immediately ſtood to their arms, with a deſign to cut off all the ſenators: Nor could they be appeas'd, till they had ſhed the blood of ſome of their own officers, whom they took to be traitors, and had ſeen *Otho*.

At this unlucky juncture, it was *Otho*'s buſineſs to have protracted the war, in regard the enemy, who were now advancing, labour'd under a great ſcarcity of proviſions, as well as inextricable difficulties, by the narrowneſs of the ways through which they muſt paſs. But whether it was that he thought a delay would cool the vigour of his ſoldiers, who ſhew'd a mighty forwardneſs for action, or the abſence of *Vitellius* gave him a hope of an eaſy conqueſt over his army; he would liſten to no advice but what came from his army, who now breathed nothing but blood and ſlaughter.

Having therefore, ſent his troops under the command of ſeveral generals, he had the pleaſure to underſtand they came off victorious at three engagements; but at the fourth and laſt battle, which was fought at *Bebriacum* (a village between *Cremona* and *Verona*, now called *Labemein*), his forces being treacherouſly ſet upon in the midſt of a generous parley, and pacifick conference, were defeated, and overcome.

When the news of this overthrow reached the ears of *Otho*, his courtiers begg'd him not to believe it: They had been ſo elevated with the three former victories, that they concluded this account muſt of courſe be a lie. They therefore treated the unfortunate officer, who had been a witneſs of the battle, with all manner of indignity and contempt. Hereupon, the gentleman ſpoke to *Otho* as follows: 'Would to heaven, my ſovereign, the news I bring you might be found a falſhood; I ſhould die with joy, if your troops had reported the victory. But ſince they have loſt the day, I am willing to die, for fear of falling under the ſuſpicion of having made a cowardly flight to ſave my life. As for you, my maſter, in a juncture which will ſoon give the enemy an occaſion to arrive, take ſuch meaſures as in your opinion may beſt anſwer the purpoſe.' This ſaid, he plunged his ſword into his own bowels, and kill'd himſelf.

And now, notwithſtanding he had a large reſerve of forces, which had been lately augmented by a conſiderable number of troops out of *Pannonia*, and others from *Dalmatia* and *Mæſia* were upon their march to aſſiſt him; yet his mind was ſo broke and diſpirited by this ſmall reverſe of fortune, that he threw up all thoughts of retrieving his condition, nor would hearken to the brave propoſals of thoſe who perſuaded him to renew the war. After ſome pauſe upon the matter, his cowardly heart informed him there was no remedy but in death, and therefore he took a reſolution to diſpatch himſelf.

Otho then calling his ſoldiers together, harangued them in the following words: 'Companions, and fellow-ſoldiers, having ſeen a late inſtance of the fortitude of my men in an officer who fell upon his own ſword, becauſe he would not ſurvive the imputation of a falſhood; I no longer will throw ſuch worthy and heroic ſpirits into danger upon my account. We have, to this day, had nothing among us but inteſtine feuds and diviſions, I deteſt and abhor a civil war to ſo great a degree, that even an aſſurance of victory ſhould not reconcile me to it. I love the people of *Rome*, though they cannot be brought to do their duty by me. Let *Vitellius* take the laurels, ſince the gods will have it ſo; may his troops go on and proſper, I voluntarily give my conſent. It is more reaſonable that one man ſhould die for the preſervation of a vaſt number of people, than make a great multitude periſh for the ſake of one man. I would much rather chuſe to be *Mucius*, *Decius*, *Curtius*, or *Regulus*, than *Marius*, *Cinna*, or *Sylla*. Compel me not, my brave ſoldiers, to ſquare my actions by thoſe whom I abominate; but give me leave, and envy me not the glory, to imitate thoſe whom I eſteem. Your ſolicitude ſhould be to go to him for whom victory has declared, and endeavour to gain his approbation. As to me, I am in no pain about the method which muſt aſſure my liberty, as well as give the world an evident demonſtration that you made choice of an emperor who would not ſacrifice you to his own intereſt, but ſacrificed himſelf to yours.'

This declaration of *Otho* ſtruck the ſoldiers with an inexpreſſible concern; they at once admired his virtue, and pitied his misfortune. His caſe, they told him, was not deſperate, and might eaſily be recovered; and they would joyfully undergo all manner of danger for his ſake. But when they found they only talked to a deaf man, they fell into a burſt of tears, and, with a loud voice, calling him father, proteſted they loved him better than their own relations and children. They earneſtly continu'd for ſome days diſſuading him from his purpoſe, but their friendly offices were to no effect. *I am*, ſaid he, *obſtinately determined to die; if, therefore, you have any remaining love for me, you will not obſtruct my intention.*

After this, he burnt all letters that were in his cuſtody, to the end they might not bring his friends into danger; then taking leave of his brother, nephew, and the reſt of his friends, and diſtriburing what money he had among his domeſticks, he retired to his chamber, carrying two daggers with him. In the mean time, a tumult ariſing on account of his officers pretending to ſeize thoſe as deſerters who endeavoured to get away; he came out again, and forbidding them to do violence to any man, *We will*, ſaid he, *ſuperadd this night to our life.* He next tried the edge of the poniards, and laying the ſharpeſt of them under his pillow, went to bed, where he ſlept ſound, till break of day; and ſo waking, gave himſelf one home thruſt under the left ſide of his breaſt, and in a moment or two, expir'd, having only reign'd three months, and eleven days.

Such a deſire of *Otho* remain'd in the hearts of the *Romans*, that even thoſe who hated him, while alive, prais'd him after his death: And ſo intenſely did his own ſoldiers love him, that numbers of them who were abſent, as well as of thoſe who were preſent at the time of the ſuicide, fell upon their own ſwords, and killed themſelves. Though the man died like an infamous coward, yet ſuch a ſhameleſs taſte of glory had they, that it came to be a pretty general opinion, that the generous manner of his death had made a full amends for all the criminal acts of his former life: Nay, they were fools enough to ſay, that *he murdered* Galba *with a view to reſtore the republick to its ancient rights and privileges.*

Had *Otho*, on his acceſſion, devolved the ſupreme authority into the hands of the people, and afterwards bent all his ſervices to ſupport it upon that ancient bottom, I would then have ſaid, he acted a moſt gallant and heroick part: But as he did not renounce the empire till he thought he could keep it no longer, leaving it to a ſucceſſor as worthleſs as himſelf, and, out of fear of death, run into the arms of death; I muſt ſay, his end was of a piece with the reſt of his vicious, weak, and ſcandalous life, and his government no more than an artificial engine, deriving its motion from the wind-mill of ſelf-love. He knew he had not a firm ſeat in the ſaddle; fear, there fore, made him put on an exterior robe of virtue. But had he lived to ſee his enemies under his feet, he would quickly have degenerated into the wild and diſſolute practices of *Nero*; his paſt conduct had, in every inſtance, been ſoft and effeminate. He could not bear the thought, far leſs the ſight, of an enemy; for which reaſon, it can be no wonder that the diſcomfiture of his troops ſhould throw him into ſuch a fright, that he kill'd himſelf. Deſpair and terror, whetted with the daily apprehenſion of a painful and ignominious death, made him fly to a remedy of a much more black and diſgraceful nature than the evil he dreaded.

Vitellius, *A. D.* 72. *vulg. Æra* 69.

Aulus Vitellius having ſpent his younger years among *Tiberius*'s whores and catamites at *Capreæ*, was the reaſon that *Tiberius* preferr'd his father *Lucius Vitellius* (of whom we have before ſpoke at large) to the government of *Syria*. He recommended himſelf to *Caligula* by his dexterity in conducting chariots, got the favour of *Claudius* by playing at dice with him, and was eſteem'd by *Nero* for his ſimilitude of manners. *Nero* made him governor of *Africk*, in which ſtation he continued for two years with great integrity and juſtice; but being afterwards advanced to a poſt of honour in the city, he thereby incurr'd no ſmall ſhare of contempt and obloquy. It was alledg'd againſt him, that he had ſtole the gold and ſilver veſſels of their temples, and ſubſtituted others in their room, made out of tin and copper.

Being in himſelf a moſt abandoned and extravagant wretch, he at laſt fell into ſuch a ſtate of poverty, that he ſcarce had bread to his teeth; which was the principal motive that induced *Galba* to confer the government of *Lower Germany* upon him. *Of all men,* ſaid Galba, *thoſe are leaſt to be feared who have no thought beyond the ſatisfaction of their belly. I have beſtowed this office upon poor* Vitellius, *to the end he may fill his immoderate appetite with provincial plenty.*

Vitellius next was at a loſs how to to get money enough to defray his charges into *Germany*. His credit had ſunk too low to give him the proſpect of borrowing any thing. Putting, therefore, his wife and children into a garret, and letting out his houſe for their ſubſiſtance, he went to his mother, and obtaining her ear-rings, pawn'd them for a ſum which ſufficiently anſwer'd his occaſions.

On his arrival at the camp, he left nothing untry'd that might win him the hearts of the ſoldiers. He ſaluted them, ſpoke kindly to them, and pardoned all manner of offences; nor could they be more forward to aſk favours than he ſhew'd a willingneſs to grant them. By this means, the ſoldiers, who had taken a diſlike to *Galba*, immediately caſt their thoughts upon him, and ſoon after brought the army in *Upper Germany* to concur with them; they then proclaim'd him emperor, giving him the ſirname of *Germanicus*, which he took, and would alſo have call'd him *Auguſtus* and *Cæſar*, but the former he poſtpon'd, and the latter he would never accept.

Having, in his march through *Gallia*, heard of the ſucceſs of his army at *Bebriacum*, he inſtantly gave an order to break the prætorian bands, letting his ſoldiers, thereby, ſee, that he deteſted the authors of a revolt. And thoſe hundred and twenty men that had, at the inſtigation of *Otho*, kill'd *Galba*, were, by his command, apprehended, and put to death. Hereupon, the people of *Rome* conceiv'd great hopes of him; but, alaſs! they did not look into the bottom of things: Fear was the motive that, in this caſe, determin'd him, and not any principle of virtue and juſtice. He thought the ſlaughter of thoſe regicides would deter others from practiſing the like villainy upon himſelf.

In his return towards *Rome*, he triumphantly marched through all the cities that fell in his way, and, indulging himſelf in all ſorts of prodigality and exceſs, gave a plenary power to his ſoldiers, as well as domeſticks, to do what they pleaſed. Rapes, violence, theft, and injuſtice, were received upon the foot of a jeſt, and no wickedneſs appear'd among 'em that did not meet with impunity. When he came to the field of battle, where the event had declared for him, and obſerved ſome of his followers expreſſing an abhorrence, from the noiſome ſmell of the dead bodies; he with an air of gaiety, ſaid, *A ſlain enemy diffuſes a moſt fragrant ſmell, but a ſlain citizen gives a bitter* *better.* He than drank a large quantity of wine, and diſtributing the ſame liquor with an extenſive profuſion among his ſoldiers, bid 'em *quaff it liberally, to prevent an infection, which might otherwiſe ariſe from the ſtench.*

On his arival at *Rome*, he made his entry into the city with all the majeſty and apparatus of a battle. He now gave an unlimited range to filthineſs and luxury, ſhewing an utter diſregard to all laws, divine, as well as human, He brought the conſular power to reſide only in his own perſon, and in a moſt ſolemn and publick manner offer'd ſacrifices for the ſoul of *Nero*. The care of the ſtate being much below his notice, he put the adminiſtration into the hands of a parcel of worthleſs players and chariot-drivers, ſetting *Aſiaticus*, one of his freed men, at the head of them. He had, from his earlieſt bud of life, placed all his delight in taverns, plays, ſhows, and games of hazard, and upon theſe grafting alſo the boundleſs gratifications of an epicure, he was ever in neceſſity, and always in debt.

But now, that he had arrived to the ſovereign authority, it would be an eaſy matter, he thought, to raiſe ſuch funds as ſhould readily anſwer his moſt exorbitant expences; and therefore plunging himſelf over head and ears in gluttony, drunkeneſs, riot, and debauch, he renounc'd the ſatisfactions of a reaſonable man to do drudgery, in obedience to the appetites of a brute. His whole reign was a continued ſcene of eating, drinking, and revelling. He would have his table extraordinary ſet out four or five times a day, and none of theſe entertainments ever coſt leſs than ten thouſand crowns. He could find no pleaſure in any thing that did not ultimately terminate in his own belly.

He was of ſuch a ravenous and greedy temperament, that, during the ſhort ſpace wherein he had no meals at home, he would rapiciouſly devour meat taken from the hearth in time of ſacrifice, or brought him from victualling-houſes, any manner of way prepared. All the known parts of the world, both by ſea and land, were ſearched and hunted for delicacies and incitements that might give an edge and keeneſs to his ſtomach; but, in regard ſuch a perpetual ſtuffing muſt have ſoon thrown him into the jaws of death, without the frequent uſe of ſome evacuation or other; his cuſtom was, after a hearty meal, to force it up again.

But theſe methods being ſtill inſufficient to content his dog-like paunch, he would often invite himſelf to the houſes of the richeſt men at *Rome*, commanding them to make feaſts for him at incredible charges. Among others, his own brother made him an entertainment, conſiſting of ſeven thouſand ſorts of fowl, and two thouſand different preparations of fiſh. At the dedication of the *Great Platter* (which he called *Minerva's Target*), he vaſtly exceeded all the ſhameleſs waſte that was ever heard of, obliging the *Carpathian* ſea, and the ſtreights of *Gibraltar*, to furniſh him with the ſmall guts of ſea-lampries, and making out the reſt of the ſervices with tongues of phænicopters, or red-nightingales, brains of pheaſants and peacocks, liver of guilt-heads, and innumerable other diſhes of the like mad and extravagant nature.

By this abominable courſe, he not only ruined his own health, but killed a great number of his companions; one of whom, by name *Vibius Criſpus*, falling into a lingering ſtate of illneſs, which diſabled him from attending at the banquets of *Vitellius*, ſaid, very juſtly, to his friends; *I ſhould have been dead before this time, if I had not been ſeized with this malady.* As to himſelf, who was a fellow of a prodigious ſtature, his continual cramming turned him into ſuch a deſpicable figure, that he look'd more like an over-grown monſter, than a man.

He mightily prais'd and admir'd all the actions and behaviour of *Nero*; *And yet,* ſaid he, *I cannot help blaming him in one particular: His houſe was not magnificent enough, nor ſplendidly built, nor richly furniſhed.* The vanity of this poor thing deſerves a peal of laughter: For *Nero*'s palace had been finiſh'd with the utmoſt grandeur and expence, and far ſurpaſs'd the moſt ſumptuous edifices that were to be ſeen at *Rome*, being in abundance of places, plated with gold, and garniſhed with precious ſtones: Nay, even his wife *Galeria*, who had, a few days before, been conſtrained to accommodate her ſelf in a garret, grew ſo haughty, on this ſudden change, that ſhe proteſted ſhe could not but pity the low taſte of the former emperors, who had ſat down contented with ſuch indifferent furniture in their palaces.

To his many deteſtable vices, was added a violent inclination to cruelty and blood; neither friendſhip, nobility, virtue, nor any tie whatever, could ſtay upon his hands from committing murder. He would, by all kinds of blandiſhment, and fair words, make it a principal buſineſs to draw the moſt conſiderable men of the city into his acquaintance and familiarity, and afterwards, by all poſſible methods of treachery, deſtroy them. Going to ſee one of his companions, whom exceſſive drinking had thrown into a fever, and who pitifully called out for a glaſs of cold water to quench his thirſt; he put poiſon in a draught of water, and exhibiting it to him, killed him upon the ſpot.

His creditors, as alſo, the collectors of the imperial revenue, who had importunately dunned him whilſt a private man, and with great difficulty conſented to let him go to his government, were now glad to hide, and keep out of his way. Nor did he employ leſs pains and diligence to diſcover them; and being found, he compelled them to re-deliver to him all notes, contracts, and titles of debt, whatſoever, that had been ſign'd by his own hand; telling them, *I have* gentleman, *ſpared your life, which is much more valuable than the ſums of money I owe you.*

But ſuch of his creditors as had the courage to aſk for their money, or only dropp'd an inſinuation that they wanted it, were generally put to death. One of them did but ſalute him, and he forthwith commanded him to be capitally puniſhed, and then bidding his officers bring him back again (which was look'd upon and extolled by the people as an act of great mercy), he cauſed him to be ſlain before his face. *I wanted only*, ſaid the monſter, *to feed my eyes with the ſlaughter of him.* Another being, for the ſame reaſon, condemned, and two of his ſons coming to intercede for him, the tyrant inſtantly ordered them, as well as their father, to be put to death. And having next diſcharg'd his fury againſt a *Roman* knight, who in being dragg'd along cried out, that *he had made him his heir*; *Fetch him back*, ſaid he, *that I may ſee his will.* Hereupon, reading the will, and underſtanding that the gentleman's freed man was left coheir with himſelf; he gave an immediate warrant for executing them both.

He was a mortal foe to all ſuch as pretended to thruſt their noſe into futurity. Some of theſe wiſeacres, it ſeems, had offended him, by predicting that his reign would be ſhort. Indeed it was not poſſible it ſhould be long; for his own gluttony muſt ſoon have diſpatched him, even ſuppoſing there had been no other enemy in the caſe: And therefore their idle tale required no depth of judgment. Having publiſhed an edict, whereby he commanded them to depart out of *Italy* by a certain day; they, to be even with him, diſpers'd a writing, which declared, or, at leaſt, endeavoured to declare (for they happened to be out in their gueſs, the man being killed before the day prefix'd by them) the time of his death. Upon this, *Vitellius* hang'd all of them that were brought before him, or informed againſt, without ſo much as allowing them the liberty to make a defence.

In the mean time, *Veſpaſian* having got an account of the ſpontaneous death of *Otho*, and ſucceſſion of *Vitellius* to the empire, took an oath of fidelity to the new emperor, as did *Mucianus*, governor of *Syria*, and all the legions under their command. This was done, on the part of *Veſpaſian*, with a very great abhorrence; for he begun to conſider, that a favourable conjuncture would ſoon ariſe, whereby the ſupreme power might, in all likelihood, come into his own hands. He thought the people of *Rome* would not, for any long ſpace, ſit eaſy, under the adminiſtration of a cruel and infamous glutton; and his own ſuperior merit told him, they would, one time or other, appeal to his ſword. But whatever were his private ſentiments, this was not a ſeaſon to divulge them; the hoary head of winter had bid him lock up his enterprize till a more convenient opportunity. As to oaths of allegiance, the *Pagan Romans* were now come to ſuch a wicked paſs, that even the beſt of them minded them no more than they did the rattles of children.

During theſe revolutions at *Rome*, the *Jews* were hard at work in making war upon their own bowels, weakening the ſtate, and deſtroying one another with inteſtine diviſions; whilſt *Simon*, who had carried his victorious arms over all *Idumæa*, raged without the city, wallowing in all manner of rapine and violence. The zealots within *Jeruſalem*, abetted by *John* (who had put a trick upon *Titus*, and ſo made his eſcape from *Giſcala*), were rioting in all ſorts of exceſs, outrage, and plunder; the moſt ſhameleſs and impudent actions were but a ſport and diverſion to them. They not only aſſumed the habit of women, but dreſſed out, and painted themſelves like common proſtitutes, imitating them, alſo, to the height of all their lewdneſs and abominations, and making the copy far exceed the original, in ſuch kind, that *Jeruſalem* ſeemed now to be but one continued ſcene of pollution, and filth, and uncleanneſs.

The citizens being at laſt wearied out by the repeated violences of *John*, and drawing over ſome of his party to their own ſide, took up arms againſt him, and killing many of his men, reduced him to run for ſhelter to the temple. But apprehending they would not be able to keep the ground they had gained, and fearing, too, that *John* might ſteal out, on ſome night or other, and conſume the city by fire; they ſummoned a council of their principal men, as well as prieſts, to conſult upon an expedient that might beſt adjuſt the difficulties of the preſent caſe. And here omnipotence permitted them to have recourſe to a remedy that was much more dangerous than the diſeaſe itſelf. They came to a reſolution to call in *Simon*, the ſon of *Gioras*, to their aſſiſtance.

Simon had no ſooner arrived into the city, than he gave them cauſe to repent their choice, exerciſing uncommon and unheard-of cruelties, and acting in all points up to the utmoſt ſtretch of tyranny. Thoſe neceſſitudes, of bonds of relation between man and man, which are the uſual cement of union and ſociety, were of no force to reſtrain his hands from an effuſion of blood. Ordinary crimes, and common wickedneſs, paſſed in reflection before him, as inſtances of a weak and little mind: He therefore would do no action that was not at once impious and aſtoniſhing, trampling under his feet all the duties of nature, friendſhip, and civil ſociety.

Whilſt nothing but faction and ſlaughter walked about the ſtreets of *Jeruſalem*, *Vitellius* was, after the uſual manner, employed in perfidiouſly conſpiring againſt worth, innocence, and virtue, and riotouſly diſſipated the riches of the empire. To his many other crimes (ſome give out), he alſo added the murder of his own mother, ſtarving her to death as ſhe lay confined to a ſick bed. And this they ground upon the propheſy of an old woman (in whom he greatly confided), who told him, *that his reign would be both long and ſtable, if he happened to ſurvive his parent.*

In the midſt of theſe enormities, ſeveral prodigies concurred which quite cow'd the heart of *Vitellius*. A comet appeared, and an eclipſe of the moon followed, twice, in an unexpected and ſtrange manner. Two ſuns were, likewiſe, ſeen at the ſame time, *viz.* one in the eaſt, which was bright, and clear; and another in the weſt, that only ſhew'd a pale and obſcure light. The ſoldiers, who compoſed the guard of the temple of *Jupiter*, gave evidence, that the gates open'd of themſelves, in the dead of the night, with ſuch a dreadful ſound, as frighten'd ſeveral of their companions to death. Many traces and footſteps were, likewiſe, viſible in the temple, which *Vitellius* thought could portend no good luck. Beſides, ſeveral of his ſtatues had tumbled down, and broke their legs in the fall.

Theſe ominous things made *Vitellius* exhibit frequent ſpectacles, or ſhows, in order to gain the love and eſteem of the people. He now doubled his expreſſions of kindneſs to the ſenate, often inviting the leading men among them to ſup with him, and heaping favours upon them, to aſſure their friendſhip. The ſenate could propoſe no ſcheme but what he willingly enter'd into, nor the people make a demand that was not readily granted.

In the interim, the troops at *Cæſarea* conſidering with themſelves that their own valour was equal, if not ſuperior to any other army then in being, and the merit of their general ſuch, as indiſputably claimed the firſt rank. *Shall other ſoldiers*, ſaid they, *take the liberty to carve out affairs of ſtate, and give monarchs to the world, whilſt we idly and careleſly ſtand looking on? As their worth, ſo has been their choice, beſtowing only curſes upon the empire. But we will proclaim* Veſpaſian, *and confer a bleſſing upon the publick. He has ſufficiently diſtinguiſh'd himſelf, not only in* Great-Britain, *but in* Judæa, *to deſerve the love and eſteem of mankind; and his prudent, juſt, and honourable conduct, ſuperadded to his other valuable qualities, make a demand that cannot otherwiſe be ſuitably rewarded, but by the ſupreme power.*

They had no ſooner made theſe reflections, than they declared him emperor. But how forward ſoever *Veſpaſian*'s army was, the forces at *Alexandria* were before-hand with them, having proclaimed *Veſpaſian* on the firſt of *July*, which preceded, by two days, his acknowledgment in *Paleſtine*. And before the fifteenth of the ſame month, all *Syria* had alſo giving their fidelity to him. Hereupon, *Veſpaſian*, going into *Syria*, was congratulated by ambaſſadors from ſeveral provinces, and preſented with crowns, and other teſtimonies of ſubmiſſion. He then ſent *Mucianus* (who had all along eſpouſed his part with great warmth) into *Italy*, to make war againſt *Vitellius*, and haſted himſelf into *Ægypt*, where he made it his care to ſecure the peace of the country, as well as levy money and proviſions enough to ſubſiſt his troops.

The legions which were quartered in *Myſia*, coming to underſtand the general intention of the provinces in favour of *Veſpaſian*, made an earneſt offer of the ſupreme command to their own governor, *Antonius Primus*, who had before been baniſh'd by *Nero*, reſtor'd by *Galba*, and now preſided in *Pannonia*; but though he denied this inſtance of their good-will, which proceeded from nothing but a deſire of plunder, yet he ſo far gratified them, that he immediately begun his march, and arriv'd in *Italy* before *Mucianus*.

The noiſe of this gathering temple had no ſooner made its way to *Vitellius*, than it threw him into an irrecoverable fright. The news of a war ſo near him, congeal'd all the blood in his veins; nor did he ſeem to be alive, till wine, and the flatterer, had new-dreſs'd the melancholy tale, and brought him into a hope of ſpeedy ſucceſs. *Cæcina*, called, alſo, *Allienus*, *Vitellius*'s general, having march'd with all his forces to make head againſt the enemy, encamped at *Cremona* for ſome days; during which time, conſidering with himſelf that he had undertaken an expedition againſt an army not only accuſtomed to fight, but conquer, and whom former laurels would never ſuffer to ſubmit to a defeat; and that his own men had long been enervated with all the delicacies and ſoft inclinations of an eaſy life; he therefore came to a reſolution to let go the enterprize, and make his own peace.

Upon this, he had a private conference with *Antonius Primus*, and accommodated the difficulty by taking an oath to *Veſpaſian*. Then returning to his ſoldiers, and running a compariſon between *Vitellius* and *Veſpaſian*, he bid them acquieſce in the man who had moſt merit and virtue. They inſtantly changed ſides, and removing the enſigns of *Vitellius*, took *Veſpaſian* for their monarch; but in leſs than an hour after being ſeiz'd with a remorſe for what they had done, they tumultuouſly ſurrounded *Allienus*, their general, and accuſing him of having artfully drawn them into treaſonable practices, laid hands upon him, and bound him with chains, ſhewing no regard to his conſular dignity.

Nor could this outrage done to their general appeaſe them; they next gave battle to *Antonius Primus*, maintaining their ground, though they wanted a leader, with uncommon courage and alacrity. They fought out the day and the whole ſucceeding night, with equal force and intrepidity, neither party knowing which had the better of the day. Both the one and the other were ſo violently fill'd and animated with a paſſion for victory, that though former acquaintance, friendſhip, and familiar converſation, was remember'd and diffus'd through all their ranks, yet no motive ſeem'd of any conſequence to put a ſtop to ſlaughter. In the midſt of mutual praiſes the devouring ſword went on. *Brave fellow ſoldiers*, ſaid one company to another, *why do countrymen thus fight againſt countrymen? Would it not be more honourable for us to think of an agreement? Come over to our ſide, and end the difference. You ſhall*, anſwer'd the other, *paſs over to us; for we will not yield.*

In the interim, their wives having brought them victuals and drink, they kindly let their enemies partake with them. *This bread and drink*, ſaid they, *will revive our fortitude, make our ſwords cut with a keener edge, and, of conſequence, give us an eaſier paſſage through the gates of death: Accept, then, this funeral-entertainment, to prepare the way.* One hour they refreſh'd themſelves, and the next renew'd the combat. At length, as the ſun was beginning to riſe, the ſoldiers of the third legion (who had been quarter'd in *Syria*, and more by accident than choice followed the intereſt of *Veſpaſian*) having, with a great ſhout, ſaluted it, according to cuſtom, *Vitellus*'s men immediately cried out, Mucianus *is upon us*; and ſo taking to their heels, run with ſpeed to *Cremona*. It is not once nor twice that a trifle has induced magnanimity it ſelf to ſhew its back; events examined with an eye to the capacities of man, are no more than ſingle threads, which may be conſum'd or deſtroy'd by a ſpark of fire, and many other accidents.

Vitellius's ſoldiers being ſafely got within the walls of *Cremona*, thought it high time to unbind their general; and, begging his pardon, humbly requeſted him to put on his conſular robe, go to the enemy's camp, and implore their mercy. *Allienus*, accordingly, went, and was received, by *Antonius Primus*, with all demonſtrations of reſpect. The conſideration of his preſent dignity, as well as late diſgrace inflicted upon him by his own ſoldiers, made *Primus* readily grant him a pacification on the terms he deſired. Hereupon, the gates of *Cremona* being ſet open, and the two armies reconciled to one another, both of them join'd their ſwords together to fall upon the inhabitants of the place; and, making a forcible entry into the houſes, carried fire and blood every where.

As the ſoldiers of *Vitellius* were well acquainted not only with the ſtreets, but an exact deſcription of every particular perſon within that great, magnificent, and wealthy city; it was they that committed the worſt violence, turning their arms againſt thoſe whom they ſhould have defended; and ſpoiling, wounding, and killing them like enemies. Fifty thouſand men (including the combat, as well as the ſacking of the city) were here and there put to the ſword.

Vitellius was ſtrangely diſquieted at the account of this diſaſter; and, to add to his pain (for a timorous mind makes every thing ſhoot up into a prodigy), whilſt he was talking to his guards on the ſolemn occaſion of a ſacrifice, a parcel of vultures darted down upon the victim, and, tearing it to pieces, could hardly be kept back from falling upon himſelf. But when he underſtood that the enemy were within a day's journey of *Rome*, he was ſtruck with ſuch an aſtoniſhment, as overpower'd all the faculties of his ſoul. Like a ſhip left to drive in a tempeſt, he could ſtick to no one meaſure; every returning wave of fear that broke upon him, made him alter his ſentiments, and fly for refuge to a new expedient. At one time he would ſeem reſolved to defend the poſſeſſion of the empire, and prepare for carrying on the war; at another ſhew an inclination to reſign the ſovereign power, and lead a ſolitary life.

One minute he would appear in all the pomp and majeſty of a prince; and the ſecond in the habit of a petitioner: In this mood, he enter'd into terms of agreement with *Flavius Sabinus*, the brother of *Veſpaſian*. The articles were, *Safety to his own perſon, and a voluntary reſignation of the empire*. And ſoon after the ſigning of this contract, he publickly declared *he would abdicate the ſupreme power, which he had unwillingly taken upon him*. But the ſoldiers, as well as people, bidding him *be of good courage, for they would ſtand by him with their lives and fortunes*; ſo intoxicated the poor thing, that, breaking his word and faith given to *Sabinus*, he treacherouſly marched againſt him with his guards, and compelling him, together with all his friends, to fly to the capitol, ſet fire to it, and deſtroy'd them all, *Domitian* (the younger ſon of *Veſpaſian*) only excepted, who was ſaved by the care of the prieſt of *Jupiter*'s temple.

He no ſooner ſaw the capitol in a flame, than in a fit of penitence he aſſembled the people, and laying the blame of that raſh action upon others, gave it them upon oath, that nothing was more at his heart than the publick peace. Then unbuckling the ſword from his ſide, he firſt offer'd it to the conſul, next to the magiſtrates, and at laſt to the ſenators; but all of them refuſing it, *was the reaſon*, he ſaid, *he would go and depoſite it within the temple of concord*. Hereupon, the people making an acclamation that he himſelf was concord, he came back again, and, putting on his ſword, told 'em he would, for the future, retain the ſirname of concord.

Whilſt *Veſpaſian* and his ſon *Titus* were concerting the neceſſary meaſures that might enable the one to begin the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*, and the other to make an expedition into *Italy*, the affairs of the *Jews* had proceeded to ſuch a degree of inflamation, as the ſword could only cure. *Eleazar* who had once been at the head of the zealots in *Jeruſalem*, taking it mortally ill that *John* of *Giſcala* had diſpoſſeſs'd him of his poſt, and render'd him inſignificant among the people; laid now all his thoughts upon the anvil, in order to form a third faction within the city. To this purpoſe, joining in a confederacy with ſome of the zealots, he poſſeſs'd himſelf of the inner part of the temple, leaving the outer part of it to *John* and his followers. However, *Eleazar* gave free ingreſs to all who came to offer ſacrifices, in regard from thence he and his men drew their principal ſubſiſtence.

Eleazar, whoſe party was the weakeſt in number, and bulwark conſiſted in the ſtrength of the place, whither they had retired themſelves, kept all his ambition within the precincts of defence. But *John*, who was a fellow of a furious and reſtleſs ſpirit, and inſatiable enterprize, took care to let him but ſeldom eat the bread of idleneſs; and by this manner of conteſt there never paſs'd a day wherein the temple did not overflow with blood. On the other hand, *Simon*, whoſe power extended over the greater part of the city, attack'd *John* with the greater fierceneſs, becauſe he ſaw him expos'd to the watchful efforts of *Eleazar*.

In the mean time, *John* enjoyed the ſame advantage over *Simon* that *Eleazar* had over *John*, by reaſon the temple put a bridle upon the city in the ſame manner that the inner part of it commanded the outer court. And thus were theſe three factions always at work in ruining one another. *Eleazar*'s force amounted to no more than two thouſand four hundred men; *John* had ſix thouſand, and *Simon* fifteen thouſand: *Simon* lived at large, being maſter of the city; *John* had no way to ſuſtain himſelf but by violent irruptions upon the people. As to *Eleazar*, his fare run cheap and eaſy enough; the voluntary oblations of the *Jews* being a daily fund that afforded an ample ſatisfaction to all his demands.

Sometimes it happen'd that *John* was reduced to the neceſſity to fight at once againſt *Simon* and *Eleazar*; he then us'd to divide his troops to make head againſt both. When he had only *Simon* upon his hands, his cuſtom was to have no point at heart but miſchief and foraging, and to burn what he could not carry off; *Simon*, on the other ſide, to deprive *John* of the means of ſubſiſtence, ſet fire to all the granaries. And thus impiouſly conſuming all ſorts of proviſions, theſe brutes ſeemed to have had no other intention than to overwhelm the city with famine and deſolation. In the midſt of theſe enemies, *Jeruſalem* was in the lamentable condition of a ſheep faſten'd upon by the teeth of wolves, who will not let go their hold till they have devoured the prey.

At this time the *Scythians* having privately croſs'd the *Iſther*, and, by an unexpected and rapid march, carried fire and ſword over all the *Roman* territories that lay near them, killing all the *Romans* that fell in their way, together with *Fonteius Agrippa*, the proconſul of *Myſia*, who had gallantly attempted to ſtop their progreſs; *Veſpaſian* ſent *Rubrius Gallus* againſt them, who ſoon coming up with them, and giving them battle, overthrew them with a very great ſlaughter, and ſo put an end to the war. He next fortified all the frontier places, and reinforced them with ſtrong garriſons, in order to ſtrike a terror into the barbarous nations, and let them ſee that a ſecond eruption would be impracticable. Thoſe firſt ſtirrings of the northern hive are the more to be noticed, in regard they at laſt arriv'd to ſuch a power, as enabled them to over-turn the whole *Roman* empire.

The army of *Veſpaſian*, conducted by *Quintus Petilius Cerealis* and *Antonius Primus*, being advanced within a ſhort diſtance of the city, and perceiving the capitol all of a fire; made what haſte they could to extinguiſh it, and ſave their friends. *Cerealis* galloped up to the city with a thouſand horſe, but *Vitellius*'s guards ſtood ſo firm to him, that *Cerealis* was obliged to make a retreat. On this ſmall gale of ſucceſs, *Vitellius* ſent an embaſſy, conſiſting of ſome of the principal ſenators and the *Veſtal* nuns, after *Cerealis*, with propoſitions of peace. But *Cerealis* would not ſo much as allow them an audience. They therefore went and made an application to *Primus*, who, indeed, heard what they had to ſay, which was the only favour they could obtain of him, anſwering all their demands with a ſpeedy march.

After ſeveral little ſkirmiſhes attended with various ſucceſs, *Vitellius*'s men, who had for ſome time ſtoutly defended the bridge, took to their heels, and were purſued into the city with a terrible ſlaughter. The tyrant *Vitellius* himſelf, and his profligate troops, could not have acted with greater inhumanity and violence, than was now committed by *Veſpaſian*'s troops at *Rome*; blood, murder, and pillage, raged after ſuch an uncommon manner, that, in a few days, fifty thouſand perſons were put to death.

Whilſt the city was thus infeſted with a gang of thieves and cut-throats, and many of the vanquiſh'd had no other way to ſave themſelves but by mixing with the conquerors, and killing and plundering as they did; *Vitellius* had in a fright retired into a ground-room of the palace, where they uſed to keep dogs: And being from thence dragg'd out by ſome of *Veſpaſian*'s men, who knew him not, and therefore ask'd who he was, and where *Vitellius* had conceal'd himſelf; he eluded their queſtion by a lie. But this would not ſerve his turn; he was immediately diſcovered by others, and, in the wretched pickle wherein his companions, the dogs, had left him (for the dogs had not only tore all his clothes, but bit him in a miſerable manner), carried out into the ſtreet, and, half naked, expoſed to publick view.

He earneſtly begg'd he might be permitted to live, if it was but in priſon, till *Veſpaſian* ſhould arrive; becauſe he had ſomething to diſcloſe to him, that particularly regarded his welfare: But his petition meeting with nothing but contempt, they tied his hands behind his back, and caſting a rope about his neck, led him, with all poſſible ignominy, through thoſe places which he had but the day before paſſed with guards and a magnificent retinue. As they hurried him along, the mob, as well as the ſoldiers, purſued him with the utmoſt inſult, obloquy, and indignities. Some of them threw dung and filth at him, whilſt others ſhook him by the beard, and all reproached him with his ſhameleſs gluttony and intemperance.

As this extraordinary reverſe of affairs diſpoſed *Vitellius* to hang down his head, that the multitude might not have a full look at him in his preſent diſgrace; the ſoldiers, who were ſpirited up by the rabble, directing the points of their ſwords under his chin, obliged him, for the remainder of the way, to keep his head upright. A *German* ſoldier, touch'd with compaſſion at the cruel treatment they gave him, came up to him, and ſaying, *I will, Sir, do you all the ſervice that lies within my power*, drew out his ſword, and wounded him, then, with another thruſt, diſpatched himſelf. But in regard the ſoldier's blow proceeded from too tender a hand to have the effect deſigned, *Vitellius* lived long enough to feel all the torture and ſeverity of a protracted death.

Being, at length, brought to the common place of execution, they laſh'd him with ſmall, but innumerable ſtripes, till he expir'd; then faſtening a hook in his body, they dragg'd him along the ſtreets, and afterwards threw him into the *Tiber*. He had liv'd fifty-four years compleat, and reign'd one year all but ten days. His brother was with ſome forces coming to aſſiſt him, but as ſoon as he heard of his death, he articled with the adverſe party to lay down his arms, on condition that they ſpared his life, and young *Vitellius*'s. This they granted, though they ſoon after retracted their word, and put them both to death.

He was a man, who, in all inſtances of life, ſhewed himſelf an utter ſtranger to virtue, except in the caſe of gratitude: Thoſe who had, in his low circumſtances, made him preſents of money or truſted him with a ſum, and did not crave it again, or any other way gratified him; were, on his acceſſion, reſpected, honour'd, and oblig'd by all the methods he could think of: Which was a great wonder, conſidering the other deſpicable qualities of the man; it being a very common thing to ſee thoſe, who come to an unexpected riſe, induſtriouſly ſlight and avoid their former friends and acquaintance. They do not reflect, that this ſcandalous behaviour ſinks them down to a level with the ſavage brute, which only minds a preſent appetite, neither regarding what is paſt, nor what may happen to come. For as to tame animals, eſpecially dogs, their gratitude appears in ſuch an illuſtrious manner, as may at once ſerve for an example and reproof to moſt men. Ingratitude is ſuch a low and cowardly vice, as, one would think, no body could be guilty of. Taking its origine from want of ſpirit, which will not ſuffer it to acknowledge an obligation, it has recourſe to pride, the meaneſt of all the paſſions; for that portion of reſpect and eſteem which it thinks it could never meet with from any perſon, who had formerly been an acquaintance, a friend, or a benefactor.

Veſpaſian, *A. D.* 73. *vulg. Æra* 70.

Vitellius being thus taken away, the day following *Licinius Mucianus* (on whom *Veſpaſian* had devolved the care of the war in *Italy)* enter'd *Rome*; and putting an immediate ſtop to the ravages of the ſoldiers, made the ſenate aſſemble, who, with great joy, declar'd *Veſpaſian* emperor, and his two ſons, *Titus* and *Domitian*, *Cæſars*. *Veſpaſian* and *Titus* were, alſo, created conſuls, notwithſtanding that they were both in *Ægypt*, which was an extraordinary favour. At the ſame time, they renewed the *Lex Regia*, or royal law, whereby they inveſted him with as full and abſolute power as any of the emperors had before enjoy'd.

There is a fragment of this inglorious law ſtill extant, and it runs in this manner: ‘Let it be lawful for the emperor, *Cæſar Veſpaſian Auguſtus* to enter into treaties with whom he pleaſes in the ſame manner as was competent and of right pertained to *Divus Auguſtus*, *Tiberius Julius Cæſar Auguſtus*, and *Tiberius Claudius Cæſar Auguſtus Germanicus*, &c. as alſo to call the ſenate, preſide in it, and diſmiſs them; and make decrees of the ſenate, by reporting and ſeparation, as was the privilege of *Divus Auguſtus*, *Tiberius Julius Cæſar Auguſtus*, *Tiberius Claudius Cæſar Auguſtus Germanicus*. Furthermore, when by his pleaſure, power, command, or warrant, or perſonal appearance, the ſenate ſhall be called together, the reſolutions and decrees of the ſaid meeting ſhall be as effectually binding, as if the ſenate had held their conference according to due form of law. Moreover, let all candidates whom he may recommend to the ſenate and people of *Rome*, for any office, poſt, magiſtracy, power, or command, as alſo ſuch to whom he has given or promiſed his ſuffrage, be regarded by the people at an election beyond the uſual form. He may, likewiſe enlarge the *Pomærium* (or void ſpace of the town), if he ſees it expedient for the republick, as was permitted to *Tiberius Claudius Cæſar Germanicus*. Beſides, it ſhall be lawful for him to tranſact or do all and ſingular ſuch things as ſhall in his opinion ſeem to be of advantage to the commonwealth, or conſonant to the ſtate and majeſty of affairs, whether divine or human, publick or private; as was the right and authority of *Divus Auguſtus*, *Tiberius Julius Cæſar Auguſtus*, and *Tiberius Claudius Cæſar Auguſtus Germanicus*. Moreover, from what laws, acts, and decrees ſoever, it was appointed and enacted that *Divus Auguſtus*, *Tiberius Julius Cæſar Auguſtus*, and *Tiberius Claudius Cæſar Auguſtus Germanicus*, ſhould be exempted and free; from the ſame, let the emperor *Cæſar Veſpaſian* be looſ'd and free. Moreover, what thing ſoever, by what law or demand ſoever, *Divus Auguſtus*, *Tiberius Julius Cæſar Auguſtus*, and *Tiberius Claudius Cæſar Auguſtus Germanicus*, had a right and authority to do; the ſame power in every thing is hereby granted to the emperor *Cæſar Veſpaſian Auguſtus*. Finally, what things ſoever have, before the paſſing of this law, been acted, expeded done or commanded, by the emperor *Cæſar Veſpaſian Auguſtus*, or by any other perſon authorized and empowered by him, we will and ordain that they ſhall have the ſame force, effect, and validity, as if they had been commanded and decreed by the ſenate and people.

The SANCTION.

‘If any perſon, in conſequence of this law, hath committed, or ſhall commit any thing, againſt the laws, prayers of the people, decrees of the ſenate, or ſentences of the people; or ſhall omit to do what he ought to have done in conformity to any law, prayer, act of the people, or decree of the ſenate, and that by virtue of this preſent law, no manner of detriment ſhall thereby accrue to him. And as we will not have him fall under any obligation to the people in caſes of this nature; let no one dare commence an action againſt him, nor let any one pretend to judge him, or ſo much as ſuffer the matter to come in diſpute before him.’

Flavius Veſpaſian had a *Publican* to his father, but who was a man of great honour and integrity, otherwiſe thoſe cities of *Aſia*, whither he had been ſent to collect tribute, would not have ſet up effigies for him with this inſcription: *To the honeſt Publican*. I take notice of the obſcurity of his family, with no deſign but to add to the worth and merit of *Veſpaſian*; for to raiſe himſelf by his own virtue, and be the founder of an imperial houſe, gave him, in the eye of all judicious men, a more valuable and illuſtrious diſtinction than if he had lineally been deſcended of an hundred and ninety kings.

Having gone through all the poſts of honour and dignity in the city, and given many proofs of his valour and military conduct in

Thrace, *Germany*, and *Britain*, he afterwards was exalted to the command of *Africk*, which province he govern'd with much reputation and juſtice. In this high poſt, he had taken ſo little care to enrich himſelf, that, on his return to *Rome*, neceſſity obliged him to morgage all his eſtates to his brother, and thinking of mending his fortune by driving a trade in cattle. And as he principally dealt in mules, that good-natur'd part of the world, who cannot help ſneering at a misfortune, or low circumſtances, were pleas'd to diſtinguiſh him by the name of *Mulio*, or a keeper of mules. *Veſpaſian* well knew that reſpect was never paid to any thing but fine clothes, equipage, or other outward diſtinctions; and therefore he would refuſe no honeſt employment that might enable him to ſupport a figure.

Being, by this means, qualified to ſhine in the court of *Nero*, he attended the monarch to *Greece*; but there not playing the flatterer with art enough, he ſoon fell under the ſpite and averſion of *Nero* to ſuch a degree, that he had no way to preſerve his own life, but by hiding himſelf. But providence, which over-rules the fate of all things, bringing him, in a ſhort time after, out of his concealment, preferr'd him to the ſupreme direction of the war in *Judæa*.

Whilſt *Nero* and *Galba* liv'd, he entertain'd no thought of effecting the empire; but, during the conteſt between *Otho* and *Vitellius*, he flatter'd himſelf he certainly ſhould one day ariſe to the ſovereign authority. And he was principally confim'd in this opinion, by the following preſages: His mother, *Veſpaſia*, having been the parent of three children, at each of her labours a ſtately oak, which ſtood near the houſe, put out a new branch: The firſt ſhoot was ſmall, and ſoon wither'd; accordingly, the daughter, then born, did not live to be a year old. The ſecond branch appear'd ſtrong and flouriſhing; this ſeem'd to ſignify the future proſperity of *Sabinus*, the elder brother, who afterwards came to be governor of *Rome*. But the third branch, which ſtruck out at the birth of *Veſpaſian*, reſembled a tree. Hereupon, ſome wiſeacres immediately prognoſticated, that *Veſpaſian* would live to be promoted to the empire. Nor, as it happened, were they out in their gueſs.

As he once was at dinner, a ſtrange dog brought in his mouth the hand of a man, and laid it down upon the table before him. At another time, being at ſupper, a labouring ox, breaking looſe from the plough, run furiouſly into the room, and, chaſing all his ſervants away, made up to *Veſpaſian*, and, in an humble poſture, laid its head upon his knee. A cypreſs tree, which grew upon his paternal eſtate, being, without any viſible cauſe, pluck'd up by the root, and thrown upon the ground; was, next morning, ſeen ſtanding upright upon its old foundation, and in a more lively and firm manner than they had obſerved before. When *Veſpaſian* was ædile, and, of conſequence, had the care of keeping the ſtreets clean; *Caligula*, riſing into a paſſion at the ſight of ſome dirt, made a ſoldier take it up, and put it into *Veſpaſian*'s robe. Which act, was interpreted as an omen that *Veſpaſian* would in time coming cleanſe *Rome* from the filth that oppreſs'd it. A little while after *Veſpaſian* had been ſent into *Judæa*, the ſtatute of *Julius* turned of it ſelf towards the eaſt. An hour or two before the battle of *Bebriacum*, which ruined the cauſe of *Otho*, and declared in favour of *Vitellius*; two eagles in the ſight of both armies, had a ſharp engagement, and one of 'em no ſooner fled, than a third eagle, which came from the eaſt, fell upon the conqueror, and drove him away, What ſhall I ſay? Since a ſmall matter is able to afflict a man, it is but reaſonable that a trifle ſhould give him hope.

Having, during the melancholy time that he was forced to conceal himſelf in *Greece*, dreamt he ſhould come to good luck, when *Nero* happened to loſe a tooth; he, the day following, met with *Nero*'s phyſician, who ſhewed him a tooth of the monarch, newly drawn. And this accident but a few days preceded the date of his commiſſion, which empowered him to go into *Judæa*. A dream of this nature deſerves to be regarded, but, really, moſt other preſages ſtand upon no bottom, but whim and conjecture.

Theſe things, added to the propheſy of *Joſephus*, the hiſtorian, and the declaration of ſome *Jewiſh* prieſts, who pretended to aſſure him from heaven that how great ſoever his hope was, it ſhould infallibly come to paſs; made him, at laſt, give into the meaſures of his friends, who had, for upwards of a year, been ſoliciting him to make a puſh for the empire. As he was a man of deep thought, and excellent conduct, he took precaution not to ſplit his veſſel upon a raſh attempt; nor would he begin it, till he had firſt got an aſſurance from *Vologeſes*, king of *Parthia*, of being ſupplied with forty thouſand men, in caſe of need.

Affairs being thus ſteddily regulated, and all proper diſpoſitions made that might facilitate the enterprize; he went himſelf to *Alexandria*, where he determined to reſide, and expect the iſſue. On his arrival at *Alexandria*, curioſity led him (according to the ſuperſtition of thoſe times) to try his fortune at the temple of *Serapis*. Such who were to have good luck, had uſually ſome little preſents made them by an unknown hand. Going, therefore, to this temple, permitting nobody to enter with him, and locking the doors after him; he had no ſooner mutter'd over his impertinent addreſſes, than he fancied he ſaw *Baſilides*, his freed man (who was then in another country, and, alſo, ſo weak that he could ſcarce go), come behind him, and preſent him with bread, fiſh, and a quantity of vervain. However that might be, he ſoon after had an account brought him of the ſucceſs of his troops at *Cremona*, the death of *Vitellius*, and his own confirmation in the empire.

Whilſt he continued at *Alexandria*, two *Plebeians*, one of whom was blind, and the other had loſt the uſe of one of his legs, gave in a petition to him in the following words: *We have, each of us, had a dream, wherein it has* *been revealed to us, that if we made an application to you, we ſhould find an immediate cure. For it would come to paſs, that the blind man ſhould recover his eye-ſight, if you anointed his eyes with your ſpittle, and the lame man regain the uſe of his leg, if you only touch'd it with your heel.* *Veſpaſian*, who thought it a great preſumption to make ſuch an experiment, and, alſo, had heavy doubts within himſelf that the event would not anſwer the poor men's expectations, could hardly be brought to comply with their requeſt But being at laſt prevail'd upon by the importunities of his friends, he put the matter to a publick trial, and ſucceeded, according to the dream.

The horrid prodigality of former emperors having reduc'd *Veſpaſian* to the neceſſity of impoſing many grevious taxes upon the people, he often us'd to ſay, *he was ſorry for it, but could not help it, in regard the empire could not elſe be re-eſtabliſhed, and preſerved upon a firm and laſting bottom.* The *Alexandrians*, who firſt felt the ſevere effects of this way of management, openly ſhew'd their reſentment, by all manner of opprobrious words. It was their opinion, they deſerv'd nothing at his hands but royal treatment and rewards, for being ſo forward in proclaiming and ſaluting him emperor. But now finding themſelves not only diſappointed in that particular, but loaded with innumeral kinds of tribute, they reſolved with themſelves, by a general conſent, that injured perſons had an indiſputable right to complain. They loudly ſaid, *he was covetous, and underſtood not the art of government*, and ſeveral other reflections of the like injurious nature, which *Veſpaſian* was too brave a man to reſent, being never known to do any thing but ſmile at perſonal affronts.

In the mean time, *Muciaus* and *Domitian* govern'd matters with a high hand at *Rome*, acting and ordering as they pleas'd, without giving themſelves the trouble to wait for *Veſpaſian*'s conſent. Indeed they were ſo gracious as to let all writs, grants, and decrees run in his name, ſetting, alſo, the imperial ſeal to them, which they put in their own hands; but with relation to all other reſpects, they ſeem'd to be emperors themſelves. Gratitude would not let *Veſpaſian* drop the leaſt teſtimony of diſpleaſure in his letters to *Mucianus*, who had been ſo inſtrumental in his advancement to the throne. And as to *Domitian*, he only ſent him theſe words: *I thank you, my ſon, for permitting me to retain the title of emperor, and ſhall think my ſelf obliged to you, if you will but continue the favour.*

Domitian, in his father's abſence, gave the ſenate a taſte of thoſe innumerable advantages which might ariſe from the unlimited power they had, by virtue of their *Lex Regia*, beſtowed upon *Veſpaſian* and his miniſters. He not only raviſh'd ſeveral of their wives and daughters, but publickly married *Domitia Longina* whom he had by force carried off from *Ælius Lamia*, her huſband. He, likewiſe, in an arbitrary manner, diſpoſed of all the poſts and offices of the city; beſides, he left no means untry'd, that could, in his apprehenſion, contribute to diſpoſſeſs his father, and promote himſelf to the throne. Large promiſſes, wheedle, diſſimulation, and cunning, were the arms he made uſe of to bring about his purpoſe; but finding the general officers ſet up a laugh at him, by way of ridicule upon his youth and inexperience, and, alſo, dreading that *Cerealis*, whom he had writ to upon the ſame traiterous ſubject, had let the emperor into the knowledge of his practices; he immediately renounced all thoughts of buſineſs, and putting the whole adminiſtration into the hands of *Mucianus*, retired into the country.

Domitian now begun to think his diſſolute and impious conduct had not only loſt him the friendſhip and eſteem of his father and brother, but might draw upon him a juſtly-deſerv'd puniſhment; he therefore applied himſelf to ſuch low and wild recreations, as would, he hoped, incline the world to believe he had not a head turned for plotting. His favourite diverſion was, making war upon the flies. He ſometimes would purſue them with a dagger, and, at other times, ſteal ſoftly upon them, killing them, either with his hand, or a bodkin. By this means, he contracted ſuch a habit of ſpite againſt the poor flies, as ſtuck by him to the very laſt day of his ignominious life. When he afterwards came to be emperor, he ſtill followed the ſport, though decency obliged him then to ſpring no game, but what he could meet with in his own cloſet, or ſome other private place; which made *Vibius Criſpus* not impertinently ſay, to a man of quality, who asked him *who was within with the emperor; that not ſo much as a fly was with him.*

Mucianus, who now had the ſole direction of affairs at *Rome*, made it his principal aim to fill the emperor's coffers. There was no one thing, that could bear a tribute, ſuffered to go free; all matters and perſons, ſacred as well as civil, had impoſts laid upon them, not excepting even the beggar, and the temples themſelves. Such taxes as had been aboliſh'd on account of their rigour, were carefully reviv'd, and others, that continued in force, conſiderably augmented. By this grinding means, *Mucianus* at once enrich'd the exchequer, and put to his own ſcore a great part of the odium, which muſt otherwiſe have fallen upon *Veſpaſian* himſelf. It was his conſtant expreſſion, that *money alone was the nerve of a government*; nor did he fail, in any letter forwarded to *Veſpaſian*, to preſs him *to mind the main chance*. But herein he might have ſpared himſelf the trouble, by reaſon *Veſpaſian* needed no monitor upon ſuch a ſubject.

The *Germans* taking advantage of the late civil war between *Vitellius* and *Veſpaſian*, broke out into a rebellion, under the conduct of *Claudius Civilis*, a noble *Batavian*. This *Claudius* had formerly been ſent in chains to *Nero*, and afterwards releaſed by *Galba*; but coming to underſtand that *Vitellius*'s army had laid a plot to ſeize and put him to death; he gave himſelf no reſt, till he had engaged his country men, as well as others, to take up arms againſt the *Romans*. Being thus reinforced, he made great havock among all the *Roman* garriſons, and troops that fell in his way, overthrowing *Aquilus*, captain of the van-guard, and *Mummius Lupercus*, the lieutenant. *Vitellius* ſent *Herennius Gallus* to make head againſt him; but *Civilis*, who now pretended to act as *Veſpaſian*'s lieutenant, and by that fraudulent means gave a conſiderable addition to his own power, ſoon reduced him to ſuch a ſtate, as render'd all his meaſures ineffectual. After this, *Vocula* being ſent to ſucceed *Hordonius*, who commanded there in chief, *Civilis* gave him battle, and put his army to flight. *Civilis*, animated with this ſucceſs, engag'd him a ſecond time, but then *Vocula* had the better of the day.

Thus matters ſtood, when the report of *Vitellius*'s death ſpread the ſpirit of revolt over all *Gallia*, as well as *Germany*. *Civilis* thinking he no longer wanted any maſque to diſguiſe his actions, openly declar'd himſelf an enemy to *Veſpaſian*, and all the *Romans*. Great number of *Vitellius*'s ſoldiers, who ſaid *they would rather be ſlaves to a foreign power, than ſubmit to* Veſpaſian; came in, and offer'd their ſervice to *Civilis*. By this means, *Civilis* had the better of the *Romans* in many ſkirmiſhes, killing ſeveral of their generals and cutting off a multitude of men.

When this diſtracted ſtate of affairs came to be laid before the ſenate of *Rome*, they ſeem'd to deſpair of recovering either *Gallia* or *Germany*; but three generals, *viz. Mucianus, Domitian, and Cerealis*, being inſtantly nominated to carry on the war, and ſix legions ordered forthwith to march under the command of *Cerealis*; the news of this impending tempeſt no ſooner arriv'd in *Gallia*, than the greater part of the country thought it more adviſeable to give a voluntary ſubmiſſion, than wait the uncertain deciſion of a long and tedious war. And the remainder that ſtood out were quickly reduc'd, by force of arms.

Julius Sabinus, a principal man among the rebels, pretending a lineal deſcent from *Julius Cæſar*, and thereby getting not only his own countrymen, the *Lingones* (or inhabitants of *Langrez*, in *France*), but the *Treviri* (or citizens of *Triers* in *Germany*), and many others, to join him; aſſumed the title of *Cæſar*, and, marching againſt the *Sequani* (whoſe territories now go by the name of *Burgundy*), routed them, and made himſelf maſter of their country.

On *Cerealis*'s arrival in *Gallia*, he immediately march'd againſt *Julius Sabinus*, and putting the merit of the cauſe to the ſentence of a battle, gave him a final overthrow. Hereupon, *Julius*, ſeeing no way to better his lamentable circumſtances, retir'd with his wife into a remote part of the country, and there taking up his habitation in a ſepulchre under ground, liv'd undiſcover'd for the ſpace of nine years: And during this comfortleſs courſe of life, his ſpouſe was brought to bed of two fine boys. All his friends, relations, and acquaintance, as well as the *Romans*, concluded, that he had been kill'd in the field of battle; but being at length found out, he was, by the *Roman* governor of *Gallia*, condemned to loſe his head. None but a coward could have given ſuch a ſentence againſt a man who had greatly ſtruggled with all ſorts of miſery for ſo long a time. *Julius* muſt have been a hero of that ſtrength of ſpirit, as was not once in two hundred years to be met with among the *Romans*, in being their ſhameleſs, but ordinary method, to diſpatch themſelves at the ſight of the leaſt misfortune.

Cerealis next led his forces againſt *Claudius Civilis*, and coming up with him at a bridge upon the *Moſella*, a river in *Gallia Belgica*, he immediately, with more fire than conduct, gave him battle. Hereupon, *Civilis*, who was a man that would not let ſlip a favourable opportunity, acted the military part ſo, that he not only put the *Roman* foot into the utmoſt confuſion and diſorder, but drove their cavalry quite out of the field, and, alſo, made himſelf maſter of the bridge. Upon this, *Cerealis*, whoſe imprudent and haſty management had been the cauſe of the defeat, rallied his men, and exhorting them to retrieve, with their courage, what had been loſt by his own over-ſight, brought them a ſecond time, to engage the enemy. *Civilis*'s ſoldiers being, by this time more intent upon plunder, than careful to ſecure their late victory, gave the *Romans* ſuch an advantage, as was ſoon follow'd with an entire defeat of their enemies.

After this, *Civilis* lay by for ſome time, till he had gathered an army ſtrong enough to cut out work for the *Romans*. He then renewed the war with frequent and doubtful ſkirmiſhes, neither party having any reaſon to boaſt of the ſucceſs of the day. At length, both ſides being heartily tired with the difficulties of the war, an accommodation enſued, by which *Civilis* and all his adherents were admitted into honourable articles of peace. *Domitian* and *Mucianus*, who had likewiſe undertaken the proſecution of this war, having ſet out towards *Gallia*, and getting an account, before they reached the *Alps*, of the ſucceſsful iſſue of the firſt battle that *Cerealis* had fought againſt *Claudius*; *Mucianus* then told *Domitian*, that Cerealis's *happy conduct had no farther need of their aſſiſtance; and therefore*, continu'd he, *my advice is, that we inſtantly return to* Rome. But *Domitian*, who had an impious deſign occupying his head, made anſwer, he would not go back till he had ſeen *Gallia*. Hereupon, *Mucianus*, out of complaiſance, attended him to *Lyons*. At this place it was that the young traitor ſent a private meſſage to *Cerealis*, praying him to deliver up the army into his hands, to the end he might ſeize upon the empire. But in regard *Cerealis* treated his requeſt with the utmoſt indignity and contempt; *Domitian* immediately returned to *Rome*, and ſoon after, out of fear, retired into the country, where he paſs'd away the time in the chace of flies, as has been above related.

Whilſt theſe things were a doing, *Veſpaſian* was employing himſelf in emptying the pockets of the *Ægyptians*. He, no more than his miniſter *Mucianus* at *Rome*, ſpared any thing that was capable of a tax. Among other things that felt the weight of his little finger, he laid an exciſe upon urine, which very much diſoblig'd the people. But *Veſpaſian*, whom *Mucianus*, his miniſter, ſtirr'd up, gave as little notice to their complaints, as he did to the remonſtrances of his excellent ſon *Titus*, who continu'd with him all the while that he ſtay'd at *Alexandria*, and ſtrenuouſly ſolicited the caſe of the people.

Titus never ceas'd importuning him to mitigate the taxes; but *Veſpaſian*, who had taken a notion that nothing under ſuch a ſum would be able to preſerve the ſtate from ſinking, and therefore endeavour'd to make it, could not be brought to hearken to his counſel. *Titus* boldly told him, one day, *that his exciſe upon urine was an infamous and diſhonourable tax.* Hereupon, *Veſpaſian*, whoſe cuſtom it was to fly to raillery whenever a caſe occurr'd that would not bear a regular juſtification, took ſome pieces of gold out of his pocket, and, holding them to *Titus*'s noſe, ask'd, *if the ſmell offended him.* *No,* anſwer'd Titus. *And yet, for all that,* ſaid the emperor, *this very money ſprung out of the exciſe upon urine.*

Some ambaſſadors coming hither to wait on him, and informing him that their ſtate had made a decree to erect a magnificent ſtatue for him, which would amount to a very conſiderable ſum; he inſtantly commanded them to ſet down the ſtatue: And, ſhewing his right hand, *Here*, ſaid he, *is a ready baſis.* And, accordingly, they gave him bills for the ſum of two hundred and fifty thouſand drams. As he was once upon the road, finding his litter ſtopped of a ſudden by the muleteer, under a pretence of ſhooing the mules, and ſuſpecting this was done to give a certain candidate an opportunity to beg a favour of him; he afterwards ask'd the muleteer how much money he had got by ſhooing the mules; and, alſo, by way of jeſt, made the muleteer promiſe to ſhare the profits with him. One of his miniſters of ſtate having, with a more than ordinary diligence, ſollicited him to beſtow an office upon a certain perſon, who, he pretended, was his own brother; *Veſpaſian*, who was too quick-ſighted to let any trick meet with ſucceſs, told him *he would conſider what was proper to be done:* And, in the mean time, calling the candidate aſide, and obliging him to pay down the money, that he had agreed to give his miniſter in the caſe he procurred him ſuch a favour; he then gave him the poſt. *Now* ſaid *Veſpaſian* to his miniſter, who immediately after importun'd him upon the old ſcore, *you may go ſeek another brother, for this man, whom you took to be yours, is my own.*

After the death of his wife *Flavia Domitilla* (who was but a freed woman, when he married her, though he ſoon after made her a citizen of *Rome*), he took *Cænis*, the freed woman of *Antonia*, the mother of the emperor *Claudius*, home to his houſe, and ever after kept her as if ſhe had been his wife. She had formerly been his miſtreſs, and done him great ſervices at court, but now ſhe acted, in all caſes, like his firſt miniſter; there was no one thing that ſhe did not make money of: All poſts, offices, governments, and favours, of what kind ſoever, were obliged to pay certain rates to her, before they could be expeded. In ſhort, ſhe, alone, while ſhe lived, was the key that could give acceſs to the court of *Veſpaſian*. And, I am apt to think, it was her greedy and rapacious way of managing affairs, that firſt brought *Veſpaſian* under the odious character of being covetous. He had ſuch a love for her, that he never contradicted her in any thing; and ſhe, in return, ſqueezed all mankind to enrich him. However, this is ſaid in her commendation, that ſhe never took a fee to condemn an innocent perſon; but, at the ſame time, which was an unpardonable crime, ſhe has often received a bribe to abſolve the guilty.

When *Cænis* lived with her miſtreſs *Antonia*, ſhe was highly celebrated for her fidelity, as well as wonderful memory; and the following inſtance is adduced as a proof of both: *Antonia* having writ *Tiberius* a long letter, full of invectives againſt *Sejanus*, and not only ſhewed the contents to *Cænis*, but made uſe of her miniſtry to carry on the whole intrigue; bid her take care to burn all the letters, and copies of letters, that had paſs'd and re-paſs'd upon the ſubject, for fear they ſhould fall into the hands of any body who might turn them to a pernicious uſe. *To what purpoſe*, anſwer'd Cænis, *will it be, when I ſhall have obey'd your order, and deſtroyed theſe papers, ſince it is not in my power to cancel the remembrance of them out of my mind? Every thing, madam, you entruſt me with, ſtrikes ſo deep a root in my memory, that nothing but death will be able to efface it.*

In the mean time, *John*, who had taken a reſolution to make himſelf maſter of the inner part of the temple, which had fallen into the hands of *Eleazar*, was preparing the materials to beſiege it. But news arriving of the march of *Titus*, put him under a neceſſity to ſuſpend the deſign; for *Veſpaſian* being to ſet out for *Italy*, had given orders to *Titus* to make all the haſte he could to reduce and demoliſh *Jeruſalem*. Beſide the *Roman* legions, which went upon this enterprize, *Titus* was followed by twenty regiments of foot, and eight of horſe, which the allied cities ſupplied him with. He alſo had auxiliary troops from *Arabia*, as well as ſuccours from the kings of *Agrippa*, *Sohemus*, and *Antiochus*; the two firſt of whom accompanied him in perſon: And a great number of voluntiers, of the firſt rank, coming from all parts of *Italy*, gave both a luſtre, and a conſiderable addition, to the ſtrength of his army.

Titus ſat down before *Jeruſalem* about the beginning of *April*, a few days antecedent to the feaſt of the paſſover, which had hither brought an innumerable multitude of *Jews* from all places of the earth. And thus the ſupreme being permitted, by an effect of his juſt vengeance, that almoſt all the nation of the *Jews* were now ſhut up in *Jeruſalem*, as in a priſon, to ſolemnize the ſame feaſt, in which thirty-ſeven years before they had crucified the Lord of glory. This vaſt influence of people adding to the ſcarcity of proviſions, which had formerly been occaſion'd by the mercileſs rage of *Simon* and *John*, ſoon overwhelmed the city with a general famine. They not only had the *Romans* to fight with, but hunger, and want, and enemies, alſo, within their own bowels.

The *Jews* neither wanted courage, nor reſolution, nor arms, but they were without diſcipline and experience, and over-run with inteſtine diviſions, which precipitated their ruin. They animated themſelves with the thought that they took up arms for their liberty, for their lives and fortunes, for their temple, and for their wives and children; and obſtinacy and deſpair made them ſmile in the face of danger. The difficult ſituation of the city, its noble fortifications, and triple walls, the temple, the tower *Antonia*, and the palace, which appeared like ſo many different fortreſſes, were great incitements to awaken their valour, and, alſo, diſpos'd them to fancy that it exceeded the power of the *Romans* to ſubdue them by force.

The common danger which now threatened the city, made the three factions unite ſo far, as to iſſue out in one ſally upon the *Romans*; and herein they behav'd ſo well, that they not only forced their camp, but drove them to ſeek refuge in the mountains, till *Titus*, informed of the defeat, came with freſh troops to the aſſiſtance of his men; and falling unexpectedly upon the *Jews*, oblig'd them to retire within the city. And after the ſame manner, for ſeveral days together, did the *Jews* renew the combat, neither party having cauſe to boaſt of the ſucceſs of the day.

Whilſt *Titus* was employ'd in forming the ſiege, and, for a while, diſcontinu'd his attack againſt *Jeruſalem*; the *Jews*, graſping an opportunity from this ſuſpenſion of arms, fell upon one another. The fourteenth of *April*, which was the day of unleavened bread, or eve of the paſſover, *Eleazar*, having opened the gates of the inner temple, with a view to let in thoſe who ſhould come to offer ſacrifices; *John* of *Giſcal* gave a command to a ſelect party of his own men, to crowd in among the reſt, with ſwords hid under their cloaths, and take poſſeſſion of that part of the temple. This was no ſooner done, than, ſhewing their arms, they kill'd *Eleazar*, and all ſuch of his faction as had the misfortune to come within their reach. And the faction of *Eleazar* being thus extirpated, the remainder of his party were compell'd to ſubmit to *John*.

Nothing but deceit, battle, and murder, paſs'd between the two remaining factions, in the interim that they had any reſpite from defending of their walls. They would, one half of the day, gallantly oppoſe the *Romans*, and the minute after ſheath their ſwords, in the viſcera of their own countrymen. *Titus* having on the third of *May* made a breach in the outermoſt wall, enter'd the city, and ſo got poſſeſſion of the north part, as far as the tower of *Antonia*, and the valley of *Cedron*; and, in five days after, he broke through the ſecond wall, with two thouſand men. But in regard he was very loth to deſtroy the city, he then ſent overtures of peace to the *Jews*, which, inſtead of accepting, they immediately came to blows, and cut down many of his followers. *Titus* finding ſo warm a reception, had only this alternative left; either to ſtand to it, and be over-power'd with numbers; or make a hazardous retreat: And ſo chuſing the leaſt of two evils, he retired to his camp.

The three days following were waſted in fruitleſs aſſaults upon the ſecond wall; but, on the fourth day, he renew'd his attempt with ſuch vigour, that he carried it. This done, *Titus*, before he would advance any farther, had a mind to give the *Jews* (who now laboured under all manner of woe) a little time to recollect their duty, and, alſo, intimidate 'em, by drawing up his whole army in order of battle. To this purpoſe, he made a review of his men for four days together, but nothing could work upon infatuation. The *Jews* had a full view of all his troops, from their walls; they ſaw them, and trembled, and yet would perſiſt in their mad oppoſition. Hereupon, *Titus* divided his army into two bodies, with a deſign to make a double attack, and raiſed terraſſes to facilitate the execution.

Whilſt theſe works were a doing, *Titus*, whoſe extraordinary ſweetneſs of temper would leave no means untried that might ſave the city, gave it in charge to *Joſephus*, the hiſtorian, to ſound the hearts of his countrymen, and ſee if he could bring them to a ſenſe of their danger, and a voluntary ſubmiſſion; but he was able to make no impreſſion upon their hardened ſpirits. A few of the milder ſort were won over by his arguments, and ſurrender'd themſelves to *Titus*, who permitted them to go where they would. After this, the factions kept ſtrict guard at all their gates, for fear any more ſhould eſcape, and, without mercy, and on the leaſt ſuſpicion, put to death all thoſe who they fancied had an inclination to ſteal away to the *Romans*: And, under this ſpecious colour, were men of ſubſtance and figure daily condemn'd to death by the two tyrants, *Simon* and *John*. Their ordinary practice was, to ſuborn witneſſes to ſwear a premediated eſcape againſt rich men, to the end they might have ſome pretext to put them to death, and ſeize their eſtates.

The famine beginning to preſs ſore within the city, numbers uſed to travel out of a night in order to gather roots and herbs for their nouriſhment. *Titus* getting notice of this planted ambuſcades round about the city; by which method, a multitude of *Jews* were apprehended, that, when *Titus* commanded 'em all to be executed, there neither was room, nor croſſes enough, to anſwer the purpoſe. Upon this, the ſeditious redoubled their fury, giving the people to know that the treacherous *Romans* would in the ſame manner treat all who ſhould ſurrender themſelves. But *Titus*, to undeceive ſuch of the *Jews* as were willing to come to his camp, ſent ſome priſoners back, to inform them, that no one had ſuffer'd death but thoſe who had actually reſiſted the *Romans*. And therefore many of the ſober part, when they could find an opportunity, embraced it, and fled to the *Romans*.

Titus having, in ſeventeen days, finiſh'd his platforms and terraſſes, from whence he reſolved to play his battering-rams, no ſooner gave orders to mount them, than *John* quite ruined the two that fronted towards the tower of *Antonia*, and, in two days after, *Simon* deſtroyed the reſt. The *Romans* haſtily run to extinguiſh the fire, and ſave their machines, but to no effect; for the *Jews* gave them ſuch a hearty welcome, as made them glad to abandon both. This little gale of ſucceſs ſo warmed the minds of the *Jews*, that they impetuouſly ruſh'd upon the body-guard of the *Romans*, and forc'd them to retire with precipitation to their camp. *Titus*, who was gone to the tower of *Antonia* to mark out another ſituation, where he might plant his engines; came immediately back, on the news of this diſaſter, and charg'd the *Jews* in flank. The *Jews*, for a conſiderable time, gallantly ſuſtain'd the ſhock of the whole *Roman* army; bnt being, at laſt, wearied out, they retreated home, not a little proud that they had, in ſo ſhort a ſpace, done their enemies an intolerable damage.

This misfortune ſo diſcourag'd the *Romans*, that many of them begun to think it was but loſt labour to continue the ſiege; and what added to their pain, was, that they had not a ſufficient quantity of water: Beſides, even the little they got was not only brought from a great diſtance, but ſecretly ſpoiled by the *Jews* before they had it. Likewiſe, there were ſeveral of the *Romans* that deſerted to the *Jews*, and taught them how to uſe the engines they had formerly taken from the governor of *Syria*.

Thus affairs ſtood, when *Titus* ſummoned a council of his general officers, who (according to the prediction of our Lord, *Luke* xix. 43, 44.) came to a reſolution that the way to ſucceſs was, *to encompaſs the city with a trench*. And now the *Jews* were reduced to the utmoſt diſpair: The famine devoured whole families, and the houſes, as well as the ſtreets, were full of dead bodies, no one taking any care to bury them. All the inhabitants, excepting only thoſe who compos'd the faction of *John* and *Simon*, look'd more like apparitions than living men. The many intolerable hardſhips which the *Jews* ſuffer'd, through the cruel treatment of their own ſeditious countrymen, may be well imagined but cannot be deſcribed; they not only plundered them of all the means of ſubſiſtence, but ſhameleſly inſulted and abuſed them in the very agonies of death. *Titus*, on an information of their miſery, and on a review of the multitude of dead bodies thrown over the walls; lifted up his hands to heaven, and took God to witneſs that he was not, in any degree, the cauſe of theſe calamities.

At this time, many impoſtors, pretending to revelations from heaven, flattered the *Jews* into ſuch a hope of ſpeedy deliverence, that notwithſtanding they had from the fourteenth of *April* to the firſt of *July* loſt ſeven hundred and fifteen thouſand and fourſcore perſons, by the mortality which rag'd in the city; and alſo, were ſo grinded by famine that dung it ſelf ſeem'd a feaſt to them, and a noble woman killed and eat her own child: Yet they would not hearken to the kind remonſtrances of *Titus*.

Hereupon, *Titus* renewing the attack, gain'd poſſeſſion of one half of the city, and, in two days after, of the temple it ſelf, by ſitting fire to the gates of it. His great ambition was, to have preſerved the temple; but one of the ſoldiers, as if directed from above, taking a lighted piece of wood, and throwing it, contrary to his expreſs command, into the buildings of the north-ſide; the flame immediately ſpread with ſuch violence, that it reached and conſumed the temple, in ſpite of all *Titus*'s moſt forcible endeavours to prevent it; being the ſame day of the month, *viz.* the tenth of *Auguſt*, on which it had formerly been burnt by the *Chaldæans* under *Nebuchodonozar*. Thoſe whom the *Romans* found in the temple, were moſt of them put to the ſword, without mercy, or any diſtinction either of age or ſex. And ſix thouſand others, who had, on the villainous ſuggeſtion of a falſe prophet, retired to a gallery of the outer temple, were, alſo, all of them, deſtroyed, either in the attempt to ſave themſelves, by jumping down, or by the flames.

The temple being thus reduced to a heap of aſhes, the *Romans*, with great acclamations of joy, conferr'd on *Titus* the diſtincton of emperor, and would, alſo, have crowned him as a conqueror, but he peremptorily refus'd it; ſaying, *The ſupreme power has ſignally appear'd for me, during all the time of this ſiege; it is not I that have done all this, I only have been an inſtrument in his almighty hand, to execute vengeance upon a perfidious people.*

All theſe things, notwithſtanding, the ſeditious went on with their uſual devaſtation and barbarity, and maſſacreing ſix thouſand and four hundred of their own countrymen, for the ſake of their wealth, retired with it into the other part of the city call'd *Sion*, where they ſtill purpos'd to defend themſelves. Hereupon, *Titus* having, on the ſeventh of *Septemper*, made an effort with his battering-rams, and uſed 'em with ſuch ſucceſs that a part of the wall was inſtantly broke down; the rebels were ſtruck with ſo univerſal a conſternation, that even common ſenſe forſook them: They abandoned the ſtrong towers, and fled to dens, caves, and privies, to hide themſelves.

Titus, on his entry into the higher part of the city, gave orders to his men to kill none but thoſe who made a reſiſtance; however, they put to the ſword all that were either ſick or old, reſerving no priſoners that were not young and healthy. By this means, ninety-ſeven thouſand only, came into captivity, and eleven hundred thouſand periſhed in the ſiege. *Titus* next commanded his ſoldiers to demoliſh the temple to its very foundations, and thereby fulfilled the prediction of our Saviour; who told the *Jews*, *There ſhall not be left here one ſtone upon another, that ſhall not be thrown down*, Mat. xxiv. 2. He likewiſe equalled with the ground all the reſt of the city, except three towers, and a part of the wall, which he left as a monument to poſterity of the former beauty and ſtrength of the place, and paſſed a plough over the temple, as well as city, in token of its everlaſting deſolation.

The death of the *Jewiſh* œconomy immediately follow'd the reſurrection of our Lord, and *Titus* was the undertaker appointed to bury it; for, ſince the ruin of *Jeruſalem*, they have neither had king nor prophet, temple nor ſacrifice; but have been diſpers'd and ſifted over all nations, according to the divine oracles, and had the mortification to ſee the ſervants of the Lord *called by another name*. They firſt exhauſted their rage againſt the *ſtone which the builders rejected*, and, as our Saviour foretold them, it has *grinded them to powder*. This illuſtrious effect of the juſt wrath of God againſt that treacherous people, who could ſay, *Let his blood be upon us, and our children*, and crucified the meſſiah of the world; is an adamantine ſeal to the many other indiſputable proofs that aſſure and will eternize the truth of the *Chriſtian* religion.

As for my own part, I have ſo feelling a ſenſe of the mercies purchas'd for me by my omnipotent Lord, that I would ſooner be tore to pieces than renounce his goſpel. But ſince that cannot happen to me in a land where *Chriſtianity* is embrac'd, I will yet give the *Jews* and other *Infidels* a ſtill greater mark of my love to my Saviour. I hereby declare, that I put my eternal ſalvation upon the the truth of the goſpel of *Jeſus Chriſt*, ſaying, with St. *Peter*, *Neither is there ſalvation in any other, for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we muſt be ſaved*; nor ſhall I ever aſk it upon any other terms. Hearken, then, ye *Deiſts*, and other *Infidels*, and be aſtoniſhed; if the goſpel leans upon a falſe foundation, I deſire to take up my eternal reſidence in the midſt of intolerable fire and brimſtone with the devil and his angels: But if the goſpel ſtands upon an infallible baſis, as I am ſure it does, and as certain as I know that two and three make five (otherwiſe I, who may be allow'd to have ſome ſelf-love, as well as other men, would not have ventured upon a declaration which muſt turn upon the endleſs tide of eternity); than I may joyfully and ſecurely, as I now do, and will always, reſt and repoſe myſelf upon the meſſiah, my deliverer, and the rock of my ſalvation. The *Infidel* himſelf knows that an hundred million of years, laid in the balance with eternity, is infinitely leſs than a drop of water is to the ſea; and therefore, when he has a little conſidered this bold declaration of mine, I cannot but hope that he will, for his own ſake, beſtow a few ſerious thoughts upon the following denunciation of *Jeſus Chriſt* our Lord: *He that believeth, and is baptized, ſhall be ſaved; but he that believeth not ſhall be damned*, Mark xvi. 16.

In the mean time, *Veſpaſian* was taking all poſſible care and pains to reſtore the empire to its ancient power and ſplendor; luxury and riot, and effeminacy, had, by the prevailing influence of the diſſolute manners of former princes, over-ſpread the face of the whole nation, and ſo enervated the minds of the people, that, in a compariſon with their anceſtors, they ſeem'd to be baſtards, and not *Romans*. He therefore made it his principle ſtudy to retrench theſe evils, and, in a great meaſure, effected it, his own example of temperance, moderation, and virtue, diffuſing a more general imitation than could ever have proceeded from the force of precept. He ſpared no coſt upon the exigences of the ſtate; and, to the end he might always have a ſufficient fund for theſe honourable expences, he diſmiſs'd from the court, as well as his own perſon, all ſuperfluous magnificence, and things of ſhow, regarding and indulging himſelf in no more than what was of real uſe and ſignificancy. He purged the ſenate, and order of knights, of all their worthleſs members, and ſubſtituted men of worth and merit in their room; he likewiſe honourably ſupported all ſuch of conſular dignity, as had the misfortune to fall into want: Nay, he extended his liberality to all orders and degrees of men, being particularly fond of learned men, and allowing numbers of them annual penſions.

He took a delight in beautifying the city of *Rome*, and gave great encouragement to rebuild the houſes that had been deſtroyed by the ſavage hand of *Nero*. At his own charge, he re-edified the capitol, the temple of *Peace*, and the temple of *Claudius*, which had been founded by *Agrippina*, but ruined by *Nero*; and raiſed a ſtately amphitheatre in the middle of the city, out of regard to *Auguſtus*, who firſt contrived the plan: Nor was his munificence confined to the city of *Rome*; it alſo diffuſed it ſelf through the wide extent of the *Roman* dominions: For there was no city that had either ſuffered by an earthquake, or fire, but met with a compaſſionate relief from his bountiful hand.

When I make a review of theſe things, and, at the ſame time, recollect the many greedy methods, hiſtorians tell us, he made uſe of to levy money, I really am at a loſs how to reconcile them together: Indeed there are inſtances of men who have inſatiably thirſted after the riches of other people, and yet been extremely laviſh of their own; but then their ſcandalous way of laying it out was as great a crime as the manner by which they acquired it: Whereas *Veſpaſian*'s generoſity altogether conſiſted in a valuable and uſeful benevolence and benefaction to mankind. When I find it reported that he would not only ſell honours and offices, and promote no man to the government of provinces who was not a rapacious leech, or ſuch a ſpunge as would drink up moiſture enough for him to ſqueeze out again, but, alſo, take bribes to acquit the guilty: It exceeds my power, if theſe are facts, to ſay any thing in his defence. He was not a whit better than a certain female *Popiſh* ſaint, who us'd to ſteal loaves from her maſter, and give them to the poor; and he deſerv'd the cenſure which an old man, whom he had offended, beſtow'd upon him, *viz. The fox may ſhed his hair, but will never change his manners.*

After all, I am apt to think, it was *Cænis* his miſtreſs, or rather wife, and his other miniſters, that ſaid, as well as did, all the ridiculous

lous and mean things, that go under his name. But, even granting it to be ſo, we ſhall not be able to juſtify him; for a prince ſhould not only do good himſelf, but hinder his miniſters from committing evil; becauſe elſe (however the world may diſguiſe the matter to him for the preſent) all the blame will, in after-times, be laid to his own door. He did not, in a private ſtate, ſhew any ſymptom of avarice; for though he had enjoy'd very lucrative poſts, and was an old man when he came to the throne, yet he had not acquired any conſiderable eſtate; which, added to the excellent uſe he made of the taxes, inclines me to believe that perſonal intereſt had no ſhare in his adminiſtration, and he only regarded the neceſſities of the commonweal. He might, nay, certainly was miſtaken, in the means, but he committed no error in the application.

He rarely lodg'd in his own palace, and paſſed moſt of his time at the houſe and gardens that had formerly belong'd to *Saluſt*. He was eaſy of acceſs, courteous and obliging to all mankind; the gates of his palace ſtood conſtantly open, all the day long, and free admiſſion given to all that wanted to ſee the apartments. He daily went to the ſenate, and never undertook any buſineſs of moment, without having firſt conſulted them upon the ſubject. He often heard cauſes himſelf, and decided the points in debate with unexceptionable juſtice. The civil wars had defac'd the country with innumerable acts of injuſtice, and, to give reparation to the injur'd perſons by the ordinary forms of law, one age, he rightly judg'd, would not be ſufficient: He therefore appointed a certain number of delegates, who ſhould ſee juſtice done, and reſtitution made in a ſummary way.

In the interim, *Titus*, having made a viſit to ſeveral cities in the eaſt, came back to *Jeruſalem*, in order to go to *Alexandria*, and from thence to *Rome*. He found his men ſtill employed in ſearching and digging up ſome caves and other remnants of the ruined houſes, where they now and then met with a great deal of riches, as well as abundance of rebels, who had thither crept to hide themſelves. *Titus*, on a ſecond proſpect of the deplorable ſtate of that once magnificent city, could not help watering the ground with his tears, as well as pouring out curſes againſt the authors of the revolt, who had forc'd him to treat it with ſo great a ſeverity.

On *Titus*'s arrival at *Rome*, he entered the city in triumph, together with *Veſpaſian* his father. The captive *Jews*, that were brought to *Rome*, ſerv'd in the proceſſion, but no one of them was executed after the triumph, *Simon* only excepted. The ſenate, on this occaſion, gave *Titus*, as well as his father, the title of emperor; but neither the one, nor the other, would accept of the ſirname of *Judaicus*. They likewiſe conferred upon them all the honours that were due to ſo glorious an expedition, and, among the reſt, erected triumphal arches. As to *Veſpaſian*, he was ſo far from taſting any pleaſure at this extreme grandeur and pomp, that, being heartily fatigu'd with the ſlowneſs and ſtrength of the triumph, he broke out into theſe words: 'I am deſervedly 'puniſhed for having, at theſe years, aſpired to 'the fooliſh ambition of a triumph, as if it had 'either been an honour due to my foreſather, or 'ever affected by myſelf.' Indeed, *Veſpaſian* was a man too great not to contemn both pride and vanity. He frequently would enter into a relation of the narrowneſs of his former circumſtances, nor did he ever ſtrive to hide the meanneſs of his birth; for as often as the flatterer made an attempt to raiſe the dignity of his ancient houſe, he was ſure to expoſe him to the mirth and diriſion of the whole company. Exterior ornaments, and laboured finery, had ſo little a ſhare in his eſteem, that he could not think well of any man who was ſollicitouſly careful about his dreſs. Fops and beaux had no encouragement under his reign. Having once been drawn in by *Mucianus* to beſtow a government upon an eſſenced and tawdry fop, whom he had never ſeen, he no ſooner caſt his eyes upon the beau, who came to return thanks, than his countenance witneſs'd a diſlike; but being, on a nearer approach, offended with the perfumes of the gentleman; *I wiſh*, ſaid he, *thy fragrancy had conſiſted in ſomething elſe*: And he forthwith recalled the letters of his commiſſion.

There being ſtill three caſtles in *Judæa* held by the ſeditious *Jews*, *viz.* *Herodion*, *Maſſada*, and *Machæron*; *Lucilius Baſſus* was ſent thither, in quality of lieutenant, to make an end of the war. He ſoon reduced *Herodion*, and then aſſembling all his troops, marched againſt *Machæron*, which was a very ſtrong place; but having the good fortune to apprehend a man, by name *Eleazar*, who had a great many conſiderable relations within the caſtle, propoſals were immediately ſent him, intimating, they would with joy ſurrender, provided he agreed to ſave the life of *Eleazar*, and let the beſieged retire where they ſhould think fit. Accordingly, the conditions were accepted, and the beſieged went and joined another party of rebels, who had intrenched themſelves in a wood. *Baſſus*, underſtanding they were in all but three thouſand, led his troops againſt 'em, and put every man of them to the ſword.

But *Baſſus* dying ſoon after, *Fulvius Sylva* had a commiſſion to fill his place; and therefore ſitting down before *Maſſada*, which was defended by *Eleazar*, the grand-child of the famous *Judas* of *Galilee*; he, with all deligence, and ſpeed, ſurrounded them with a trench, to the end he might cut of all poſſibility of their making an eſcape. This caſtle was now in the poſſeſſion of a thouſand deſperate aſſaſſins, who pretended (though they were in themſelves moſt impious wretches) that it was a breach of piety to acknowledge any mortal man for their Lord. *Baſſus* having here tried ſeveral experiments to no purpoſe, had, at laſt, recourſe to fire, and an effect followed, which, *Heathen* as he was, powerfully convinced him that *this was the finger of God*. For the wind, which had, till that moment, oppoſed his deſign, immediately turned about, and carried the flames full into the fortifications of the *Jews*. Nor he former beauty and ſtrength of the place, and paſſed a plough over the temple, as well as city, in token of its everlaſting deſolation.

The death of the *Jewiſh* œconomy immediately follow'd the reſurrection of our Lord, and *Titus* was the undertaker appointed to bury it; for, ſince the ruin of *Jeruſalem*, they have neither had king nor prophet, temple nor ſacrifice; but have been diſpers'd and ſifted over all nations, according to the divine oracles, and had the mortification to ſee the ſervants of the Lord *called by another name.* They firſt exhauſted their rage againſt the *ſtone which the builders rejected*, and, as our Saviour foretold them, it has *grinded them to powder.* This illuſtrious effect of the juſt wrath of God againſt that treacherous people, who could ſay, *Let his blood be upon us, and our children*, and crucified the meſſiah of the world; is an adamantine ſeal to the many other indiſputable proofs that aſſure and will eternize the truth of the *Chriſtian* religion.

As for my own part, I have ſo feelling a ſenſe of the mercies purchas'd for me by my omnipotent Lord, that I would ſooner be tore to pieces than renounce his goſpel. But ſince that cannot happen to me in a land where *Chriſtianity* is embrac'd, I will yet give the *Jews* and other *Infidels* a ſtill greater mark of my love to my Saviour. I hereby declare, that I put my eternal ſalvation upon the the truth of the goſpel of *Jeſus Chriſt*, ſaying, with St. *Peter*, *Neither is there ſalvation in any other, for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we muſt be ſaved*; nor ſhall I ever aſk it upon any other terms. Hearken, then, ye *Deiſts*, and other *Infidels*, and be aſtoniſhed; if the goſpel leans upon a falſe foundation, I deſire to take up my eternal reſidence in the midſt of intolerable fire and brimſtone with the devil and his angels: But if the goſpel ſtands upon an infallible baſis, as I am ſure it does, and as certain as I know that two and three make five (otherwiſe I, who may be allow'd to have ſome ſelf-love, as well as other men, would not have ventured upon a declaration which muſt turn upon the endleſs tide of eternity); than I may joyfully and ſecurely, as I now do, and will always, reſt and repoſe myſelf upon the meſſiah, my deliverer, and the rock of my ſalvation. The *Infidel* himſelf knows that an hundred million of years, laid in the balance with eternity, is infinitely leſs than a drop of water is to the ſea; and therefore, when he has a little conſidered this bold declaration of mine, I cannot but hope that he will, for his own ſake, beſtow a few ſerious thoughts upon the following denunciation of *Jeſus Chriſt* our Lord: *He that believeth, and is baptized, ſhall be ſaved; but he that believeth not ſhall be damned*, Mark xvi. 16.

In the mean time, *Veſpaſian* was taking all poſſible care and pains to reſtore the empire to its ancient power and ſplendor; luxury and riot, and effeminacy, had, by the prevailing influence of the diſſolute manners of former princes, over-ſpread the face of the whole nation, and ſo enervated the minds of the people, that, in a compariſon with their anceſtors, they ſeem'd to be baſtards, and not *Romans*. He therefore made it his principle ſtudy to retrench theſe evils, and, in a great meaſure, effected it, his own example of temperance, moderation, and virtue, diffuſing a more general imitation than could ever have proceeded from the force of precept. He ſpared no coſt upon the exigences of the ſtate; and, to the end he might always have a ſufficient fund for theſe honourable expences, he diſmiſs'd from the court, as well as his own perſon, all ſuperfluous magnificence, and things of ſhow, regarding and indulging himſelf in no more than what was of real uſe and ſignificancy. He purged the ſenate, and order of knights, of all their worthleſs members, and ſubſtituted men of worth and merit in their room; he likewiſe honourably ſupported all ſuch of conſular dignity, as had the misfortune to fall into want: Nay, he extended his liberality to all orders and degrees of men, being particularly fond of learned men, and allowing numbers of them annual penſions.

He took a delight in beautifying the city of *Rome*, and gave great encouragement to rebuild the houſes that had been deſtroyed by the ſavage hand of *Nero*. At his own charge, he re-edified the capitol, the temple of *Peace*, and the temple of *Claudius*, which had been founded by *Agrippina*, but ruined by *Nero*; and raiſed a ſtately amphitheatre in the middle of the city, out of regard to *Auguſtus*, who firſt contrived the plan: Nor was his munificence confined to the city of *Rome*; it alſo diffuſed it ſelf through the wide extent of the *Roman* dominions: For there was no city that had either ſuffered by an earthquake, or fire, but met with a compaſſionate relief from his bountiful hand.

When I make a review of theſe things, and, at the ſame time, recollect the many greedy methods, hiſtorians tell us, he made uſe of to levy money, I really am at a loſs how to reconcile them together: Indeed there are inſtances of men who have inſatiably thirſted after the riches of other people, and yet been extremely laviſh of their own; but then their ſcandalous way of laying it out was as great a crime as the manner by which they acquired it: Whereas *Veſpaſian*'s generoſity altogether conſiſted in a valuable and uſeful benevolence and benefaction to mankind. When I find it reported that he would not only ſell honours and offices, and promote no man to the government of provinces who was not a rapacious leech, or ſuch a ſponge as would drink up moiſture enough for him to ſqueeze out again, but, alſo, take bribes to acquit the guilty: It exceeds my power, if theſe are facts, to ſay any thing in his defence. He was not a whit better than a certain female *Popiſh* ſaint, who us'd to ſteal loaves from her maſter, and give them to the poor; and he deſerv'd the cenſure which an old man, whom he had offended, beſtow'd upon him, *viz. The fox may ſhed his hair, but will never change his manners.*

After all, I am apt to think, it was *Cænis* his miſtreſs, or rather wife, and his other miniſters, that ſaid, as well as did, all the ridiculous

lous and mean things, that go under his name. But, even granting it to be ſo, we ſhall not be able to juſtify him; for a prince ſhould not only do good himſelf, but hinder his miniſters from committing evil; becauſe elſe (however the world may diſguiſe the matter to him for the preſent) all the blame will, in after-times, be laid to his own door. He did not, in a private ſtate, ſhew any ſymptom of avarice; for though he had enjoy'd very lucrative poſts, and was an old man when he came to the throne, yet he had not acquired any conſiderable eſtate; which, added to the excellent uſe he made of the taxes, inclines me to believe that perſonal intereſt had no ſhare in his adminiſtration, and he only regarded the neceſſities of the commonweal. He might, nay, certainly was miſtaken, in the means, but he committed no error in the application.

He rarely lodg'd in his own palace, and paſſed moſt of his time at the houſe and gardens that had formerly belong'd to *Saluſt*. He was eaſy of acceſs, courteous and obliging to all mankind; the gates of his palace ſtood conſtantly open, all the day long, and free admiſſion given to all that wanted to ſee the apartments. He daily went to the ſenate, and never undertook any buſineſs of moment, without having firſt conſulted them upon the ſubject. He often heard cauſes himſelf, and decided the points in debate with unexceptionable juſtice. The civil wars had defac'd the country with innumerable acts of injuſtice, and, to give reparation to the injur'd perſons by the ordinary forms of law, one age, he rightly judg'd, would not be ſufficient: He therefore appointed a certain number of delegates, who ſhould ſee juſtice done, and reſtitution made in a ſummary way.

In the interim, *Titus*, having made a viſit to ſeveral cities in the eaſt, came back to *Jeruſalem*, in order to go to *Alexandria*, and from thence to *Rome*. He found his men ſtill employed in ſearching and digging up ſome caves and other remnants of the ruined houſes, where they now and then met with a great deal of riches, as well as abundance of rebels, who had thither crept to hide themſelves. *Titus*, on a ſecond proſpect of the deplorable ſtate of that once magnificent city, could not help watering the ground with his tears, as well as pouring out curſes againſt the authors of the revolt, who had forc'd him to treat it with ſo great a ſeverity.

On *Titus*'s arrival at *Rome*, he entered the city in triumph, together with *Veſpaſian* his father. The captive *Jews*, that were brought to *Rome*, ſerv'd in the proceſſion, but no one of them was executed after the triumph, *Simon* only excepted. The ſenate, on this occaſion, gave *Titus*, as well as his father, the title of emperor; but neither the one, nor the other, would accept of the ſirname of *Judaicus*. They likewiſe conferred upon them all the honours that were due to ſo glorious an expedition, and, among the reſt, erected triumphal arches. As to *Veſpaſian*, he was ſo far from taſting any pleaſure at this extreme grandeur and pomp, that, being heartily fatigu'd with the ſlowneſs and ſtrength of the triumph, he broke out into theſe words: 'I am deſervedly 'puniſhed for having, at theſe years, aſpired to 'the fooliſh ambition of a triumph, as if it had 'either been an honour due to my forefather, or 'ever affected by myſelf.' Indeed, *Veſpaſian* was a man too great not to contemn both pride and vanity. He frequently would enter into a relation of the narrowneſs of his former circumſtances, nor did he ever ſtrive to hide the meanneſs of his birth; for as often as the flatterer made an attempt to raiſe the dignity of his ancient houſe, he was ſure to expoſe him to the mirth and diriſion of the whole company. Exterior ornaments, and laboured finery, had ſo little a ſhare in his eſteem, that he could not think well of any man who was ſollicitouſly careful about his dreſs. Fops and beaux had no encouragement under his reign. Having once been drawn in by *Mucianus* to beſtow a government upon an eſſenced and tawdry fop, whom he had never ſeen, he no ſooner caſt his eyes upon the beau, who came to return thanks, than his countenance witneſs'd a diſlike; but being, on a nearer approach, offended with the perfumes of the gentleman; *I wiſh*, ſaid he, *thy fragrancy had conſiſted in ſomething elſe*: And he forthwith recalled the letters of his commiſſion.

There being ſtill three caſtles in *Judæa* held by the ſeditious *Jews*, *viz. Herodion*, *Maſſada*, and *Machæron*; *Lucilius Baſſus* was ſent thither, in quality of lieutenant, to make an end of the war. He ſoon reduced *Herodion*, and then aſſembling all his troops, marched againſt *Machæron*, which was a very ſtrong place; but having the good fortune to apprehend a man, by name *Eleazar*, who had a great many conſiderable relations within the caſtle, propoſals were immediately ſent him, intimating, they would with joy ſurrender, provided he agreed to ſave the life of *Eleazar*, and let the beſieged retire where they ſhould think fit. Accordingly, the conditions were accepted, and the beſieged went and joined another party of rebels, who had intrenched themſelves in a wood. *Baſſus*, underſtanding they were in all but three thouſand, led his troops againſt 'em, and put every man of them to the ſword.

But *Baſſus* dying ſoon after, *Fulvius Sylva* had a commiſſion to fill his place; and therefore ſitting down before *Maſſada*, which was defended by *Eleazar*, the grand-child of the famous *Judas* of *Galilee*; he, with all deligence, and ſpeed, ſurrounded them with a trench, to the end he might cut of all poſſibility of their making an eſcape. This caſtle was now in the poſſeſſion of a thouſand deſperate aſſaſſins, who pretended (though they were in themſelves moſt impious wretches) that it was a breach of piety to acknowledge any mortal man for their Lord. *Baſſus* having here tried ſeveral experiments to no purpoſe, had, at laſt, recourſe to fire, and an effect followed, which, *Heathen* as he was, powerfully convinced him that *this was the finger of God*. For the wind, which had, till that moment, oppoſed his deſign, immediately turned about, and carried the flames full into the fortifications of the *Jews*. Nor was *Eleazar* and his wicked companions inſenſible that heaven fought againſt them, but their hardneſs of heart, and impenitance, was ſuch, as put them upon a reſolution which plainly ſhew'd they were the ſlaves of the devil. He and his men firſt killed all the women and children, then chuſing out ten from among their own number, who ſhould be the executioners of the reſt, they infamouſly run in the arms of death. This done, one of the ten ſlew the other nine, then ſetting fire to the apartment, wherein they had depoſited their riches, fell upon his own ſword, and deſtroyed himſelf. And this account the *Romans* had from two women and five children, who, only, of all the number, eſcaped the rebel's fury, by hiding themſelves in a cave.

The ſale of all the lands of *Judæa*, excepting only a ſmall borough, which *Veſpaſian* beſtow'd upon a colony of eight hundred old ſoldiers, was now finiſhed, and a law impoſed on the ſurviving *Jews* throughout the whole extent of the empire, obliging them to pay the ſame annual revenue to the capitol, which they had formerly been accuſtomed to pay the temple of *Jeruſalem*. Many of the aſſaſſins having fled out of *Judæa* to *Alexandrea* in *Ægypt*, endeavoured to inflame the *Jews* of that place into a ſpirit of ſedition; but their brethren had too freſh an example before their eyes, to be ſo eaſily caught: They therefore aſſembled themſelves together, and, to prevent the fatal conſequence, which, they dreaded, might ariſe from the reſtleſs temper of theſe villains, they came to an unanimous conſent to have them all delivered up to the *Romans*. Hereupon, ſix hundred of the aſſaſſins were inſtantly ſeiz'd, and a number of others, who had truſted to their heels, and got as far as *Thebes* in *Ægypt*, were, alſo, purſued, and brought back in chains. Theſe rogues might have preſerved their lives, if they would but have acknowledg'd *Veſpaſian* for their maſter; but they abſolutely declined it, and, for that reaſon, were all of them put to death.

On the news of theſe traiterous practices in *Ægypt*, *Veſpaſian* thinking he had reaſon to fear that the *Jews*, who had now no temple left but that of *Onias* in *Ægypt*, would, under a pretence of devotion, repair thither, and begin a new rebellion; ſent an order to *Lupus*, governor of *Alexandria*, to demoliſh it. *Lupus* only robbed it of ſome ornaments, and ſhut it up; however, *Paulinus*, who ſoon after ſucceeding him, ſpoiled it of all the conſecrated things and riches, and made it ſo inacceſſible, that it has ever ſince continued of no ſervice to the *Jews*.

One of the aſſaſſins, by name *Jonathan*, and by trade a weaver, having made his flight from *Judæa*, run as far as *Cyrene* in *Lybia*, and there counterfeiting the prophet, perſuaded two thouſand poor *Jews*, who inhabited thoſe parts, to follow him into the deſart, under a pretence of ſhewing them ſigns and wonders. But the principal men among the *Jews* giving notice of *Jonathan*'s impious attempt to *Catullus*, the governor of the country, this rabble was quickly diſſipated, and *Jonathan* himſelf made priſoner. The rogue *Jonathan*, with a view to ſave his own life, accuſed many of the richeſt perſons among the *Jews* of being accomplices in his conſpiracy. The hungry *Catullas* receiv'd the information with great joy, and ſeizing three thouſand of the moſt wealthy *Jews*, whoſe names had been given him by *Jonathan*, put them to death, and confiſcated their eſtates.

Catullus did not ſtop here; he made *Jonathan*, alſo, charge the moſt conſiderable *Jews* at *Rome* as well as *Alexandria*, with the knowledge and approbation of his revolt. Among the reſt, *Joſephus*, the hiſtorian, was particularly nam'd, as one that had remitted him both arms and money. Hereupon, *Veſpaſian* commanded *Catullus* and *Jonathan* to appear at *Rome*; and finding, on a thorough examination of the matter, that it was nothing but a downright calumny, he condemned *Jonathan* firſt to be whipp'd, and then burnt alive. As to *Catullus*, though the emperor gave him a pardon, yet the juſt judgment of God purſu'd him to the laſt moment of his impious life. He owned he continually ſaw before his eyes the ghoſts of thoſe whom he had unjuſtly murdered, and, in a ſhort time after, died, being ſeized with a fiery ulcer, which, at once, afflicted him with intolerable pain, and conſumed his bowels.

Having now concluded this rebellion of the *Jews*, it may not be amiſs to give the reader a general deſcription of the number of *Jews* that periſh'd in it. To begin, then, with thoſe that were kill'd at *Jeruſalem*, by the command of *Florus*, and carrying down the account through all the skirmiſhes, and the ſiege it ſelf, ſum it up at the three thouſand *Jews* that were murder'd by *Catullus*; the whole will amount to one million, three hundred and thirty-ſeven thouſand, and five hundred perſons. And even thus we fall vaſtly ſhort of an exact bill of all thoſe who really ſunk under this terrible cataſtrophe, in regard ſuch multitudes of them died of famine, as rendered it impoſſible for any man to meet with a true reckoning.

In the mean time came king *Agrippa*, and queen *Berenice*, his ſiſter, to *Rome*, and were received with all poſſible demonſtrations of honour. *Agrippa* was allowed a rank among the principal men of *Rome*, and *Berenice* had apartments fitted up for her, within the palace itſelf. *Titus* fell ſo paſſionately in love with this lady, that he promiſed her marriage, and would too have been as good as his word, but that the ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition made him forbear an act which he knew would give a general diſlike to the people. However, he kept her like his wife, till he came to the throne, and then, ſore againſt his will, parted with her.

Whilſt theſe things were a doing, news arrived at *Rome* that *Antioch*, king of *Comagena*, had entered into a ſecret correſpondence with the king of *Parthia*; whereupon, *Veſpaſian* ſent an order to *Cæſenius Pætus*, governor of *Syria*, to march againſt *Comagena*, and reduce it into the form of a province. This was ſoon after executed, and *Antioch* fled into *Cilicia*; but being there apprehended, and brought in chains to *Syria*, *Pætus* was going to ſend him bound to *Rome*, when a meſſage came from *Veſpaſian*, ordaining, that he ſhould be ſet at liberty, and have the privilege to reſide at *Lacedæmon*, together with a court and the revenues of a king. After this, *Veſpaſian* kindly invited *Antiochus* and his family to *Rome*, where they met with a royal and magnificent reception. *Veſpaſian* was now obliged to fortify *Cappadocia* with garriſons and *Roman* legions, who ſoon repell'd the barbarous nations that infeſted it, and reſtored peace to the country. He alſo took away liberty from *Achaia*, *Samus*, *Lycia*, *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*, and the kingdoms of *Thrace* and *Cilicia*, putting them upon the foot of *Roman* provinces.

About the ſame time, the *Alani*, a people of *Scythia*, who poſſeſs'd thoſe parts which lie contigious to the *Tanais*, and the lake *Meotis*, having got the *Hyrcanians* to join them, made an irruption into *Media*, and over-running the whole country, ſpoiled and waſted it in a dreadful manner. *Pacorus*, king of *Media*, took ſuch a fright at the ſight of them, that, throwing up all thoughts of oppoſition, he retired to an impregnable fortreſs, with a view patiently to wait the iſſue. At laſt, the captivity of his wife and concubines forced him to ſue out a peace with the ſum of an hundred talents. The *Barbarians*, next, took their rout into *Armenia*, which they pillaged with equal ſucceſs. *Tiridates*, king of *Armenia*, thought to put a ſtop to their ravages, but unfortunately failed in his aim; for, in giving battle to them, he was not only overthrown, but very narrowly eſcaped with his life. And having thus happily finiſhed their expedition, they returned, loaded with riches, into their own country.

Veſpaſian now raiſed *Titus* to be his partner in the empire, and, admitting him into a conjunct ſhare of all honours, as well as offices, reſerved to himſelf but the title, whilſt the other did all the buſineſs. *Titus* ſpoke in the ſenate, took the management of the provinces, gave audience to ambaſſadors, writ letters in his father's name, and ſovereignly diſpoſed of every thing. *Alienus* and *Marcellus*, whom *Veſpaſian* had always regarded with great honour and friendſhip, did, nevertheleſs, form a conſpiracy againſt him, but it was ſoon defeated by the watchful diligence of *Titus*, who cauſed *Alienus* to be kill'd within the palace, as he roſe from table. And *Marcellus*, being condemned by the ſenate, cut his own throat.

In this exalted ſtation, *Titus* gave not a few proofs of a cruel and violent temper; for ſeveral, whom he but ſuſpected, were put to death. Nor was he free from luxury, ſitting up at his bottle, with debauch'd companions, even till midnight. He likewiſe had the note of being incontinent and rapacious, plunging himſelf in all manner of lewdneſs, and ſelling every thing that could but yield a price: For which reaſon, the people publickly called him a ſecond *Nero*, and dreaded nothing ſo much as his acceſſion to the throne. But they were afterwards agreeably diſappointed; his former wicked life being then only remembered to ſet out his virtues in a more illuſtrious view. He left all his vices, on his advancement to the empire, and ever after walk'd in ſo amiable a courſe of probity, that the *Romans* with one heart and voice called him *The love and delight of mankind*. He indulged himſelf in nothing that could not be warranted by the ſtrict rules of temperance; and was chaſte and continent in ſpite of charming objects. He admitted none into his familiarity and friendſhip, that were not men of conſummate merit, and was ſo far from coveting other men's goods, that he would not even accept of the uſual benevolences; and yet no one ever went beyond him in munificence. He omitted nothing that might ſettle the right, liberty, and property, of his ſubjects; and whereas, by an ordinance of *Tiberius*, the grants of former emperors were declared invalid, in caſe that the reigning prince did not repeat and confirm the donation, he generouſly eas'd them of the hardſhip of that law, aſcertaining them in an hereditary and perpetual tenure of poſſeſſion. He was of that univerſal benevolence of temper, as did not know how to deny the ſuit, petition, or requeſt of any man; which emboldening ſome of his courtiers to tell him, *that he promiſed more than he was able to perform*; he made anſwer, *I will do all for them that lies in my power; in the mean time, it is not fit to diſmiſs any body from my preſence with a heavy heart*. Good offices, and acts of grace to mankind, were ſo much the buſineſs of his reign, that recollecting, as he ſat at ſupper, he had that day done no ſervice or beneficence to any man; he, with a real concern, ſaid, *My friends, I have loſt a day*. Which was an expreſſion, that, in weight, ſtrength, and beauty, equals, if it does not ſurpaſs, the brighteſt thought that ever fell from the mouth of a *Heathen*.

He ſeverely puniſhed all informers, or chaced them away from *Rome*. Neither ſenator, nor knight, nor any other perſon, had the misfortune to be plagued with treaſonable accuſations, during his reign. He would not ſo much as give a hearing to the report of conſpiracies, that his domeſticks begg'd to lay before him, nor ſuffer his miniſters to receive them. *No one*, ſaid he, *will ever entertain a thought of injuring me, becauſe I make it my care to do nothing that may deſerve a reſentment; and as for calumny, I deſpiſe it*. Making, often, the following proteſtation; *I had rather fall my ſelf, than be the death of any man*. Two perſons of ſenatorian rank being convicted of a deſign to ſeize upon the empire, he had them ſent for, and kindly admoniſhing them to deſiſt from their enterprize, *The diſpoſal*, added he, *of kingdom, is in the hand of providence; but if you want any thing elſe, make a demand, and I will give it you*. And, which was a wonderful exertion of good nature, knowing that one of them had a fond mother, who lived at a great diſtance from town, and would, therefore, be extremely anxious about the ſtate of her ſon; he immediatly diſpatch'd a ſpecial meſſenger to acquaint her that her ſon was not only in health, but acquitted. He next invited the two gentlemen to ſupper, and ever after ſhew'd them all familiar teſtimonies of reſpect. This greatneſs of ſoul in *Titus*, makes me think, that thoſe acts of cruelty which authors charge upon him during the time of his copartnerſhip with *Veſpaſian*, did not proceed from him, but were the artful effects of ſome miniſter or other. As to his own brother *Domitian*, who never ceas'd plotting againſt him, openly, as well as ſecretly, he made uſe of no arms, but what were fetch'd from his eyes and heart. He thought loving expoſtulations, ſeconded with a flood of tears, would at laſt prevail upon the monſter.

In the reign of *Titus*, a ſecond war broke out in *Great-Britain*, which was happily finiſhed by the care of *Julius Agricola*, who firſt of all the *Romans* diſcover'd that *Great-Britain* was an iſland. Hereupon, *Titus* was ſaluted emperor the fifteenth time. At the ſame period, happened a few extraordinary events, which ſtruck the people with great fear and aſtoniſhment. A terrible conflagration burſt out of the mount *Veſuvius* in *Campania*, which not only deſtroy'd the two cities of *Herculanum* and *Pompij*, with all their inhabitants, but darted fire and aſhes as far as *Africk*, *Syria*, and *Ægypt*, as well as to *Rome*. Theſe effects were the more noticed, becauſe they had never ſeen ſuch things before. The mountain, antecedent to this accident, was every where of an equal height, and adorned with trees; but now the flames having left nothing of it unconſumed but the extremities, it has ever ſince reſembled the figure of an amphitheatre. Night and day, upon the mountain, and about it, and in the air, were ſeen perſons of a prodigious bulk, and gigantick ſtature; and dreadful noiſes heard iſſuing out of the earth. *Pliny*, the elder, curiouſly prying into this unfathomable ſecret, was ſuffocated by the flames; and ſoon after followed a peſtilence, which ſwept away great numbers of the people; and a fire, kindled from heaven, which ſpread with ſuch violence, that, in ſpite of all endeavours to extinguiſh it, it continued three days, and as many nights, conſuming a multitude of houſes, as well as moſt, if not all the *Pagan* temples at *Rome*.

Hereupon, *Titus*, not contenting himſelf to act the ſole part of a good prince, ſuperadded alſo the kind office of a loving and compaſſionate father. He not only aſſiſted the ſufferers with his advice, but, as far as his ſubſiſtance would go, ſupplied them with money: Beſides, he gave the eſtates of all thoſe who had been killed by the eruption of *Veſuvius*, and left no heirs, into the hands of the publick, in order to reſtore the ruined cities of *Campania*. And whilſt the peſtilence raged, he neglected no means that ſeemed, either to himſelf, or others, of uſe to bring relief to the people. He likewiſe tried to lighten and alleviate their minds with a ſplendid variety of amuſements: At the dedication of the amphitheatre, four elephants, and nine thouſand beaſts of different ſorts, were killed; a battle, ſtoutly maintained by an equal number of cranes of each ſide, followed, which gave an agreeable ſurprize; and a land and ſea-fight concluded the ſolemnity. After this, he diverted them at the gardens of *Caius* and *Lucius*. On the firſt day was a naval combat, and a great number of beaſts; the ſecond day entertained them with chariot-races; and the third day with engagements of a number of men, both by ſea and land: Theſe combatants were diſtinguiſhed with the names of *Athens* and *Syracus*. The party that carried the day made next a deſcent upon a little iſle, and there forming a military ſiege, took and demoliſh'd a fort, which had ſome time before been erected for this ludicrous purpoſe. During theſe, and innumerable other ſpectacles of the like nature, *Titus* conſtantly kept by him a large quantity of little balls of wood, which he threw down and ſcattered among the people. And as theſe balls had engraved upon them the particulars of a bill of fare, or contained the promiſe of a veſſel of gold or ſilver, of a ſlave, bullock or horſe, or ſome other valuable gift, ſuch perſons as gathered up the balls, had no more to do, but go to the proper officer who had the care of the diſtribution, and they immediately received the preſents.

On the laſt day of theſe publick diverſions, which continued for an hundred days together, he plentifully wept, in the ſight of all the people; after this, appearing dejected, that at a ſacrifice (which he prepared) the victim had ſtole away, and becauſe thunder had been heard in a ſerene and unclouded ſeaſon; he ſet out for the country of the *Sabines*, and, falling ill by the way, caſt up his eyes towards heaven, and expreſſed ſome uneaſineſs at being ſo ſoon obliged to part with a life which had never been ſtained with any ſin, but one. What that alone matter was, which made an impreſſion on his conſcience (ſince he let the ſecret die with himſelf), it is but an idle peice of work to form a conjecture: Some were pleaſed to fancy that he had had a criminal correſpondence with *Domitia*, the wife of his brother which troubled him; and others imagined that he ſorely repented the not having put his brother *Domitian* to death: But both theſe are no more than the prints of a dream; for *Titus* had too much honour to be guilty of the firſt, and too large a fund of good nature to commit the latter. Was I to make a judgment in this caſe, deducing it from his incomparable ſweetneſs of temper, I would ſay, it was the precipitate execution of a few perſons for a tale of treaſon, that afflicted him. Dying in the forty-ſecond year of his age, he only reigned two years, two months, and twenty days.

His death was no ſooner publiſh'd, than the whole empire mourned in ſuch a manner, as if each particular perſon within it had loſt a near relation out of their own family. And the ſenate, without ſtaying for an edict to aſſemble them, immediately run to the houſe, and there heaped upon him ſuch ſubſtantial honours, and expreſſions of gratitude, as they had never before paid even to a living emperor. There was a flying report that *Domitian* had poiſon'd him, and the world gave it the readier credit, becauſe they knew he had all along been ſtudying how to diſpoſſeſs his brother. Others aſſure us, he died of a fever; but in regard the ſtate of the diſeaſe did not ſeem deſperate *Domitian*, to haſten his death, put him into a trunk full of ſnow. Be this as it will; it is certain, that *Domitian* ordered all his domeſticks to leave him, before he was quite dead, and went himſelf to the city, where he took the title of emperor, and gave the uſual largeſſes to the ſoldiers. As it is natural for the common people to make their remarks upon all events, they now drove the compariſon between the length of *Auguſtus*'s reign, and the ſhortneſs of this, ſaying, *If* Auguſtus *had not lived ſo long, he would not have met with any degree of love and reſpect from the* Romans; *nor would* Titus *have merited ſo much love and eſteem, if he had not died in the flower of his age.* Auguſtus, (added they) *ſpirited up by ambition, travelled through rivers of blood to get at the throne; but afterwards he had time enough to convince the world, by lenity and generous methods, that thoſe cruelties were not an effect of his natural temper. On the contrary, as* Titus *begun his reign with an incomparable mildneſs, he did not die till he had acquired all poſſible glory and reputation. And this, perhaps, he might have loſt, had he not fallen ſo ſoon, for a long ſeries of time might have taught us, that we were more obliged to good luck, than his virtue.*

Titus was a man whoſe outward majeſty and ſymmetry of parts were a mirrour, wherein one might clearly read the excellencies of his mind. Though the *Body* is not always a true *Index* of the *Soul*, yet, virtue, worth, and every other aimable diſtinction were ſo evidently drawn upon his countenance, that it was not poſſible for any Perſon to look at him and be guilty of a miſtake. He had a perfect acquaintance with all the arts both of peace and war, and a ſingular regard for every man, that was but eminent in either. And he ſo dextrouſly underſtood the ways of men, that he was the firſt prince among the *Romans*, whom the craft and maſque of miniſters were not able to beguile into any art, that was either cruel, mean, rapacious, or of detriment to the ſubject. During his joint adminiſtration with *Veſpaſian*, he had been ſubtily led into ſome pieces of cruelty; which, nothing but that idle thing, called neceſſity of ſtate, could vindicate; and therefore, after his acceſſion, he reſolved to truſt to his own Eyes and Ears; which made him an univerſal bleſſing to the people.

This anticipation of the ſhort reign of *Titus*, will, I hope, be favourably accepted in a work which muſt needs end with the hiſtory of *Veſpaſian*, and had no other way of doing honour to that valuable man *Titus*, whom heaven exalted to be the miniſter of his juſt wrath againſt *Jeruſalem*. And now I return to *Veſpaſian*. The king of *Parthia* being under a ſtrong apprehenſion, that the *Alani*, who had plundered and waſted *Media* and *Armenia*, would, in the end, fall upon him, writ a letter to *Veſpaſian*, ſuperſcribed thus, Arſaces, *king of kings, to* Flavious Veſpaſian, *greeting*; and having, in this epiſtle, demanded an aid of men, together with one of *Veſpaſian*'s ſons to head them: The emperor only ſaid, *I have nothing to do with the care of other people's affairs.* But as to the inſolent direction, he was ſo far from taking any notice of it, that he returned the *Parthian* a very civil anſwer, and in the ſame manner ſuperſcribed, viz. Flavius Veſpaſian, *to* Arſaces *king of kings, greeting.* As he had now ſhut the temple of *Janus*, and was at peace with all his neighbours, he thought it would be but an imprudent ſtep to involve his people in a foreign war.

Having often admired the ſoul's faculty of divining in dreams, I here ſhall, to one of *Veſpaſian*'s, add another of my own; in regard, it terminated in a different manner, with two other perſons, (that had the ſame dream) than it did upon me. *Veſpaſian* dreamt, that he ſaw a pair of ſcales hanging even, in one of which ſate the late emperors *Claudius* and *Nero*, and in the other himſelf and his two ſons, which he underſtood thus, Claudius *and* Nero *reigned twenty ſeven years*, &c. *and I and my ſons ſhall enjoy the empire for much the ſame ſpace of time.* And it fell out accordingly. When I was about nineteen years of age, I dreamt, that I ſhould die within fourteen days, which elapſed. I concluded, I ſhould die at the end of fourteen years, but then it was my eſtate only that took wings and fled away. Long before this period of mine, a private perſon had the very ſame notice; and, on the expiration of the fourteen years, became emperor of *Germany*. And it is, I think, within theſe eight years, that a young Lady, at the court end of the town, had the ſame warning, and actually died upon the fourteenth day, which ſtory may ſtill be ſeen in the news papers of that year.

Veſpaſian being a man, that in caſes relating to himſelf, always preſerved an exceeding gaiety of temper, when among other preſages that ſeemed, in the eye of the world, to threaten his death, a comet had appeared, and the ſepulchre of *Auguſtus* opened of itſelf. *The latter*, ſaid he, *can only refer to ſome one or other of the houſe of* Auguſtus, *and the other, of right, belongs to the king of* Parthia, *who has a buſhy head of hair.* And on an illneſs, which ſoon after ſeized him, he gave a ſmile, and by way of jeſt upon the conſecration of former emperors, ſpoke theſe words, *I vow this diſeaſe is going to make a god of me.* The minute before his death he got up upon his Feet, and ſaying, *An emperor ought to die ſtanding*, expired in the arms of his courtiers; after having lived ſixty nine years, and reigned ten, wanting ſix days.

All Authors agree, he had but one fault, and therefore we may well allow him a rank even above *Auguſtus* himſelf; *Veſpaſian* was a man of ſuch an undaunted ſpirit, as could never be ſhaken or moved with ſuſpicion and fear, nor libel and reproach. Being told by his miniſters, that *Metius Pompoſianus* claimed an emperial deſcent, he immediately ſent for the man; and, to their great diſappointment, made him *Conſul*, and ever after treated him with eſteem. He not only gave a liberal education to the daughter of his enemy *Vitellius*, but paying down a fortune for her, had her ſplendidly married. Officious *Sycophants* brought many conſpirators before him, but no one of them ever ſuffered by his counſel or command.

Let them go, ſaid he, *if they were not fools, they would not ſeek to entangle themſelves with the plague and burthen of an empire.* Nor in all his time was any innocent perſon executed, whom his artful miniſters had not firſt blackened in ſuch a manner, as made him think the intereſt of the ſtate required they ſhould be put to death. He always ſigh'd and ſhed tears at the ſigning of a dead warrant, be the guilt of the malefactor what it would. Princes who truſt to partial notices, will often be deceived; they, therefore, ſhould, in many caſes, take an information from the ſpirit of the people; for tho' it may ſometimes happen, that as a noted liar among the dogs (pardon the compariſon) has now and then put the whole pack upon a cry without a cauſe, ſo a cunning inſinuator may lead them into a precipitate deluſion: Yet, as ſuch a thing never laſt's long, and but ſeldom ariſes, a prince may always rely with greater ſafety upon the mouth of his people, than any particular ſet of men. And as to contumelies, whether verbal, or reduced into writing, he conſtantly received them upon the foot of a jeſt. When *Demetrius* the *Cynic*, not only ſhewed him no reſpect, but vomited out a number of approbrious words againſt him. *Friend,* ſaid *Veſpaſian, thou takeſt a great deal of pains to provoke me, but I am not a Man that can kill a dog for barking.* His miniſters having once endeavoured to fix a crime upon a perſon who had a large eſtate, and the defendant's advocate, among other impolite things, ſaid, *What is it to Veſpaſian, if my client be a rich man?* *Veſpaſian* only commended the juſt warmth of the lawyer, and ſaid, *He was an honeſt man.* *Mucianus,* aſſuming on the ſtrength of former obligations, frequently uſed him with rudeneſs, which *Veſpaſian* but ſmiled at, and afterwards arguing the matter with him in a private and friendly manner, he would ſometimes cloſe the remonſtrance with theſe words, *And pray remember I am but a man.* In ſhort *Veſpaſian* was never exceeded by any heathen emperor, his own ſon *Titus* only excepted.

To the only wiſe God our ſaviour, be glory and majeſty, dominicn and power, now and ever. Amen.

50 OCT

FINIS.

A COMPLETE and ACCURATE
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TO THE
Writings of *JOSEPHUS*,

VIZ.

His Antiquities of the *Jews*; his own Memoirs; his Hiſtory of the Wars; his Books againſt *Apion*; and his Diſcourſe in Praiſe of the *Maccabees*.

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